

**TÜRKİYE CUMHURİYETİ
ANKARA ÜNİVERSİTESİ
SOSYAL BİLİMLER ENSTİTÜSÜ
MEDYA VE İLETİŞİM ÇALIŞMALARI ANABİLİM DALI**

**AMERICANISATION OF POPULAR CULTURE DURING THE
DEMOCRAT PARTY ERA: THE CASE OF WOMEN'S
MAGAZINES**

Tezli Yüksek Lisans Tezi

Zeynep ULUSOY

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Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü Müdürlüğü'ne

Dr. Öğr. Üyesi Gül KARAGÖZ KIZILCA danışmanlığında hazırladığım “Americanisation of Popular Culture During the Democrat Party Era: The Case of Women’s Magazines (Ankara – 2024)” adlı yüksek lisans tezimdeki bütün bilgilerin akademik kurallara ve etik davranış ilkelerine uygun olarak toplanıp sunulduğunu, başka kaynaklardan aldığım bilgileri metinde ve kaynakçada eksiksiz olarak gösterdiğimi, çalışma sürecinde bilimsel araştırma ve etik kurallarına uygun olarak davrandığımı ve aksinin ortaya çıkması durumunda her türlü yasal sonucu kabul edeceğimi beyan ederim.

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INTRODUCTION

1. RESEARCH SUBJECT

The scrutiny of Türkiye's societal and political shifts, in relation to both internal and external dynamics, has been a recurring topic of scholarly discussion within the academic community. Nevertheless, despite some attention given to the developments of the Democrat Party (DP) era in many studies written in Turkish, they have been mostly neglected in those published in English. Previous research in Turkish has predominantly focused on the Democrat Party's policies, election procedures, and interactions with other countries and varying political and ethnic groups, with little consideration given to its direct and indirect impacts on Turkish cultural life.

The presence of an elitist perspective is also a contributing factor to this paucity, as it posits that cultural artefacts primarily serve the aim of entertaining the general public, dismissing their potential for scholarly and critical scrutiny. Yet, cultural products, particularly popular culture, mould their intended audience and shed light on the ideological configuration of society and the political and social climate of a given period in which that readership exists.

Therefore, this study looks into women's magazines, a frequently overlooked product of popular culture. And, contrary to initial expectations, the analysis does not rely on feminist theories. Instead, it approaches the data as a means of exploring ideological reflection and seeks to illustrate whether they were ideologically motivated by the shifting political climate and whether they stayed under the cultural influence of the United States during the under-explored Democrat Party era.

To enhance the clarity of the DP movement, which is controversially paired with the notion of democracy and has exerted significant influence on Turkish politics, my

thesis commences with a concise evaluation of the perception and execution of democracy in Türkiye and surrounding domestic and international contexts during the relevant period. Subsequently, a comprehensive account is provided regarding the DP's overall perspective, ideology, and domestic and foreign policies, as well as its relationship with the United States. This chapter also addresses the cultural dimension of TR-US ties, which became significantly more functional in the process of Americanisation in addition to the political and economic elements. Since the practical interactions have prompted a need for an examination of the theoretical developments and scholarly perspectives underlying them, the following chapter delves into the historical expansion of popular culture, as well as the prevailing scholarly discussions surrounding it. It also discusses women's magazines as a product of popular culture, highlighting the distinctions between Turkish and Western versions of the genre.

The analysis section of the thesis investigates the impact of the US on cultural aspects by analysing the advertising found in three women's magazines produced throughout the period spanning from 1950 to 1960. This investigation revolves around the primary purpose of women's magazines, namely whether women's magazines were primarily utilised for entertainment purposes or whether they served as catalysts for significant societal changes as part of the modernisation process. It also looks into the extent to which these publications were influenced by the transformative effects of the bipolar order, as well as the consequences of internal and external interactions, particularly with the United States, and whether they were driven by the government's political motivations. In this sense, I have formulated two distinct hypotheses:

(1) Women's magazines served as a medium that facilitated Americanisation and promoted the American lifestyle through the use of a variety of advertisements, and

(2) These publications aligned themselves with the government's policy orientation shaped in response to resounding domestic and international developments.

The reason why I have focused on women's magazines in this research is that among all types, women's magazines hold a privileged position since the media has recognised women as both important consumers and essential consumption material from the very beginning, making women's magazines, which became increasingly popular in Türkiye at the turn of the 20th century, an undeniable resource for the reflection of the intended era. These magazines have also been of particular significance in Türkiye due to the fact that they have been moulded by the new identity that women acquired as a result of the modernisation project. In addition, the assumption that women's periodicals would differentiate themselves within the liberal system after the introduction of a new party system and the bipolar order brought on by the Cold War is crucial to my decision. With the shift to a multi-party system in 1946, the ascension of the Democrat Party to power, and, most significantly, the beginning of a time of geopolitical tension between the United States and the Soviet Union and their allies, every social stratum underwent a profound transformation. Not surprisingly, Türkiye did not deviate from this pattern and was impacted by the global trajectory. From this vantage point, it is conceivable to observe the conceptual deviations that accompanied the shift in political ideology through women's magazines.

My rationale for focusing on the Democrat Party era within the scope of the thesis is the fact that the press movements of the Democrat Party era have received insufficient attention in the literature, and there are relatively few scholarly analyses of the dynamic reflections seen in women's magazines. Also, the ideological struggle between the two worldviews and the anti-communist orientation in the Western mindset matched with the populist political ideology of the Democrat Party, expediting the movement of thought from the centre, the US, to the periphery, Türkiye. It is also my anticipation that this may

have caused an expansion of American hegemony into several spheres of cultural and intellectual life and printed materials such as books, newspapers, and magazines to fall victim to the Cold War polarisation. In alternative terms, the alignment between the core of American cultural policies and the populist ideology of the DP, which deviated from its precursor, perhaps played a role in the emergence of women's publications mirroring capitalist ideology.

2. RESEARCH OBJECTIVE AND SIGNIFICANCE

As I have stated above, my objective is to explore if women's magazines were influenced by the changing political climate and whether they remained culturally influenced by the United States during the Democrat Party era. Unlike other studies that analyse popular cultural products through themes, examine the construction of women solely from a feminist standpoint, and limit their analysis to semiotic interpretations when it comes to advertising, I aim to uncover the hidden power of popular culture, acting as an ideology carrier, through the lens of advertisements, employing a distinct perspective.

With this understanding, I have conducted a literature review to explore research that encompassed the 1950's sociopolitical context, realm of the press, and popular culture, with a specific focus on the Democrat Party. I have found that, unlike those in English,¹ the studies published in Turkish encompasses various theses that delve into the

¹ These studies encompass master's theses and PhD dissertations authored by students from international universities and institutes, which are accessible via the OATD database, as well as those conducted in English across Türkiye, which are accessible via the Council of Higher Education's National Thesis Centre. A total of four theses that are most relevant to the present study have been identified. These include:
Carver, M. M. (2011). *"A Correct and Progressive Road": U.S.-Turkish Relations, 1945-1964* [PhD Dissertation]. Bowling Green State University.

intricate dynamics of the Democrat Party's interactions with the press. These scholarly works offer valuable insights and analyses into the multifaceted nature of this relationship, shedding light on its complexities and implications. They predominantly focus on the press policies and regulations of the DP, as well as the concept of press freedom during the 1950s. In their respective works, Arıkan (1999), Arıkanoğlu (2014), and Öngel (2017) approach their research subject through a historical lens, drawing upon a significant body of evidence from mainstream newspapers of the relevant period, including Vatan, Zafer, Milliyet, and Ulus. Öngel (2017) discusses DP-press relations and comes to the conclusion that there was a lack of press freedom during the DP period. In her study of the press in Türkiye from 1957 to 1961, Arıkan (1999) asserts that the press, before subjected to pressure, regained its rights and freedoms following the 1961 constitution. On the other hand, Akgün (2015) and Keskin-Ertek (2019) have conducted their respective studies within a theoretical framework to gain insight into the widely discussed politics-media connection, specifically focusing on the DP government. These works are crucial for comprehending the political and social developments of the era and greatly contribute to a subfield with limited academic interest. However, they seem deficient in their evaluation of the press only within a theoretical framework or their exclusive focus on the mainstream newspapers. While these publications provide a descriptive perspective, they do not obviate the necessity for comprehensive

Kalkan, M. (2007). *The Relations of the United States and Turkey During the Menderes Administration and Coup D'état* [MA Thesis]. Texas Tech University.

