THE ROLE OF NARRATIVE IN CREATING THE IDEAL WOMAN:

THE CASE OF *HAYAT* MAGAZINE

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THE CASE OF *HAYAT* MAGAZINE

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The Role of Narrative in Creating the Ideal Woman:

The Case of *Hayat* Magazine

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July 2017

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ABSTRACT

The Role of Narrative in Creating the Ideal Woman:

The Case of *Hayat* Magazine

This study investigates the creation of 'proper' womanhood through the content analysis of celebrity women's profiles in *Hayat* magazine, published between the years 1956 and 1960.

The contextual framework of the study is the emergence of the modern nuclear family and women's place in it as a new form of governmentality in the Turkish Republic as part of the modernization process. This study pays special attention to how 'proper' womanhood, one of the central ideological constructions of the new regime, was defined as being modern and at the same time as being first and foremost decent mothers and wives, the main regulators of the modern nuclear family. The main sources used are celebrity women's profiles in *Hayat* in a period when the construction of the new regime matured to a great extent. The profiles are analyzed as important cultural products both reflecting and reproducing the discursive formation of 'proper' womanhood.

Elaborating on Warner's (2002) theory on the mass public subject, this study argues that strikingly different approaches of *Hayat* magazine regarding foreign female celebrities and local ones orient the readers to a direct identification with the local female celebrities while the foreign women's celebrity profiles channel the readers to the normativity of marriage.

ÖZET

İdeal Kadın Yaratılmasında Anlatının Rolü:

Hayat Dergisi Örneği

Bu çalışma, 1956-1960 yılları arasında yayınlanmış *Hayat* dergisinde sunulan ünlü kadın profillerinin içerik analizi üzerinden 'makbul' kadınlığın yaratılmasını incelemektedir. Türkiye Cumhuriyeti'nde modernleşme sürecinin bir parçası mahiyetinde, yeni bir yönetimsellik biçimi olarak modern çekirdek ailenin ortaya çıkması ve kadının bu ailedeki yeri, bu çalışmanın kuramsal çerçevesini teşkil etmektedir.

Yeni rejimin merkezi ideolojik inşalarından biri olan 'makbul' kadınlığın, hem modern olmak hem de modern çekirdek ailenin temel düzenleyicileri olarak her şeyden önce uygun anne ve eşler olmak üzerinden nasıl tanımlandığına odaklanılan bu çalışmada kullanılan temel veri tabanı, *Hayat*'ın 1956 ve 1960 yılları arasındaki ünlü kadın profilleridir. Yeni olanın inşasının belli bir olgunlaşmaya eriştiği odaklanarak bu profiller, 'makbul' kadınlığın söylemsel oluşumunu yansıtan ve yeniden üreten önemli kültürel ürünler olarak ele alınmıştır.

Warner'in (2002) kitlesel kamusal özneye ilişkin teorisine dayanan bu çalışma, *Hayat* dergisinin yerli ve yabancı kadın ünlülere yönelik çarpıcı biçimde farklı olan yaklaşımının, okuyucuları yerli kadın ünlülerle doğrudan bir özdeşleştirme kurmaya yönlendirirken yabancı kadın ünlü profillerinin okuyucuyu evliliğin normatifliğine yönlendirirdiğini iddia etmektedir.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

In this thesis, with the aid of a textual and content analysis of female celebrity profiles in *Hayat*, I aim to see the discursive formation of 'proper' womanhood in a highly circulated product between the years 1956 and 1960 in Turkey. *Hayat* Magazine was published from April 6, 1956 until the end of the 1980s. The first issue's 170,000 copies sold out within a few days (Okur, 2007). According to the magazine's third anniversary article written by magazine owner and editor-in-chief Şevket Rado, *Hayat*'s average circulation reached 500,000 copies in 1956-1960, a very high rate for its time.

The definition of 'proper' womanhood played a central role in the modernization of Turkey, especially after the foundation of the Turkish Republic. 'Proper' womanhood was and still is a highly discussed issue in Turkey. The emergence of the modern nuclear family is at the heart of the modernization process. Women are responsible for the creation of the modern nuclear family as proper mothers and wives taking care of the house, children and husbands. That is why proper conduct of women became a central topic discussed in the cultural domain.

By studying the discursive formation of 'proper' womanhood in *Hayat* between the years 1956 and 1960, I aim to survey a different period when the new regime of the Turkish Republic had reached a certain degree of stability. I choose celebrity women's profiles as the basis of my analysis since they elaborate directly on women and reflect the authors', hence the magazine's, point of view. In other

words, female celebrity profiles in *Hayat* are both shaped by and also shape the discursive formation of womanhood of its era.

Hayat emerges as a magazine in the light of its Western counterparts which began to be published in the 1920s in Europe and the US. In terms of the format, *Hayat* aims to follow the standards of Western magazines. However, in terms of the content, the magazine, while aiming at depicting the life in the world, especially in the West, also draws the boundaries of decent life in Turkey. Interestingly, decent life is equated with a happy marriage in which women are the assigned the role of the guardians of happiness in the family as mothers and wives. As such, female celebrity profiles detailing the lives of women who are considered as the main regulators of the family reveal significant information regarding the discursive formation of womanhood in *Hayat.*

Throughout my study, I analyze 168 issues of *Hayat*. Although I first and foremost focus on 56 celebrity women's profiles, I also consider the overall organization and content of the magazine. Investigating different text-types made apparent the didactic tone of the magazine pointing out the national values vis-à-vis the Western way of life. By the same token, significant differences emerged between the magazine's approach to foreign celebrities and to local ones. While foreign celebrity women are given place as the representatives of the celebrity culture in Western magazines, local women always appeared as proper women to identify with. The narratives portrayed foreign women as the bearers of excessive sexuality or as depressed, spoiled celebrities. They could only become happy when they established a stable family life. On the other hand, local women were always appraised as proper mothers and wives. This is why I analyzed foreign and local women in two separate

chapters and tried to see how the magazine shaped proper womanhood in Turkey through the use of celebrity women's profiles. I analyze 40 foreign female celebrity profiles and 16 local celebrity profiles. Based on their general characteristics and also a close reading of each profile, I discuss how these narratives created proper womanhood as well as the definition of it. Circulation of the recurring themes and certain ways of representations, as I discuss in the rest of the thesis, resulted in categorizations indicating how the magazine discursively constructed proper womanhood. In addition to the texts, the visual organization of the profiles, such as the accompanying photos, contributes to the analysis.

This thesis is organized as follows: In the second chapter, I discuss the theoretical framework of this study by focusing on how the modern nuclear family as well as women's place in it appears as the new form of governmentality in the nation-building process. I also further explain the specific place that celebrity profiles hold in *Hayat* considering its overall organization and content. Moreover, I dwell on the specific properties of celebrity profiles as a genre and the way it sprang from another genre, biography.

In the third chapter, I analyze foreign female celebrity profiles in the light of the theoretical framework of celebrity culture. The positive and negative sublime of the aesthetic forces (Taussig, 2012) illuminates two opposite poles of celebrity profiles: the glorious world of fame and fame's abyss. The main themes of the profiles indicate how the narratives orient the readers to the normativity of marriage. According their recurring themes, I separate foreign celebrity profiles into three main categories: glorification of the celebrities, stories of soured dreams and the display of happy family lives. I argue that the first category, while portraying foreign celebrity

women enjoying the glorious world of fame, also signals to fame's destructive character, which will reveal itself eventually unless the celebrity women establish a 'happy' family life. The second category is the destructive character of fame, which results in celebrities' depression and loss of agency. While the first two categories emphasize the ephemeral character of fame, the third category directs the readers to the normativity of marriage as a protection from the negative side of fame.

In the fourth chapter, I analyze local celebrity profiles and argue that *Hayat* firstly put forward national heroines as ideal public figures and later local singers as ideal housewives and mothers alongside foreign female celebrities. In this chapter, I show how the narratives described the 'proper' Turkish woman of the new regime as a proper mother and wife while creating the effect of direct identification with the readers.

In the last chapter, I discuss the significant differences between the profiles on foreign female celebrities and local ones revealing the discursive formation of proper womanhood in *Hayat* magazine.

CHAPTER 2

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

To understand the creation of 'proper' womanhood in the Turkish Republic in the 1950s, it is necessary to trace the notion of familial citizenship as well as the emergence of the modern nuclear family in the transition from the Ottoman Empire to the Turkish nation state (Sirman, 2005). Women's proper conduct and their place in the family are at the heart of the invention of a new notion of citizenship, as they are considered the main regulators of the nuclear family and mothers of both their children and the future children of the nation. The invention of the nuclear family as well as the new notion of citizenship is rooted in the modernization process that began in the Ottoman Empire and continued with the foundation of the Turkish Republic.

According to Hanioğlu (2008), modernization starts with the end of the eighteenth century due to the military decline of the Ottoman Empire. It is mostly in the form of a re-organization of legal, institutional and administrative domains throughout the nineteenth century. Mardin (2006) claims that *westernism* in Turkey beginning in the late Ottoman Empire acquires new footholds as the twentieth century begins.[1] In that period, just before and during the formation of the republic, the cultural influence of the West grows. The modern individual of the new regime is instructed to detach from previous dependencies, traditions, religious or family ties considered backward (Sirman, 2005).

[1] Mardin (2006) explains this term, *batıcılık,* in his book *Türk Modernleşmesi* as the approach

The new regime attempts to create modern citizens of the Turkish Republic with a social revolution that takes place as the appropriation of the Western nuclear family and instead of the kinship-based traditional family (Sirman, 2005). This is a revolution in the social sphere, as the people of the Ottoman Empire defined their social positions, as well as what is considered appropriate conduct for them, based on the hierarchy of the kinship-based traditional family (Kandiyoti, 1991). The nuclear family seemingly devoid of any political function is used both as a creation and as governing the 'private' sphere binding it to the state.[2] The nation with the foundation of the Republic consists of nuclear families in which the male head represents the family and its values in the public sphere while modern Turkish women are charged with the construction and maintenance of the family (Sirman, 2005). The nuclear family and the specific ways of relationships and emotions that it contains are at the heart of the simultaneous creation of the new regime's constitutive parts: "The invention of new forms of intimate relationships, that is, the patriarchal 'nuclear' family, produced a new regulation of desire, constituting sovereignty, national community and the modern individual all at once" (Sirman, 2005, p. 149).

In order to leave behind the traditional order of the Ottoman Empire, love is introduced as the main bond between the members of a family and also their relation to the nation (Sirman, 2005). The cultivation of the appropriate love for both the family and the nation is fostered in the cultural sphere: newspapers, books, magazines and so forth. This ultimate version of love should be limited with reason and be devoid of any sexual or passionate connotations. It is characterized by *muhabbet* (fondness), defined as the mutual understanding and respect between

[2] I use the terms 'private' and 'public' not as fixed categories such a binary opposition presupposes, but as what they are imagined to be.

spouses. The excesses and limits of this ideal love are defined through women. For instance, in the novels of Tanzimat period, certain women embody the passionate and sexual love, with whom any kind of relation would be destructive.[3] A common topic of a Tanzimat novel is a man falling in love with a woman who appears as the bearer of this 'excessive' emotion and consequent ways of conduct loses either his life or his dignity (Parla, 1990).

However, the national family does not emerge as an exact copy of the modern family; while taking their European counterparts as examples, the members of the family also aim at preserving their national values "as the basis of Turkish culture" (Talay, 1994, p. 32). The citizens of the new regime situate themselves in the 'ideal' place between what is 'too' modern and 'too' traditional.[4] Their relationships with one another, which contain specific affective economies, are defined accordingly. This ideal draws the boundaries of the national characteristics of the Turkish citizen and belongs to the collective imagination of the new regime, and their limits are created, discussed and negotiated in the cultural products such as novels, magazines, newspapers and films, over and over again.

Hayat is such a cultural product, where the new life of Turkey is defined with its affective economies. The theme of happy life governs the magazine's content, and it is achieved as a result of right marriage. Women are shown as responsible for the creation and maintenance of happy homes. It is important to note that even though the magazine did not totally exclude men as its addressees, most of the texts address women: "Tips for Cooking", "How to Make Your Husband Happy" and "Fashion

[3] The Tanzimat Period begins with the Tanzimat Edict in the year 1839. The declaration is considered as the beginning of modernization through appropriating certain Western policies and bureaucracy.

[4] The words 'modern' and 'traditional' do not refer to predefined abstract categories. They, instead, refer to what is imagined to be modern and traditional in the collective imagination in Turkey.

Column" are some recurring examples. In these texts as well as the others, women are responsible for creating a happy marriage and a warm home, which would lead to a happy life. However, *Hayat* is not a magazine for or of women. It can be considered as a family magazine, aiming to give a portrayal of a happy family in Turkey as well as in the world.

Before the publication of *Hayat*, many magazines were published concerning women and their place in the society. The first magazines about women emerge as the side publications of other magazines and newspapers in the year 1869. Separate magazines concerning women are published right after these side publications and have different standpoints regarding women and their place in society (Akşit, 2005). Akşit (2005) categorizes them as following: magazines about family life and women's responsibilities in it written by men, magazines written by women with a feminist and nationalist standpoint, magazines written to give advice on female beauty and self-care. Akşit (2005) argues that magazines concerning education and child raising in the 1920s and 1930s follow the feminist magazines written with a nationalist tone such as *Kadınlar Dünyası* (Women World) and *Kadınlık Duygusu* (Sentiment of Womanhood) and direct the feminist tone of the magazines to the sphere of the nuclear family by representing women as mothers and wives. With the foundation of the Republic, Kemalist discourse impedes any kind of feminist movement pioneered by women themselves but rather leads to a state-sponsored feminism, defining the limits of the women's emancipation within the discourse of the nation state (Kandiyoti, 1991). Even if women are given the right to vote and to be elected in the parliament and encouraged to have occupations, they are first and foremost defined as mothers and wives, but not as sexual beings.

With the turn of 1940, magazines such as *Kadın Dünyası* (The World of Woman), *Ev-Kadın* (House-Woman), *Hanımeli* (Honeysuckle), *Yeni Moda* (New Fashion) were published. These are magazines giving the description of and advice to women about domestic life, fashion as well as cooking. *Hayat* was different in the sense that it was interested in an array of topics. Even though *Hayat* contained some texts giving advice to women about cooking, fashion or family life, it was also interested in exposing the life in the world. It can be said that *Hayat* appears as the first general light entertainment magazine in Turkey appropriating the style of its Western counterparts. With *Demokrat Parti* (Democrat Party) coming to power in 1950, the government began to have close ties with the US through receiving financial aid from America and exporting certain commodities (Zürcher, 1993). *Hayat* emerged as a product of this period as a Turkish version of the general light entertainment magazines published in the 1920s and onwards. Not only does the magazine give advice or information about certain issues, but it also gives place to the news and travel memoirs from all around the world as well as celebrity profiles. In other words, *Hayat* is the first magazine in Turkey combining tabloid press with news and columns aiming to give an overall portrayal of the new life in the world as well as in Turkey. Below, I will give brief information about *Hayat* in order to contextualize both the magazine in the mentioned era of Turkey and the female celebrity profiles in the magazine.

2.1 *Hayat* magazine: Context and content

Hayat is a highly influential cultural text of its era and emerges as a magazine appropriating characteristics of its Western counterparts in terms of both form and

content. Şevket Rado in the first issue lays out the importance and purpose of *Hayat's* publication: a magazine up to the standards of its Western counterparts reaching every household in the country. Magazines like *Nuer, Sieer, Neue,* and *Revue* should be taken as examples. Rado writes in the introduction that *Hayat* is innovative in Turkey since it appropriates the European printing techniques enabling the publication of a great number of high-quality copies (Rado, 1956).

Rado praises 'the democratic period' for allowing the media to reach as many people as possible. What he refers as to the democratic period was initiated by *Demokrat Parti* (Democrat Party) as a transition to a multi-party democracy.[5] Even though the Democrat Party comes to power on claims to bring about a more democratic political environment, it reneges on those promises especially in the latter half of the 1950s, violently suppressing any kind of opposition (via censorship or juridical measures).[6] *Hayat* never suffers any kind of censorship, as it does not oppose the Democrat Party's regime. Its implicit support is visible in Rado's column. However, that is not to say that *Hayat* spreads political propaganda. Even though a coup d'état ends the Democrat Party's regime, the magazine does not claim any specific political standpoint but always maintains its close ties with the Republican regime by fostering 'proper' identities and ways of living that the Turkish Republic is built on. The magazine is *juxtapolitical* in Berlant's (2008) terms, as it spreads proper identities and ways of living that the policies of the new regime establish, while claiming neutrality with regard to politics as such. In other words, the proper national identity and the related ways of conduct are fostered in the magazine. The

[5] The Democrat Party came to power in the year 1950. It was the first time another party apart from *Cumhuriyet Halk Partisi* (Republican People's Party), Mustafa Kemal's party, who founded the Turkish Republic, came to power at the beginning of the Republic.

[6] In the second half of the 1950s, the changes in *Basın Kanunu* (Press Law), carried out by the Democrat Party, restricted freedom of speech and increased prison sentence when the law is considered to be violated.

circulation of the happy nuclear family life and women's proper conduct in this family as proper wives and mothers cultivate the proper national identity – familial citizenship, as wives and mothers. However, this discursive formation of this form of citizenship and the new form of governmentality through the modern nuclear family are given a natural characteristic. The fact that the modern nuclear family is the new form of governmentality in the Republican regime is naturalized since the magazine fosters the nuclear family as a natural entity instead of a historical and political institution. As I will dwell on in the following sections, *Hayat* equates modern family life with happiness. The magazine claims to be devoid of politics and seems to be interested only in everyday life and/or celebrities' lives. As a result, the fact that the nation's policies are actually built on the regulation of ways of conduct and intimate relationships in the everyday sphere is hidden.

While *Hayat* purports to explore how life is lived in the rest of the world, it is also interested in prescribing a decent and happy life that its readers should aspire to. In terms of overall content, *Hayat* prints a variety of recurrent columns evolving throughout the magazine's publication. The most visible columns in the magazine are short news stories, celebrity profiles, gossip, travel memoirs, serialized novels, short stories, a fashion column, a health column, Rado's column *Sohbet Köşesi* (Chat Column) and letters from the readers.[7] The news stories and celebrity gossip describe daily life in other countries as well as in Turkey. They are concerned with trends in fashion, leisure activities and celebrity news such as marriages, concerts, films or award ceremonies. Advice is given to readers primarily from Rado's articles, the health column and the responses to the letters to the editor. The texts frequently deal

[7] The literal translation of *Sohbet Köşesi* is Chat Column. Şevket Rado used it to personally address the readers of *Hayat*, to give them advice about life in general and to inform them about important issues concerning the magazine.

with marital issues like conflict, the 'indispensable' duties of a wife and mother, how to be a decent man, how to have a happy marriage. These articles convey the moral values of the magazine about decent life, womanhood, and masculinity. It is important to note that these issues are discussed in all texts of the magazine rather than solely in specific genres.[8]

In order to further clarify the magazine's two most recurring themes determining also female celebrity profiles, in the following sections I will first elaborate on how the magazine draws the limits of national and moral values vis-à-vis Western ones. Secondly, I will detail the circulation of happiness.

2.1.1 Preserving national and moral values

The passage quoted below demonstrates how *Haya*t aims at drawing the limits of a decent life. Rado's columns, mirroring the trajectory of the magazine's publication, adopt a dualistic approach toward Western values and ways of living, mostly by criticizing what is considered excessive.[9] For instance, in an article called *Kültür Kulübüymüş* (They Say It's a Culture Club) Rado sharply criticizes a group called the Turkish Existentialists for adopting Sartre's existentialism, which Rado demonizes for not having any moral value and for succumbing to any sexual drive

[8] Alongside the profiles on celebrities, short news from the world, gossip columns and other genres, *Hayat* also allocated significant space to advertisements, ranging from banking credits to dressing, cleaning and cooking products. Considering the DP's economic policies, which favored a liberal market economy that resulted in introducing Western commodities and products to Turkey's market (Zürcher, 2008), *Hayat* reflects the DP's relation with the US in terms of its overall content. On the one hand, new commodities are presented through the advertising columns; on the other hand, the Western way of living is explored in various columns and articles. As a magazine, both *Hayat'*s content and form were shaped under the influence of the DP's dominant policies, reflecting an interest in American way of living and aiming to be a magazine like its Western counterparts.

[9] The words such as 'Western' and 'Eastern' or 'modern' and 'traditional' do not refer to predefined abstract and binary categories. They, instead, refer to how Western or traditional were defined in the collective imagination (Sirman, 2005) in Turkey.

like animals. Rado distinguishes a We, the Turkish people, from existentialists as follows:

> Kurulmak istenen cemiyet Türk egzistansiyalistleri cemiyeti olacakmış. Bu cemiyet Fransız yazarı Sartre'ın fikirlerinden ilham alıyormuş. O günlerdeki gazetelerde okunduğuna gore, "egzistansiyalistler için ayıp denen bir şey yoktur, hiçbir düşünce gizli kalmamalıdır, her çeşitli arzu hayvanların sevkitabiileri gibi dış aleme aksetmelidir." İşte bu acayip kültür ve sanat kulübünü kurmak isteyenlerin fikirlerinin ana hatları!
>
> Bir fikirdir; dinler geçeriz. Ama biz, insanlığın hayvanlar gibi sevkitabiileriyle değil, insanca yaşamak için nesiller boyunca süren mücadelesine saygıyla bağlıyız. Üstelik, ayıp denen bir nesnenin mevcudiyetine inandığımız için bütün bu sapıklıkları çok ayıplıyoruz. (Rado, 1956, p. 20)
>
> The association, which was intended to be founded, was going to be a Turkish existentialist association. This association was inspired by the ideas of French author Sartre. According to what was read in the papers in those days, "There is no shame for existentialists, no opinions should remain secret, and every kind of desire must be mirrored in the outer world like animal instincts." Here are the outlines of the ideas of those who wanted to found this bizarre art and culture club!
>
> It is an idea; we listen, and we leave it behind. However, we are respectfully linked to the struggle of humankind that has been going on for centuries to live humanely rather than with the instincts as animals do. Moreover, as we believe in the existence of an object which is seen shameful, we condemn all these deviancies.

The text labels existentialism as perverse and it also draws a line between 'we' and the 'others'. The second paragraph of the quoted passage is written in the first plural person: 'we' referring to Turkish people who encapsulate *Hayat*'s contributors and readers. According to the quoted passage, the fact that Turkish people believe in a thing called *ayıp* (shame) differentiates Turks from the 'perverts'. *Ayıp* refers to the breach of moral values. Moreover, mentioning Turkish people who become more human than the 'perverts', who are represented by the existentialists, implicitly directs the readers to 'the other'. In this way, the narrative draws the boundaries of

national moral values and the others who are presumably Westerners as the text mentions the French writer, Sartre, as the founder of existentialism.

The sharp tone of the text is also noteworthy. Rado claims to know what is wrong and right while expressing it in a didactic manner. This omniscient style marks not only Rado's writings but also many texts in *Hayat* including the celebrity profiles. This didactic tone can be reminiscent of the paternalistic tone observed in the novels going all the way back to Tanzimat as argued by Parla (1990). Elaborating on Tanzimat novels, Parla (1990) argues that Tanzimat writers use a paternalistic tone in order to replace the lost authority of the Sultan.[10] Parla (1990) emphasizes that although as a genre the novel is taken from the West, its content and the style are changed by the Tanzimat writers who emphasize the value of religion and tradition playing the role of a father who tells what is right and wrong to his children. In a similar manner, Rado (1956) assumes to know what is right and wrong in an objective and didactic manner. However, his objectivity is marked with his own perspective. The celebrity women's profiles as well as the overall magazine are marked with such a claim of objectivity imposing what to do or how to be.

As a matter of fact, Rado's (1956) omniscient style as well as the content of the passage signals to an effort to create universal values. While determining and drawing the borders of the national moral values, Rado (1956) also aims at giving what is moral universally. Rado (1956) mentions the struggle of humankind that continues over centuries to live humanly. What impede us living humanly are existentialist ideas and associated ways of living. The overall content of the

[10] Parla (1990) in her book *Babalar ve Oğullar* (Fathers and Sons) gives a detailed analysis of the first novels which appear during the Tanzimat period in the nineteenth century, which is considered as the period of modern regulation and reforms.

magazine aims to establish universal values by positing what is good or moral for Turkish people as the universal truth to follow.