Bilir, A. B. (2021). *The Role of Ideology in Turkish Foreign Policy During the Democrat Party Era* [MA Thesis]. Bilkent University.

Ocaklı, S. (2001). *Westernization, Modernization and Turkish-Arab Relations During Democrat Party Era* [MA Thesis]. Bilkent University.

investigations to elucidate the period and the functionality of the press as the fourth estate from tailored perspectives.

When examining the Democrat Party, another prominent topic explored in the literature is its relationship with the United States. The imperative of joining either of the two blocs in the 1950s, driven by the global circumstances, the emergence of the US as the new Western benchmark, and the attraction of foreign assistance and American way of capitalism, led to a tighter relationship between Türkiye and the United States. These relationships have naturally generated data serving both the academic and political communities. Upon reviewing the literature, I have found four research specifically addressing this matter. The master's thesis, authored by Horasan (2010), revolves around the examination of the DP's domestic and foreign policies, particularly its inclination towards an American-oriented approach, and is substantiated with sources such as major newspapers, magazines, scholarly articles, and research publications. Likewise, Arda (2018) and Bağlan (2014) add to the existing body of knowledge by delving into the historical context of US-Türkiye ties and exploring whether foreign policy evolved outside of US influence. Last but not least, Ordu (2008) made a distinctive contribution to the literature by examining the American public's perspective on the Korean War, which resulted in notable shifts in US politicians' and citizens' perceptions of Türkiye during the years when bilateral relations were forming, despite not directly addressing relations with the US. Nevertheless, it is important to highlight that the interdisciplinary field of international relations has yet to incorporate the impacts of the interactions with the US on social and cultural life during the years when soft power was being recognised as a newly influential component of influence, as well as the indications of Americanisation.

The analysis of periodical publications issued during the Democrat Party period emerges as another prominent theme within the existing literature. Scholars have delved

into this topic to examine the content, style, and impact of these publications. The research samples in these studies have predominantly comprised newspapers, followed by journals and magazines. In his doctoral dissertation, Emre-Kaya (2009) analyses the DP policies by examining the pieces published in *Cumhuriyet*, concluding that the political climate of the day shaped the newspaper's political stance. Suiçmez (2021) conducts an analysis of the front-page news articles in *Hürriyet*, a newspaper that emerged during the early years of the Cold War. The findings have revealed that these articles predominantly conveyed the US' economic, ideological, and cultural standpoint. Additionally, they portrayed the US as a trusted ally while adopting a critical stance towards the Soviet Union. The study findings exemplify how the press contributed to Cold War polarisation and Americanisation. In addition to these, scholarly investigations have also scanned the newspapers *Ulus*, *Kudret*, and *Zafer*, which served as the primary vehicles for disseminating the perspectives of the ruling and opposition parties during the 1950s (Firat, 2015; Tekmen, 2019). There appears to be a greater emphasis on examining the active role played by the popular press in domestic politics and how politics shaped the course of publications, rather than digging into its function as a vehicle for propagating Cold War ideology in the relevant literature.

Aside from mainstream newspapers, there is a notable abundance of scholarly theses dedicated to local newspapers. To document the resurgence of the local press following the brief period of press freedom in the early years of the DP and to address the gaps in existing literature regarding the local coverage of national events and perspectives, analyses have been conducted on partisan and opposition newspapers from such provinces as Tekirdağ (Kılıç, 2021), Kahramanmaraş (Küçükpınar, 2019), Malatya (Demir, 2017), and Aydın (Değer, 2022). The significance of these theses lies in the fact that they shed light on the operations of local media outlets and offer information

regarding the manner in which economic and political developments are mirrored in these provincial cities.

Magazines have also garnered scholarly interest. Although political magazines have been the primary subject of most current studies, there has been limited research on women's magazines. Qualitative analyses have been carried out on oppositional magazines from that period, including *Akis* (Günöy, 2002; Karaoğlu, 1987; Şendal, 2023) and *Tef* (Yılmaz, 2010), as well as on Islamic magazines (Dalmış, 2013; Öğüt, 2000) that formed due to the growing relationship with Islamic circles and policies that contradicted the principle of secularism during the Democrat Party era. Şendal (2023) distinguishes his dissertation from other studies in the subject by examining the characteristic evolution of *Akis*, a magazine that emerged in the political landscape of Türkiye during the 1950s, and exploring the magazine's adherence to certain values it initially upheld and the changes and disruptions it experienced in the years even after the DP. Similarly, Yavalar (2016) conducts semiotic and discourse analyses of four dissident humour magazines from the 1950s to reflect the socio-economic and political changes that appeared with the DP rule. These publications offer significant perspectives on the world of magazine publishing during a period marked by tough measures against the press, along with being instrumental in countering the elitist viewpoint often held by academia, which tends to overlook the academic potential of popular cultural items.

The academic interest in women's magazines during the period of 1950-1960 is unfairly negligible. The majority of research has mostly concentrated on *Hayat*², and the

² In this particular context, while no research specifically investigating a magazine except *Hayat* has been discovered, there are only doctoral-level studies that analyse multiple journals from this time period. See Kara, Ç. (2023). *1940-2019 Tarihleri Arasında Türkiye'de Yayınlanmış Kadın Dergilerinde Toplumsal Cinsiyet Sunumunun Dönemsel İncelenmesi* [PhD Dissertation]. Marmara University.; Koçer, D. N. (2009).

relevant literature highlights the portrayal of women and the changing trends in consumerism (Kara, 2023; Kırtan, 2023; Koçer, 2009; Öztürk, 2020; Pınarcı, 2013). Within these studies, some researchers have tended to frame their investigations through the lens of feminist theory (Kara, 2023; Koçer, 2009). They aim to address inquiries regarding the evolution of the idealised female image over time (Kara, 2023), the commodification of women (Pınarcı, 2013), and potential differences in the depiction of women compared to previous eras (Koçer, 2009). Öztürk's (2020) work diverges from other theses in this regard and aligns with my thesis by examining how magazines function in propagating the American lifestyle to society while also portraying the depiction of women during that time. The remaining theses seem to have missed a thorough consideration of the political atmosphere throughout the 1950s, leaving a gap in the literature regarding the influence of political and economic changes on sociocultural practices.

On the other hand, Beşkazalıoğlu (2019), Sabuncuoğlu (2010), and Yavuz (2015) have conducted assessments of women's magazines from the standpoint of modernisation. In her dissertation, Sabuncuoğlu (2010) provides quantitative data to support the notion that these periodicals served as conduits for disseminating the modernist ideology. Moreover, Yavuz (2015) contends in her thesis that *Hayat* was possibly the earliest instance in Türkiye of lifestyle publications similar to those found in Europe and the US. Dağtaş (2014) similarly asserts in an article that the process of Americanisation in Turkish popular culture originated from *Hayat* magazine. My thesis will present compelling evidence supporting the extension of the Americanisation process to the years preceding *Hayat*. I believe this will introduce a fresh and stimulating topic of

Demokrat Parti Döneminde Kadın: 1950-1960 Arası Kadın Dergilerinde Kadın İmajı [PhD Dissertation].
Marmara University.

discussion in the academic literature. Above all, this study will help fill a gap in the literature on media and communication as well as international relations by using an unorthodox approach combining quantitative and qualitative data to demonstrate the multifaceted connection between politics, media, and culture.

3. RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

My thesis adopts a comparative, period-specific approach, utilising summative content analysis, a subtype of qualitative content analysis put forth by Hsiu-Fang Hsieh and Sarah E. Shannon (2005). Qualitative content analysis is a technique for determining the existence of particular words, themes, or concepts in qualitative data. Similarly, summative content analysis entails quantifying and comparing keywords or content and thereafter interpreting the contextual framework. This analysis intends to uncover the underlying meanings of the words or content, can be used for both exploratory and descriptive objectives, and serves as a foundation for subsequent quantitative and explanatory research. So, I consider it appropriate to select this form of analysis while taking the initial steps with a novel perspective on a nearly unexplored topic in the relevant literature. Moreover, studies that focus on advertisements as the research sample often prioritise semiotic, discursive, or thematic analyses. Also, when considering women's magazines, a recurring research question pertains to the perception and portrayal of women. However, it is crucial to conduct studies that acknowledge the ideological implications inherent in the perception of women. These factors have all had an impact on the selection of both the study methodology and the sample population.

As for the research sample, I have identified twenty-four women-centred publications issued between 1950 and 1960. These include: *Hemşireler Dergisi* (1950), *Modern Türk Kadını* (1950), *Şule* (1950), *Yeni Familya* (1950), *Burda Moda* (1951),

Kadın Güzelliği (1951), Resimli Romans (1951), Kadın Dünyası (1952), Misafir (1952), Resimli Hayat (1952), Yelpaze (1952), Cennet (1953), Demokrat Kadın (1954), İkimiz (1954), Anahtar (1955), Evim (1955), Gazete Magazin (1956), Hayat (1956), Sekreter Daktilograf (1956), Kadın Sesi (1957), Kadın Dünyası (1958), Kadın Dünyası (1958-II), Sim (1958), and Aile (1960).³ The inclusion criteria for this paper are accessibility, sufficient issue numbers (>5), not being an occupational journal, not being in newspaper format, and portraying distinct timeframes between 1950 and 1960. The choice of the last criterion is based on the prospect of a shift in ideology and politics during the DP period, which came to power three times (through the 1950, 1954, and 1957 elections), and my belief that the course of magazines can also be formed within this context. In light of these parameters, I have found that two of the magazines, Hemşireler Dergisi and Sekreter Daktilograf, are occupational journals; Kadın Sesi is a newspaper; Aile began publication after the coup d'etat; Burda Moda and Anahtar are magazines of foreign origin and thus would not reflect the trend in Türkiye; Resimli Romans, Cennet, and Evim are special-purpose magazines (novels and stories, beauty and sexuality, and decoration, respectively); and Kadın Dünyası (1958-II) could not be accessed via the Turkish National Library. And the other nine have too few issues to be included in the analysis, while Yelpaze and Hayat have too many issues, qualifying them as suitable solo material for a thesis. From the remaining magazines' accessibility and issue number comparison, I have reserved for analysis Kadın Dünyası (1952-1953), Kadın Dünyası (1958-1959) and

³ For further information, see Davaz-Mardin, A. (1998). *Kadın Süreli Yayınları Bibliyografyası: 1928-1996 - Hanımlar Alemi'nden Roza'ya* (1st ed.). Kadın Eserleri Kütüphanesi ve Bilgi Merkezi Vakfı. İstanbul.; Pınarcı, S. (2013). *Hayat Dergisinde (1956-1960) Kadının Meta Olarak Sunumu ve Popülerleştirilmesi* [MA Thesis]. Gazi University.

Resimli Hayat (1952-1955) which were all available from the National Library's archives, published on different dates, and shared a comparable issue number.

While investigating the raised hypotheses, I have deemed it appropriate to concentrate on advertisements that provide the most striking indications of cultural influence and ideological stance. The role of advertising as a cultural form, along with an inducement to purchase for the benefit of market economies, should not be disregarded. Advertising, according to Qualter (1991: 61), serves as a "guide to social behaviour" and helps the ruling class have control over the populace. In this case, I intend to determine, roughly speaking, who maintained control in 1950s' Turkish society. I collected these data by scanning the periodical publication archives of the National Library, categorised them using summative content analysis and tested the hypotheses mentioned above.

I included a total of 381 advertisements in the sample, excluding those with no brand or country of origin information, those not promoting any specific products, and magazine coupons. As specified by the summative content analysis, I established ten categories, allowing for the collection of both quantitative and qualitative data from these advertisements. I obtained the quantitative data by analysing the advertised product (lipstick, book, laundry detergent, etc.), its brand, frequency of appearance in magazine issues, country of origin, advertisement category (cosmetics, textiles, infant care, etc.), and the components utilised for the advertisement content (visual, textual, or both). As for qualitative data, the visual indicators category sought the stereotypical codes "modern-looking woman," "housewife" and "mother" given the premise that the portrayal of women in magazines may have been influenced by ideology and evolved comparable to the DP mindset and American model. I utilised textual indicators category to elucidate the underlying frameworks of capitalism, consumerism, private enterprise, and private ownership as they intersect with the American way of life with the searched codes "Amerika (United States)," "Amerikan (American)," "Garp (West)," "özel teşebbüs

(private enterprise)," "apartman (apartment)," "sahiplik (ownership)," "tasarruf (savings)," "tapu (deed of real estate)," "mülkiyet (property)," and "ziraat (agriculture)." The category of potential target audience, which I chose under the assumption that the target audience may have extended beyond women, revealed both valuable qualitative and quantitative data. Lastly, I used the comprador presence as a category to investigate the native middlemen that significantly contribute to the sustainability of American influence.

This analysis of a single, yet significant, section in the three women's magazines, namely advertisements, has enabled me to identify parallels to the political trajectory. Nevertheless, several limitations are present in the study. First, to fully comprehend the process of Americanisation, it is imperative to examine the degree to which the urban middle classes, which constitute the audience for the publications, embraced the modernisation perspective provided to them; however, this particular subject falls outside the scope of this thesis. While the available data enables commenting on whether the publication policies of the three magazines and the government in the 1950s were impacted by American values, it would be oversimplifying the situation to fully assess the degree of Americanisation without considering the reception of this discourse among readers and existing opposition groups, as well as conducting thorough investigations into other forms of popular culture. Similarly, there are non-political domestic and international factors that influence how magazines approach and reframe their subjects. Therefore, this study's variables are limited and not the sole determinant of cultural influence. Lastly, both explicit and implicit materials have played a role in conducting summative content analysis. Contrary to explicit data, implicit data interpretation can be quite subjective, as findings are based on my interpretation, which can introduce a possible bias in this paper. However, this study makes a significant contribution to the literature as it will shed light on a subject that has not been extensively studied by

disclosing the historical, dominant link between politics and the press and revealing the hegemonic effect on popular culture. It is advisable for future research endeavours to investigate other women's and popular magazines that have yet to be explored, along with other products that fall within the realm of popular culture, by employing diverse methodologies and directing attention towards previously overlooked elements of these products. Such approaches would contribute to the development of a holistic understanding of the related subject.

CHAPTER ONE

TÜRKİYE'S PATH TO DEMOCRATISATION

Türkiye has seen a highly arduous path of democratisation, especially in the last seven decades. How democracy is received, whether the objective of achieving a democratic structure has been fully attained, and how this process, which was formally initiated with the transition to the multi-party system in 1946, has manifested itself in practice continue to be topics of discussion in politics, the press, and the academy. The Democrat Party, on the other hand, built a reputation for itself along this democratisation path; while it was hailed as a pioneer of democracy by some circles, it was also documented as an underminer of the same process by others (Eroğul, 1990; Karpat, 1972: 349; Sarıbay, 1991: 125-126). As a result, this thesis has focused on the repercussions of this party period, commonly cited for its formal democracy approach, on the social and cultural layers. However, it is hard to comprehend the DP movement, which plays such a crucial role in Turkish politics, without a brief consideration of the Turkish perception and practice of democracy in general and surrounding internal and international contexts at the time.

It is vital to first comprehend the meaning of the term "*democracy*." It is derived from the Greek *dēmokratia*, which is composed of *dēmos* (meaning "people") and *kratos* (meaning "power, rule") (Oxford University Press, n.d.). Despite being subject to various interpretations throughout the years, democracy can be simply thought of as the power of the people, a system of governance that relies on their will. Efforts to build this concept in Türkiye as a prerequisite for modernisation have a shorter history than in other nations. The first signs of democratisation emerged when an empire long governed under the sultanate regime realised it was losing ground to other nations.