The cautious tone warning the readers against the excesses of Western culture appears in the majority of the magazine's columns (Okur, 2007). In each issue Rado writes on a particular topic, explaining didactically his own standpoint by giving a moral lesson.[11] This can be seen in the following passage quoted from Rado's opening article in the third issue, *Bir Güzelleştirme Gayretinin Gördüğü Büyük Alaka* (The Great Attention that the Effort of Glamorization Gets):

> Buradaki hayvanla başka memleketteki hayvanın ne farkı olacak? Demeyiniz. Siz bir İngiltere'ye veya Amerika'ya gidin de oradaki koyunun suratına bakın. Koyun eti görmeğe ömrünüz boyunca tövbe edersiniz. O ne sevimsiz surattır yarabbi… İnsanlarımız da güzeldirler. Etrafımızı çeviren yüzlerden ayrılıp da bir yabancı memleketin soğuk kalabalığı içine daldığımız zaman ne güzel insanlar diyarında yaşamak lütfuna mazhar olduğunuzu daha iyi anlarsınız. (Rado, 1956, p. 3)
>
> Do not say, "What difference can there be between the animal in here and in another country?" You should go to America or England and look at the face of a sheep there. You would swear to give up looking at mutton for good. God, what an unpleasant face… Our people are beautiful, too. Once you leave the familiar faces that surround us and dive into the cold crowd of a foreign country, you understand better how blessed you are to live with such beautiful people.

In the passage above, Rado (1956) blatantly praises Turkey over other countries. His nationalistic tone comes in with an extreme example. After stating that the sheep of other countries are ugly, he tells that 'our' people are also more beautiful than those in other countries. It is interesting to see while Rado appraises Western standards and emphasizes the importance of reaching these standards, he also radically favors Turkish people and culture over Western ones. Rado mentions the UK and the US

[11] Rado was writing about the following topics and alike: duties of a mother, why parents should avoid telling lies to their children, why rock music can be dangerous to listen to, etc.

both of which are considered among most developed Western countries. The extract above clearly demonstrates that what is deemed as natural, authentic and properly Turkish is always favored despite the Western influence on building the modern national identity.

Beyond Şevket Rado himself, writers of *tefrikas* (consecutive parts of a novel published in each issue of a magazine or a newspaper) have similar concerns regarding the protection of national and moral values (Okur, 2007). In *Hayat,* influential Turkish writers such as Halide Edip Adıvar publish *tefrikas* of their books. In the first part of Adıvar's book *Akile Hanım Sokağı* (The Street of Akile Hanım) published in the form of *tefrika* and titled *Sallan ve Yuvarlan* (Rock 'n' Roll), she criticizes the American way of living comparing it to Turkey's.[12] Throughout this chapter, while criticizing America, she warns the readers against the risks of forgetting their cultural and moral inheritance:

> Bugün bütün dünyada her ferdin ve toplulukların hatta milletlerin bir sallanma ve yuvarlanma buhranı içinde olduğuna inanıyorum. Tevekkeli değil, bunu oyun havalarına bile sokmuşlar! Fakat aynı zamanda kaniim ki, insanların temeli kökleri dündür. Bu dün, belki ayaklarının altında çöküp giden bir toprak kalıntısı belki yapraklarını dallarını teşkil ettikleri bir ağaç kökü, belki de kendilerini kurtaramadıkları varlıklarının ötesine, berisine sarılan sarmaşıklar köhne otlardır. İşte şimdi kendi kendime "Doğrusu bu sarmaşıkları koparıp atan, köklerinden ayrılıp havada yuvarlananlara aşkolsun." Diyordum. (Adıvar, 2001, p. 32)
>
> I believe that today, every individual, societies and even nations are in a crisis of agitation and tumbling. No wonder that they even included this in their dance! However, at the same time, I believe that the basis and roots of humanity lie in the past. The past might be the remains of earth that is collapsing under their feet, a stump whose leaves and branches they represent, or the ivy, neglected grass that are clinging around their essence that they cannot save. At this moment, I was telling to myself, "In fact, shame on those who pull off and throw away this ivy and separate it from the roots and roll in the air."

[12] A Turkish translation for *sallan ve yuvarlan* is shake and tumble. With a play on words Adıvar (2001) criticizes the dance and American way of living.

Adıvar (2001) in this passage emphasizes the importance of the roots and the history of societies. While criticizing forgetting these roots and history she gives the example of the rock and roll dance. She states that the ones who have forgotten their roots shake and tumble like in the dance of rock and roll, representative of American culture. Adıvar's (2001) passage reveals the anxiety felt against modernization and the influence of the West. Like Rado, Adıvar, who seems to be anxious about the modernization and the Western influence, is cautious to draw the limits of moral and national values.

The female celebrity profiles in a direct way remind the readers of the proper Turkish womanhood by pointing to the possible dangers of fame through the profiles of foreign female celebrities. The normativity of marriage is established through these profiles as well as through the overall content and organization of the magazine. The proper woman is the mother and wife taking care of her family. The way that *Hayat* creates the normativity of marriage is noteworthy and directs us to the most recurring theme of the magazine: happiness, which I will elaborate on in the next section.

2.1.2 Happy life means happy marriage

The concept of happiness is presented as the result of a happy life and is a dominant theme throughout the magazine (Okur, 2007). The construction of happiness in *Hayat* is striking in that the magazine assumes a given and natural bond between happiness and marriage. Sara Ahmed (2010) in her book *The Promise of Happiness* elaborates on how happiness circulates among objects, people, places and situations.

She argues that happiness is accepted as the ultimate end of humans' actions throughout history even though there were different ways to attain it. However, accepting happiness as the ultimate end of humans' actions naturalized and negated historical, political construction and use of happiness (Ahmed, 2010). Certain objects, states of being or actions became happy and desired; consequently others become unhappy and undesired. Happiness, acting as a natural index, regulates certain actions, ways of being and inclinations in the world (Ahmed, 2010). It creates a seemingly natural desire for being close to 'happy' objects and situations. Getting in proximity to these objects and situations includes performing associated identities, ways of relations and ways of being (Ahmed, 2010). As a crucial example of how happiness is used as a form of governmentality, Ahmed (2010) draws attention to the natural bond between happiness and the family. We construct our lives in a very specific and political way while we form families when we behave in accordance with family values, with appropriate actions and intimacies involved. The assumption that a good life is a happy life follows that happiness is found in the family.

Hayat associates a good life with a happy life and directs the readers to the nuclear family as the site of happiness. In line with Ahmed's (2010) argument, the myth of the nuclear family and associated roles, identities and performances become 'happy sites'. Happiness hides the political character of these roles, identities and performances. Through the analysis of female celebrity profiles, I aim at how these narratives created the myth of happiness in the family at the same time defining proper womanhood to achieve the happy end.

2.2 Celebrity profiles

The celebrity profiles cover an array of women: Hollywood actresses, European movie stars, aristocrats, Turkish singers, women considered famous for their occupations and so forth. Women's profiles have a central place in the magazine. The cover page serves to specify a magazine's content and its public while shaping the reading process, and reflects the topic that the magazine is mostly interested in (Mccracken, 1994). On *Hayat'*s cover, usually portraits of foreign female celebrities appear. In the following pages, the lives of these women are detailed through the profiles. While positing women as responsible for the new life and modern nuclear family in Turkey, the magazine is specifically interested in foreign women, generally in Western ones, giving place to their portraits on the cover page. In line with the magazine's overall approach, the female celebrity profiles aim at discovering foreign women's lives, especially Western ones, and at the same time draw the boundaries of proper womanhood in Turkey through local women profiles. Foreign women appear happy and decent only when they establish a 'happy' family life, whereas the local women are always posited as proper women. Basing my analysis on Warner's (2002) discussion, I argue that the foreign women profiles direct to the normativity of marriage, while the local ones steer the readers to a direct identification, at the same time defining the normativity of proper womanhood.

The local celebrity profiles define national women as proper and decent wives and mothers in the nuclear family, which is also the path to follow for a happy life for foreign celebrities. Foreign celebrity profiles reflect magazine's claim of universality since the mentioned narratives posit the nuclear family as the right way to live not only for the local celebrities but also for the foreign ones.

In the next section, in order to further ground my analysis, I will give place to Warner's theory on the mass public subject and briefly discuss how this theory applies to my analysis on female celebrity profiles in *Hayat.*

2.2.1 Warner's mass public subject: Identification or alienation

Elaborating on the idea how a text can create a public which is formed as a result of a certain text's circulation, Warner (2002) states that the mass public subject shuttles between identification and alienation with the ideas, events, affections and people presented by the texts at their disposal. What Warner (2002) refers to as the public of a text is the "kind of public that comes into being only in relation to texts and their circulation" (p. 66). Elaborating on Habermas's account of the public sphere of civil society that emerged in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, Warner (2002) argues that, beginning in the same period, the consumption of different media genres made people realize that constituted part of this public sphere of civil society. People who began reading books, newspapers and/or magazines were aware that there were others reading these texts. Hence, texts were circulated among readers who did not personally know each other. The awareness of sharing the same text with others created a sense of commonality among strangers who were newly aware of being part of its public.

Warner's account of the public is useful for providing a deeper understanding of how the mass public subject relates to the text. To be part of the public of a text requires paying attention (Warner, 2002). That is to say, when one reads, listens, sees and pays attention to any kind of text, they become part of a We, though this We is imagined, as personal contact with all the members of the public is impossible. The

mass public subject is the kind of subject who gets in touch with any of the genres belonging to mass media, e.g. books, television, newspapers, magazines and so forth.

Warner (2002) further on argues, "Mass media is dominated by genres that construct the mass subject's impossible relation to a body" (p. 179). When one comes across such a text, she acknowledges that she is witnessing the text with others. The mass public subject becomes part of an imaginative public differing herself from present situation, from her body and personal contact with people or things. In Warner's (2002) terms, one becomes the disembodied, witnessing mass public subject entering the realm of the text accompanied with other people facing the same text. However these people rest only in her imagination for they do not come together in a certain time and place.

Further developing his account of the witnessing mass public subject, Warner (2002) questions the popularity of scandals about celebrities and major disasters in relation to the disembodied subject: "Disaster is popular because it is a way of making mass subjectivity available, and it tells us something about the desirability of that mass subject" (p. 177). The popularity of disaster and scandal stories is due to the pleasure that we derive from being a non-corporeal mass witness. This is because the disembodied mass subject can shuttle between a sympathetic identification and the pleasure of witnessing. The former is the primary reason for the publication and circulation of disaster stories, followed by the pleasure of witnessing. According to Warner (2002), one first recognizes the disaster and feels sympathy for the people who have been injured. This is the moment of subjective involvement, the reason for paying attention. It is followed by the pleasure of witnessing the incident alongside the rest of the public of the text. The pleasure of witnessing is also the moment of

alienation as the audience/public of the text acknowledges she is not injured but merely witnesses the event.

We enjoy disaster stories about celebrities for similar reasons, as Warner (2002) goes on to argue: "By chronicling their endless romantic/matrimonial disasters, publicity keeps them available for our appropriation of their iconic status by reminding us that they do not possess the phallic power of their images – we do" (p. 180). Celebrities mostly appear in media as very beautiful people enjoying a luxurious life which they afford thanks to fame. Their depression and/or scandal stories remind us that celebrities are famous not because they possess inherent extraordinary, great characteristics but because we pay attention to them. The public of *Hayat* was introduced to similar disaster stories about celebrities. I argue that the categories of *Hayat*'s profiles of famous foreign women differ in terms of the implied relationship: oscillation between identification and alienation that they hold with their public.

The public display of celebrities' private lives increases the level of affective investment of the profiles' public (Marshall, 1997). The use of private lives including celebrity women's happiness, depression and everyday lives amounts to a common assumption regarding womanhood. Through repetitive themes and generalized assumptions, the readers of *Hayat* make part of an *intimate public* (Berlant, 2008) as they gather around an affective normativity concerning womanhood: women become happy when married, they are devastated after divorces, fame poses risks in terms of them becoming spoiled, agentless and angry, etc.[13] In this sense, the profiles invite

[13] Berlant (2008) uses the term *intimate public* to explain the kind of public that the complaint genre of femininity brings together. However, intimate public can appeal to different genres as Berlant (2008) decribes the term *intimate public* as follows:

their readers to identify with a community whose members have gathered around a common understanding of womanhood.

As I will detail in the following chapter, according to my categorization, the profiles of foreign female celebrities consist of three main themes: the glorification of celebrities, stories of soured dreams, and the display of happy family lives. In the case of foreign celebrity women's profiles, the witnessing mass public subject's relationship with *Hayat*'s narratives, once gathered around an affective normativity of womanhood, differs according to the three categories. I argue that the relationship between *Hayat*'s profiles and its public can be thought in line with Warner's (2002) conceptualization of the double movement of identification and alienation regarding the relationship between different genres of mass media and their public. After providing an implied identification through the use of 'private' lives, the categories of celebrities from heavenly worlds and stories of celebrities' fall from grace create an effect of alienation as in both categories they do not appear as 'normal' people. The first category presents foreign women as goddess-like celebrities and the second category as childish, agentless and depressed. The display of the happy family lives, on the other hand, results in an effect of identification since these narratives pose marriage as the site of normalization and happiness as well as the solution for the celebrities' fall caused by fame's destructive character. Moreover, local celebrity profiles steer the readers to a direct identification with the local celebrities since they appear as normal and modest women like one of the readers, at the same time

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> A public is intimate when it foregrounds affective and emotional attachments located in fantasies of the common, the everyday, and a sense of ordinariness, a space where the social world is rich with anonymity and local recognitions, and where challenging and banal conditions of life take place in proximity to the attentions of power but also squarely in the radar of recognition that can be provided by other humans. (p. 10)

establishing the normativity of womanhood as first and foremost being mothers and wives in a nuclear family.

Before beginning the analysis of the foreign celebrity profiles, I will elaborate on the specific characteristics of celebrity profiles as a genre and aim at showing how these characteristics determine the relationship between the author of the profile and the representation of the person. In order to understand the roots of the profiles as a separate genre as well as how profiles address their readers, it is useful to first elaborate on biography and its specific features.

2.2.2 The roots of celebrity profiles: Biography

According to Bruner (1991), narrative is what structures reality. Narrative does not reflect 'reality which is already out there' but creates it in the process of narration. All narratives are fictional despite a claim to objectivity or factuality. Either their form or the author's standpoint determine their fictional character, as they are different ways of approaching what they conceive as 'real' (Bruner, 1991).

Biography is a genre that claims to be true, as it is the written account of another person's life based on 'real' facts aiming to create the 'real' appearances of 'real' people (Denzin, 1989). However, human identity, namely the self in time, is not a pre-existing abstract category that people possess, but a narrative fabric (Brockmeier & Carbaugh, 2001). The specific 'truth claim' that the biography holds distinguishes it from fictional genres with its basic premise: relying on facts rather than imaginary events, people and places. This claim to 'truth' gives a different kind of authority to its author over his/her subject while also determining how the text relates with the readers.

The author of a biography assumes to 'know' their subject and portrays them to the readers. Having the main characteristics of a story, biographies are constituted of a temporal sequence of events that form plots. The way that selected events are related to each other is the evaluative aspect of the story, marked with the moral stance of the narrator (Occhs & Capps, 2001). In the case of narrating one's own life or another's, the evaluative component "establishes the kind of self that is presented" (Linde, 2003, p. 81). The moral stance displayed in the evaluative character of the narrative shapes the kind of self that is constructed and reflects what we think as 'good' in accordance with society's norms and how one defines themselves in relation to these norms.

Celebrity profiles in *Hayat* display similarities with biography. The writers of the profiles claim to know their subject. For example, as I will detail in the section on fall from grace, the writers claim to know the exact reasons behind celebrities' depression. As a matter of fact, the writers initially portray celebrities as depressed and explain their depression. However, the profiles, by grounding their claims in 'facts' or 'real' events, hide the fact that celebrities' depression as well as the reasons behind it is the author's fictive creation instead of the objective reality.

Through the use of evaluative aspect of the stories, narrators attempt to establish a coherent life story in which the self is represented as continuous and consistent from past to present (Linde, 1993). The repetitive effort to create a consistent self is a product of Western ideology that prompts individuality as being private and unique to one's own (Linde, 1993). More precisely, in Western culture, people tend to relate their previous decisions and past events to a meaningful framework that would shape their identity, as well as their present situation, and

differentiate them from the rest of the society. Paradoxically, the established self is highly sensitive and negotiated in relation to social norms that one's reference group belongs to (Bruner, 2001). People narrate their life stories in accordance with how they aim to represent themselves. The way of representation is mostly shaped in line with the norms and dominant values of society.

The profiles also evaluate the celebrities according to the normativity of womanhood, marriage and nuclear family, which I detailed in the beginning of the chapter. These celebrity profiles, essentially biographies, appeared in general light entertainment magazines before World War I and became more popular after it ended (Lowenthal, 2006). By focusing on celebrities' private lives, the profiles create a 'private' image for the public personae. The narratives dwell on celebrities' everyday life rather than their careers as singers, actors, and so on, thanks to which they initially became famous. The celebrity women's profiles in *Hayat* follow the same pattern and make use of childhood stories and dreams, the quotidian lives, marriages, their houses and careers as well as their physical and personal traits, all of which constitute the 'private' life of the celebrity. In the case of female celebrities, the star persona is created in different media organs and criticized or approved according to the normativity of womanhood in the era (Thumim, 1986). Evaluating female celebrities according to the normativity of womanhood re-produces the dominant values and identities that the normativity presupposes. The profiles in *Hayat* follow the same pattern and use the different factors constituting the 'private lives' of the celebrities such as their careers and marriages as 'objective and real' facts.

2.3 Concluding remarks

Through the analysis of female celebrity profiles, I aim at showing, in Barthes' (1977) terms, the myths that these texts and the accompanying photographs create. Basing his argument on mainstream texts and advertisements, Barthes (1977) argues that the language as well as the photographs in these texts creates myths that support, produce and reproduce the dominant ideology of the era and of the society in which these texts are created. Challenging the semiological system that Saussure puts forward, Barthes (1977) argues that the signified and the signifier do not amount to a system of closed meaning; instead, the signifiers attach to other signified(s) creating a system where the meaning of a text is created with associations that the parts and the whole of a text presuppose. These associations add up to a myth which crystalizes the meaning of the text and gives to it a natural characteristic (Barthes, 1977). At the end of the myth-making process, the ideological and historical construction of a text becomes invisible while the myth appears as a timeless, self-evident, common sense, natural, normal and dominant cultural value (Barthes, 1977). For example, Marilyn Monroe's smiling portrait firstly tells us that it is a photograph of the movie star (Chandler, 2014). It then evokes the glamour, sexuality and beauty, all of which activate the myth of Hollywood. Monroe's photograph becomes a natural representation of Hollywood, hiding the fact that the myth of Hollywood is created in various media diffusing the ideology of consumption, capitalism and related dominant values (Chandler, 2014). The photographs' claim of neutrality has a different effect in creating myths than texts, as they claim to portray the reality as such without any mediation (Barthes, 1977). However, not only do the pose, the angle or what is in the photograph determine the photograph's mythic character, but also the dominant cultural and ideological codes reveal themselves in photography.

The myth of the nuclear family, including the promise of happiness that it would bring, is created in *Hayat*'s female celebrity profiles, both in the texts and the photographs as well as by these two as a whole. The photographs as well as the texts represent the nuclear family as an eternal and natural entity, shielding its historical and political value as well as its central character in the nation-building process both as a form of governmentality and its role in creating modern proper citizens of the new regime. For instance, these photographs hide the unequal gender relations that the nuclear family is built on. While the proper men were the head of the nuclear family representing the family in the public sphere, the women were responsible for taking care of the house and the children (Sirman, 2005). Women's place was deemed as the house and they were considered proper citizens as long as they fit in their prescribed roles as decent mothers and wives. Throughout my analysis in the following two chapters, I aim at revealing how this ideology is presented.

CHAPTER 3

FOREIGN FEMALE CELEBRITIES: THE DREAM SOURED

> *People who knew her closely compared her to a soap bubble whose appearance is adorned with various colors. Marilyn, who was the star of an era and a woman most admired, indeed burst like a bubble. The death of Marilyn is a significant example which shows beauty and material well being do not guarantee happiness. Marilyn was not happy even in those years when she rose to a star from a cover girl and reached fame. She could not get on well with the men who came into her life, neither had she given them what they wanted or found what she was looking for…*
>
> *(Dünya Marilyn'i Unutamıyor, 1962)*[14]

The passage above is taken from an article titled *Dünya Marilyn'i Unutamıyor* (The World Cannot Forget Marilyn) published in *Hayat* magazine after Marilyn Monroe's death in 1962. The profile places Monroe among the many celebrities who could not find happiness despite their beauty and fortune. Fame did not bring her happiness. After emphasizing her unhappiness, the article highlights the fact that she had difficulties with men throughout her life, implying that these failed relationships formed one of the major reasons for her depression and consequent suicide. Thus, the article suggests, she could only shine for a short time and passed away quickly, like a soap bubble.

Throughout the profiles of *Hayat* magazine, foreign female celebrities, primarily movie stars, are portrayed as goddess-like women inhabiting the heavenly

[14] Even though 1962 lies outside the timeframe of my study, considering the tautological nature of the magazine's celebrity profiles, it reflects *Hayat*'s aproach to foreign celebrity women.

world of fame. On the other hand, it is repeatedly stressed that these women stand at the edge of fame's abyss, since, according to the narratives, the world of fame is a place of dangers and risks, in addition to that of beauty and dreams. Foreign female celebrities become exposed to these risks if they do not manage to find happiness. According to *Hayat,* an indispensable step toward finding happiness is having a good marriage, which the magazine describes in addition to laying out the duties of good wives and husbands, including reciprocal love. If celebrities do not conform to these prescribed norms of a good marriage, the risks are significant: loss of agency, depression and even death, as in Monroe's case. These are the moments when fame reveals its destructive character. In short, fame is attached to beauty, desire and dreams, while at the same time it is not detachable from destruction and even death.

Illuminating this connection, Taussig (2005) argues that there is an inseparable relationship between beauty and what he calls the negative sublime. Together they form the aesthetic forces that have shaped societies from the past to the present. Taussig (2005) reminds us that aesthetic forces are not merely related to what is beautiful as a form. In other words, the domain of the aesthetics, as how the contemporary societies tend to think, is not contained in the realm of art. Yet, aesthetics is not only inherent in the different layers of society but acts as one of the major forces shaping everyday life, religion, economy or language.[15]

Elaborating on Bataille's suggestion that exuberance or *dépense* (expenditure), rather than production itself, acts as the primary driver of economic systems, Taussig (2005) defines exuberance as beauty or, more precisely, aesthetics.

[15] Taussig (2005) gives the example of Mauss' account on kula ex-change where the exchnage of objects did not rely on their use-value but related to their symbolic value entailing political and social hierarchies. Thus it was an example of an ecnomy based on gifts rather than useful products in the material sense. Taussig (2005) puts forward any language is aesthetically constructed by the flow of sounds, rhythms, pauses and different type of utterances that are apparent in them.

However, he warns us against equalizing aesthetics with beauty for it also comes into existence with its opposite pole – death and decay. From the aesthetics of the witches to the aesthetics of the disastrous histories about cosmetic surgery, the opposite side of what is considered to be beautiful is what Taussig (2005) calls the negative sublime or the other side of the coin: "Could it be that beauty is a gift of the gods that, like all gifts, comes with a measure of anxiety, only in this case, being a gift of the gods, the burden is close to overwhelming?" (Taussig, 2005, p. 1). As a matter of fact, beauty can only exist with its opposite site, as Taussig gives Battaille's explanation of the example of flowers: We are attracted to flowers since we acknowledge that they will soon die and decay, hence cease to be beautiful (Taussig, 2005). Flowers remind us of the cyclical passing of time, in which they blossom and fade away and blossom again.

Even though aesthetic forces in today's societies appear in different forms, they preserve relationships with those of the past, when they were tied to goddesses, gods and the millennial eternal rhythm of ancient times when "people worshipped a female deity whose power was expressed in the passing of the seasons" (Taussig, 2005, p. 10). In short, beauty as a force emerges always in relation to decay, death and disaster, as winter always precedes spring.