1.1. Late Ottoman Era: Initial Steps to Democratisation

As the Ottoman Empire lost pace and entered its period of transformation, structural reform attempts were initiated across the Empire, and its overall composition was revised. Rather than measures implemented for the purpose of advancement, this was actually a result of a strong desire for centralisation, i.e., to extend its control over the public by improving tangible infrastructures (Karagöz-Kızılcıca, 2012: 197-198). Approvingly, Özbek asserts that the nineteenth-century Ottoman political elite was not a collective implementing administrative reforms towards Westernisation due to European pressure but rather a political class aiming to consolidate its authority even in the distant provinces using the West's technology, not ideology (2004: 65). This potentially undermined the longevity of reforms that granted authority to entities outside the central power. Nevertheless, this process began with the Charter of Alliance of 1808. The charter can be considered the first rule of public law in the establishment of the modern Ottoman state, with the distinction of being a document that seeks to limit the absolute power of the Sultan. İnalcık (1964: 603) contends that the following Edict of Gülhane, also known as the Imperial Edict of Tanzimat (Reorganisation), which was issued on November 3, 1839, is the genuine beginning and foundation of modernisation in administration and state tradition. This edict, which marked the beginning of the Tanzimat era, was followed by various developments that dramatically changed Ottoman governance, such as the Reform Edict of 1856, the First Constitutional Monarchy, and the First Ottoman Constitution in 1876. However, this type of monarchy was short-lived, and years of autocracy ensued until the Second Constitutional Monarchy, which would usher in fundamental changes on the path to democracy.

The Second Constitutional Monarchy was a natural outgrowth of a rising reformist movement, the Young Turks, and was proclaimed to save the decaying Ottoman Empire and to end a lengthy period of repression. With the re-declaration of the Constitutional

Monarchy, the prospect of beginning a participatory, competitive, and pluralistic democratic life in the country emerged, and political organisations, along with the conceptions of power and opposition, acquired traction (Tunaya, 1988b: 3-15). However, these hopes were immediately abandoned, as Ottoman society was not accustomed to pluralism and lacked a democratic culture and political awareness. Political forces' actions, such as taking early election decisions so as not to lose power, holding elections by amending the Constitution, and shutting down parliaments they disliked, did not positively contribute to forming democratic institutions and traditions as well (Güneş, 1996: 671). When these political troubles were compounded by a war crisis, the process of democratisation was halted.

1.2. Early Republican Era

A second step towards the ideal of democracy may be seen in the efforts made by those who supported the national struggle throughout World War I to ensure that the vast majority of the populace participated in the decisions that needed to be made to preserve the country's integrity and freedom since democracy, in the words of Abraham Lincoln, is "a government of the people, by the people, and for the people."⁴ Supportively, this period was characterised by an abundance of political parties and organisations (Tunaya, 1988a). Elections were held in such an environment, and the First Grand National Assembly of Türkiye was inaugurated in Ankara on April 23, 1920, followed by the Turkish Constitution of 1921. This Constitution is notable for adopting the principle that sovereignty is vested in the nation, which would exercise it through the Assembly (*1921*

⁴ See President Abraham Lincoln's Gettysburg Address (Nov. 19, 1863), in *This Fiery Trial: The Speeches and Writings of Abraham Lincoln* by W. E. Gienapp

Anayasası, n.d.). It is thus feasible to assert that the national struggle and the First Grand National Assembly represent a fight for establishing a new political order, namely democracy, along with national independence.

Fundamental political changes also include the abolition of the sultanate and the 1923 proclamation of the Republic, which strengthened democracy in their own rights. Furthermore, the visibility of the struggle between those who supported and opposed these shifts at the Assembly may be read as a sign that opposition existed—a quality that democracy requires. Again, the founding of the People's Party on populist ideals on September 9, 1923, should be acknowledged as a significant event in Turkish political history (*Siyasi Partiler*, n.d.). Although there were political party activities and presence throughout the Imperial period, they were not established in a revolutionary perspective and circumstance that would guide Turkish society since they were founded under the shadow of a solid sultanate. Obviously, the People's Party was not the sole political party at the time. The monolithic political system after 1925 had offered little room for airing conflicting viewpoints among the leadership (Zürcher, 2004: 177). As an attempt to shift to a multi-party system, the groups with opposing ideas and whose presence were fostered by the state founded the Progressive Republican Party and the Free Republican Party, respectively. However, both parties were dissolved due to rebellion-related incidents, and the single-party system remained in place until 1945. The fact that the Republican People's Party (RPP)⁵ had entirely dominated the parliament while the opposition remained inert disturbed the democratisation process. Nonetheless, despite their failure, these efforts helped society acclimate to the concept of an opposition party.

⁵ People's Party was the original name of the organisation. Later, the name was changed to "Republican People's Party." See *Siyasi Partiler*. (n.d.). Türkiye Büyük Millet Meclisi - Kütüphane ve Arşiv Hizmetleri Başkanlığı. Retrieved December 14, 2022, from https://www.tbmm.gov.tr/kutuphane/siyasi_partiler.html

1.3. Transition to Multi-Party System

1946 marks the official start of the multi-party system. However, significant internal and external factors define the path of this process and the environment into which the opposition party, DP, was born. Firstly, World War II, which lasted from 1939 to 1945, consumed the majority of the time of the ruling and the sole party which changed hands after Atatürk's passing to eternity. Türkiye did not join the war but had to shoulder a significant portion of its burden. During this period, the army's training for the prospect of war mobilisation, a strict police regime, and taxation policies in the country led to general economic and social problems and public hostility toward the incumbent administration (Eroğul, 1990: 3). In the period that followed, the US and the USSR, the two powers that sprang from the wreckage of the war, foretold a Cold War era and the emerging bipolar world order. The post-war Turkish-Soviet crisis and foreign aid from countries in the Western bloc kept their place as contributing elements to Türkiye's rapprochement with the bloc (Gökçay, 2015: 315; Özkan, 2020: 157). In particular, the Economic Recovery Act of 1948, which was signed into law by then-President Truman of the US and was also known as the Marshall Plan (*Marshall Plan (1948)*, 2022), evolved into the most significant step toward nearing the bloc and subsequent American influence. A nationwide publicity campaign accompanied the introduction of this instrument to provide aid to rebuild the economic infrastructure of post-war Europe, including Türkiye (Öymen, 2004: 107).

Measures such as the Land Reform Act and the nationalisation of forests also unsettled the cream of society, the rich elite. Sharing a common interest with imperialism, they saw it imperative for their security to align with an imperialist power, the US. Moreover, the rapid awakening of third-world countries sparked nationalist and revolutionary sentiments on the one hand and laid the path for an iron curtain on the other.

To sway these third-world countries to their side, two major blocs resorted to a variety of propaganda campaigns and political manoeuvres (Dursun, 2013).

Regarding pre-war Türkiye-USSR relations and Türkiye's orientation toward communist tendencies, a parenthesis is required here. The period from 1920 through 1939 was remarkable for Turkish-Soviet ties. After a century of hostility and conflict, two states surviving World War I opted to build strong ties with one another. However, it is important to note that changing regimes and structures did not necessarily mean that old goals and prejudices would be completely discarded. By signing multiple instruments, including the Treaty of Moscow in 1921, Ankara and Moscow proclaimed their support for the brotherhood of their peoples (Kurban, 2017: 31). Despite signing the treaty of friendship and providing aid, Turkish-Soviet ties did not enter a secure state. This was primarily due to the issue of communism. Atatürk is known to have differentiated between contacts with the Soviet State and the question of communism's entrance into Anatolia (Karabıyık, 2021). With the nearing of the war, however, Türkiye's foreign policy agenda began to shift in a way to favour Britain. This decade also witnessed the start of tense relations between Türkiye and the USSR. As a result of entering separate camps following World War II, the two countries eventually became distanced from one another.