Taussig (2005) cites cosmetic surgery as an example of contemporary aesthetic force, which tries to challenge the earlier ones but fails: "Cosmetic surgery contests this eternal rhythm by trying to hold the female body in a continuous spring time, yet the connection and tension between death and beauty remains" (Taussig, 2005, p. 10). In the case of cosmetic surgery, the connection with death and decay appears in the form of disastrous stories caused by the same surgeries aimed at

preserving youth. Though these stories are about cosmetic surgery causing irreparable damage and leading to "outrageous ugliness" – the very contrary of what was intended, they are not exceptions but belong to the other side of the beautification process and constantly remind us of death and decay. In other words, these disastrous stories and beautification are two sides of the same coin, examples of the main aesthetic forces that shape today's societies.

Although this study deals with celebrity profiles in *Hayat* in the second half of the 1950s – long before the rise of cosmetic surgery – the profiles in *Hayat* have a similar approach to celebrities. On the one hand, the attractiveness of foreign celebrities – especially of movie stars – is repeatedly emphasized. They are portrayed in a glamorous world where they enjoy the privileges of fame and wealth. On the other hand, foreign female celebrities' stories of depression and loneliness are also frequently recurring themes. These two seemingly opposing themes form the aesthetic forces of the image of stardom that is created in books, journals, newspapers, television and magazines. The use of this opposition is crucial regarding the constructed image of foreign celebrity women as it directs the reader toward a third category: the happily married celebrities with children, which I will elaborate on at the end of the chapter.

3.1 The image of stardom: From hero to celebrity

Celebrity emerges as a new category in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries with the decline of folk culture and the rise of mass culture, which gave birth to a new kind of eminence: the fabricated fame of the celebrity persona (Boorstin, 2006). Whereas heroes used to become well known in a society through

the collective collaboration of its members, this new kind of eminence was fabricated by the media and then presented to society for consumption. Heroes were remembered with the circulation of folk stories for having achieved something great. However, as Boorstin (2006) argues, celebrity culture depends on the use of the private lives of celebrities, rather than their achievements: "If someone does a heroic deed in our time, all the machinery of public information – press, pulpit, radio, television – soon transform him into celebrity" (p. 84). Contemporary media creates a tautology around the image of stardom, which is then consumed by the audience: "When we talk or read or write about celebrities, our emphasis on their marital relationships and sexual habits, on their tastes in smoking, drinking, dress, sports, cars, and interior decoration is our desperate effort to distinguish among indistinguishable" (Boorstin, 2006, p. 84).

The image of stardom is the composite configuration of visual, verbal and aural signs created about celebrities in the media (Dyer, 1979). It thematically consists of the repeated circulation of pseudo-events from celebrities' private lives: celebrities' quotidian existence, daily habits, marriages, divorces and children, as well as their physical and personal characteristics (Dyer, 1979). The image of stardom in American gossip magazines from the 1920s to the 1940s consisted of two main topics. On the one hand, the stories reflect a similar version of the American dream themes consisting of consumption, success and ordinariness. On the other hand, there are also scandal news and stories of depression and divorce as an "undertow that soured the dream" (Dyer, 1979). Both kinds of stories are based on pseudo-events chosen from the celebrities' private lives. Dyer (1979) describes these events as "pseudo" because they are not the events through which celebrities become famous. They nevertheless form part of the celebrity culture that depends on the

public display of celebrities' private lives. The repetitive use of such events forms the tautology of celebrity culture, which gives birth to the celebrity persona, whose ubiquity is fabricated through media (Boorstin, 2006).

Even though this culture focuses on private lives of individual celebrities, the image of each star paradoxically becomes a slightly different version of another's. These images, when combined, constitute the image of stardom, which is shaped by the standardization of aesthetics in both form and content. In this sense, the image of stardom makes up part of the *Culture Industry* (Adorno & Horkheimer, 2001), in which each aesthetic form is predetermined in line with the interests of capitalism and, therefore, consumption culture. The decade of the 1950s can be considered as the period when Turkey for the first time adopted free market regulations. With the foundation of the Turkish Republic, the economy was controlled by the state with strict regulations on private and/or foreign investments. The Democrat Party accepted the Marshall Plan and opened the path for a global market economy (Zürcher, 1993). Hence, the decade of the 1950s is the period when certain commodities and goods were imported from other countries, especially from the US and Europe. *Hayat* was shaped by the initial steps of the consumption culture both in terms of content and style. While the magazine gives place to an array of advertisements, it also reflects the tautological nature of the consumption culture. That is to say even though these private lives are revealed for the ostensible purpose of "uncovering the true self of celebrities" (Dyer, 1979), in *Hayat*'s celebrity profiles as well as in its Western counterparts, they amount to the mentioned tautological content and form of the fabricated image of stardom.

Marshall (1997) provides another aspect of the use of celebrities' private lives by explaining the major aspects of celebrity culture, which calls for an affective investment of the readers to the celebrities' presented lives and/or characteristics. According to Marshall (1997), both the emergence of self as a celebration of individuality after the Renaissance and significant changes in the public sphere gave rise to the expansion of celebrity profiles in the 19th century. Profiles focusing on the private lives of the famous "provided a constellation of recognizable and familiar people who filled the gap and provided points of commonality for people to reconnect both with celebrities and with each other" (Marshall, 1997, p. 137). Elaborating on the ideas of anomie (Durkheim, 1964) and the lonely crowd (Reisman, 1950), Marshall (1997) argues that the alienation caused by the isolating conditions of urban social life as a result of industrialization, the migration of work forces and the rise of new centers of manufacturing generated interest in figures whose familiarity could form a common cultural ground. The use of celebrities' private lives consisting of everyday lives, depression, happiness or love stories of the celebrities provided common points with readers' own lives (Marshall, 1997).

In the light of the discussion above, I will explore the peculiarities of the image of stardom in *Hayat* through the textual analysis of its profiles of foreign female celebrities. This analysis will also enable me to see the implied relation between the text and its audience, or the text's public in Warner's (2002) terms, which I will analyze at the end of the chapter through the lens of Warner's theory of the mass public subject.

3.2 Hayat's celebrity image for foreign female celebrities

Most of the profiles of foreign female celebrities in *Hayat* are either direct translations or interpreted versions of the original texts from international press outlets. In both cases, they reflect the *Hayat* writers' interpretation while preserving a high level of similarity to the original texts. In this sense, the profiles in *Hayat* share similarities with the image of stardom fabricated in Western magazines. Moreover, recalling Taussig's (2005) explanation of the role of beautification and the negative sublime in shaping aesthetic forces, the image of stardom presented in *Hayat* similarly possesses a twofold character. On the one hand, there is an emphasis on foreign female celebrities' goddess-like beauty, which reminds the reader of heavenly worlds. Celebrities are often portrayed in a fabulous world, which they become part of thanks to their beauty.[16] On the other hand, another recurring topic in these profiles is celebrities' depression, unhappiness and lunacy, what Taussig (2005) would describe as the negative sublime of the image of stardom. Lastly, there are also stories about foreign celebrities' family lives, with a special emphasis on the happiness that family life brings. The public display of celebrities' daily habits in their homes is a common feature of these texts, implying that celebrities are also ordinary people.

These profiles invite readers to circulate between different aspects of celebrity persona or of the world she inhabits, each marked with some hint of approval or disapproval. Throughout the magazine, we witness celebrities from heavenly worlds, their fall from the world of fame and their ordinary family lives. The detailed analysis of these different categories will form the basis for the

[16] However, their beauty is linked disapprovingly with bodily attraction, which belongs to the domain of sexuality.

subsequent section, in which I will try to see how *Hayat*'s public is invited to relate to these celebrities through these profiles.

The public display of celebrities' private lives, an indispensable part of the image of stardom, forms the main content of all the profiles in *Hayat*. The profiles foreground one or several issues from celebrities' lives in relation to the chosen topic. Their childhoods and dreams, stories about being famous, careers, marriages and children, everyday lives and physical and personal traits are among the common topics in these profiles, as are divorces, scandals, depression, lunacy and loneliness. While the latter are often used as proof of the profiles' main topic, other times they form the narrative's main body. Marriages and divorces, scandals, career stories and celebrities' depression are among the preferred topics of *Hayat*'s profiles. They are what the author finds worth telling about the celebrity – in other words, the newsworthy topics. In my analysis, I will try to show how different issues are linked together to form a meaningful framework regarding the image of foreign celebrity women. Moreover, considering the profiles as interrelated parts of *Hayat*'s overall image of stardom, their analysis in relation to one another will provide a deeper understanding of *Hayat*'s discursive formation regarding foreign celebrity women.

In this section, I aim to focus primarily on the ongoing tension between the positive and negative sides of the image of stardom. While textual analysis will help me to see the image of foreign female celebrity *Hayat* constructs, the fact that this tension is not apparent in the profiles of famous Turkish women will reveal important consequences for the relationship that the texts hold with *Hayat*'s public. The textual analysis will reveal the discursive formation of ideal womanhood in *Hayat* and the differences between the magazine's approach to foreign celebrities

and their local counterparts will show how the texts invite their public to identify with ideal womanhood.

3.2.1 Beautiful world from fabulous world

The positive side of the foreign celebrity's image in *Hayat* consists of a special emphasis on their beauty. Their beauty is often described in relation to gods and goddesses or to fairy tales with the implication that they belong to another world to which ordinary people do not have access. However, these narratives also relate their bodily beauty to the domain of sexuality, which in turn brings us back to the mundane world. The transitions are worth paying attention to, as they remind us of these figures' future fall – the negative side of the celebrity image, which I will further elaborate on in the following section, *Unhappy Celebrities, the Dream Soured*.

The following passage, quoted from a profile titled *Kıraliçe Süreyya, Asrın En Güzel Kıraliçesi* (Queen Süreyya, the Most Beautiful Queen of the Century) and focusing on the love between Iran's Süreyya and Shah Pehlevi, describes Süreyya's beauty as legendary:

> Muhakkak olan bir şey varsa o da İran Kıraliçesinin Binbir Gece masallarında anlatılan efsanevi güzelliklere sahip bir Kıraliçe olduğudur. (*Hayat*, 1956)
>
> If there is one thing for sure, the Queen of Iran is a Queen who has the legendary beauties told in the Arabian Nights.

After narrating the story of how they met – the shah fell in love with Süreyya when he saw her photograph – the profile gives news of their upcoming wedding. In the subsequent profiles their wedding and marriage are likened to fairy tales. Describing

Süreyya as a beautiful queen from *One Thousand and One Nights*, as seen in the quoted passage, the narrative separates Süreyya from the mundane world and evokes a fabulous one in which very beautiful princesses and queens are the protagonists.

The example below is a passage taken from the profile *Kalbimin Yarısı Londra'da Kaldı* (Half of My Heart Stayed in London), which mentions Anita Ekberg's move from London to Hollywood as an important turning point in her career. As seen in Figure 1, four photographs accompany the narrative. The passage is from the beginning of the text and is situated under the first photograph, in which she is shown resting her hand on her cheek and looking smilingly to her right, where her other photographs are placed. Taking the passage itself into consideration, it is as though Anita is symbolically looking at her future self:

> Anita'nın hikayesi şimal ülkelerinde İsveç'in bir baıkçı köyü olan Malmo'de başlar. Henüz pek küçükken annesi, ipek gibi yumuşacık sarı saçlarını kâh arkasında topuz yapar, kâh iki sap halinde örer ve eline küçük çantasını vererek mektebine öyle gönderirdi. Sınıf arkadaşları şimdi Anita'nın en kıymet verdiği saçlarını çekebilmek için adeta birbiriyle yarış ederlerdi… Bütün bu yaramazlıklara hiç sesini çıkarmayan Anita geceleri evlerinin üst katındaki yatak odasında, pencerenin kenarına dayanarak hem ay ışığının karlı dağlardaki pırıltısını seyreder hem de bir gün gelip, kendi hayatının da ay ışığı kadar tertemiz olması için küçük elleriyle Allah'a dua ederdi… Yanında kendi gibi güzel birçok arkadaşları bulunmasına ragmen onda bir başkalık olduğu daha ilk bakışta anlaşılıyordu. Nitekim burada dahi güzelliği layık olan alakayı bulmakta gecikmedi. (*Hayat*, 1956)
>
> The story of Anita starts in Malmo, which is a fishing village in Sweden, one of the Northern countries. When she was a little kid, her mother sometimes would put her silky, blonde hair in a bun, or braid it in two sides, and send her to school giving her small lunch bag to her hands. Her classmates would compete to pull her hair about which she cares the most… Anita, saying nothing about these pranks, used to watch the moonlight glitter on the snowy mountains, on one hand, and pray to God with her little hands, on the other, for her life to be as clean as the moonlight one day as she was leaning against the window in her bedroom upstairs. Although there were other friends of her who were as beautiful as she was, it was understood at first sight that there was something different about her. In fact, even here, her beauty could get the attention it deserved right away.


KALBİMİN YARISI LONDRADA KALDI

Figure 1. Kalbimin Yarısı Londra'da Kaldı. (1956) *Hayat*, 1, 22

In this passage, we witness Anita's past, when she was a little girl. Even though it is narrated by a third person, it contains details that only someone who actually witnessed Anita's childhood would know. For instance, it is impossible that someone had witnessed her praying to God before going to sleep. Hence, it is likely that the writer of the text fabricated the story in line with the image of Anita and her future that was being conveyed. In this short story, we witness little Anita dreaming of a future as bright and beautiful as the moon. The writer describes a scene from a little village of Malmo where everything is covered by snow. Anita's hair is colored with gold powder, evoking a fabulous world in which Anita is a beautiful and innocent girl who prays to God with her little hands. At the end of the passage her beauty is underlined with a special emphasis on the fact it distinguishes her from everyone else.

However, in the following part of the text, under her third photograph (Anita before becoming famous), she is described as *Sarışın Dilber* (Blonde Beauty). The text under the photograph goes on to say:

> Anita'nın yukarıdaki resmi, henüz meşhur olmadığı günlerde çekilmiştir. Stüdyosunda sabahtan akşama kadar fotoğraf makinesinin önünde bıkmadan durur ve meşhur olabilmek için uğraşırdı. Şimdi bu isteğine kavuştu. (*Hayat*, 1956)
>
> The photograph of Anita above was taken at times when she was not famous yet. She would stay in her studio, in front of the camera insistently whole day and try to become famous. Now, she reached her goal.

Even though *Sarışın Dilber* does not possess strong pejorative connotations, it certainly puts the emphasis on the physical attractiveness rather than the innocence of a childhood. The last two photographs support this turn, focusing on Anita's body, rather than her face. The fact that she ceaselessly posed in front of the cameras to become famous also marks a return from the fabulous world and reflects an implicit moral judgment given other narratives' disapproval of celebrities' efforts to become famous.

The first photographs accompanying the narrative evoke the myth of Hollywood by putting the emphasis on the attractiveness of the world of fame. The first photograph showing Anita's face from a close-up view, when considered with the text, portrays Anita dreaming about her future. The other photographs and narratives focus on the attractiveness of Anita herself as well as the glorious fame. However, the attractiveness is not fully approved of and, as we shall see, signals to an impending fall from fame.

Another profile, *Anita Ekberg, Evlilik Onu da Uslandırdı* (Anita Ekberg, Marriage Tamed Her Too) relates different phases of Anita's career. The profile

praises both Ekberg's marriage and its effects on her personal and professional life. As seen in Figure 2, six photographs accompany the narrative as visual proof of Anita's change as a result of her marriage. On the first page, two photographs represent Anita's past, while on the second page Anita's photographs with her husband are featured, reflecting Anita's current change. The contrast between the two pages is striking: in the first page, Anita does not look at the camera and there is a special focus on her body. In the next page, the focus is on the couple, showing Anita either happily looking at the camera or at her husband.



Figure 2. Anita Ekberg, Evlilik Onu da Uslandırdı.(1957). *Hayat,* 16. 20.

The first two photographs, while evoking the myth of Hollywood, dispraisingly put emphasis on Anita's physical attractiveness. The narrative as its title presupposes tells the story of how marriage tamed Anita Ekberg as well as anonymous others as implied by "too". The photographs in the second page portraying Anita and her husband support the myth of marriage. Portraying the couple happy and close to each

other, the photographs put forward that marriage consisting of intimacy between the spouses brings happiness.

The following short text from the first page, titled *O Harikulade Vücut* (That Amazing Body) details Anita's physical characteristics. The narrative emphasizes her goddess-like features thanks to which she was able to become a Hollywood actress:

> Anita Ekberg'i harikulade vücudu ile Yunan ihalelerinin heykellerine benzetenler vardır. Hakikatle de aktrisin sinemada temayüz etmesi bu meziyati sayesinde olmuştur. İri vücudunun göz alıcı görünüşü içinde göğüs ölçüsünün 97.5 santim olduğu belki de dikkatinizi çekmemiştir. Hususiyetlerinden biri de budur. (*Hayat*, 1957)
>
> There are people who likened Anita Ekberg's amazing body to Greek sculptures. In fact, her shining in cinema happened thanks to this virtue of her. Maybe, the fact that her bust was 97.5 centimeter did not get your attention in the shadow of her astonishing body. It is one of her features.

In this example, Anita's body is described as *harikulade* (brilliant) meaning both extraordinary and magnificent. Moreover, the profile states that Anita's body calls to mind statues of Greek goddesses. Anita is pictured in a divine world only goddess-like women can inhabit. Her face is found to be the reason of becoming famous. However, in the following sentences, the narrative insistently draws attention to another characteristic of Anita's body. After emphasizing yet again the attractiveness of Anita's body with the word *gözalıcı* (astonishing), it gives the precise measurements of Anita's bust. The last sentence emphasizes once again that Anita's 97.5-centimetre bust is among her distinguishing characteristics.

The text quoted above, *O Harikulade Vücut* (That Amazing Body) is on the first page next to the first photograph, which shows Anita in a happy mood with a peacock costume. Yet she is unaware of the men looking on jeeringly behind her.

When the short text is considered together with this photograph, it can be seen that the narrative, though mentioning celebrities' beauty in relation to heavenly worlds, emphasizes their attractiveness in relation to the mundane world or, more precisely, the domain of sexuality. Even though Anita reminds the reader of goddesses, she is a woman who unknowingly attracts men's attention. She is portrayed agentless as if she lost control of the situation in the particular moment. As I will discuss in the next section, the narratives portray celebrities who do no have a 'happy' marriage as women at risk of falling into fame's abyss that reveals itself as loss of reason and agency.

The following profile seen in Figure 3, titled *Hareket ve Kıyafette Hürriyet! Brigitte Bardot'nun Zamanımız Gençliğine Açtığı Ufuk*... (Freedom of Behavior and Dress! The Horizon Brigitte Bardot Opened up to Today's Youth...), narrates Brigitte Bardot's career and how she became an idol for young people. In the quoted passage, the transition from the realm of the divine to that of sexuality is clear:

> Minyon yapısı Audrey Hepburn ile Marilyn Monroe'yu birleştiren bu Paris'li aktrisin bakışlarında, zaman zaman bir çocuk saflığına rastlanabildiği gibi, beşerin yedi günahını okumak da mümkün… 1.68 boyunda ve 55 kilo ağırlığındaki mütenasip vücudu, yuvarlak ve yumuşak hatlardan müteşekkil cazip fizyonomisiyle renklenmiş, bal rengi saçlı, kahverengi gözlü yıldıza benzemekte bütün genç kızlar birbiriyle yarış halindeler… Meraklıların zihinlerinde adeta "cennet" leştirilmiş bir sinema aleminin bu en genç "Havva" sı Brigitte Bardot'yu tanımayan, duymıyan yok gibidir. (*Hayat*, 1957)
>
> While one can encounter a child's purity in the looks of this Parisian actress whose petite figure combines Audrey Hepburn and Marilyn Monroe, it is also possible to read the seven deadly sins in those looks. All the girls are in a race to look like this star, who is 168 centimeters, 55 kilograms, with a well-proportioned body with round and soft lines and colored with an appealing physiognomy, with amber hair and brown eyes… There is almost no one who has not heard of Brigitte Bardot, the youngest "Eve" of the universe of cinema, who is considered heavenly in the minds of fans.



Figure 3. Brigitte Bardot'nun Zamanımız Gençliğine Açtığı Ufuk. (1957). *Hayat*, 13, 20.

After stating that Brigitte Bardot's face recalls both innocence of a child and the seven deadly sins, the narrative continues with another Christian metaphor by describing her as the Eve (*Havva*) of the heaven-like cinematic world. According to the myth of the "Fall From Grace," Eve is expelled from paradise after eating the forbidden apple, which had made her aware of her sexuality. To put it differently, Eve was kicked out of paradise when she was considered to have lost her innocence. The description of Bardot's body with precise measurements and an emphasis on her attractive physiognomy, described with words such as *mütenasip*, *yuvarlak* and *yumuşak hatlardan müteşekkil* (well-proportioned body with round and soft lines), evoke the domain of sexuality – the initial reason for Eve's fall from grace. On the one hand, the narrative describes Bardot as an innocent child, like a sinless Eve in a divine world. On the other, it ties her to Eve's fall from grace.

The ambivalence in the narratives regarding actresses' beauty involves both a divine world and a mundane world that evokes sexuality, and in some cases becomes

a sharp criticism of these women's *excessive sexuality.* In the following example, Novella Parigini is strongly criticized for painting herself and other models naked. Among three photographs accompanying the narrative, the biggest one draws our attention the most: a half-naked Novella standing joyously in front of a naked woman's painting. The narrative describes Novella's paintings as follows:

> Tablolarındaki kadınlarda en belli başlı hususiyetler ise kedi gibi yüzler, düşünceli badem biçimli gözler, omuzlara dökülen saçlar ve bütün bunlara ilaveten olarak da kötü niyet ve uğursuzluk dolu ifade. (*Hayat,* 1957)
>
> The major features of the women in her paintings are faces like cats, sophisticated, almond-shaped eyes, hair reaching to shoulders, and in addition to all these, an expression filled with mischief and evilness.

After describing Novella as if she makes one feel like she is naked even when she is dressed, the narrative proceeds to criticize her paintings in an even more severe manner:

> Şimdi saçları yılandan yana kaymış yeşil gözlü, kalbinin üstüne örümcek yapışmış, boğazında sümüklü böcek sürünen kadın resimleri yapıyor. Yahut çırılçıplak divana uzanmış bir kadın. Fakat onun da yüzü insan yüzü değil. Kartal kafası. (*Hayat,* 1957)
>
> Now she is painting women with green eyes, whose hair slides to the side of a snake, a heart with a spider attached to it, and a throat on which a slug crawls, or a naked woman lying on a sofa. Yet, her face is not a human face. It is an eagle's head.

The narrative describes the paintings with various metaphors from nature. In the former passage, the cat-like face and thoughtful, almond-shaped eyes do not directly constitute a pejorative criticism, although they are not particularly complimentary either. However, the narrative finishes by stressing malicious intentions and an evil look. This makes us understand the text's overall pejorative tone regarding Novella and the models appearing in her paintings. The latter passage uses nature-related

metaphors for even stronger criticism. The use of specific animals such as *yılan* (snake), *örümcek* (spider) and *sümüklü böcek* (slug) that commonly evoke disgust continues with the picture of a naked woman lying on a sofa. Her face is replaced with an eagle's head. The word "yet" puts a special emphasis on the fact that the narrative considers the naked woman lying on the sofa as an animal, as it does the other women in the paintings in the earlier sentences.

In both passages we see that the narrative uses metaphors from nature to criticize Novella and her friends for their excess of sexuality. According to the profile, Novella foregrounds her sexuality to the degree that she looks as though she is naked even when clothed. Parla (1990) notes that the Tanzimat novel also criticized women who were considered bearers of excessive sexuality. Indeed, Tanzimat novels appraised women positively to the degree that they managed to be devoid of sexuality. Women's sexuality was criticized because it was found to be too close to nature (Parla, 1990). While a man's dignity was measured by his ability to reason, proper women were supposed to be caregivers to their husbands and children, instead of pursuing their sexuality. In other words, women ought to tame their sexuality by being reasonable and choosing the path of being caregivers. In the novels of the Tanzimat period, some women, with whom any kind of relationship would be destructive, embody passionate and sexual love. A common topic of the Tanzimat novel is a man falling in love with such a woman, whose 'excessive' sexuality evokes passionate love. In the end, this love becomes destructive and the man loses his life, his dignity, or both (Parla, 1990). In this sense, the magazine's approach to foreign celebrities is similar to that of the Tanzimat writers.

To summarize, *Hayat*'s profiles locate celebrities' attractiveness in a divine world or a realm of fairy tales, but simultaneously emphasize that their beauty also evokes bodily attraction and can therefore lead to excessive sexuality. Just like Eve, celebrities risk falling from grace if they do not conform to the standards of normal womanhood by marrying and becoming mothers.

3.2.2 Unhappy lives: The dream soured

In this section, I analyze another recurring theme in *Hayat's* profiles of foreign female celebrities: stories of unhappiness, depression and lunacy that form the negative side of fame. These are stories about women's fall from the world of fame, leading to self-destruction and loss of agency. Dyer (1979) notes that one of the constant features of the celebrity image in American gossip magazines from the 1920s to the 1940s is news of scandals and famous people's depression and unhappiness. Dyer (1979) refers to these profiles as "the dream soured," since they reflect the negative side of fame, as opposed to the glory, beauty and money that it is usually associated with. Thinking in line with Taussig's (2005) argument, these stories of the disasters of the famous, again in Taussig's (2005) words, are "about the sudden dive into the abyss at a moment when the very heavens were in your reach" (p. 8).

The following example is from a profile titled *Niçin Mesut Olamıyorlar?* (Why Can't They Be Happy?), which discusses celebrities' unhappiness and the reasons behind it. Speaking of celebrities in general rather than focusing on one, the text cites the examples of Jennifer Jones, Judy Garland, Susan Hayward and Ava Gardner. It provides photographs of these women and calls them *Ümitsiz Güzeller*

(Desperate Beauties). The common feature among their photographs is that none of the women looks directly at the camera. As seen in Figure 4, appearing alone in the photographs, they seem unaware of the camera, but smile and look in another direction. The photographs in the profiles function as the visual proof of how the texts describe women. Photographing these women as unaware of being photographed instead of willfully looking and posing directly to the camera implies that these women are without agency. The article describes the celebrities as follows:

> Çocuk gibi tabiri çok yerindedir, çünkü sinema dünyasının Jennifer Jones, Katherine Hepburn ve daha birçokları gibi meşhur yıldızları hakikaten çocuk gibi hareketler yapmaktadır. Beyaz perdenin meşhur kadınları, diğer kadınlara nazaran daha fevkalade durumlar karşısında kalmakta çevirdikleri filmlerin tesiri altında girmekte, aşırı yorgunluktan sinirleri hırpalanmaktadır. Bu bakımdan daima sinirli, şımarık, yarı – deli halleri vardır… Servet içinde yüzen huzursuz kadınlar, ümitsiz güzeller diye isimlendirebileceğimiz Hollywood artistlerinin ne dertleri vardır?... Ne için ümitsiz ve keyifsizdirler? (*Hayat*, 1958)
>
> The expression ‘like a child’ is very accurate because the stars of the cinema like Jennifer Jones, Katherine Hepburn and many others indeed act like children. Famous women of the silver screen face extraordinary situations, get affected by the movies they act in and wear their nerves down compared to other women. In this regard, there are their angry, spoiled and half-crazy states… What are the troubles of Hollywood actresses whom we can call the anxious women or desperate beauties living in prosperity?... What for are they hopeless and sad?



Figure 4. Niçin Mesut Olamıyorlar? (1958) *Hayat*, 93, 22.

The text itself answers the last two questions: "What are the troubles of Hollywood actresses?" and "What are they hopeless and sad for?" At the bottom of the article, under Ava Gardner's photograph in which she walks her dog and looks in another direction rather than posing for the camera, it says:

> Kötü izdivaçlarıyla meşhur olan Ava, bugüne kadar bir türlü mesut olmanın sırrını çözememiştir. Bu yüzden durmadan seyahat edip, şaşkın ve kederli halini unutmaya çalışmaktadır. (*Hayat*, 1958)
>
> Ava, being famous with her misfortune marriages, has not been able to solve the mystery of being happy. That's why she is trying to forget her bewilderedness and mournfulness while traveling continuously.

Interestingly, Ava appears neither sad nor puzzled in the photograph; she smiles self-confidently looking off in another direction. However, the narrative expresses knowledge both about Ava's misery and the reason behind it. According to the text, her consecutive failures in marriage are the main reason for her unhappiness.

Moreover, these narratives describe famous women as childish, bad tempered, spoiled and half mad. They repeatedly imply that celebrities lose their agency, even to the point of self-destruction, as in the example of Marilyn Monroe's suicide. Celebrities tend to suffer from such "disorders" more than other women – the ones who are not celebrities, as is explicitly stated in the passage above. Their suffering is due to both exhaustion and falling under the influence of the films in which they act. Overall, there is a special emphasis on the fact that what makes celebrities suffer is the world of fame, as is stated in the epigraph of this chapter: The death of Marilyn is a significant example, which shows beauty and material well-being do not guarantee happiness. The passage below, taken from the profile *Gene Tierney Tekrar Hayat Kavuşuyor* (Gene Tierney Rejoins Life) as seen in Figure 5, narrates the fall Gene Tierney:

> Hollywood'un en bahtsız yıldızlarından biri de Gene Tierney'miş. Para var, şöhret var, gençlik ve güzellik var, ama ne fayda… Dünyanın en azap verici hastalığı onu pençesine düşürmüş. Öyle bir hastalık ki, ne ateş yapıyor, ne sancı, yalnız insane hayatı zehir ediyor: Akıl hastalığı! İki defa intihara teşebbüs etti. En sonunda bir akıl hastanesinin duvarları arkasına kapandı. Ondan hemen hemen ümit kesilmişti. Nihayet kötü talihi ona biraz güldü. Düzelmeğe başladı… Şimdi istikbale ümitle bakabiliyor. Bir dükkanda satıcılık yapmakla normal insanların arasına karışma gayretinin ilk adımlarını atmaya başlıyor. (*Hayat,* 1959)
>
> One of the most ill-fated stars of Hollywood was Gene Tierney. There is money, fame, youth and beauty, but for no good. The most painful disease got her in its claws. It is such a disease that it causes no fever, no pain; it only makes one's life miserable. Mental illness! She attempted to commit suicide twice. Finally, she got locked behind the walls of an asylum. There was almost no hope for her. At last, her misfortune gave her rest. She started to get better. Now she can look hopefully to the future. She is starting to take the first steps of mingling into the crowd by doing salesmanship in a store.



Figure 5. Gene Tierney Tekrar Hayata Kavuşuyor. (1959) *Hayat*, 167, 19.

It is interesting to see the contrast that the narrative creates between the world of fame and the downfall of celebrities. After stating that Gene has everything, including money, fame, youth and beauty, the profile says in the next sentence that Gene suffers from world's most agonizing disease. The profile reminds us of the negative side of fame, the fall to which it can lead. At the end of the passage, it is said that working as a salesperson helped her to recover, since it enabled her to be among 'normal' people. Hence we come to understand that normalization is one of the cures for the mental illness caused by fame. It is also very important to see how the narrative relates the fall from fame with mental illness. Celebrities suffer from the loss of reason when they cannot protect themselves against the destructive character of fame. In other words, the celebrities who tend to possess 'excessive sexuality' become mentally ill. Hence, to become 'normal' means to be reasonable

again. The narratives, in this way, while emphasizing the risks of excessive sexuality, also direct the readers to the domain of reason relating it to a 'normal' and 'happy' life.

Eight photographs of Gene dominate the profile, rather than the text itself. In the large photographs, Gene appears alone and does not gaze into the camera. As in the previous profile that mentions the unhappiness of celebrities, these photographs support the overall description regarding celebrities' loss of agency by portraying them unaware of being photographed. The narrative not only describes Gene as one of the unhappy Hollywood celebrities, but also stresses that she suffers from a mental illness that makes one's life miserable. Similarly, the following passage from the profile *Prenses Margaretha'nın Anlaşılamayan Istırabı* (The Inexplicable Misery of Princess Margaretha) mentions Margaretha's suffering from mental illness:

> İsveç Prensesi "Hotel El pinar" a yerleşmişti. Bu otel kasabanın biraz dışında, ağaçlıklar arasında, gürültüden uzak bir yerdi. Adeta bir sinir hastaları kliniğine benziyordu.
>
> Margaretha'nın böyle bir yere hakikaten ihtiyacı vardı, çünkü son zamanlarda asabi buhranlar geçiriyor, sebebli sebepsiz mütemadiyen ağlıyordu. Margaretha'nın tatil geçirmek üzere İspanya'ya gittiğini ve son günlerdeki kederli halini bilen gazeteciler soluğu Tarremalinos'da almışlardı… Fakat Prensesle konuşabilmelerine hele fotoğrafını çekebilmelerine imkan yoktu. Bütün gözlerden uzak durmaya çalışan Prenses adeta demir perde gerisindeydi… (*Hayat*, 1959)
>
> Princess of Sweden was placed in "Hotel El Pinar". This hotel was a little out of town, surrounded by trees and far from noise. It was almost like a mental hospital.
>
> Margaretha seriously needed a place like this, because lately, she was having nervous breakdowns and crying continuously for no reason. Journalists who knew about Margaretha's sorrowful situation and that she went to Spain for vacation went to Torremolinos right away… However, there was no way of speaking to her or taking her photos. The Princess, who was trying to avoid attention, was almost like behind iron curtains…

The theme of loss of agency is underlined in the former profile, which combines two profile photographs of Gene with a short narration:

> Bir akıl hastanesinin karanlık alemi içinde geçen altı uzun sene, bir zamanın cazip ve güzel sinema yıldızıın ne hale getirmiş. Solda yaşama zevki ile dolu 1933'teki Gene, sağda da şuuru kendisini kaybettikten sonra her bakımdan çökmüş 1959'daki Gene görülüyor. (*Hayat*, 1959)
>
> How badly the six long years which were spent in the dark world of a mental hospital affected the star of cinema who was once beautiful and appealing. On the left side, we see Gene full of joy for life in 1933, and on the right, we see Gene in 1959, who is devastated in every possible way after losing her consciousness.

It is again the narration itself that makes the final decision about Gene, as in the right photograph Gene does not look as though she has lost her consciousness or broken down. She smiles to her right side, where her photograph from 1933 is placed. Below these photographs and the short narration, there are four photographs of Gene. From right to left: Gene with her first husband, Gene with her daughter, Gene with her second husband and Gene walking next to another man. The short text goes below the photographs goes on to say:

> İlk talihsizlik Kont Cassini ile olan izdivacında başladı. Bu yüzden de babasına 50.000 dolar tazminat mecburiyetinde kaldı. Cassini'den boşanırken, küçük kızı Daria'yı kendisinden ayırmaya kalktılar. Artık erkeklere hiç güveni kalmamıştı. Tyron Power'la olan aşkı da uzun sürmedi. Ali Han'a karşı beslediği hisse karşılık görmeyince, bütün irade kuvvetinive nefsine olan itimadını kaybetti. Böylece en sonunda hastanelik oldu. (*Hayat*, 1959)
>
> First of the misfortunes started with her marriage with Earl Cassini. She had to pay 50,000-dollar compensation to her father because of this. They tried to separate her from her little daughter Daria while they were getting divorced. She had no trust for men from now on. Her love for Tyron Power did not last long, either. When her love for Ali Han could not get a response, she lost all her faith in her willpower and desire. Finally, she got hospitalized.

What makes Gene so depressed as to warrant hospitalization are her unhappy marriages and relationships. These narratives most often criticize famous women for not being able to find happiness. The question "Why can they not be happy?" reminds us that celebrities cannot manage to be happy despite all their money, fame and beauty. In the following passage from the profile titled *Elizabeth Taylor, His Hayatındaki Fırtınalar Ne Zaman Dinecek?* (Elizabeth Taylor, When Will Her Emotional Life's Storms Be Abated?), Elizabeth's decision to divorce is treated as incomprehensible:

> Christopher ve Mike Junior isimli iki çocuğu ile Benedizt Canyon mahallesindeki şık evinde sakin bir aile hayatı süren Elizabeth'in, geçen yıl içinde bir yaz günü "bedbahtsızlıktan" bahsederek boşanmaya karar vereceği kimsenin aklından geçmezdi. Bütün tahminler hilafına Wilding ve Liz'in müşterek hayatları pek uzun sürmedi. Bu hadise Liz'in ilk sürprizi sayılmazdı. Genç yaşına rağmen büyük şöhret kazanmış, pek çok erkek tarafından tanınmış, fakat saadete kavuşamamıştır. [17] (*Hayat*, 1958)
>
> No one could predict that Elizabeth, who was living in her elegant house in the neighborhood of Benedict Canyon with her two children named Christopher and Mike Junior, would decide to get divorced talking about "misery" on a summer day last year. On the contrary to all predictions, the joint life of Wilding and Liz did not last long. This occasion was hardly the first surprise from Liz. She gained a big fame despite her young age, was known by many men, but could not reach happiness.

The special emphasis on the word *bedbahtsızlık* (unhappiness), achieved by writing it in inverted commas, makes us understand that the narrative does not find Elizabeth's choice reasonable, because of her seemingly happy family life. Linking Elizabeth's unhappiness to her own decision, the narrative goes on to say that this was not Elizabeth's first surprise.

[17] *Saadet* is used interchangeably with happiness. *Saadet* is a synonym of happiness that refers primarily to the happiness found in a romantic relationship, and especially in a marriage. It refers to the combination of happiness and peace that a marriage can offer.

Hayat provides stories of loneliness, lunacy and depression through which the readers witness celebrities' fall from the world of fame. As a matter of fact, according to these narratives, such stories reveal the true face of fame. Even though goddess-like women are described in a fabulous realm, they cannot enjoy the world of fame for long. This world becomes destructive if they do no manage to create a normal life for themselves, which means getting married and having children. The first category presupposes that in the case that the celebrities continue to possess excessive sexuality, they would fall into the abyss of fame and become mentally ill. In other words, if the celebrities do not manage to deviate from the domain of sexuality to the domain of reason, they risk losing agency and fall into fame's abyss. In this sense, establishing a happy family life is equated with the domain of reason that women should follow instead of putting forward excessive sexuality.

3.2.3 Recipe for happiness: Married with children

The main step to finding happiness is establishing a happy family life. *Hayat*'s profiles focus on the family lives of famous women with an emphasis on their return to a normal life. This is a turning point (Bruner, 2001) in celebrities' lives that makes them happier, more successful and even wiser than they were before. Turning points are crucial in the process of interpreting our own lives and those of others. They are considered as moments that change the ongoing trajectory of a person's life by leading them in another direction.

Narrating a life story is never devoid of our and others' perspective of what a good life should be (Linde, 1993). To tell a life story is to re-create that life by choosing some events, feelings and experiences over others in line with the

perspective of the good life in mind. The profiles in *Hayat* mention marriage as a turning point that changes celebrities' lives. The textual analysis of profiles concerning happy family lives will enable me to see *Hayat's* definition of what a good life is, as well as the magazine's discursive formation that presents an ideal womanhood, since celebrities' change after marriage is narrated in accordance with what is considered a good life.

As mentioned, the profile *Anita Ekberg, Evlilik Onu da Uslandırdı* (Anita Ekberg, Marriage Tamed Her Too) focuses on Anita's change after her marriage with a reference to her photographs. It mentions her marriage as follows:

> Anita'nın hayatındaki en büyük dönüm noktası ise geçen yılın ilk aylarına rastladı… İzdivaç Anita'yı uslandırmış, ağırlaştırmış ve sinema kariyerine de şan getirmişti. Şimdi Anita Ekberg'e, his hayatında ve mesleğinde bütün emellerine nail olmuş mesut bir artist gözüyle bakılabilir. (*Hayat*, 1957)
>
> The biggest turning point in Anita's life coincided with the first months of last year… Marriage settled Anita down, made her act maturely and brought glory to her acting career. Now, it is time to consider her as a happy actress who has fulfilled all her goals in her personal and professional life.

Anita's marriage is explicitly marked as the most important turning point. From then on, Anita is considered a happy actress who has achieved her purpose in life. As opposed to the lunatic and depressed celebrities who are portrayed as devoid of agency, Anita Ekberg is the agent of her actions: *bütün emellerine nail olmuş* (achieved all her goals). Not only does this refer to a person who has achieved his or her goals, but also to a person who knows what he or she wants and takes action accordingly. Her marriage is what makes her a complete person, in terms of both her career and her *his hayatı* (emotional life). The tone of the narrative also draws attention as it claims to know Anita's feelings as well as her goals in her career. The

narrative in an objective manner claims to grasp the 'reality' as a fact about Anita Ekberg. The profiles, by making use of this objective and didactic manner, lead to strict judgments about celebrities according to the normativity of marriage. The last sentence in the extract including an impersonal passive verb form creates this factive and normative tone.

The profile *Marilyn Yeni Bir Başarı Evresinde* (Marilyn is in a New Success Phase), as seen in Figure 6, mentions Marilyn Monroe's change after her marriage with Arthur Miller. The narrative divides Marilyn's life into the following phases with a related photograph and a short text above: *Kahkadan Kırıyor* (She Knocks Everyone's Socks off), *Şöhret İçin* (For Fame), *Günün "Pin-Up"'ı* (The Pin-Up of the Day), *Budala Sarışın* (Dumb Blonde), *Şöhret Sarhoşluğu* (Drunk in Fame), *Beklenmiyen İzdivaç* (The Unexpected Marriage), *Olivier ile Başbaşa* (Alone with Olivier), and, lastly, *Mucize Yıldız* (The Miracle Star). The first three phases consider her as a woman who does not know how to act appropriately and does everything to become famous including putting forward her sexuality, which the narrative disapprovingly mentions. The rest of the phases narrate that her marriage with Arthur Miller draws Marilyn to the domain of reason, making her a more successful woman with appropriate conduct. The following passage is from the main body of the text. After briefly introducing Marilyn's change, it invites us to witness the different phases of Marilyn's life:

> Bir zamanlar, "Bu sarışın mahluk gülümsemekten ve kalçalarını oynatmaktan başka bir iş yapmaz…" diye kehanette bulunan sinema yazarları acaba neredeler?... Marilyn Monroe'nun artistlik hayatının hikayesi inanılmaz olaylarla doludur. Son olarak "Some Like It Hot" (Bazıları Sıcak Sever) adlı filmi ile sinema dünyasının kabiliyetine hayran bırakan dünün "budala sarışını" sanat hayatının en verimli çağını yaşıyor. (*Hayat*, 1959)

> I wonder where are the cinema critics who once said: "This blonde creature does not do anything but laughs and moves her hips…"? The acting career of Marilyn Monroe is full of unbelievable stories. Lastly, the "dumb blonde" of the past years of cinema is having the most prolific time of her career with her movie, "Some Like it Hot", which made everyone admire her talent.



Figure 6. Marilyn Yeni Bir Başarı Evresinde. (1959). *Hayat*, 149, 20.

On the first page, there are three photographs of Marilyn Monroe. These photographs portraying her whole body produce the myth of spoiled celebrities of Hollywood when the textual narratives under the photographs are considered. The second phase, titled "For Fame", for instance describes her as follows:

> On altı yaşında modelliğe atılırken meşhur olmak uğruna yapmıyacağı şey yoktu. Netekim bir radio kumpanyasının reklam takvimlerinde kullanılmak üzere New York'un ünlü fotoğrafçılarından birine çırılçıplak poz vermesi ile reklamcılık aleminde sansasyon yarattı. *(Hayat,* 1959)
>
> When she started her career as a model, there was nothing she would not do to become famous. In fact, she caused a sensation in the world of advertisement posing naked for one of the famous photographers of New York to be used for the advertisement calendar of a radio company.

The phase “The Pin-up of the Day” describes Monroe in the past as an actress who had a beautiful body but could not speak, walk or smile, could only be introduced with her charm. In the photographs representing each phase, Monroe’s gaze is directed to the camera, giving a “sexy pose”. These photograph evoke the myth of spoiled celebrities of Hollywood putting forward their sexuality; other phases signal how marriage changed Monroe. These photographs evoking the myth of marriage portray Marilyn close to Arthur Miller. In the second page, the first photograph on the top left portrays Monroe and Miller side by side. The three photographs below show Monroe and Miller either face-to-face or intimately talking to each other. Thinking in line with the final decision of the narrative that considers Monroe as a celebrity who won her struggle against Hollywood, the photographs reinforce the profile’s overall idea, approving of Monroe’s change after the marriage. The narrative declares its final decision about Monroe in the last phase “Miraculous Star”:

> Marilyn Monroe bu izdivacından sonra, dedikodu aleminden çekilip sakin, düzenli bir aile hayatı sürmeye başladığı gibi sık sık beyaz perde de görülmedi… Hollywood’un mucize yıldızı mücedelesinden galip çıkmıştı. (Hayat, 1959)
>
> Marilyn Monroe, after her marriage, stepped back from the world of scandals, started to live a neat family life and also was not seen often on the silver screen. Hollywood’s Wonder Star won her battle.

Marilyn is found to be a miracle after her marriage, which made her begin a regular/proper family life. It is clear that the profile does not admire Monroe’s past, as it portrays her as a woman who does not know how to speak, walk or smile and who would do anything to become famous. The narration of the last phase is worth special attention, as it suggests that the miraculous star has emerged victorious from

her struggle. It is thanks to her marriage, in other words, to Arthur Miller that she surpassed her past and became a miracle star. Considering other profiles of celebrities' depression and insanity, it is clear that Marilyn won out against fame's perils by conforming to the rules of marriage. After her death, she would be considered to have lost the same struggle, as seen in the epigraph to this chapter.

By the same token, in another article, titled *Dünün Sophia Loren'i* (Sophia Loren of Yesterday), the narrative compares the Sophia Loren of the past with that of the present. The profile claims to have Sophia's old photographs, which she tried to have removed from the media. The majority of the profile describes the Sophia Loren of the past with four photographs of her from that earlier time. The subheadings *Güzellik Müsabakasında* and *Figüranlık Günleri* place Sophia's past in contrast to her present, as the short narrative introducing the profile goes on to say:

> Geçen hafta şöhretin ve itibarının zirvesine erişmiş olan Sophia Loren'i on ikinci Cannes Film Festivalinde göstermiştik. Bu röportajımızın hazırlanması henüz bitmişti ki, Sophia Loren'in uzun zamandan beri toplatmaya çalıştığı eski fotoğraflardan bir özel seri olarak elimize geçti. Fotoğrafların hususiyeti bir tarafa, geçen haftaki röportajlarla da enteresan bir tezat teşkil etmesi, bizi bunları hemen neşretmeye sevk etti. (*Hayat*, 1958)
>
> Last week, we showed Sophia Loren, who is on top of fame and dignity, at the 12th Cannes Festival. It was right after we finished preparing our interview when we found a series of old photos that Sophia Loren had been trying to collect for a long time. Other than their exclusiveness, their contradiction with the interviews of last week made us print these photos right away.

It is true that the three photographs are in sharp contrast with the photograph representing the Sophia Loren of the present. The photographs reflecting Sophia Loren's past are photographs that show her whole body, in each of which she appears joyous. In the first, she poses in front of a mirror, looking at herself self-confidently and admiringly. While in the second, she dances happily and in the third,

she lies on a bed looking at her face in a small mirror. Under these photographs it is mentioned that Sophia used to pose ceaselessly to attract photographers' attention. While there is a clear approval of the new Sophia Loren over the old, her past is also highly criticized:

> Sophia Loren…figüranlık günlerinde, gazete fotoğrafçılarına klasik pin-up pozları içinde adi pozlar verirdi. (*Hayat*, 1958)
>
> Sophia Loren…during her figurante days was striking vulgar poses for the cameras of the photojournalists amongst her classical pin-up poses.

In the last photograph, she appears with her husband, Carlo Ponti, in a long-sleeved dress, as opposed to the other photographs in which she is shown in underclothes and sleeveless dresses. In these new photographs, she stands to the right and a little behind Carlo Ponti. The narrative goes on to say:

> Sinemaya atıldığı günlerde sırf kendinden bahsettirebilmek için sık sık kavalye değiştiren Sophia Loren'den artık eser kalmamıştır. Sophia Loren, yandaki resimde, beraber görüldüğü eşi ile 1952 yılında tanışmıştır. Sophia'nın beyaz perdede bizzat gayret sarf eden Carlo Ponti, aktrisin his hayatına da yeni bir yön vermiş bulunuyor. Yandaki resim, ev kadının ağırlığına ve huzuruna kavuşmuş bugünün popular yıldızını mazideki Sophia Loren'den ayırt etmeye yetmiyor mu?... (*Hayat*, 1958)
>
> There was nothing left of old Sophia Loren, who often changed partners to remain on the agenda when she first entered cinema. Sophia Loren met her husband, with whom she is seen in the picture, in 1952. Carlo Ponti, who supported Sophia on the silver screen, also gave a new direction to the actress's emotional life. Is not the picture enough to separate today's popular star, who reached the dignity and peace of a housewife, from Sophia Loren of the past?