When it comes to internal politics, the first indications of liberalisation were observed throughout these years. In his opening address to the parliament on November 1, 1945, İsmet İnönü revealed his opinion on democratisation by stating, "Our only flaw is that there is no opposition party" (*İsmet İnönü'nün Tbbm'deki Konuşmaları, 1920 - 1973*, 1993). İnönü, in his addresses, publicly supported the formation of an opposition party that would split off from the Republican People's Party. It is thus plausible to assert that there has been a single-party phenomenon in Türkiye, but the single-party has not been legitimised as a permanent and desirable model; rather, it was viewed as a temporary

regime that was implemented out of necessity and would be replaced by pluralist democracy at the appropriate time.

All of these developments and the discontent felt by various social strata eventually surfaced, leading to the creation of political opposition. Moreover, Türkiye's signing of the United Nations Charter on June 26, 1945 (*The United Nations Organisation and Türkiye*, n.d.), created an environment conducive to opposition to the country's one-party system, along with moral and legal opportunities for the opposition to be viable. The opposition began to place issues such as the increasing state debts resulting from the budget deficit, the cost of living, the suffering of the low-income and especially the civil servants, profiteering, the black market, and the inefficiency and injustice of the tax system (Eroğul, 1990: 9) on the agenda of parliament and frequently criticised the ruling party. Such an engaged movement is undeniably a significant milestone in the history of Turkish democracy. The "Memorandum of the Four" of June 7, 1945, delivered to the party group by Celal Bayar, Adnan Menderes, Refik Koraltan, and Fuat Köprülü, the founders of the DP that would evolve out of the RPP, is another notable development. The memorandum demanded that steps be taken to ensure internal parliamentary control, that the exercise of political rights and freedoms be permitted to the greatest extent stipulated by the Constitution, and that all RPP activities be organised in accordance with these principles (Koçak, 2010: 315-316). According to Zürcher, the memorandum signalled the start of organised political opposition following the war, despite its apparent intent to reform the RPP rather than create an opposition party (2004: 210-211). Eroğul (1990: 3) observes, however, that this reaction was likely intended to protect the opposition's interests, especially those of the rich landowner Adnan Menderes, and not democratisation. Along with future events, the fact that this memorandum was provided to the party group during the same days that the parliament passed the land reform act, which stipulates expropriating state-owned lands not being used for public works,

unclaimed lands, and, most importantly, sections of real people and legal entities' lands exceeding five thousand decares and allocating them to landless peasants (*Çiftçiyi Topraklandırma Kanunu*, 1945), appears to have prompted him to think this way.

These oppositional movements that arose in the parliament were also reflected in the press, particularly in the *Vatan*, *Tanin*, and *Tan* newspapers (Yetim, 2022). Three dissidents who made statements to these media were removed from the party, and Celal Bayar resigned, thus signalling the establishment of a new party. Soon after, the four officially established the Democrat Party on January 7, 1946 (*Siyasi Partiler*, n.d.). The party based its charter and programme on democracy and liberalism and highlighted fundamental rights and freedoms, the necessity for associations, cooperatives, and unions for professional, social, and economic purposes, and reform in the electoral law (Bayar et al., 1946). Article 14 of the programme declared that the use of religion in politics and its involvement in state affairs should never be tolerated, which is noteworthy since it suggests that the concept of secularism was respected. However, principal instability within the party would be thought-provoking given that one of the ruling DP's first measures was to allow the reading of the prayer in Arabic, followed by actions such as permitting religious programmes to be broadcast on the radio and modifying religious education in a way to please conservative circles. Furthermore, the promise to thwart the arbitrary use of legal powers granted to civil servants under the guise of providing administrative authority, which is among the issues about which the public frequently complained (Article 19), as well as to find solutions to the high cost of living (Article 52), recognition that agricultural policies are crucial for the country (Article 55) and a brief of reforms envisioned in the tax system (Article 73), are representative of the party's priorities and can be seen as a well-established effort to capture the hearts and votes of the populace. Again, it should be emphasised that all these promises, outlined in the DP charter, survived only in rhetoric after the election, particularly as of the second election

period, and the party adopted numerous anti-democratic measures running counter to the principles it advocated while in opposition. Lastly, the DP endeavoured to engage with the citizens through rallies and the press. Unprecedented in the public's experience, this face-to-face communication has shown to be highly effective in earning its support.

While such actions surely demonstrated the DP's viability, the government did not stand by. Instead, it voluntarily took significant steps toward democratisation, such as allowing for single-level elections (*Milletvekilleri Seçimi Kanunu*, 1946), granting universities autonomy (*Üniversiteler Kanunu*, 1946), and repealing Article 50 of the Press Law, which gave the government the power to shut down newspapers (*Matbuat Kanununun 50nci Maddesinin Değiştirilmesi Hakkında Kanun*, 1946). Again, it was the RPP who initiated religious education in primary schools and drafted a law to open divinity faculties (Öymen, 2004: 277); by doing so, the party may have hoped that it could diminish the public's perception of it as the irreligious party. While attempting to reach out to the public with such measures, the government was also conscious that it was in the midst of a tough fight. Unfortunately for the DP, it moved national elections up from July 1947 to July 1946 in an obvious attempt to catch the Democrats before they were properly established. There were also numerous troubles with the electoral process. As Zürcher puts it, there was no assurance of confidentiality during the actual voting; there was no impartial oversight of the elections, and once the results were announced, the real ballots were burned, making any verification impossible (2004: 212). All these events escalated the tension between the RPP and the DP.

Meanwhile, the Democrat Party marked the culmination of its rapid advancement with its first grand congress. This congress holds a notable place in Turkish political history. In fact, for the first time since the foundation of the Republic, a successful opposition party assembled a truly libertarian congress and openly challenged the government, declaring that if its decisions were not executed, it would leave it to the

nation's judgement (Eroğul, 1990: 22). Öztürkci asserts that with this congress, the DP established its place in Turkish political history as the political party that hosted the first democratic congress in the country by highlighting the fundamental principles of democracy, *political involvement* and *freedom of expression* (2019: 752). The congress resulted in the election of the party's executive staff and, more importantly, the publication of the Freedom Pact. The document concentrated on four issues that would dominate oppositional discourse over the following three years: removing unconstitutional and undemocratic provisions from the law; passing a new, democratic electoral law; ensuring that the party chairmanship and the position of head of state do not belong to the same person; and guaranteeing the administration's impartiality. The DP once again claimed that if its demands were not met, it would leave the parliament and take its fight to the nation. Unquestionably, this pact was significant for democracy since it was the first time the people would have control over the reins of the political game that had been played outside of them for so long.

Following this and the subsequent occurrences, the relationship between DP and RPP nearly reached its breaking point. In July 1947, İnönü intervened and individually talked with the leaders of both parties. Issuing the "July 12 Declaration," he then legitimised the presence of the opposition and urged state institutions to remain neutral and treat both factions equally. The president's resolute involvement demonstrated that multi-party politics would be permanent. Ahmet Emin Yalman, who garnered recognition for his opposition between 1946 and 1950, also commented on the declaration: "The July 12 [Declaration] is neither a favour nor a distraction tactic by İnönü. It is only the nation's first truly democratic victory, gained by foresight, moderation, perseverance, and unity" (Yalman, 1948, as cited in Eraslan, 1998: 152). Although this declaration initially appeared to soothe the political climate, there were severe turbulences in both parties, so

much so that several Democrats formed a new party, claiming that the DP had stalled, particularly after the declaration, and that the government benefited from it.

Both the RPP and the DP were then vehemently opposed by the new party, which was established in 1948 under the name of the Nation Party (*Siyasi Partiler*, n.d.) and can be characterised as being more ideologically conservative and radical than the DP. General elections evolved into an occasion that was eagerly anticipated by everyone in the years marked by the unfortunate path of the country, the sharpening opposition, and the tired and slow-moving administration. In December 1949, the RPP was compelled to adopt the new electoral law, one of the DP's main points of contention, and agreed that the judiciary would uphold the integrity of the elections. Again, this service has been etched in history as one of the most momentous steps taken along the route to democracy. Election campaigns and radio propaganda soon followed. With the realisation that it held such active power for the first time when May 14 appeared on the calendar, the Turkish populace led to a profound shift in its political existence, and the DP won a resounding victory. In other words, an administration dominated by a single party for twenty-seven years permitted an opposition party to emerge and flourish before surrendering to the nation's power and eventually ceded office to this opposition

CHAPTER TWO

THE DEMOCRAT PARTY DECADE

I will start this chapter by giving a quick rundown of the Democrat Party's overall perspective, touching on its dealings with both internal and external circles, the press, the opposition, and other countries, especially the US. I will also go into detail about the aid that was received over that decade. Lastly, I will provide a comprehensive summary of the practical implications of these economic and political developments on social and cultural aspects of Turkish life.