Carlo Ponti not only gives a new direction to Sophia's emotional life, but also makes a personal effort to support her career. Right after noting his role in Sophia Loren's life, the narrative continues by describing Sophia as a woman who had managed to find the solemnity and peacefulness of a housewife. The description *ev kadının*

ağırlığı (the dignity of a housewife) is important when we consider how the narrative criticizes Sophia Loren for her *açık saçık* (obscene) poses[18]. Her past is left behind, as she also leaves behind emphasizing her body and becomes *evinin kadını* (the woman of her house), the solemn woman of her house. *Ağırbaşlı* (solemn) is a word that refers to docility and is used to describe a person without excess, a person who knows what and what not to do in a given situation. *Ağırbaşlı,* therefore refers, to the reasoning ability that guides one's behaviors toward acting in decorum.

In the same sentence, we are directed to the photograph on the right, in which Sophia Loren stands with Carlo Ponti. Carlo Ponti is in the front while Sophia is standing on his right slightly behind him. The short text accompanying the photograph tells us that it is Carlo Ponti who has complemented Sophia Loren both emotionally and professionally. She is no longer a woman depending on her sexuality but has become a reasonable wife, a transition the profile clearly approves of. This is similar to the way in which Arthur Miller turned Marilyn Monroe from a girl who was not able to walk, smile or talk into a miraculous star.

Celebrities become proper women thanks to their husbands and the peace of family life. Marriage opens a new page in their lives and clears their pasts, which are regarded disapprovingly in *Hayat's* profiles. Without marriage, these women become either depressed or insane, thereby losing their agency, as seen in the previous section.

Another common topic of these profiles is the display of the happy family lives of celebrities. Photographs from famous women's houses accompany the

[18] *Açık saçık*, while referring dresses' excessive display of the body parts, also refers to someone, most often women, who is indecent or obscene for not "appropriately" covering the body parts.

narratives, in which their nests (*yuvalar*) are often described as peaceful and happy.[19] Celebrities' children also appear in these photographs as an indispensable part of a happy family. The photographs and narratives function as proofs that family truly brings happiness. They declare: Look at married celebrities! They are actually, genuinely happy.

With the public display of celebrities' everyday lives, these narratives imply that celebrities also live like ordinary people, mentioning them meeting their spouses at home each evening, eating together and taking care of their children. However, they enjoy a more luxurious world than that of ordinary people, and presumably than that of most of their readers.

The profile "At Her House" describes the happiness of Hollywood actress Pier Angeli with her husband and their children:

> Ailenin üçüncü ferdi, iki yaşında bulunan küçük Perry Luigi Damone'dir. Perry'nin dünyay gelişi ile genç çiftin saadeti ve neşesi bir kez daha artmıştır. (*Hayat*, 1959)
>
> The third member of the family is the two-years-old little Perry Luigi Damone. By his coming into the world, the joy and happiness of the young couple have plaited.

Three photographs accompany the narrative. The first shows Pier taking care of her son. The second shows Pier and her husband looking at each other affectionately (her husband in front, Pier behind with her hand on his shoulder in a grateful manner). In the third, Pier prepares the dinner table. All of these images represent the happy family life of Pier and her husband.

[19] The profiles use house (*ev*) and home (*yuva*) interchangeably. While *ev* refers to a physical space, home (*yuva*) refers to the family life in the house. A house becomes a home with the touch of a family that brings peace and happiness.

3.3 Concluding remarks

In conclusion, according to my categorization, the profiles of foreign female celebrities contain three main themes, as reflected in the title of each category: the glorification of celebrities, the stories of soured dreams, and the display of happy family lives. The main reason for choosing this categorization was to reveal the implied relationship that the profiles hold with Hayat's readers. In short, the texts invite the readers to wander through the glorious world of fame, the fall of celebrities and the ordinary, happy family lives of those who escape this fall. The first two reveal the opposite poles about the celebrity persona and their lives: The first category makes the readers enter a superior world ornamented with dreams, desires and beauty. It also prepares the readers for the following category of the celebrities' fall, the dreams soured, by disapprovingly putting emphasis on the bodily attraction that these women invoke. The second directs the readers to the opposite pole, to witness the fall of celebrities. The third category reflects the happiness of an ordinary family life, dwelling upon its positive role in the lives of these famous foreign women.

The witnessing mass public subject's relationship with *Hayat*'s profiles differs according to the three categories analyzed in this section. I argue that the relationship between *Hayat'*s profiles and the magazine's public can be thus in line with Warner's conceptualization of the double movement of identification and alienation regarding the relationship between different genres of mass media and their public. After providing an implied identification through the display of everyday lives, stories of happiness and depression as well as family lives, the categories of celebrities from heavenly worlds and stories of celebrities' fall from

grace create the effect of alienation. Readers observe goddess-like women who belong to the glorious world of fame, rather than the ordinary life they are familiar with. Even though the profiles detail celebrities' bodily attraction with disapproval, the emphasis on their excessive beauty remains, this time evoking sensuality. The readers of these stories circulate through the glorious world of fame, the sensuous domain of sexuality and the prison of loneliness and despair. In other words, the readers are invited to witness the opposite poles of fame: one which seemingly offers beauty and welfare and the other, fame's destructive character, which eventually reveals itself. In this sense, fame's temporary character is highlighted and its risks are brought to light. Both poles refer to an extreme world separate from the mundane and alienate *Hayat's* public from identification with celebrities. While the first category positions the celebrities in a superior world, the second category, through portraying the celebrities as agentless in disastrous scenes, assures the readers that they hold the phallic power of the celebrities' images, as mentioned above in giving Warner's (2002) account on celebrities' disastrous stories. However, the third category of happy family stories displays an ordinary life and the daily habits of a couple. Thus, these profiles do not deviate from the implied identification created in the first place by the portrayal of 'private' but maintain it by bringing together ordinariness and happiness. Meanwhile, the normativity of womanhood is re-produced around marriage through the third category, in which women, with whom the readers are invited to identify, are portrayed as more successful, happier and in charge of their actions thanks to their husbands.

CHAPTER 4

PROFILES OF LOCAL WOMEN

The first profile on local women appears in *Hayat*'s first issue, titled *Satı Kadın, İlk Köylü Kadın Mebusumuz* (Satı Woman, Our First Village Woman Deputy), and is a memorial of Satı Kadın portraying her as a national hero. The following profile, which appears in the 21st issue, is the first part of the series called *Kızımı da Al Götür* (Take My Daughter Away Too). This profile is about a teacher, Sıdıka Avar, who searched for girls in Eastern Turkey to enroll them in the *Kız Enstitüsü*[20] (Vocational School) in Elazığ (one of the big cities in Eastern Turkey). The magazine published a two-part series of profiles on Sıdıka Avar. After these two profiles, the magazine took a two-year break before publishing the first celebrity profiles – *Türk Ses Sanatkârlarının Hususi Hayatlarını Anlatıyoruz* (We Are Telling the Private Lives of Vocal Artists), a series that included 14 profiles, each of which covered a Turkish singer's private life.

The first two profiles on local women are about Satı Kadın and Sıdıka Avar and put special emphasis on their public personae. Their service to the nation is highlighted while gliding over their private lives. Both women are praised as national heroines. More specifically, the women are portrayed as epic heroines who overcome consecutive obstacles they come across with. On the other hand, celebrity profiles on local singers, which take place in later issues, have a personal focus, portraying them with their husbands and children at their houses.

[20] *Kız Ensitütüleri* (vocational schools for girls) are first opened in the year 1929 in İzmir. In the following years, these schools spread in the big cities. The main goal of these schools was to educate the girls as "proper" mothers and wives. I will detail on the relationship between these schools and the founding of the Turkish Republic in the section where I dwell on the profile *Kızımı da Al Götür*.

The series "We Are Telling the Private Lives of Turkish Vocal Artists" complies with the general rules of celebrity profiles. As mentioned in the previous chapter, celebrity profiles create a 'private/personal' image for the 'public' persona by giving place to the mentioned person's 'private' life that consists of marriages, family lives, love affairs, daily routines, holidays and alike (Boorstion, 2006). On the other hand, heroes were well known thanks to the circulated stories about their great achievements (Boorstin, 2006). The narratives on Satı Kadın and Sıdıka Avar fall outside of the categorization of celebrity profiles, as they do not put forward a 'private' image but rather emphasize their public personae by repeatedly praising their services to the nation. This is why, in line with Boorstin's (2006) argument, I label the profiles on Satı Kadın and Sıdıka Avar as profiles on national heroines.

The magazine in its first issue publishes the profile on Satı Kadın and in its 21st issue on Sıdıka Avar, alongside those on foreign celebrities. Only after a long break, beginning with the 103rd issue, with a similar format to the foreign celebrity profiles, *Hayat* begins to publish local celebrity profiles with the series "We Are Telling the Private Lives of Vocal Stars". These celebrities are singers, unlike the foreign celebrities who were mostly actresses, and they are portrayed first and foremost as proper housewives, mothers and spouses. As mentioned, the foreign female celebrity profiles are presumably either direct translations or interpreted versions appropriated from Western magazines. However the magazine's regular writers write their local counterparts. It can be said that the way *Hayat* writers compose the local women profiles in the beginning as national heroines and after a long break as Turkish singers who are proper housewives, mothers and spouses reveals *Hayat*'s initial reflex regarding foreign female celebrities. Even though the exact reason why *Hayat* began to give place to the profiles on local celebrities two

years after the magazine's first publication is unknown, it can be interpreted that the magazine's writers used a certain amount of time to create 'proper' counterparts for the foreign female celebrities. The local women profiles came to resemble eventually foreign female celebrity profiles by elaborating on the local artists only after the year 1960.

As mentioned in the introduction, *Hayat* is interested in covering different aspects and ways of living in the world, especially in the West, while also defining the boundaries of decent life in Turkey. Narratives in *Hayat* repeatedly shape the limits of decent life through comparisons with how the magazine portrayed the life in the world. The same applies when the profiles are considered. The profiles of local women define the proper and decent women in Turkey in juxtaposition with the celebrity profiles of foreign women. While there is also an explicit comparison between Turkish women and foreign celebrities favoring the former over the latter, as the local women profiles between the years 1956 and 1960 always praise Turkish women and posit them as ideal examples to follow.

In this chapter, through a detailed textual analysis of the local women profiles between the years 1956 and 1960 in *Hayat,* I will examine *Hayat'*s discursive formation of the proper Turkish woman in its own era. After discussing the national heroines in the first section, I will continue with the analysis of the profiles on local Turkish singers.

4.1 National heroines

The first profiles "Satı Kadın, Our First Villager Deputy" and "Take My Daughter Too" portray Satı Kadın and Sıdıka Avar as national heroines. They are both

represented as devoted women who spent their lives in the service to the nation. Not only do the narratives praise the two women as important and exemplary public figures of the Turkish Republic but they also explicitly favor them over foreign celebrities as seen in the following quote:

> Beni İstanbul'dan Elazığ'a uçuracak tayyare erkenden kalktı. Bu sefer ne Greta Garbo'yu ne de Sarışın Bomba'yı görmeğe gidiyordum. Fakat Avar hakkında o kadar çok hikaye dinlemiş, öyle güzel şeyler okumuştum ki onu Sarışın Bomba'dan da Greta Garbo'dan da daha fazla merak etmekte idim. (Es, 1957)
>
> The plane that would take me from Elazığ to Istanbul took off early. This time, I was going there neither to see Greta nor the Blonde Bomb However, I have heard so many stories and read such pleasant things about Avar that I was curious about her more than about Greta Garbo and the Blonde Beauty.

This passage was taken from the profile "Take My Daughter Too" published in the 21st issue of *Hayat*. Feridun Es, a frequent contributor to *Hayat*, wrote the profile. As Es himself mentions in the passage, he writes news about the lives of foreign celebrities as well as travel profiles and profiles on other famous people in their careers. As an important figure of *Hayat*, Es explicitly favors Sıdıka Avar over foreign celebrities. He is more curious to see her than worldwide celebrities like *Sarışın Bomba* (the Blonde Bomb – the Turkish nickname for Marilyn Monroe) and Greta Garbo. Similar comparisons between foreign celebrities and Turkish women are made in the series "We Are Telling the Private Lives of Vocal Stars", which I will discuss in the next section.

4.1.1 Our First Villager Deputy, Satı Kadın

The profile "Our First Villager Deputy" is about Satı Kadın, one of the first women deputies elected to parliament. With the 1934 law granting women the right to vote

and to run for parliament, women for the first time were allowed to enter the general election as candidates. Satı Kadın was one of the 17 women deputies elected to parliament in the election of 1935.

As discussed in the introduction chapter, the emergence of the modern nuclear family and women's place in it are central issues in the transition from the Ottoman state to the Turkish Republic (Sirman, 2005; Kandiyoti, 1991). Similarly, women's rights were part of nation-state's policies through which the nation-state defined itself as well as its proper citizens. As Kandiyoti (1991) states, after the founding of the Republic, "the secularization of the family code and the enfranchisement of women were thus part of a broader struggle to liquidate the theocratic institutions of the Ottoman state and create a new legitimizing state ideology" (p. 3). The enfranchisement of women was not attained by women themselves but was state sponsored. The modern Turkish nation-state became 'civilized' through women while "the new woman of the Kemalist era became an explicit symbol of the break with the past, a symbolism which Mustafa Kemal himself did much to promote" (Kandiyoti, 1991, p. 8).

Satı Kadın, in the profile, is portrayed as an ideal national heroine, in Kandiyoti's terms, one of the symbolic women of the new regime. She was born in the village of Kazan in Ankara in 1890. After she was elected head of a village, Atatürk carved a path for her as a candidate in the election of 1935. The narrative posited Satı Kadın as a villager of humble roots who later on became a deputy with the aid of Mustafa Kemal.

Throughout the profile, Satı Kadın is described as a courageous and intelligent woman. As a matter of fact, Nezihe Araz, the writer of the profile, narrates

Satı Kadın as having more ‘manly’ characteristics than ‘womanly’ ones. Araz does not use the general characteristics that the magazine uses while narrating women. Her physical characteristics are absent while there is no special emphasis her being a mother or a wife unlike in the other profiles on women. In the mentioned profile, we are only informed about her six children, of whom four are alive, and her husband conveys briefly his thoughts about her. These thoughts, however, are not about Satı Kadın as a mother or wife but support her public image:

> Kafası ayık idi, bilgiç idi. (*Hayat*, 1956)
>
> She was sober and pedant.

The image of Satı Kadın created in the profile does not comply with the overall definition of women in the Kemalist era. While the first duties of women in the Kemalist regime were being mothers and wives, they were encouraged to participate in ‘civilized’ life through certain occupations such as teaching or being nurses (Göle, 2004). Women by being mothers of their own children became as the mothers of the nation as they raised future citizens. They were expected to perform their duties as mothers not only for their small family but also for the nation (Göle, 2004). The occupation deemed proper for women was a continuation of their roles as mothers educating their children as well as the children of the nation. By being teachers and nurses, they were either educating children or performing their duty as caregivers. However, Satı Kadın was the head of village and, later on, a deputy. In the profile, ‘manly’ characteristics such as courage, wisdom and intelligence made her a worthy candidate for a deputy, an occupation usually deemed proper for men.

The narrative, as seen in Figure 7, is titled “Our First Villager Deputy, Satı Kadın” and written by Nezihe Araz, a frequent writer of *Hayat*, who not only wrote

profiles on local women but also wrote articles about foreign celebrities' weddings, cinema festivals and alike. The profile begins with a scene from Satı Kadın's life, narrating how she received the *nahiye müdürü* (the head of the bigger settlement than village and smaller one than a city) who came to take Satı Kadın to Ankara on the governor's command. In this scene, Satı Kadın's courage is underscored repeatedly. Nezihe Araz, after describing the scene in a very detailed way as if she was herself an eyewitness, gives a biographical account of Satı Kadın's life by dwelling on her service to the nation. Later on, Araz shifts to first-person narrative and gives place to her own encounter with Satı Kadın in front of a community center where a play was going to take place. After this encounter, Araz writes about her death by narrating her dying scene, again emphasizing Satı Kadın's courage.



İLK KÖYLÜ KADIN MEBUSUMUZ

SATI KADIN

Gençliğinde köyünün mütegallibesiyle mücadele edip üstün gelen, İstiklâl Savaşında Millî kuvvetlere erzak temini için canlı başla çalışan, nihayet Kazan köyüne muhtar, daha sonra da Ankara Mebusu seçilen Satı Kadın, vazifesini yapmış bir insan huzuru içinde ebediyete göçtü.

YAZAN: NEZİHE ARAZ

Figure 7. İlk Köylü Kadın Mebusumuz, Satı Kadın. (1956). *Hayat*, 1, 5.

In the first place, the title "Our First Villager Deputy, Satı Kadın" is worth paying attention to. Satı Kadın is not presented as the first villager deputy but instead as *our* first villager deputy. By using the first person plural, Araz highlights Satı Kadın's national characteristics and separates her from foreign women. The fact that Satı Kadın is Turkish like the readers of *Hayat* is brought to the foreground.

Following the title emphasizing Satı Kadın's national character as belonging to the Turkish Republic, the narrative begins with a lead-in paragraph that summarizes her life with four consecutive phases:

> Gençliğinde köyünün mütegallibesiyle mücadele edip üstün gelen, İstiklal Savaşında Milli kuvvetlere erzak temini için canla başla çalışan, nihayet Kazan köyüne muhtar, daha sonra da Ankara mebusu seçilen Satı Kadın, vazifesini yapmış bir insan huzuru içinde ebediyete göçtü. (*Hayat*, 1956)
>
> Satı Woman, who had fought against intruders in her village and won when she was young, who had worked hard to carry supplies to the National Forces during the Turkish War of Independence, who was finally elected as the mukhtar of her village and then deputy from Ankara, died in peace as a person who fulfilled her duties.

This passage sums up Satı Kadın's life and deems her a person who fulfilled her duties in life. According to the narrative, these duties consist of four consecutive accomplishments, all of which were in service to the nation: struggling against the *mütegallibe* (the bully and despotic local landlord who acts according to his own interest rather than the well being of the people living in his control), working with her heart and soul in the War of Independence, becoming the head of the village, and later on a deputy. At the end of the passage, after accomplishing these services Satı Kadın is labeled as a 'person' but not as a 'woman'. In the following part of the narrative, these accomplishments are detailed portraying Satı Kadın as having manly

characteristics rather than as how the new regime depicted women in the Turkish Republic.

The main body of the narrative begins with Satı Kadın's encounter with *nahiye müdürü* who came to take her from Kazan, where she was the head of the village, to Ankara, the capital, by the command of the governor. Even though the author was not personally there, she creates the scene in accordance with the image that she is willing to shape about Satı Kadın. The story is narrated as follows:

> 1934 yılında bir akşamüstü 30 hanelik küçük bir Orta Anadolu köyü olan Kazan'a farlarını karanlığa dikmiş siyah bir otomobil girdi. Köylüler alışık olmadıkları bu hadiseyi merakla seyrederlerken otomobilden inen beyler: -"Merhaba" dediler. "Muhtar Satı Kadın nerede?"
>
> Kazan köyünün genç kadın muhtarı, misafirlerinin yanına geldi, -"Sefa gelmişsiniz." Dedi, "buyrun muhtar benim."
>
> Gelenlerden biri onu tanıyordu. Bu Kazan köyünün baplı olduğu Halkavun nahiyesi müdürüydü. –"Vali Nevzat Bey sen istiyor, Ankara'ya gideceğiz."
>
> - "Eh! Gidelim bakalım".
>
> Köylülerin içine bir korku düşmüştü. Şimdiye kadar hele böyle gece yarısı köyden şehre kimsenin çağrıldığını bilmiyorlardı. Herkes manalı manalı birbirine baktı. Korkmayan sadece muhtar Satı Kadın'dı.
>
> Hazırlanması kolay oldu. Derhal yola çıktılar. Kimseye, neden, nereye gidiyorum, diye sormaya bile lüzum görmemişti.
>
> Yolda, otomobil çamura saplandı, bir müddet arabadan inmek ve yükünü hafifletmek icap etti. Lakin çoban köpekleri etraflarını sardığı için kimse arabadan inmeyi istemiyordu. Satı kadın hemen kapıyı açtı. "Ne var korkacak?" dedi. Köpekler susmuştu, bir müddet yürüdüler, araba çamurdan kurtularak arkalarından yetişti.
>
> Ne var korkacak? Onun hayat hikayesi bu küçük cümleyle hülasa edilebilir. Başına neler gelmiş, fakat o her müşkülünü bu sualle yenmiştir. (*Hayat*, 1956)

> In 1934, towards the evening, a black car, which directed its headlights to darkness, entered Kazan, a Middle Anatolian village with 30 houses. While the villagers were watching this unusual occasion, the gentlemen getting out of the car said:

> "Hello."
>
> "Where is the Mukhtar Dame Satı?"
>
> The young female Mukhtar of the village Kazan approached her guests, and said:
>
> "You are all welcome; I am the Mukhtar."
>
> One of the gentlemen knew her. This was the manager of Halkavun district to which Kazan was subjected.
>
> "Governor Nevzat wants to see you; we will go to Ankara."
>
> "Well, let's go then."
>
> Fear captured the hearts of the villagers. They did not recall that someone was ever summoned from the village to town, above all, at midnight. Everybody looked at each other with thoughtful eyes. The only person who did not fear was Dame Satı. She got easily dressed up. They took off right away. She did not even feel the necessity to ask anyone where or why she was going. On the way, the car got stuck in the mud; they needed to get out of the car to lighten the load. However, as shepherd dogs surrounded the car, nobody was willing to go out. Dame Satı opened the door and said:
>
> "What is there to be afraid of?" The dogs had stopped barking; they walked for a while, and then, the car caught them having got rid of the mud.
>
> "What is there to be afraid of?" Her life story can be summarized with this little sentence. She had gone through a lot, but she overcame all the odds with this question.

The way that the scene is described is worth paying attention to. Nezihe Araz, in the very beginning, creates suspense about the car arriving at the village, an unusual event for the villagers. By vividly describing how a black, apparently unknown car appears in the village consisting of 30 households, Araz emphasizes the uncommonness of the situation. Later on, Araz herself states that everyone in the village was afraid, except Satı Kadın. The narrative legitimizes their fear by stating that no one had ever been called from the village to city in the middle of the night. As a matter of fact, the overall description of the scene persuades the readers that this was indeed a frightening and unusual scene: a black car appearing in the middle of

nowhere in the middle of the night. Satı Kadın was very courageous as she did not show any sign of fear but calmly accepted the situation. Despite the uncommonness of the situation, she gently welcomes the men by saying *sefa gelmişsiniz* (welcome). After understanding that the governor has called herself, her answer is noteworthy: *Eh! Gidelim Bakalım!* (Well! Let's Go Then). Her answer does not display a strict obedience to either to *nahiye müdürü* or to the governor. Satı Kadın rather accepts the situation without any further question. It is stated that she even did not need much time to prepare, did not need to ask any questions about where they were leading her to and why she was asked to see the governor. She is courageous enough to accept calmly the situation that she confronts.

In the following part of the narrative, she is not afraid of the dogs that the men in the car were afraid of. In this way, she is posited as more courageous than the men – the *nahiye müdürü* and his subordinates. The overall message of the passage is conveyed in the last paragraph beginning with *Ne Var Korkacak?* (What is to Fear?), a sentence which also explains her all life. Her courage is stated as her main characteristic leading her life and is narrated through a vivid story. The narrative establishes her courage in this first part of the narrative and links her courage to the ensuing events.

It is important to note that Satı Kadın is afraid neither of the *nahiye müdürü*, who came to take her to Ankara in the middle of the night, nor of the dogs surrounding the car. Considering the *nahiye müdürü* and his subordinates as representatives of the state and the dogs as representatives of nature, it is clear that the narrative constructs Satı Kadın as belonging to both domains – as a villager

belonging to nature and as a head of the village belonging to the state – and she is fearless in both of them.

After this passage, the narrative continues with the biographical account of Satı Kadın by firstly mentioning her struggle with *mütegallibe*. After the death of her father, she inherited property and a field. However, Kara Yusuf, *mütegallibe* of the time, tried to prevent Satı Kadın from inheriting the property. The profile narrates Satı Kadın's struggle as follows:

> Daha gencecik bir kadınken kocası ölmüş, mal mülk, tarla tapan onun eline kalmıştı. Karamemed, Kazan köyünün eşrafındandı. Şöyle böyle beş bin dönüm toprak, koyun, inek, ulluk mulluk iki kızının eline kalıyordu. Karamemed ölünce herkes bu malın üzerine çullanıvermişti. Kurdun kuşun bile ürküp korktuğu Kara Yusuf, mütegallibenin başında geliyordu. "Malları Karamemed'in kızına urganlatmayız." diye direniyordu. O güne kadar köyde bir varlık olarak belirmemiş olan Satı, ışıklı bir şahsiyet olarak ortaya çıktı. Üzerine büyük bir iş düşüyordu. Ya boyun eğip maldan mülkten vaz geçmek, elin sığırını gütmek vardı, ya da dayanıp hakkını almak. Kocası. "Kafası ayık idi, bilgiç idi" diyor. Satı Kadın ayık kafa ile mücadeleye başlıyor. Hakim, dava vekili, müddefumumi, ne lazımsa başvuruyor. Malını kurtarıyor. Bu mücadele adını Satı Kadınlık'tan Satı ağalığa değiştirmiştir. Şimdi o birçok işlerde köylülerine yol gösterebilir. (*Hayat*, 1956)

> When she was a young woman, her husband died, and she had to take care of their property and the croplands. Karamemed was one of the notables in Kazan. His two daughters would inherit around 5,000 meters of acreage, ovine, cattle, plough and everything else. When Karamemed died, everybody descended on his estates. Kara Yusuf, whom even the birds were scared of, was the chief bully. He was resisting, saying, "We won't leave these goods to his daughter." Dame Satı, who had not stood out until that moment, came out as a person shining. There was a big burden on her shoulders. She was either going to yield to them and give up all these goods and herd someone else's cattle, or stand up against them and get what was hers. Her husband says, "She is smart and proud." Dame Satı started the struggle with a clear mind. She applied to whoever was necessary: judge, attorney, prosecutor. She saved her goods. This struggle changed her name from Dame Satı to Landlord Satı. Now she could lead her people on several matters.

This passage explains how Satı Kadın became an important figure in the village. Not only did she emerge as a glowing character in the village but her name also changed to Satı Ağalık after her struggle against Kara Yusuf one of the notables in Kazan, of whom everyone was afraid except her. Her courage is again emphasized and she is considered as an *ağa* (landlord). She could overcome Kara Yusuf through her courage and intelligence. The narrative conveys that she used her intelligence and wisdom throughout her struggle against Kara Yusuf by stating the fact that she appealed to jurisdiction just as her husband's comments indicate: *kafası ayık idi, bilgiç idi*. By putting her intelligence and courage into use in her struggle against Kara Yusuf, she becomes *ağa* (the landlord), in other words replaces the *mütegallibe* of the village. Satı Kadın resisted Kara Yusuf, the local despot of the village and as a result acquired 'manly' characteristics. Her name changes from Satı Kadın to *ağa*, a term that specifically refers to a man who is the head of the village. As a matter of fact, through Kara Yusuf's words stating that they would not leave the goods to the daughter of Kara Memed, it is understood that he does not let the 'girls' inherit the properties. However, Satı Kadın, instead of giving in, fights against Kara Yusuf, and is depicted as a man at the end of her struggle. In sum according to the narrative, Satı Kadın by using her courage and intelligence negates her womanhood and resists Kara Yusuf.

In the following part of the narrative, Satı Kadın's encounter with the governor Nevzat Bey is narrated. The governor first tells her that she is going to be the head of village's council. Satı Kadın without any hesitation and further question accepts the given position:

> Muhtar idik onu da evvel Allah başarırız. (*Hayat*, 1956)
> I was chief of village; with God's help, we shall manage it too.

In return the governor continues as follows:

> Yok, yok Satı Kadın seni Ankara'dan mebus göstereceğiz! Satı Kadın yine şaşmıyor, "Daha iyi ya bu daha yüksek bir iş" diyor. (*Hayat*, 1956)
>
> "No, no, Dame Satı, we will nominate you as the deputy from Ankara." Dame Satı, again, is not surprised, and says, "It is even better; it is a job with higher status."

Satı Kadın again calmly accepts the given position without any sign of excitement or fear. Considering the conditions of the era when women were for the first time allowed to be elected in the parliament, Satı Kadın's answer is noteworthy. When it is not very usual for a woman to become a head of village, Satı Kadın is offered a much higher position, which had not been available for any women before. Absence of any sign of excitement regarding the governor's words indicates that she is courageous and confident enough to accept any position regardless of its hierarchical place in the state.

Later on in the profile, Atatürk's encounter with Satı Kadın is narrated. Atatürk visits the village in 1934 after the declaration of the law granting women right to vote and to be elected in the parliament. Everybody except Satı Kadın is afraid of Atatürk. The villagers' warning to Satı Kadın and her reply are given as follows:

> Seni astırır, kestirir, hiç korkun yok mu? (*Hayat*, 1956)
>
> He would hang you, slaughter, don't you have any fear?

Satı Kadın's answer not only contains no sign of fear but also shows a deep understanding and trust for Atatürk:

Ondan insana fenalık gelir mi? (*Hayat*, 1956)

Could any harm come from him? (*Hayat*, 1956)

The profile once again emphasizes Satı Kadın's courage through her encounter with Atatürk, who is the founder and the president of the Turkish Republic. In other words, according to narrative Satı Kadın is so courageous to the extent that she would not be afraid of the most powerful representative of the Turkish Republic.

The narrative continues with Satı Kadın's dialogue with the governor of Ankara when Atatürk invited her to Çankaya Palace:

> Artık o ilk mebus Satı Kadın'dır. Henüz ilk günler bir gün Atatürk'ün misafiri olarak Çankaya'dadır. Şalvarı, fuları ve yazması ile. Nevzat Tandoğan: - "Satı Kadın!" der. "Sana bin lira verelim de, ihtiyaçlarını tamamla.! (*Hayat,* 1956)
>
> Now, she is the first woman member of the parliament. In her first days, she is in Çankaya as a guest of Atatürk, with her shalwar, foulard, and headscarf. Nevzat Tandoğan says: "Dame Satı, let us give you a thousand liras, get what you need."

Satı Kadın refuses the money saying that one who uses a loan spends his own money. It is clear that she is offered to buy 'proper' clothes for the parliament instead of *şalvar*, *fular*, *al yazması*, all of which are the signs of being a villager. The narrative gives place to Atatürk's appraisal of Satı Kadın's reply as follows:

Bu bilenmiş keskin zeka Atatürk'ün çok hoşuna gitmiştir. (*Hayat*, 1956)

Atatürk really liked her sharp wit.

Through such an authoritative figure as Atatürk, the narrative emphasizes Satı Kadın's intelligence. Later on, at the end of the paragraph, we understand that Satı Kadın accepted the money but used it for another purpose. She did not use the money

to buy proper clothes but gives it immediately to the villagers in need. By helping the villagers Satı Kadın acted as the landlord of the village. On the one hand, by not buying proper clothes for the parliament but apparently continuing to wear traditional clothing, she does not negate her villager roots; on the other hand, she refuses to become a 'proper' modern woman and continues her role as the landlord, once more appropriating 'manly' characteristics. The narrative states that she gives the money 'immediately' to the ones in need, strengthening the overall idea and conveying to the readers that she could not do otherwise.

Lastly, Nezihe Araz gives place to her own final decision about Satı Kadın and narrates the scene of Satı Kadın's death through the words of Satı Kadın's sister:

> Bence Satı Kadın sadece bir sembol değildi. Vazifesini benimsemiş, cesur bir insandı. Kazan Köyü'nde herkesten onun bu medeni cesaretini dinledim. Kızkardeşi: -"Öldü gitti cesaretle, dedi." Son dakikasında köyün hocasını istemiş. –"Korkuyor musun abla, insan hastalanınca hemen ölmez ya, demiş?" –"Yo, demiş, koç gibi Allahımın kurbanıyım. Ölümden korkmam çok yaşadım, çok gördüm. Allah imandan ayırmasın." (*Hayat*, 1956)
>
> I believe that Dame Satı was not only a symbol. She was a brave person who embraced her duty. I listened about her bravery from everybody in the village Kazan. Her sister said: "She died bravely." She asked for the Hodja of the village in the last minute. She asked: "Sister, are you afraid, one does not die immediately after she gets sick?" Dame Satı said: "Not at all, I am a sacrifice to my God like a lamb. I do not fear death; I have lived long and seen a lot. God forbid me from abandoning my faith."

Before giving place to the sister's narration of Satı Kadın's death, Araz concludes that Satı Kadın was a courageous person who embraced her duties. Araz demonstrates her conclusion about Satı Kadın's courage through her death scene. In other words, Nezihe Araz highlights that Satı Kadın was so courageous to the extent that she was not afraid even of death. Actually, throughout the profile, Satı Kadın is portrayed as not being afraid of the state, nature and even death, like a real hero.

Araz's conclusion is in line with the overall message conveyed in the profile. By creating scenes in which Satı Kadın occasionally displays her courage, by giving place to biographical fragments of Satı Kadın's life as well as her encounter with authoritative figures such as the governor and Atatürk, Nezihe Araz justifies the courageous and intelligent image that she aimed at conveying about Satı Kadın. At the end of the passage, by shifting to first person narrative, Nezihe Araz consolidates her argument and reaches her conclusion. It is important to see that Satı Kadın is labeled as a person instead of a woman in certain parts of the text as well as at the very end of the narration. The sentence "She was a brave person who embraced her duty" describes Satı Kadın as a courageous person who embraced her duty. Her duty in life was described in the lead-in paragraph as struggling against local despot rulers, working in the War of Independence, becoming the head of the village and a member of the parliament. While performing the mentioned duties deemed appropriate for men, she was narrated as devoid of any womanly characteristics and acquiring manly ones.

The objective and even authoritarian way of the narrative while depicting Satı Kadın as an ideal female figure in the Turkish Republic is worth paying attention to. Araz claims to know Satı Kadın, her personal traits as well as motivations for her actions. Not only does she create the plot of the story in line with the image that she aims to create regarding Satı Kadın, but also she deducts these traits from how Satı Kadın overcame the obstacles in her way in a very self-assured tone. Araz claims to know everything about Satı Kadın without leaving any place to another comment or interpretation about her personal traits as well as actions. Thinking in line with the overall tone of Şevket Rado, the chief editor of the magazine, Araz's omniscient way reflects how the magazine constructed the ideal woman through an objective manner.

The way that women as well as their lives are described leaves no place for interpretation. The profiles narrate the stories of women, their everyday lives and their personal characters in line with the image that the texts aim to create about the local singers, in a very direct way without giving place to any metaphors. In other words, the ideal woman in *Hayat* is described very strictly, even in a didactic manner, as if there was a 'real' and objective way of being an ideal woman in the service of the nation. This is an example of and indicates how the new regime aimed at establishing its ideology as well as its ideal citizens with a very objective and omniscient way as a truth to be obtained.

4.1.2 Sıdıka Avar

The profiles *Kızımı da Götür* (Take My Daughter Too), consisting of two issues, one published in the 21st issue and the other in the 22th issue of *Hayat*, are written on Sıdıka Avar who worked as a teacher in the Elazığ Vocational School. The first profile narrates how Sıdıka Avar became a teacher there and also includes Elif Belge's testimony as an example of Avar's success. The second profile narrates the memories of Sıdıka Avar at the school.

A vocational school for girls is a specific kind of school specializing typically in household skills. The first school was opened in İzmir in the year 1929. While there were other schools opened in other parts of Turkey, the Elazığ Vocational School for Girls was the first one to be opened in the East of Turkey. The girls educated in these schools were between 12 and 17. These schools normally accepted girls who had completed primary school, with the exception of the Elazığ Vocational School that allowed the girls who had not finished primary school.

Vocational schools for girls aimed at raising the girls as future 'proper' mothers and wives who would in return become the national 'proper' women of the new regime, the Turkish Republic (Akşit, 2005). The schools were teaching the 'ideal' way of becoming housewives and mothers with the claim that the education that the girls got in their families was not sufficient in this respect. The education in the schools aimed at erasing the girls' former ties with their families, which were considered as backward or 'too' traditional (Akşit, 2005). In other words, with the aid of the given education, the girls would become the new women of the Kemalist era, 'proper' modern housewives and mothers, raising the future children in the Turkish Republic.

The 1934-1935 yearbook of the Elazığ Vocational Institute includes the following text describing the goals of this institution:

> Bir kadın ister meslek sahibi olsun, isterse yalnız evile meşgul bulunsun her halde bilmesi gereken çok şey vardır. Şimdiye kadar kızlarımız kadınlarımız, annelerinden gördükleriyle kalıyorlar ve hayatta çok beceriksizlikler yaparak sıkıntı çekiyorlardı. Halbuki şimdi Enstitüye devam edenler bütün tatbikatle ev idaresini öğrenmiş, pek kıymetli bilgilerle dolu bir halde hayata atılıyorlar ve hiç müşkilat çekmiyorlar.
>
> Bir ulusun ne kadar ilerlediğini anlamak için onun bir tek ailesine bakmak yeter. Herhangi bir aileyi yapan da yıkan da kadındır. Enstitünün gayesi ev bayanına kendi mevkiini ve bu mevkiye ait vazifeleri bildirmektir. Bir kadın bu vezaifi ne kadar iyi bilir ve ne kadar iyi yaparsa o mertebe mesut olur ve ailesini saadet içinde bırakır. Saadeti evlerde ve ailelerde aramalıdır. Teklerin ve ailelerin refah ve saadeti ulusun ve yurdun saadeti demektir.
>
> Bir evi yıkan ve yapan kadın olduğu gibi bir ulusuda yükselten yine odur. Enstitümüz kadınlarımızı yetiştirmekle ve Yurda ve cemiyete çok büyük hizmet etmiş olur. Yalnız erkeklerin talim ve terbiyesiyle uğraşmak temelsiz ev kurmak demektir. Kadın erkeğin yardımcısıdır. (Cited in Akşit, 2005, p.162)
>
> There is a lot for a woman to know in every situation, whether she is a working woman or a woman who is only busy with housework. Until now, our girls, women had been limited to what they had learnt from their mothers, and they had been suffering in life, making many mistakes. However, now,

> the ones who go to the Institute begin their life filled with precious knowledge and knowing everything about maintaining a house and they do not come across any troubles.
>
> Looking at the families of a nation is enough to understand how developed it is. It is women who both create and devastate a family. The aim of the Institute is to teach the housewife her position and the responsibilities of that position. The better a woman knows and fulfills those responsibilities, the more she is happy and makes her family happy. She should look for happiness in a house and a family. The welfare and happiness of single people and families are the welfare and happiness of the country and the nation. It is again, the woman who raises a nation as she creates or devastates a family. Our Institute does a great service to our country and society by educating our women. Dealing only with the education and taming of men is constructing a house without a foundation. The woman is the helper of the man.

According to Akşit (2005), the link between the family and the nation reflects not only the policies of these vocational schools but the overall policies of the era. While there is an emphasis that happiness would be found in a family, women are posited as the providers of the happiness both of the family and consequently of the nation, as the overall content of *Hayat* presupposed.

Vocational schools fostered a national homogenized Turkish identity. Alongside household skills, the schools' education imposed a Turkish national identity (Akşit, 2005). The school in Elazığ had the mission to educate Kurdish girls by providing them with a Turkish national identity (Akşit, 2005). Kurdish girls were boarding students in the school and had a different curriculum with a special focus on Turkish language (Akşit, 2005). The Elazığ Vocational School is one of the schools that gave boarding education in the East with the aim of erasing the girls' ties with Kurdish culture and language replacing them with a Turkish identity in line with the state's policies regarding the region in the mentioned era (Hür, 2004).

The profiles on Sıdıka Avar titled “Take my Daughter Too” reflect the policies of the Turkish nation-state regarding Kurdish children. Kurdish girls are portrayed as dirty and helpless who know neither their ‘own’ language nor how to behave. While they learn their ‘own’ language – Turkish, in the Elazığ Vocational School they also become enlightened women who would raise the future children of the nation. The fact that they do have their own language – Kurdish – is not even mentioned. Thus the narratives portray the children as being in need of the state’s rescue. In the Elazığ Vocational School, they are provided with the necessary education that their families would not provide for them. In short, Kurdish families are deemed traditional and in need of the state, as the girls of the families become ‘proper’ and ‘enlightened’ only after the education that they get in the Elazığ Vocational School. The state’s policies aiming to create a homogenized national identity are legitimized.

Sirman (2005) argues that in the transition from the Ottoman Empire to the Turkish nation-state, as part of the modernization period during the nation-state’s building process, the citizens of the new regime became ‘proper, modern’ citizens by alienating themselves from what they conceive ‘traditional’ and deemed as abject. In the profiles, the East is presented as ‘abject’ – the traditional part needs to be ‘enlightened’ and to become ‘properly modern’. As Akşit (2005) discussed, the opening speech at the Elazığ Vocational School explicitly states how the Kurdish girls were ‘rescued’: “This foundation would save our girls from becoming street walkers and make them housewives” (as cited in Akşit, 2005, p. 82). While this statement presupposes that the girls in the streets from the East are in need of rescue, it also implies that a ‘rescued’ girl is the woman of her house – the mother and wife in her own family.

In the narratives, Sıdıka Avar is depicted as the savior and the teacher of Kurdish girls in the school. The narratives describe her as being physically weak but a strong and courageous woman thanks to her will to serve the nation. Sıdıka Avar is a devoted teacher educating the 'enlightened' and 'proper' future mothers, saving them from the East part of Turkey. She is also considered as the mother of the mentioned girls, whose ties with their former families were cut.

The profiles focusing on Sıdıka Avar's life, as mentioned, reflect the nation-state's policies and describe Sıdıka Avar as a national heroine, a woman devoted to the nation, implementing these policies. She was depicted as the mother of the nation's children in line with how the new woman of the Kemalist era was defined, as mentioned in the previous section. By positing Sıdıka Avar as the mother of the children, the narratives naturalize the nation-state's assimilative policies.

The first issue of the series "Take My Daughter Away Too" first mentions Avar's former occupation: teaching evening classes to women in a prison in İzmir. The narrative follows with a subheading, *Atatürk'le Karşı Karşıya* (Face-to-face with Atatürk). In the narrative, it is written that Avar was sued for being a missionary. The reason why she was sued was unknown, but Atatürk wished to see her since the mentioned trial caught his attention. The profile, after giving the encounter between Atatürk and Avar, continues briefly with Avar's teaching career in Elazığ. The profile changes to a first person narrative, giving Feridun Es's own impressions about Sıdıka Avar and the Elazığ Vocational School. At the very end of the profile, there is a short story about one of Avar's students, narrating her change throughout her education. The second profile consists of Sıdıka Avar's memories in Elazığ,

mentioning her services to the region as well as to the girls. The narratives are accompanied with photographs as well.



KIZIMI DA GÖTÜR!..

Bu sahifelerde idealist bir Türk kadınının, Sıdıka Avarın hakiki romanını okuyacaksınız. At sırtında dağ dağ dolaşarak talebe toplıyan öğretmen Sıdıka Avarın...

YAZAN : HİKMET FERİDUN ES
FOTOĞRAFLAR : SEMİHA ES

Atatürk'le karşı karşıya...

DAĞLARI YENEN KADIN — Zayıf, narin, ufak tefek ve münevver bir Türk kadını at sırtında Anadolu'nun en sarp dağlarındaki köyleri birer birer dolaşıyor. Elâzığ Kız Enstitüsü Müdürü Sıdıka Avar bazı hallerde Türkçe dahi bilmiyen kız çocuklarını alıp onları gene at sırtında veya bir kamyon tepesinde Elâzığ içindeki mektebine götürüyor.

KÖYDE — Bütün Elâzığ, Tunceli, Bingöl ve havalisindeki köylüler Sıdıka Avar'dan bir Yürüsci Ana cinsel gibi bahsederler. Avar'ın bulunduğu yüzlerce mesafe dümdüzdür. Elâzığ Kız Enstitüsü müdürü de aslında köylerine ufaklığı inecekmiş bir anne, bir evlât gibi başlıdır.

GELİŞ — Elif Bekçe Hanımın Sıdıka Avar tarafından köyünden alınıp Elâzığ Kız Enstitüsüne getirildiği gün çekilmiş bir fotoğrafı. Elif mektebe için böyle geldi.

MEKTEPTE — Bir sene sonra Elif mektepte. Beyaz yaşlı, siyah öğrenci elbisesi içinde Elif iyi ve lebeydi. Türkçe de öğreniyor. Kısa zaman sonra çavuş bilmiş ediyor.

VE NİHAYET — Mektep bitmiştir. Terbiyeli Türkçe konuşan, tahsil yerinde bir Türk kızına kavuşmuştur. Şimdi memleket hastanelerinden birinde hemşirelerdir.

BİR İNSAN YARATMANIN HİKÂYESİ

Figure 8. Kızımı da Götür. (1957). *Hayat*, 21, 5.

In the first page of the first profile, there are two photographs of Sıdıka Avar riding a white horse. On the far left, she is seen alone on the white horse smiling confidently. In the second photograph, seen from the profile, Avar is carrying a girl on the back of presumably the same white horse. Before starting the textual analysis of the profile, I will elaborate on the subtitle and short narration that summarizes Avar's characteristics below the second photograph:

> DAĞLARI YENEN KADIN Zayıf, narin, ufak tefek ve münevver bir Türk kadını at sırtında Anadolu'nun en sarp dağlarındaki köyleri birer birer dolaşıyor. Elazığ Kız Enstitüsü Müdürü Sıdıka Avar bazan Türkçe dahi bilmiyen kız çocuklarını alıp onları gene at sırtında veya bir kamyon tepesinde Elazığ içindeki mektebine götürüyor. (*Hayat*, 1957)

> THE WOMAN BEATING THE MOUNTAINS A thin, fragile, small and enlightened Turkish woman is traveling the villages which are in the steep mountains of Anatolia one by one on a horse. The principal of Elazığ Female Institute, Sıdıka Avar takes little girls, some of whom do not speak Turkish, to her school in the center of Elazığ on a horseback or top of a truck.

The short narration portrays Avar paradoxically as both a strong and a weak woman. It labels Sıdıka Avar the "Woman Beating the Mountains," but describes her as thin, fragile, small and enlightened. The beginning words "Beating Mountains", used in place of a title, refer to physical strength but the continuation of the narration contradicts this description of Sıdıka Avar. The order of the adjectives used while describing her is significant. Using the words 'thin', 'fragile', and 'small', the narrative assures its readers that Sıdıka Avar was not physically powerful. However, by the word 'enlightened' at the end, the narrative directs the readers' attention to another quality of Sıdıka Avar: being enlightened. By putting the word *münevver* at the very end, the narrative suggests that Sıdıka Avar is powerful because she is an enlightened woman. The narrative emphasizes her courage since she wanders in the steepest mountains, even if she is not physically strong. Furthermore, she is depicted heroically, with the image of her riding a horse, as one who saves the girls.

In the main part of the profile, after Sıdıka Avar's former days are narrated, her encounter with Atatürk is given place. Atatürk, as the most powerful representative of the Turkish Republic, explains women's place in the society, relating it to Sıdıka Avar's duties:

> Bir cemiyet daha ziyade aile yoluyla, bilhassa kadın yolıyla fethedililebilirdi. Misyoner Sıdıka Hanım şarka gidicekti. Oradaki genç kızları, hatta bunların arasında hiç Türkçe bilmeyenleri dahi toplıyacaktı. Onları bu cemiyetin

> potasında yetişterecek, sonra bu çocukları birer ışık huzmesi halinde köylere gönderecekti. (*Hayat*, 1957)
>
> A society could be conquered through family, especially through women. Missionary Sıdıka was going to the East. She was going to collect young girls, even the ones who did not know Turkish. She was going to raise them in this foundation and send them to the villages as bright stars.
>
> Addressing Sıdıka Avar, he continues:
>
> Git… Memleketin içine gir… dağ köylerine uzan… Orada kendi dilini dahi konuşamıyan ve bizden ışık bekliyen yarının annelerini bulacaksın. (*Hayat*, 1957)
>
> Go…Enter into the country…Reach out to the villages in the mountains…There you would find the mothers of the future who even cannot speak their own language and wait for a light from us.