2.1. An Overview of the Democrat Party Rule

The 1950 elections marked the beginning of the uninterrupted ten-year dominance of the Democrat Party, ushering in a new era of social mobilisation and political participation. Nonetheless, the party did not maintain linear velocity during this entire process. Going through three election cycles, the DP underwent, in Eroğul's (1990) words, a period of rise from 1950 to 1954, stagnation from 1954 to 1957, and decline from 1957 to 1960. The Democrat Party made some modifications to the many policies that it had criticised during the opposition years and that it believed reflected the single-party mentality, as well as to the political discourse, practises, and institutions that they were based on, in each of these three periods.

Despite the fact that its later policies demonstrated the opposite, the Democrat Party claimed to be loyal to Atatürk's principles and reforms, hinting that it would fill the RPP's shoes in this regard. Unlike the RPP, the fresh government emphasised liberalism in the economy and domestic politics to be built on national will and democratic values while adopting an approach that could be described as imperialism-favouring satellite

politics in foreign policy. It aspired to maintain excellent relations with the Western bloc of the Cold War era and especially with the superpower, the United States. The reason for that might be the party's divergence from the RPP approach with regard to the character of the ideal contemporary civilisation and how to achieve it. The heart of what the DP referred to as contemporary civilisation was capitalism founded on private property and free enterprise. For many DP members, the US, regarded as the best example of capitalism designed to maximise wealth, prosperity, and justice, exemplifies the fundamental traits of an ideal society. Therefore, the DP oriented its foreign policy toward the United States and shaped its domestic policy, which would be centred on agriculture and favour a shift away from statism, with the support it received from there. The underlying causes for these behaviours are indeed closely related to the ruling party's class basis and social characteristics, highly differentiating them from the RPP.

2.2. DP's Class Basis and Social Characteristics

First, the DP representatives were, on average, younger, more likely to have local roots in their districts, less likely to have attended university, and significantly more likely to have a background in commerce or law rather than bureaucracy or the military (Ahmad, 1993: 159; Zürcher, 2004: 221). It is then feasible to assert that their populist policies were influenced by the fact that the leading figures were drawn from among the populace from which they derived their power. Given that Prime Minister Adnan Menderes was likewise a landowner and lawyer from an affluent family and that President Celal Bayar was a banker businessman, it is easy to see how crucial their backgrounds were in moulding party politics.

Second, the social classes the DP represented defined its administrative strategies. Eroğul (1990: 95) asserts that the DP's class basis was built on the ruling strata, notably

the commercial bourgeoisie and wealthy landowners, and that it had always vehemently rejected the concept of class out of concern for the security of the classes it represented. Similarly, Demirel maintains that it would not be incorrect to view the DP as a party that prioritises, or believes to be in the interests of, the proto-bourgeoisie (business people and merchants), as well as landowners in Western Anatolia and the Mediterranean region (2021: 110). To clarify, the DP's liberal economic policies centred on agriculture would enhance the welfare of the populace in the short term but lead landowners and those who efficiently manage the commercial aspect of the sector to grab the lion's share.

2.3. Democrat Party in Internal Politics

2.3.1. Relations with the Opposition

The presence and acts of the opposition were also among the decisive elements in the Democrat Party's political experience. During the 1950s, several parties continued to operate; however, the RPP was, predictably, this opposition's linchpin. Relations between the two parties, which had been quite tense since the DP's opposition years, continued to deteriorate during this decade. Since everything went in favour of the DP during its initial years, known as the period of rise, the RPP fell into a state of distress, focusing on internal reforms and defence mechanisms and subjecting the government to a storm of criticism for everything it did (Zürcher, 2004: 222). The administration got angered by what it perceived to be the RPP's refusal to recognise the legitimacy of the DP system. There was also the Pasha Factor, an unfounded fear that as long as İnönü (İsmet Pasha) led the opposition, the DP would not be safe in office (Ahmad, 2003: 111). The DP leaders believed that the status and respect accorded to İnönü by the military and bureaucratic circles could lead to an anti-democratic power grab during their term.

In the first period, the government attempted to pursue an arguably moderate course of action, except for the closure of the People's Houses (*Resmî Daire ve Müesseselerin*, 1951) and the confiscation of RPP's properties (*Cumhuriyet Halk Partisinin*, 1953), without radically departing from the principle of not holding the previous administration accountable for its actions, which it had agreed to upon assuming power. Having secured a greater win with the 1954 election, the DP gradually turned personal and even ignored contact requests from İnönü and the RPP (Aydemir, 2011: 258). The same year, a law was established that prohibited political parties from using the radio and severely curtailed the rights of the opposition (*Milletvekilleri Seçimi Kanununun*, 1954). Later, it became illegal for political parties to have open-air gatherings outside of the election campaign time (*Toplantılar ve Gösteri Yürüyüşleri*, 1956), rendering opposition outside of the assembly nearly impossible. İnönü sought to draw closer to Menderes at the end of the second DP period, but this failed move marked the beginning of a rigoristic stance that did not shift until the coup d'etat.

In the years leading up to 1960, the Democrat Party gave the appearance of a political power that had lost votes relative to prior elections, grew increasingly belligerent as a result, and ultimately lost control. The political opposition, especially the Republican People's Party, adopted a justifiably harsh and abrasive stance, accusing the administration of dictatorship. In such a setting, the electoral law was tightened further so that the opposition would have no space for manoeuvre (*Milletvekilleri Seçimi Kanununun*, 1957). Fear of a coup d'etat compelled Menderes to be even more oppressive, and this pressure increased the likelihood of a coup d'etat, creating a vicious spiral. In the meantime, the main opposition joined forces with minor opposition parties and made concrete preparations for an offensive with the Declaration of Primary Goals. The DP formed the Homeland Front as a massive defensive measure against this integration and propagandised it by broadcasting the names of those who joined this front on the radio

(Bulut, 2009: 134). Another fundamental reason for the formation of the Homeland Front is that the party lacked the power to rely on within the state mechanism, with the exception of the large masses of individuals who voted for the DP (Dođaner, 2022: 787). This way, the DP attempted to undermine the RPP's influence in these entities, where it was unable to exert influence despite holding power for years. Through these and similar occurrences, the government replied to every event with a counter-event and even intervened indirectly in electoral rallies of opposition leaders and student riots. In this sense, the final and most hard-hitting was the Investigation Commission. The commission was formed to investigate the "destructive" activities of the RPP and certain journalistic outlets (*Cumhuriyet Halk Partisinin*, 1960). When the powers and actions of the commission are scrutinised, it becomes clear that it was created to suppress and silence all forms of resistance to the DP government; either way, it was considered one of the primary causes of the May 27 military coup (Esen, 2010: 191).

2.3.2. Relations with the Press

While governments have historically attempted to limit the independence of the press in accordance with their respective interests, these limits have been eased at various times, if not entirely. In a similar vein, press policies fluctuated between liberal and repressive during the ten-year DP reign. Using the outbursts of a suppressed oppositional press during the transition period to its advantage, the DP wooed the press with promises of freedom and won its heart by passing a new and democratic press law as soon as it came to power (*Basın Kanunu*, 1950), despite the later realisation that it survived only in rhetoric. Another liberal regulation was Law No. 5953, which indirectly specifies and safeguards the rights of journalists (*Basın Meslekinde Çalışanlarla Çalıştıranlar*, 1952). The DP also provided financial support through such actions as safeguarding the partisan press during the execution of press fines, providing loans and land, and permitting the

addition of floors to buildings, etc. (Yıldız, 1996: 488). It justified these actions on the grounds that they would encourage the oppositional press, despite their biased nature favouring the partizan press. As such activities of the new government progressed, however, criticism began to arise in mainstream media as well. In May 1951, as an unjust step, the DP issued a decree stating that official advertisements, which had previously been provided evenly to newspapers by a private company, would henceforth be distributed by the government and in line with proportions set by the government (*Bakanlar Kurulu Kararları*, 1951). Thus, the way was cleared for official advertisements to be utilised as both a pressure and support mechanism.

The subsequent restrictive regulations largely coincided with the later periods of the DP when the economic regression came to light, and the party was swept up in the extraordinary electoral triumph. In this respect, it is clear that the article in the Law on Certain Crimes Committed via Broadcasting or Radio, which was enacted in 1954, was inserted to thwart media criticisms by increasing the penalty for crimes committed against individuals holding official titles from one-third to one-half (*Neşir Yoluyla veya Radyo ile*, 1954). This law is significant since it also opens up disputes over journalists' right to prove. While these talks became the primary focus of the main opposition during the DP period, they also marked the beginning of a major shift that led to the formation of a new party, *Freedom Party*, by the opponents within the DP (Özçetin & Demirci, 2005: 541).

In the years that followed, the terms of this law were further aggravated, leaving the door open for indirect and covert censorship. The DP's repressive stance against the press is not restricted to specific statutory provisions; it did not think twice about playing the economic and administrative cards, either. Specifically, the government eliminated the chance for opposition parties to benefit from the radio but legitimised its arbitrary use of the radio under the pretext of announcing government actions (Kubilay & Pelivan, 2019: 30), killing two birds, *press* and *opposition*, with one stone. Moreover, by deciding

that only the government is authorised to purchase printing papers for newspapers and magazines from outside sources (Yıldız, 1996: 496), it directed its ties with the press in the desired direction. The period during which the DP began to lose power was also marked by the imprisonment of journalists and the shuttering of newspapers (Alemdar, 2001: 205). Koloğlu notes that between 1955 and 1960, 2,300 press-related charges were filed, and 867 journalists were found guilty (1992: 69). On the other side, a considerable proportion of journalists convicted of press crimes were reportedly penalised for violations of honour and dignity and humiliating publications as opposed to political pieces (Demirel, 2021: 205). Also, it is strikingly known that even in his last years as the Prime Minister, Menderes attempted to cultivate a particular relationship with journalists who tended to favour the opposition by letting newspaper owners and journalists accompany him during international visits (Yalman, 1997). As such, it is feasible to state that this 10-year relationship, which was nurtured within the framework of the reward-punishment strategy, was not built on a stable foundation.

2.4. Democrat Party in External Politics

As previously indicated, during the 1950s, when world politics was divided into two blocs, the USSR and the United States, Türkiye attempted to develop solid relations with the United States and join the Western bloc by pursuing pro-American policies. Not just in the economic sphere but also in the fields of foreign policy and defence, Türkiye's assimilation into the global capitalist system accelerated throughout this decade. Obviously, this was not a process sought only by a single party.

From the US perspective, Türkiye was a substantial, albeit peripheral, component of the political and military systems that the United States and its allies erected to ensure the survival of democracy and free enterprise in their nations (Zürcher, 2004: 234). In

other words, the United States' foreign policy centred on opposing Soviet expansion and globally promoting the development of American economic and political values, particularly capitalism and political liberalism (Hook & Spanier, 2009), rendered Türkiye a strategically and geopolitically significant country. Türkiye was to be protected from Soviet aggression, not for its own sake but to ensure the security of other regions valued by the US. Finally, the US wished to depict Türkiye as a model of quick economic progress via capitalism and democracy. The Turkish example was to be highlighted to refute Soviet claims that rapid economic growth was only conceivable in third-world countries with a Soviet-type economic and political structure (Yılmaz, 2001: 78).

On the other side, for Türkiye, the United States represented the fresh wave of modern, contemporary civilisation. The country was highly admired by the government. Even the name of the ruling party was inspired by the US example⁶, and the promises that Türkiye would become a "little America" and that "millionaires would emerge from every quarter" were the pillars of the party's rhetoric (Ahmad, 2003: 107). The DP's interest in the United States stems from the conservatism of American society, its commitment to traditions, respect for religion, and the symbolic manifestations of these values in American public life (Bora, 2007: 155). It is also considered that, unlike the old European colonial powers, this nation has a benevolent nature that protects the weak in accordance with the values it upholds (Demirel, 2021: 118). In fact, Celal Bayar's (1956) remarks, "We admire Americans because they love freedom, are the servant of humanity, the protector of the oppressed, and the opponent of the oppressor and the cruel," reinforce this perspective. Last but not least, the revival of interest in the United States can also be

⁶ While deciding on the name of the party, Bayar stated, "The American model was surely influential. There were both a Republican Party and a Democratic Party there, right?" See Toker, M. (1990). *Demokrasimizin İsmet Paşalı Yılları: Tek Partiden Çok Partiye, 1944-1950* (3rd ed.). Bilgi Yayınevi.

attributed to the country seeking to shed its loneliness and isolation in world politics and gain assistance against the menace of the Soviet Union (Bora, 2007: 151; Oran, 2009: 532).⁷ Their shared interests forged a bond between the two countries that distinguished the 1950s.

2.4.1. Relations with Other Countries

The course of Türkiye's ties with other countries, particularly in the two regions of which it was a part, the Balkans and the Middle East, was directly or indirectly determined by the bilateral interactions shaped within the context of TR-US mutual interests. In the Middle East, the first US attempt to form a regional alliance consisted of bringing Türkiye and Egypt together, but it failed due to the strained relations between Türkiye and the Arab countries as a result of Türkiye's position in the Israeli–Palestinian conflict. Another attempt to form a regional bloc was a cooperation and mutual aid agreement signed by Türkiye and Iraq in February 1955, which was later renamed the

⁷ Here, it should be emphasised that the DP regime did not initiate the TR-US rapprochement. The US battleship Missouri's visit to Istanbul in 1946 is regarded as a sign of US support for Türkiye against Soviet pressure and the beginning of the close ties between the two countries. See Ahmad, F. (2003). *Turkey: The Quest for Identity*. Oneworld Publications.; Yılmaz, Ş. (2012). Turkey's quest for NATO membership: the institutionalisation of the Turkish–American alliance. *Southeast European and Black Sea Studies*, 12(4), 481–495. <https://doi.org/10.1080/14683857.2012.741844>.

Again, Türkiye began to gain from foreign aid, particularly as part of the Truman Doctrine and Marshall Plan, as well as funding in the form of grants, loans, and other forms as per bilateral agreements under the RPP rule. See Gökçay, G. (2015). İkinci Dünya Savaşı'nın Ardından Türkiye'de Amerikan Yardımları. *Kebikeç*, 39, 315–341.

Foreign policy in the 1950s was built on the achievements of the final years of the single-party era; with the rise of the DP to power, those efforts were given a boost and allowed to continue along the path towards integration with the West, most notably the United States.

Baghdad Pact⁸ with the participation of the United Kingdom, Iran, and Pakistan, as well as the United States as an observer state. The United States also pushed Türkiye in the Balkans to build a regional alliance with Greece and Yugoslavia. This Balkan Pact, signed in February 1953, was not much different from the Baghdad Pact, but it did enable the United States' indirect access to the communist but anti-Soviet regime in Yugoslavia (Zürcher, 2004: 237). As can be seen, the United States' endeavours via Türkiye were always aimed at deterring Soviet expansionism and providing indirect access to territories that would add to the United States' economic and political dominance.

2.4.2. Relations with the United States

2.4.2.1. Political Setting

Obviously, relations between the United States and Türkiye did not consist solely of indirect and mediated encounters. The Democrat Party decade was marked by numerous US-led political developments. First, the United States evolved into the leading foreign aid donor, which considerably helped Türkiye's modernisation while ensuring the success of the US' imperialist efforts and the attainment of political objectives. This process had already begun prior to the DP assuming power. To recover the former power of the European states, which were exhausted by World War II, and to enable them to defend themselves against their communist opponent, the United States established a variety of aid programmes. The Truman Doctrine was the initial spark plug for this fuse.