In the beginning of the passage, Atatürk explicitly puts forward that a society can be conquered through family and women. Atatürk's words reflect the policies of the era, which associate the development and happiness of the family to the nation's, positing women as the bearer of both (Akşit, 2005). However, Atatürk in this passage not only talks about the Turkish nation, but also talks about the East as if it were another society to be conquered. He clearly makes a distinction between this society and the other, as he states that Sıdıka Avar would educate girls from the East in the *crucible* of the Turkish society. Atatürk, by "this society" refers to the modern Turkish nation-state, and the East is posited as the uneducated part which must be "enlightened." Atatürk's quote also depicted girls in the East as in need of help since he mentions the girls as "the mothers of the future who cannot speak their own language and wait for a light from us". In line with Sirman's (2005) discussion on the abject of the state, it is clear to see that the East is presented as the 'abject' – the traditional part that needs to be enlightened. Sıdıka Avar would educate the girls who would then become a beam of light and the future mothers of the nation. In this way, the girls become properly modern and cut their previous 'traditional' ties.

In the following part of the narrative, Es states that Sıdıka Avar was described as a heroine in the region:

> Şimdi Elazığ, Tunceli, Bingöl çevresindeki halk bu ufacık tefecik kadından bir azize gibi bahseder. Onun hakkında iki yüze yakın mani, masallar ve çocukların dilinde sayısız Avar şarkıları vardır. O; yol vermez, geçit tanımaz dağları at sırtında tırmanır, dağ köylerinden Atatürk'ün söylediği gibi, bazan hiç Türkçe bilmiyen çoğu esmer köy kızlarını toplar, onları kendi ceketine sarıp mektebine götürür.
>
> Avar Şark'ta hakikaten inanılmaz bir isimdir. Vaktile ancak mavzer gücüyle girilebilen dağ tepelerindeki köylere bu masal kadını talebe toplamak için gittiği zaman köylüler:
>
> - Kızımı da götür Avar! …
>
> Diye atının üzengisine yapışıyorlar.
>
> "Kızımı da götür!" … Tunceli ve Bingöl dağlarının en meşhur cümlesidir. (*Hayat,* 1957)
>
> Nowadays, the people around Elazığ, Tunceli and Bingöl talk about this little woman as a saint. There are around two hundred poems, fairytales and numerous Avar songs on the tongues of children. She would climb mountains which do not give her way or let her pass on horseback and gather girls, most of whom are brunettes and sometimes do not speak Turkish, and take them to her school as Atatürk wants, wrapping them in her own jacket. Avar is indeed a great name in the East. When this mythical woman went to these villages to collect students where only mousers could enter once, villagers held onto her stirrups saying:
>
> - Take my daughter with you, Avar! ...
>
> "Take my daughter with you" is the most famous sentence of the mountains of Tunceli and Bingöl.

Considering the Dersim Massacre that took place in the years 1937-1938 in Dersim, which the nation-state calls Tunceli, the narrative above reflects the assimilative policies of the nation-state. As Hür (2004) mentions, Minister of Internal Affairs Şükrü Kaya wrote a letter to the Ministry of Culture regarding the boarding schools in the region, including Dersim and nearby cities and villages in the year 1937. The letter is about "Educating the Girls and the Boys in Dersim in Boarding Schools". In

the letter, it is emphasized that the Turkish language is crucial for the children who would later on form Turkish families in these territories. Kaya states that people in Dersim actually have Turkish blood but forgot their Turkish nationality due to the fact that they speak Kurdish. This is why, according to Kaya, the state would provide the children in the region with necessary education, boarding schools, to teach them Turkish in order to remind them of their 'true' national identity. The Elazığ Vocational School is one of the boarding schools mentioned in the letter, with the target to provide Kurdish girls with a Turkish national identity (Hür, 2004).

The mentioned profile in *Hayat* not only reflects the state's policies that are visible in the letter but also makes them appear devoid of politics. Es represents Avar as a heroine/saint instead of a teacher who fulfills the state's assimilative policies. In fact, Es did not give any account regarding Kurdish people or language. The memories of Avar (2005) in her book *Dağ Çiçeklerim*, as well as the testimonies of the women educated in the Elazığ Vocational School cited in Akşit (2005), clearly indicate that the girls who were brought to the Elazığ Vocational School were Kurdish. However, in the narratives their Kurdish identity and the fact that they spoke the Kurdish language were negated. Atatürk's words mention these girls as the girls who do not know their own language and reflect how Kurdish is not acknowledged. Turkish is claimed to be their own language unbeknownst to the girls. While it is clear that Es avoids using the word "Kurdish", he puts forward that the language and the nationality of these girls are Turkish.

As seen in Es's passage, he even says that there are numerous tales narrated among children about Avar. Es adds that the parents from the region tell Avar to take their children, as the title of the narrative presupposes. While there is no actual proof

whether Sıdıka Avar was a heroine among the children or if the parents wanted Avar to take away their daughters, it is clear that Es narrated Sıdıka Avar in line with the image that he created throughout the profile. Avar is presented as a national heroine who saves the "Kurdish girls" portrayed as in need of help.

The narrative continues with a subheading *İstanbul'dan Elazığ'a* (From İstanbul to Elazığ). Es continues to describe Sıdıka Avar as a courageous woman who devotedly seeks children in the mountains to enroll them in the Elazığ Vocational School. Yet he also describes Sıdıka Avar as a fragile woman due to her physical weakness. Es's conversation with a truck driver emphasizes Avar's courage:

> Sıdıka Hanımın bulunabileceği köylere kadar götürmesi için 250 lira teklif ettim: -Beyefendi dedi, 500 lira da verseniz ben gene o yollardan geçmem..Necip Bingöl ile ısrar ettik. Nafile!... Nihayet şoföre: -Canım ayıp değil mi? şikayet ettiğin yollardan zayıf, nahif bir kadın birkaç gün once geçiyor da sen nasıl geçemiyorsun… dedim. Şöför güldü: - Galiba Avar'dan bahsediyorsunuz!... O, bambaşka bir insandır!... dedi. (*Hayat*, 1957)
>
> I offered 250 liras for him to take me to the villages where Miss Sıdıka could be. He said: "Mister, I would not pass those ways even if you offered 500 liras to me." Necip Bingöl and I insisted. Useless! Finally, to the driver: "Isn't it a shame that you cannot pass those ways where a small, thin woman passed a few days ago." The driver laughed and said: "I believe you are talking about Avar! She is a different person!"

In Es's conversation with the truck driver, the narrative conveys that Sıdıka Avar is more courageous than the truck driver even though she is thin and fragile-looking. She goes to the villages through the roads that the truck driver does not want to pass. Again we hear praise from a male, though a rough, masculine truck driver, putting Avar above the average person. Noticeably, she is not referred to as a woman but as *insan* (person or human). In the following passage Es narrates that Avar exhaustedly returned to the school in Elazığ from the villages:

> İki gün sonar Sıdıka Avar, topladığı çocuklarla birlikte bir gece yarısından sonra mektebe döndü. O kadar yorulmuştu ki, çok defa olduğu gibi gene bayılacağını hissetmişti. Böyle zamanlarda kendisine tatbik ettiği bir tedavi usulü vardı: Odasına kapanıyor, yerdeki halıya boylu boyunca uzanarak kendi kendine baygınlığını geçiriyordu. (*Hayat*, 1957)
>
> After two days, after midnight, Sıdıka Avar returned to the school with the children she collected. She was so tired that she felt like she would faint as it happened many times before. In times like this, there was a treatment she applied to herself: She would lock herself in her bedroom and let the fainting pass while she was lying down on the carpet on the floor.

Not only does she dare to wander on the mentioned roads that are in poor condition, but also she searches for girls until she has used up all her strength to the degree that she fainted. In other words, she devotedly and courageously served the nation by using all of her energy. The way that she overcomes the faint is also noteworthy: she cures herself *on her own* and does not seek anyone's help. Avar is portrayed as a strong woman who can take care of herself, even when she faints.

There is another column at the very end of the profile within a caption titled *Bir İnsan Yaratmanın Hikayesi* (The Story of Creating a Human), narrating one of the Avar's students – Elif Belge's story. Three photographs titled respectively *Geliş* (Arrival), *Mektepte* (In the School) and *Ve Nihayet* (And Finally) accompany the narrative. These are mentioned as three different stages of Elif Belge's life. The narration right besides the photograph elaborates on these stages as follows:

> Yanyana gördüğünüz bu üç resim, mükemmel bir insan yaratmanın kısa hikayesidir. (*Hayat*, 1957)
>
> The photographs that you see side by side are the short story of creating a great person.

The photographs and captions under each of them described approvingly the 'evolution' of a village girl throughout the trajectory of her life. The education given

by Sıdıka Avar in the Elazığ Vocational School is mentioned as the indispensable part of her evolution in her way to becoming a perfect woman. At the end of the narration, she is labeled as one of "Avar's miracles."

The first photograph, "Arrival", shows Elif when she first came to the Elazığ Vocational School. She is wearing a torn uniform, looking tiredly at the camera. Considering the overall message of the narrative, in this photo, Elif represents the girls who even didn't know Turkish and needed to be saved from the East. In the second photo, she appears in a school uniform in the Elazığ Vocational School. She smilingly looks at the camera and seems to have more confidence. Under this photograph, the fact that she is learning Turkish is mentioned, with special emphasis on the change of her outfit by stating Elif gives close attention to her outfit. Under the last photograph, titled "And Finally", Elif is seen as a young woman, wearing the uniform of a nurse. The title of the caption refers to her graduation from the Elazığ Vocational School and describes her as follows:

> Tertemiz Türkçe konuşan, tahsili yerinde bir Türk kızının karşısındayız. Şimdi memleket hastanelerinden birinde hastabakıcı. (*Hayat*, 1957)
>
> We are in front of a Turkish girl who is educated and speaks clean Turkish. Now, she is a nurse in one of the hospitals in the country.

The narrative also describes her as *mükemmel bir insan* (a great person) after going to the Elazığ Vocational School. Apparently, what makes her a "great person" is being an educated Turkish woman who speaks clean Turkish. It is important to see how the narrative emphasizes the national identity and Turkish language as indispensable parts of being a "great person".

In the second profile on Sıdıka Avar, Elif Belge's words about Avar are given. Avar is once more described as a heroine and mother of the girls in the school. The narrative gives place to the words of Elif Belge as follows:

> Bilmezsiniz diyordu, o beni elimden tutarak köyümden aldığı gün ancak dört, beş kelime Türkçe biliyordum. Sonra beyaz bir ata bindik ve bir şehre gittik. Büyük bir mektep… Bir anneden yakın bir kadın… Bugün hayatımda nem varsa hepsini Avar'a borçluyum. (*Hayat*, 1957)
>
> She said, you would not know, I only knew four or five Turkish words. Then, we got on a white horse and went to a city. A big school… A woman closer than a mother… I owe everything I have now to Avar.

In Elif's narrative, Avar is clearly depicted as a heroine saving Elif on a white horse, carrying her from village to town. At the end of the passage, she considers herself indebted to Avar for everything she has in life. When Avar first found Elif, she only knew four or five words in Turkish, which she describes as something hard to believe, whereas at the end of her education Elif Belge became a young woman and nurse who learned to speak clean Turkish, as the first profile assumed. Not knowing Turkish is again shown as one of the features of being in need and Avar appears not only as the savior but also the mother of Elif Belge and consequently of all the girls in the school. The narrative conveys the idea that Avar is like a mother who teaches her own language to her children. In this way, the fact that Kurdish girls have their own language is completely ignored and not even mentioned. Kurdish girls appear without any national or ethnic identity, as an empty ground on which the Turkish national identity can build its language and ideology. Moreover, metaphors such as a 'beam of light' or being carried on a white horse imply that the villages in the East are dark, uneducated places. As mentioned above, the East appears as an indication of tradition as opposed to being modern, educated, enlightened. Hence, throughout the narrative, bringing these girls to the Elazığ Vocational School and providing

them with the Turkish national identity is legitimized and even appears as a favor from the state.

To conclude, Avar is portrayed as the mother and the teacher of the girls in the Elazığ Vocational School. Even though she does not appear as the mother of her children or the wife of a man, Sıdıka Avar is portrayed as the mother of the nation through educating the girls in the school. Her devotedness is repeatedly mentioned by depicting her courageously serving the nation despite her physical weakness. She is an enlightened woman who carries 'light' to the 'uneducated' girls of the East, through being both their teacher and mother. In this way, she becomes a national heroine saving the children of the nation.

Both Satı Kadın and Sıdıka Avar are portrayed as national heroines in the service of the nation. They both are the ideal women of the new regime acting in accordance with the nation-state's policies. While Satı Kadın appears as a courageous and intelligent 'man' devoid of 'womanly' characteristics, Sıdıka Avar is portrayed as the mother of the nation, which is the main characteristic of a 'proper' woman in the era. Sıdıka Avar is also depicted as fragile and physically weak, characteristics commonly used for a woman. This is because Sıdıka Avar is depicted as a teacher, an occupation deemed appropriate for a woman, whereas Satı Kadın is a deputy – an occupation deemed appropriate for a man.

4.2 Local singers

The series titled *Ses Yıldızlarımızın Hususi Hayatlarını Anlatıyoruz* (We Are Telling the Private Lives of Our Vocal Stars) consist of 14 singers' lives. With the title of the series "Our Vocal Stars", *Hayat* signals that they make part of another "we"

composed of both the writers and the readers, emphasizing celebrities' national character. Moreover, *Hayat*'s writers claim an agency regarding the local stars' lives, which will be detailed to the readers who make part of the same community as the local celebrities do. The profiles define the life of a middle class family and open way to the effect of identification between the readers and the local celebrities, which I will detail in this section.

The profiles are on Perihan Sözeri, Nevin Demirdöven, Nesrin Sipahi, Gönül Akın, Sevim Tanürek, Mualla Mukadder, Afife Ediboğlu, Sadi Hoşses, Mediha Demirkıran, Muzaffer Akgün, İnci Ak, Zeki Müren, Mefharet Yıldırım and Ayla Doğanay. Except the two profiles on men, the narratives on Zeki Müren and Sadi Hoşses, all other profiles are on women singers, which I focus on.

The profiles are on classical Turkish music singers who mostly begin their career in Ankara Radio, a state institution, after succeeding in the exam held by the radio. Ankara Radio was opened in the year 1927 and functioned as one of the institutions creating a homogenized national identity (Ahıska, 2010). Ahıska (2010) argues that Ankara Radio, especially after the 1930s, aimed at creating the "pure national voice" by Turkifying folk music from different regions of Turkey, sang in various languages belonging to divergent ethnicities:

> Ankara Radio collaborated with the State Conservatory and the Ministry of Education to research and compile examples of folk music around the country, a politically charged effort that not only did replace the local and ethnic traditions of music, but also Turkified them, both in terms of language and content. (Ahıska, 2010, p. 85)

There were other branches such as classical Turkish music replacing certain genres degraded as "traditional" and "oriental".[21] For instance, even though alaturka music was named and categorized as Turkish music by Western sources, it was "labeled as immoral and associated with 'alcoholism' and 'lustful' feelings" (Ahıska, 2010, p.76). Turkish national elite, with an effort to create a homogenized national identity while aiming at being 'modern/western', tried to alienate from what is 'too traditional/eastern'. The right place between these imagined opposite poles (modern/western and eastern/traditional) was constantly negotiated in order to build the national identity. Classical Turkish music was broadcasted on Ankara Radio as the new genre reflecting the character of the national elite.[22] The women in the series as singers of the classical Turkish music are representative of modern urban national women in the new regime.

It is also important to note that *Hayat* chose to publish the first local celebrity profiles on singers rather than Turkish artists. As mentioned, after the 1960s *Hayat* began to publish celebrity profiles on local movie stars, similar to the ones on foreign female artists. However the first profiles on Turkish celebrities direct readers' attention to another domain, to the 'voice' rather than 'body' (Okur, 2007). According to the narratives, the beauty of foreign artists was usually associated with excessive sexuality as seen in the previous chapter. The narratives on local singers direct the attention of the readers to the domain of voice instead of the body. In this way, the profiles avoid any kind of sexual connotation with local female celebrities. Moreover, the narratives favor Turkish singers over foreign celebrities who are

[21] Ahıska states: "*Alaturka,* which was supposedly Turkish music, as categorized and named by Western sources, constituted a big topic for debate concerning its national status" (Ahıska, 2010). Paradoxically, this type of music was labeled as immoral and associated with 'alcoholism' and 'lustful feelings'.

typically found to be evoking excessive sexuality, spoiled, agentless or depressed. For example the profile on Ayla Doğanay compares her with foreign female celebrities regarding their approach toward scandal news:

> Ayla Doğanay – istemeyerek de olsa – kendi adı çevresinde büyük bir reklam yapmıştı. Oysa, Batılı sinema, ses yıldızları böyle "reklam – skandal"lar yaratabilmek için nelere katlanmazlardı ki… Binlerce dolar harcar, fırsat kollardı. Bir dolarlık "skandal" bin dolarlık "iş" i de arkasında getirirdi. Ayla bugünki "sade hayat"ından memnundu. Klasik bi ata sözünü bellemişti: "Para saadet getirmez."… (*Hayat*, 1958)
>
> Ayla Doğanay made a big advertisement, without wanting, for her own name. There was nothing that Western actors, singers would not do to create such "scandals-advertisements." They would spend thousands of dollars and watch for an opportunity. "A scandal" for one dollar would bring a "job" for one thousand behind it. Ayla was happy with her current "plain life". She embraced an old saying: "Money does not bring happiness"…

In the profile, it is mentioned that Ayla Doğanay attracts journalists' attention due to a judicial trial. The narrative does not give the reason for the trial but emphasizes that Ayla did not attract the attention of the press on purpose as foreign celebrities do. While the passage pejoratively mentions foreign celebrities seeking attention and self-promotion through scandal, it approves of Ayla's modesty.

The narratives claim to portray the singers' 'private' lives, as the title of the series presupposes. Their family lives and marriages are detailed with photographs showing them occupied with domestic work and/or their daily routine with husbands and children. In other words, what narratives posit as 'private' is mainly the singers' family life at their houses. There are also photographs picturing the singers while singing on stage or at the radio.

Tanyeli (2012) argues that the series "We Are Telling the Private Lives of Vocal Stars" in *Hayat* aimed at portraying Turkish singers' in a similar manner to the

Western nuclear family and they signal to a shift in the notion of *mahremiyet* (privacy) due to the claim they make about portraying the singers' private lives. In fact, it signals the creation of a 'private sphere' – the house of the newly emergent nuclear family in Turkey (Tanyeli, 2012). Tanyeli (2012) emphasizes that public/private are not pre-defined abstract categories and aims to show how the dichotomy of private/public was absent until the twentieth century in the Ottoman Empire. With the privatization of property and consequent dissolution of neighborhood ties in the modernization process in the twentieth century, a new order appeared. In other words, the house from then on appeared as a 'private' place separated from the street and neighborhood (Tanyeli, 2012). This 'private' place was inhabited by the nuclear family and appeared as the new form of governmentality replacing the old houses through which one's place in the family as well as in the society was defined. One's status within the old traditional family depended on his/her status defined by kinship ties and the family's position was determined vis-à-vis the Topkapı Palace – "the biggest house of the land" where the Sultan and his large family lived (Sirman, 2005). As mentioned in the introduction chapter, from the Tanzimat Period on, beginning with the bureaucratization period, as a result of modernization policies the system of big houses dissolved leaving its place to the nuclear family. Nationalism was a central part of this transition since the love for the nation replaced the old dependencies and ties that were determined by the system of kinship based on big houses (Sirman, 2005). The relationship between the spouses forming the smallest unit of the nation was similarly defined by love. This type of love was detached from any connotation of lust and characterized by *muhabbet* (fondness; Sirman, 2005). In short, the smallest governmental unit – the modern nuclear family – and the relationships that it contained were defined through this new

form of attachment – love as well as the duties of a husband and wife: “The nucleus of the house, now stripped of its protective dependencies emerges into the full view of public, an unstructured and empty space in need of definition” (Sirman, 2005, p. 150). This empty space was described in detail in books, magazines and newspapers, defining specific ways of conducts and relationships that the citizens should follow to become properly modern.

The series, We Are Telling the Private Lives of Vocal Stars, with the claim of portraying the singers’ ‘private lives’ consist of visual and textual narratives that depict the new house inhabited by the modern nuclear family as well as the relationships and the duties among the members of the family. The family portraits composed of children, mother and father display the members of the new nuclear family in Turkey. Throughout the profiles, the local women singers appear first and foremost as the mothers of their children and the wives of their husbands. It is repeatedly emphasized that the singers do not give priority to their singing careers but do so to their duties as a wife and mother. The photographs as well as the narratives depict them performing these duties. They are portrayed while cooking, doing the housework and taking care of children. While the profiles on Satı Kadın and Sıdıka Avar depicted them as ideal women for the nation emphasizing their public images –women devoted to the country, these narratives, even though they mention the singers’ service to the nation, rather emphasize the singers’ ‘private’ lives: their images as mothers and wives. Such narratives define the ‘proper’ Turkish women throughout their daily life instead of driving forward their public image.

The profiles repeatedly mention certain themes. The stories of meeting with their husbands, of becoming a singer, their daily, family routines as well as their

familial backgrounds are the common topics of the profiles. Even though every profile narrates the life of a singer, the topics and the way that the topics are elaborated on are similar. As a matter of fact, the women are portrayed firstly as the daughters of their former family, later on the mothers and wives of their latter family that they acquire through marriage. They are not depicted as independent women with a career.

The following profile on Mediha Demirkıran, seen in Figure 9, assures the readers that Mediha is first and foremost a mother and a wife rather than a singer. The narrative is accompanied with photographs. On the left of the profile, in the first photograph, Mediha Demirkıran is seen singing on stage. At the bottom part of the same page, there are three photographs side to side. In the first one Mediha Demirkıran is portrayed alone sitting on a sofa in her house. In the second one she is with her husband and in the last one she is with her son. The short narrative situated under the three photographs, titled *Ev Hayatı* (Domestic Life), briefly describes Mediha's life as follows:

> 1929 yılında bir teknisyenin kızı olarak Silahtarağa'da doğan Mediha Demirkıran, tanınmış tacirlerden İhsan Ünal ile evlidir. İlk kocasından 9 yaşında Oktay adlı bir çocuğu vardır. Geçen ay çocuğunu sünnet ettirmiş, ilk mürüvvetini görmüştür. Mediha Demirkıran ev işlerini çok sever. "Yemek pişirmek, ortalık süpürmek ev kadının vazifesidir. Ben 10'dan 18'e kadar evimin kadınıyım. Ev işi yaparım, kocamla dertleşirim, çocuğumu severim. Ancak 18'den sonra sahne hayatım başlar." Diyor. Resimlerde, Mediha Demirkıran Ünal evinde dinlenirken, eşi ve çocuğuyla birlikte görülüyor. (*Hayat*, 1958)
>
> Mediha Demirkıran, who was born in 1929 as the daughter of a technician in Silahtarağa, is married to İhsan Ünal, who is one of the renowned merchants. She has a nine-year-old son named Oktay from her first husband. Last month, she got him circumcised and witnessed his first bravery. Mediha Demirkıran loves house chores. "Cooking and vacuuming are the responsibilities of a housewife. I am the mistress of my house from 10 to 18. I do housework, talk to my husband and love my child. However, after 18, my stage life begins,"

says she. In the pictures, we see Mediha Demirkıran in her house resting with her husband and son.



Figure 9. Mediha Demirkıran. (1958). *Hayat*, *109*, 6-7.

The narrative as well as the photographs reassures the readers that Mediha Demirkıran is primarily mother and wife, only then is a singer. The quoted passage starts with a very short biographical account of Demirkıran's life. After mentioning her date and place of birth, her father and his occupation, the narrative immediately states that she is married to İhsan Ünal. It is important to note that the quoted passage portrays her first as a child, then as a wife without depicting her as a woman on her own but in relation to a man, her father and her husband. In the following sentence she is mentioned as a mother and a housewife who loves to do housework. While the

photographs portray Mediha Demirkıran with her child and husband, Demirkıran's own words stress the important role that her family plays in her life. She explicitly states that her duties as a mother and as a wife are more important than her career. She gives the description of being the woman of her house: doing housework, chatting with her husband and loving her child. Her life on stage starts only once she has completed her duties as a mother and wife.

While women's familial roles are repeatedly put forward, the narratives define these roles. The following poem written to Afife Ediboğlu by her husband is an example of how the narratives describe these roles. The following passage is the poem written in place of a New Year's gift since the husband of Afife Ediboğlu could not afford to buy a present. The poem is as follows:

> Sen her zaman çalışkan ve güzelsin
> Masamın beyaz keten örtüsü
> Lavanta çiçeği kokan mendillerim
> Senin
> Sen her yarama merhem
> Ağlarsam ağlayan
> Gülersem gülen
> Çocuklarımın karnı tok
> Sırtı pek gezdiren
> Akşamları mahzun köylerimiz
> Şehirlerimiz için
> Radyoda şarkılar söyleyen
> Aşçım
> Çamaşırcım
> Ütücüm
> Sanatkarım
> Karım… (Hayat, 1958)

You are always hardworking and beautiful
The white linen cover of my table
My handkerchiefs with the lavender smell are
Yours
You are the remedy for all my wounds
The one who cries when I cry,
Smiles when I smile
Feeds my children
Sings on the radio in the evenings
For our mournful villages, cities
My cook
Laundress
Ironer
Artisan
My wife…

The way that he wrote the poem is significant as it reveals what kind of relationship he holds with his wife and how he appreciates her. He begins by saying that his wife is beautiful and assiduous. Later on he adds that his linen tablecloth and his napkins smelling of lavender are hers. In other words, he states that the tablecloth is white and the napkin smells like lavender thanks to her with the implication that Afife Ediboğlu is the one who keeps them clean. He continues with mentioning Afife's support in every situation. He says that Afife is the mother of his children, who feeds and dresses them. Up to this point in the poem, it is interesting to see that he uses mostly the first person singular possessive instead of the first person plural one. As a nuclear family, supposedly they live in a house and have children. However, the husband does not mention the objects of the house – tablecloth and napkins – as

theirs but his. By the same token, instead of saying “our children” he says “my” children. It is clear that he thinks himself to be the owner of the house and the children, and Afife as the helper.

Later on he states that Afife sings on the radio for our cities and villages. Thus he frames Afife’s career as national and collective. “Our villages and cities” direct us to the idea of nation for which Afife is singing. It is quite interesting to note how the poem is structured as one sentence, finishing with the last words “my wife”. In a way, the husband makes a description of his wife. His wife is his cook, launderer, ironer and artist who sings for the villages and cities. In other words, her existence as a singer is tied to her duty to the nation and as a mother and a wife.

It is clear for one to see that in the poem, Afife is portrayed first and foremost as the wife of her husband, someone who takes care of children and domestic chores. The poem, written in place of a New Year’s present, does not comply with the format of a classical love poem. The poem is clearly devoid of any passionate or sexual love between two lovers; one can even say that Afife is portrayed as a maid rather than a husband’s wife.

The singers’ duty as a housewife who cooks and does the housework is repeatedly emphasized, as in the following example:

> İnci Atalay günlük hayatının dörtte üçünü mutfakta geçirir: “Erkeklerin kalbine giden yol mideden geçer” sözü kulağında küpe olduğu için eşini “baklavasız-böreksiz” bırakmaz. (*Hayat*, 1958)
>
> İnci Atalay spends three quarters of her time in the kitchen. As the saying “The road to men’s heart goes through the stomach” rings in her ears, she always prepares pie or baklava for her husband.

In this passage, it is once more stated that the singers fulfill their duties as wives before their career as singers. Cooking for the husband is one of the primary duties.

The primary duties of a housewife and mother consist of doing housework, taking care of children and spending time with their husbands. There is also a special emphasis that while fulfilling these duties, the singers as well as their families conduct a modest life without any excess. For instance, the quoted poem above was written since the husband of Afife Ediboğlu did not have sufficient income to buy a New Year's present. According to the narratives, regardless of the singers' and their family's income, they prefer a modest way of living. The following passage emphasizes Muzaffer Akgün's modesty through her own words:

> Ama fazla şatafata meraklı değilim. Benim hayatta tek lüksüm nedir bilir misiniz?... Ona da bazan lüks denilemez… Söylesem şaşarsınız. Kızarmış ekmek… Benim için nar gibi kızarmış iki dilim ekmek ile mütevazi bir yemek, mükellef bir ziyafet sofrasına bedeldir. Ne kara hayvar, ne ıstakoz salatası… Radyodaki maaşımla pekala ekmeğimi kızartıp yiyebilirim. (*Hayat,* 1958)
>
> However, I am not a fan of showing off. Do you know what the only luxury in my life is? You would be surprised if I told you. Toasted bread… For me, two slices of toasted bread and a humble meal is worth a feast. Neither black caviar nor lobster salad… I can well toast my bread and eat with my current salary in the Radio.

The fact that Muzaffer Akgün's life is not a luxurious one is emphasized with a radical example. Muzaffer Akgün does not prefer luxurious goods such as lobster salad or black caviar. She is modest to the degree that her only luxury is toasted bread. Moreover, she concludes her words by saying that she can eat toasted bread with her salary from the radio, meaning that she is content with what she has and does not aspire for more. Common to all, even though the singers are famous women who could supposedly earn quite high incomes, it is stressed that they conduct a

modest life and do not soar to a luxurious way of living. As a matter of fact, these profiles reflect the creation of the newly emergent middle class in Turkey, described as the sum of 'happy' nuclear families who conduct 'modest' and 'normal' lives. Any kind of deviance from normalcy is considered excess which is presented in the foreign female celebrity profiles.

Singers' childhood stories are one of the recurring themes re-assuring that the singers are from average Turkish families. The following quote narrates Muzaffer Akgün's childhood story:

> Muzaffer Akgün 1927 yılında İstanbul'da doğmuş. 8 yaşında alaturka keman dersi almağa başlamış. İlk hocası PTT şefi Seyit Canözer'miş. Bu arada babasının görevi dolayısiyle Ankara'ya gitmişler. Muzaffer İsmet Paşa Kız Enstitüsü'ne yazılmış. 1942'de de Ankara radyosunun ses imtihanını kazanarak radyoya girmiş. (*Hayat*, 1958)
>
> Muzaffer Akgün was born in Istanbul in 1927. She started taking violin lessons in the Ottoman music style. Her first teacher was the chief of PTT (Postal Telephone and Telegraph), Seyit Canözer. In the meantime, they moved to Ankara because of her father's job. Muzaffer was enrolled in İsmet Paşa Girls' Institute. In 1942, she got in the radio, winning the audition of Radio Ankara.

The profiles generally mention the singers' date of birth, initial contact with music and father's occupation in place of a short biographical account of their lives. The details that the narratives give – the date of birth, the place of birth, father's occupation – place the singers' childhood in a fixed time and space leaving no room for imagination for the readers as opposed to foreign female celebrities' childhood stories which usually described foreign celebrities with metaphors recalling princesses from a fabulous world. The metaphors recalling a fabulous world are absent, while the mere facts are listed in a monotonous way. Their fathers or teachers have occupations with an average income such as chief of PTT serving as a

government official as in this example. The narratives in this way posit that the singers come from an average Turkish family, normal women with whom the readers would easily identify.

The singers as opposed to foreign celebrities are never represented without agency, as spoiled or depressed. As mentioned in the previous chapter, foreign celebrities are portrayed as agentless, spoiled or depressed due to their failures in their marriage and love affairs. However, in the case of local celebrities, the singers are mentioned as 'good housewives' even when they are divorced or not married, as in the following passage on Mefharet Yıldırım:

> Evinin Bahçesinde, Mefharet Yıldırım, ses sanatkarlarının en hanımıdır. Radyoda teknisyen olan eşinden geçinemediği için ayrılmıştır. 16 yaşında bir kızı vardır. Kedileri sever. Resimde bahçede kedisiyle görülüyor. Yemek kitabı- Sanatkar çok lezzetli yemekler pişirir. Bir yemek kitabı çıkarsa, Türk mutfağına en aşağı 30 yeni yemek kazandırabilir. Mesela, fasulyaya su koymaz. "Bir kadın yemekle birlikte pişmelidir." Sözüne uyar. (*Hayat*, 1958)
>
> Mefharet Yıldırım, in the garden of her house, is the most ladylike of all vocal artists. She divorced her husband who was a technician in the radio because they could not get on well. She has a 16-year-old daughter. She likes cats. In the picture, she is seen with her cat in the garden. Cookbook. The artist cooks delicious food. If she writes a cookbook, Turkish cuisine would acquire at least 30 new meals. For example, she does not put water while cooking beans. She follows the rule, "A woman should dedicate herself to the meal she cooks."

Mefharet's divorce is not criticized but legitimized by the narrative. She was divorced since she could not get along with her husband. Moreover, the narrative stresses that she cooks very well, being able to prepare a great variety of dishes, in order to put an emphasis that she continues to be a good housewife.

The profiles on local celebrities define the singers as 'proper' women while at the same time give place to the recipe of what is to be 'proper' woman. A proper

woman is a mother and a wife, who takes care of her children and does the house work. She also spends time with her husband and cooks for her family. Even if she has an occupation, she always privileges her family over her career.

4.3 Concluding Remarks

As mentioned in the beginning of this chapter, the profiles on "Turkish Vocal Stars" appear two years after the profiles on Satı Kadın and Sıdıka Avar – national heroines – are published. The first profiles on national heroines reveal the magazine's initial reflex regarding foreign female celebrity profiles and posit them as ideal women who devote themselves to the service of the nation. These profiles, by fostering the public figure of the mentioned women, do not comply with the celebrity profile format. It takes two years for the magazine to publish profiles on local celebrities in a similar format to celebrity profiles by creating a 'private' image for the Turkish singers. However, the 'private' image created for the local singers drastically differs from the one in the foreign celebrity profiles. The profiles on local celebrities depict the singers' family life while defining them as 'proper' mothers and wives. The local singers are 'normal' women from average middle class families preferring a modest life. In other words, local celebrities are portrayed as women with whom the readers can easily identify. As mentioned in the previous chapter, celebrity women's profiles invited the readers to oscillate between identification and alienation, while finally directing them to identifying with the married, happy foreign women. The local celebrity profiles, however, invite the readers to a direct identification since they are portrayed as 'normal' women as opposed to the foreign female celebrities who are portrayed as inhabiting a superior world of goddesses or suffering from the negative

sublime of fame. The way that the local celebrities, alongside the foreign female celebrities, are depicted reveals how the boundaries of the ‘proper’ Turkish woman are determined.

The overall tone of these profiles depicting ideal women as well as the everyday life of Turkish vocal singers is also indicative of how proper citizens of the new regime were defined. The profiles’ objective and even didactic tone amounts to an omniscient style, giving strict definitions of proper women citizens as ‘the true path’ to follow.

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSION

In this thesis, with the aid of the textual analysis of celebrity women's profiles published in the years 1956-1960 in *Hayat* magazine, I aimed to see the discursive formation of proper womanhood in the mentioned era. The significant differences between the profiles on foreign female celebrities and local female celebrities led me to seeing the definition of proper Turkish woman. I analyzed foreign female celebrities and local ones separately, the former in the first and the latter in the second chapter.

In the third chapter, I analyzed foreign female celebrity profiles in three categories according to their main themes: the glorification of celebrities, stories of soured dreams and the display of happy family lives. These profiles conformed to the rules of celebrity culture since they displayed the celebrities' private lives (Marshall, 1997) and were appropriated by *Hayat* writers from Western magazines. The profiles in the first category, while portraying the celebrities as goddess-like beautiful women, also gave place to the celebrities' bodily characteristics implying disapprovingly that these characteristics signal to excess of sexuality. In the second category, the profiles depict the celebrities as agentless, depressed, spoiled and lunatic women who suffer from the negative side of fame, which reveals itself when the celebrities do not manage to have a happy family life. In the first category, celebrities' future fall from heaven is implied to the readers by mentioning that they evoke excessive sexuality, which may reveal fame's negative side leading to their self-destruction. These two categories display, in Taussig's (2005) terms, the two opposite sides of the aesthetic forces shaping the celebrity culture. In the first

category, celebrities are displayed enjoying fame's glory, whereas in the second category, they fall into fame's abyss, suffering from depression, loss of agency and lunacy.

The mentioned profiles with the claim to portray celebrity women's private lives create normativity around womanhood with general assumptions and certain ways of representations regarding women. The public display of celebrities' private lives increases the level of affective investment of the readers in the narratives (Marshall, 1997) since the narratives portray the celebrities' daily life instead of driving forward the movies for which they became famous, more specifically their public personae. In other words, the readers witness celebrities' happiness, depression or loneliness, all of which are also possible scenarios for the readers' lives. Moreover, the narratives portray the women happy, depressed, lonely or lunatic according to certain predefined criteria. Hence, the profiles amount to certain generalizations and invite the readers to share the created normativity regarding womanhood. Once the normativity regarding womanhood as well as the ground with which the readers would be familiar is created, the celebrity profiles invite the readers to oscillate between identification with and alienation from the celebrities (Warner, 2002). The familiar ground is celebrities' private lives consisting of everyday routines, marriages and family lives at their houses, similar to how the readers supposedly spend their daily lives. The positive and negative sides of fame are visible consecutively in the first and second category. The former portrays celebrities as goddess-like beautiful women enjoying the glorious world of fame. The second category represents the celebrities without agency, spoiled and depressed, amounting to the alienation effect for the readers. The narratives in the third category, however, lead to the effect of identification as they portray

celebrities as ordinary housewives and mothers enjoying the 'happy' family life. In other words, the celebrities in the third category appear as 'ordinary' women with whom the readers may easily identify. Moreover, the mentioned narratives portray the celebrities happily married hence free from the risks of fame that could bring the loss of agency, depression and lunacy.

The three categories make the readers circulate among the glory of fame, fame's negative sublime and the ordinary happy lives of celebrities. The way that these categories direct the readers to the third category as a salvation from fame's inevitable destruction establishes the normativity of marriage. According to the foreign celebrity profiles in *Hayat*, celebrity women become happy and agents of their actions only when they manage to have a steady family life. The foreign celebrity profiles put an emphasis on the universality of marriage and the nuclear family.

In the fourth chapter, I analyzed local female celebrity profiles. *Hayat*'s writers themselves wrote these narratives as opposed to the foreign celebrity profiles, which were appropriated from Western magazines. Throughout the trajectory of *Hayat*, the format of female celebrity profiles has been appropriated to the local ones, yet with a different content. In line with the magazine's overall attitude the female celebrity profiles depict how life is lived in the world while defining the borders of the national decent life in Turkey. The foreign female celebrity profiles follow the same pattern. The local female profiles appear as the definition of proper national women alongside the foreign female celebrities. The first two profiles on Sıdıka Avar and Satı Kadın portray these women as national heroines who devoted their lives to the nation. Satı Kadın was among first women deputies and portrayed as a courageous and intelligent 'person' in the service of the

nation rather than a woman. This was probably because she did not fit into the definition of a proper Turkish woman of the time, a proper mother and wife who can be a nurse, teacher and alike – the occupations considered suitable for women since they can perform their duties as mothers by teaching children or taking care of others. I argue that the narratives portrayed her as an intelligent and courageous man instead of a woman in order to be able to depict her as a deputy, an occupation deemed appropriate for men. Sıdıka Avar was also mentioned as a courageous and devoted to the nation teacher. The narratives depicted her as a woman yet emphasized her courage. In the analysis of this profile, I tried to show how the policies of the nation-state aiming to create a homogenized national Turkish identity were naturalized throughout the narrative on Sıdıka Avar. The profile "Take My Daughter Too" mentioned Sıdıka Avar as the mother and the savior of the children in the East, educating the future Turkish mothers and wives of the new regime, while ignoring the children's own ethnic identity and language. Sıdıka Avar herself appeared as an ideal woman of the new regime – the mother and teacher of the girls in the Elazığ Vocational High School, consequently of the nation. These two profiles on Satı Kadın and Sıdıka Avar mention these women as the national heroines of the Republic, emphasizing their public personae instead of driving forward their private lives. They were the first local women profiles in the magazine and reflect the magazine's initial reflex regarding the foreign celebrity profiles. The magazine published the mentioned profiles on local national heroines in the 21st and 22nd issues of *Hayat* alongside foreign celebrity profiles. However, local celebrity profiles appear after a two-year break in a similar format to the foreign celebrity profiles. The profiles in the series "We Are Giving Place to the Private Lives of Our Vocal Stars" conform to the format of the foreign celebrity women's profiles by

displaying the 'private' lives of Turkish singers. However, differently from the foreign female celebrities, they were always presented as 'proper' women, mostly housewives and mothers who privilege their family life over their career. The first two profiles portrayed Satı Kadın and Sıdıka Avar as extraordinary heroines who devoted their lives to the nation and did not mention their own family lives. These two women appeared as the ideal public figures of the new regime, whereas the profiles on local celebrities portrayed the singers mostly as mothers and wives in their own family. These narratives described the women's social roles in the nuclear family, which appeared as the new form of governmentality in the new regime of the Turkish Republic. Local singers are first and foremost wives and mothers, only then singers. The mentioned narratives, through the local singers' profiles, describe the social roles of a proper Turkish woman of the new regime as being a good mother and wife who takes care of the domestic work, spends time with her husband and takes care of their children. As opposed to Sıdıka Avar and Satı Kadın, they appear as ordinary women with whom the readers can easily identify. While Sıdıka Avar and Satı Kadın reflected the nation-state's policies regarding the consolidation of the new regime through ideal heroines, these profiles describe the social roles of proper women in everyday life in the Turkish Republic.

The way that *Hayat* elaborates on the foreign and local female celebrities differs, as I tried to show throughout the two chapters. Foreign female celebrities were represented as either goddess-like beautiful women or depressed and lonely women. Both of these representations created an effect of alienation, while the profiles on married celebrities directed the readers to the normativity of marriage. Celebrities became protected against the risks of fame through acquiring 'ordinary' lives: getting married and having children. On the other hand, Turkish women were

represented as neither very beautiful women enjoying fame's glory nor depressed, agentless and lonely celebrities suffering from the destructive character of fame. They were portrayed as ordinary and proper women with whom the readers can directly identify. They do not risk suffering from the negative side of fame, since they are never represented primarily for their singing careers or as beautiful celebrities. Single foreign female celebrities who enjoyed fame were criticized for becoming famous merely due to their physical characteristics, which evoke excessive sexuality signaling to their future fall. However, the local female celebrities' physical characteristics were not mentioned in detail. The singers were only described as beautiful without giving any further detail about their physical characteristics as in the case of foreign female celebrities. Their voice made them famous instead of their bodily characteristics. Furthermore, they were never portrayed first and foremost as celebrities but as mothers and wives. In other words, there is a special emphasis that these women did not attempt, either by driving forward their bodily characteristics or by making scandal news about themselves, to become celebrities. They became famous thanks to their talent. The narratives mentioned local singers who did not prefer to sing on stage but worked at a radio even if they were paid a lower salary, in an approving manner. The emphasis is on the fact that local celebrities prefer a modest life like ordinary people instead of enjoying the glory of fame. As a matter of fact, the narratives stress that the local singers neither are nor act like foreign female celebrities. They are not goddess-like beautiful women or depressed, lonely women suffering from fame's negative side that reveals itself unless the celebrities get married and begin to conduct an ordinary life. The local celebrities, similar to the readers, already conduct an ordinary life. Hence they neither enjoy the positive side of fame nor suffer from its negative side.

The foreign celebrity profiles establish the normativity of marriage through directing the readers to the profiles on married celebrities who manage to protect themselves from the destructive side of fame. However, the profiles on local celebrities, by portraying the singers as ordinary and proper women, invite the readers to a direct identification and also define the characteristics of a proper Turkish woman: modest wives and mothers, taking care of domestic chores, their husbands as well as children.

It is also important to note that *Hayat* posed the Turkish local celebrities as proper modern women within the modern Turkish nuclear family. The narratives not only defined them as proper wives and mothers but also portrayed them in the modern nuclear family by giving place to fragments of this lifestyle. The celebrity women's profiles between 1956 and 1960 in *Hayat*, in line with the magazine's overall trajectory, depict foreign celebrities especially from the West and later on define the national limits of the Turkish proper women with regards to what it has depicted. This reflected how the modern national identity in the Turkish Republic was constructed. While the West was posed as an ideal to reach in order to become modern, the 'authentic national identity' was constantly attempted to be built in the 'right place' between what is imagined to be 'excessively Western/modern' and 'excessively Eastern/traditional' (Ahıska, 2010). The magazine followed the same pattern regarding the definition of the national proper woman of the new regime. The cover page of *Hayat* mostly gave place to the portrait of a foreign woman celebrity whose life was detailed through the genre of celebrity profile in the following pages of each issue in *Hayat*. The cover page of *Hayat* between 1956 and 1960 has a foreign celebrity woman illustrating the magazine's main interest (Mccracken, 1994). While the magazine gives the recipe of a happy life as equated

with being married with children, it posits the women as the founders of this happy life. In the foreign celebrity profiles, the magazine details the life of foreign celebrity women while positing the Turkish singers as ideal women who maintain decent family lives. However, it is crucial to note that the decent family life in Turkey is constructed vis-a-vis the Western modern nuclear family and by the same token proper national Turkish women are presented vis-à-vis the foreign ones. Hence Turkish celebrities appeared as ordinary proper mothers and wives, different from foreign celebrities, yet modern, appropriating the Western family life, the modern nuclear family. The local female celebrity profiles reflect the creation of the middle class Turkish family as a site of 'normalcy' and 'modesty' avoiding any kind of association with any kind of excess, which in the magazine appears as fame.

I argue that *Hayat*'s definition of proper womanhood is indicative of the mentioned era for several reasons. Firstly, it was a highly circulated magazine elaborating on life as a whole. Other magazines published in the same era were focusing on one specific subject: only on tabloid press, on childcare or on house decoration and domestic tips for women. However, *Hayat* sought to present the life in Turkey as well as in the world with a specific emphasis on the role of women as the founder of the life. Secondly, *Hayat* as a cultural text defined the life in Turkey as well as women's place in it in comparison with the life in the world in a period of consolidation of the new regime, the Turkish Republic. In other words, the chosen time period reveals the discursive formation of womanhood in the new regime when the discursive formation reached a clear definition.

The narratives in *Hayat* that shape and get shaped by the discursive formation regarding proper womanhood were produced, circulated and consumed through a dominant cultural product in the mentioned era. In this thesis, through the

textual analysis of celebrity profiles, I showed how the celebrity women's profiles produced the discursive formation of modern Turkish womanhood as well as the definition of it. As a further study, through an ethnographic study, how the readers consumed these narratives can be analyzed.

APPENDIX

EXAMPLES FROM *HAYAT*

Anita Ekberg, Evlilik Onu Uslandırdı. (1957). *Hayat*, 16, 20-21.

Ayla Doğanay. (1958). *Hayat*, 103, 6-7.

Brigitte Bardot'nun Zamanımız Gençliğine Açtığı Ufuk. (1957) *Hayat*, 13, 20.

Dünün Sophia Loren'i. (1958). *Hayat*, 91. 12.

Dünya Marilyn'i Unutamıyor. (1962). *Hayat*, 202, 8.

Elizabeth Taylor. His Hayatındaki Fırtınalar Ne Zaman Dinecek (1958). *Hayat*, 104, 8.

Gene Tierry Tekrar Hayata Kavuşuyor. (1959). *Hayat*, 167, 1.

İlk Köylü Kadın Mebusumuz Satı Kadın. (1956). *Hayat*, 1, 5.

İnci Atalay. (1958). *Hayat*, 107, 8-9.

Kalbimin Yarısı Londra Kaldı. (1956). *Hayat*, 1, 3.

Kıraliçe Süreyya, Asrın En Güzel Kıraliçesi. (1956). *Hayat*, 6, 6-7.

Kızımı da Götür. (1957). *Hayat*, 21, 5.

Marilyn Yeni Bir Başarı Evresinde. (1959). *Hayat*, 149, 20.

Mediha Demirkıran. (1958). *Hayat*, *109*, 6-7.

Mefrahat Yıldırım. (1958). *Hayat*, *115*, 20-21.

Mualla Mukadder. (1958). *Hayat*, *110*.

Muzaffer Akgün. (1958). *Hayat*, *104*, 6-7.

Niçin Mesut Olamıyorlar. (1958). *Hayat*, 93, 8.

Novella Pagini. (1957). *Hayat*, 22, 19.

Prenses Margaretha'nın Anlaşılmayan Istırabı. (1959). *Hayat*, 162, 22.

Pier Angelli'nin Evinde. (1959) *Hayat*, 158, 12.

Sevim Tanürek. (1958). *Hayat*, *106*, 7.

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