⁸ In 1958, after a nationalist coup in Iraq, the country formally declared its resignation from the Pact. The Baghdad Pact was then renamed the Central Treaty Organisation (CENTO) of which the United States became a full member. Similar to its predecessor, CENTO accomplished little. See Zürcher, E. J. (2004). *Turkey: A Modern History* (3rd ed.). I.B. Tauris.

2.4.2.1.1. Truman Doctrine

Upon the British government's announcement to the United States that it was unable to provide more financial and economic aid to Türkiye due to the country's predicament, US President Harry Truman highlighted the significance of Türkiye to the United States and the Western world in his famous address and placed aid to Türkiye on the agenda of the US Congress (*The Truman Doctrine, 1947*, n.d.). The Doctrine, which was adopted in Congress under the name "Greek-Turkish Aid Act," took effect on May 22, 1947, with President Truman's approval. The Truman Doctrine was political and military in nature, and its aid component consisted mostly of the supply of US military equipment to the governments of Greece and Türkiye (Yılmaz, 2001: 81). From 1947 to 1951, the United States provided Türkiye with a total of \$400 million in military aid under the Doctrine (Oran, 2009: 535). While the maintenance and repair expenses of these materials exacerbated Türkiye's foreign economic and, thus, political dependency, the country also experienced the emergence of those imitating the American way of life politically, economically, and socially. From the US perspective, the Doctrine, representative of the US commitment to defending "free nations" worldwide from external aggression and internal subversion (Toprak, 1987: 81), helped create the necessary internationalist political and psychological climate in the country for the subsequent launch of the Marshall Plan.

2.4.2.1.2. Marshall Plan

The Marshall Plan was another of the United States' post-war foreign aid initiatives. Over the course of four years, \$13 billion in US aid was delivered to sixteen Western European nations in an effort to stabilise their finances, control communist activities locally, and separate themselves from the Soviet Union's political influence (Keskin-Kozat, 2013: 199). Isolating Türkiye from European restoration would have been

detrimental to the interests of both the United States and Türkiye. Hence, Türkiye was also listed among the beneficiary countries and received a total of \$352 million in aid under the Marshall Plan between 1948 and 1952 (Oran, 2009: 542). This money was to be utilised to finance the construction of roads, pursue agricultural development, and fulfil the task of providing European markets with agricultural products (Örnek, 2013: 131-132; Zürcher, 2004: 225).⁹

There is a striking convergence between the agricultural development agenda of Türkiye desired by the Marshall Plan and the philosophy and policy framework of the Democrat Party. The party rose to power on the strength of widespread rural support and developed a populist discourse directed mostly at the peasantry (Örnek, 2013: 132). On the American side, Turkish capitalist modernisation, particularly in agriculture, became one of the top foreign policy concerns, which was managed with the US' designation of the areas of use for this assistance and the fundamental objectives of the Turkish economy in general. In this respect, the Marshall Plan served as one of the crucial milestones towards Türkiye's embrace of the Western lifestyle and capitalist ideology, on the one hand, and a significant catalyst on the path towards Türkiye's foreign dependence in every field on the other (Oran, 2009: 542).

⁹ Tractors were the first items supplied to Türkiye with the implementation of the Marshall Plan. The number of agricultural machines, particularly tractors, increased from less than 10,000 in 1946 to 42,000 by the end of the 1950s. See Pamuk, Ş. (2008). Economic change in twentieth-century Turkey: is the glass more than half full? In R. Kasaba (Ed.), *The Cambridge History of Turkey: Turkey in the Modern World* (Vol. 4, p. 281). Cambridge University Press.

The period also saw the construction of 5,400 kilometres of hard-surfaced two-lane roadways with the aid, resulting in a climb in the number of imported vehicles and trucks from 53,000 to 137,000. See Zürcher, E. J. (2004). *Turkey: A Modern History* (3rd ed.). I.B. Tauris.

The Marshall Plan was primarily economic in nature, consisting of the provision of monetary and in-kind assistance to the ailing Western European economies. However, it progressively took on political motivation and evolved into a form of political loan or bribe in the view of the Turkish government. The fact that the credits and grants to Türkiye expanded significantly in the years that followed, even though the country's economic status remained relatively stable compared to other beneficiaries (Keskin-Kozat, 2013: 205-206), may indicate that assistance is not restricted to a purely economic basis. An additional item of note regarding the Marshall Plan is the provisions of the individual agreements that the United States would make with the aid-receiving states. In accordance with these agreements, the Economic Cooperation Act of 1948 for Türkiye, aid recipients were required to publish explanations of the source and use of aid in their respective countries (*Foreign Assistance Act of 1948*, 1948)¹⁰. This article provides insight into a driving force behind the inclusion of American-related content in publications from those years, including those that comprise this thesis's sample.

2.4.2.1.3. Other Foreign Aid

Notwithstanding the prominence of these two aid programmes, the Democrat Party's utilisation of foreign aid was not confined to them. Foreign aid, which acquired a

¹⁰ The provision on publication is not unique to the Marshall Plan. Similar clauses were incorporated in the agreements established with the United States, notably in the Economic and Technical Cooperation Agreement on July 12, 1947, and the Turkish government was required to make full and periodic publications on the purpose, source, progress, etc. of the aid. However, considering the Marshall Plan's repercussions on social and political life in comparison to its relatively small amount, the influence of the publicity requirement is undeniable. See Sander, O. (1979). *Türk-Amerikan İlişkileri, 1947-1964*. Sevinç Matbaası.

political motivation, persisted even after 1952 and escalated significantly, particularly following Türkiye's NATO membership (Oran, 1970: 77-80). The United States is known to have continued to offer military and economic assistance to NATO members, including Türkiye, for such reasons as the protection of American bases in those nations, the expansion of the allied states' armed forces, and the smooth execution of agreements reached with them (Sander, 1979). Also, at several points during the Democrat Party decade, Türkiye's importance to the US increased, which considerably raised the amount of aid provided. Political drivers leading to this growth include Türkiye's measures in line with those of the US during the Syrian crisis; the US losing its nuclear monopoly after learning that the Soviet Union developed long-range missiles; and Türkiye's emergence as a strategic candidate for a military base; and finally, the stabilisation programme that the US imposed on Türkiye, which was experiencing an economic impasse.¹¹ All in all, since these aids have military and political goals in the backdrop, it may not be accurate to say that they contribute to the transformation of Turkish social life as much as the Truman and Marshall plans, notwithstanding their contribution to Americanisation.

2.4.2.1.4. Korean War and Joining NATO

While there have been numerous foreign developments over the course of this 10-year administration, Türkiye's accession to NATO was the most prominent one that dramatically changed the political trajectory. In actuality, the NATO dream was brought

¹¹ In tandem with Türkiye's response to the Syrian crisis, the United States raised its military aid to Türkiye from \$152.4 million in 1956/57 to \$249.4 million in 1957/58. Similarly, with the stabilisation programme, economic aid from the United States increased from \$63.7 million in 1957/58 to \$132.0 million in 1958/59. See Oran, B. (1970). Türkiye'nin "Kuzeydeki Büyük Komşu" Sorunu Nedir? *Ankara Üniversitesi Siyasal Bilgiler Fakültesi Dergisi*, 25(1), 41–93. https://doi.org/10.1501/sbfter_0000001208

up for discussion before DP time. It was a logical continuation of the post-war global clustering and somewhat the government's pursuit of the predecessor RPP's foreign policy (Özcan, 2015: 108-111). As with all developments, the interests of Türkiye and the United States would find common ground under the NATO umbrella.

From the US perspective, various factors were at play when it came to wanting Türkiye to join the alliance. These include (1) the US interest in raising its security measures as a result of events like the Soviet Union attaining nuclear technology and the Korean War, which was read as the first harbinger of the Soviet Union's military campaign to rule the globe; (2) the need for military bases to be established in countries near the Soviet Union since the US only had medium-range warplanes; and (3) the perception that Türkiye would be a key country for the Middle East's oil resources and a good conduit in its relations with the Middle Eastern nations (Sander, 1979: 55-60).

On the other hand, the need for security in the face of the persistent Soviet threat and the fear that foreign aid would decrease if Türkiye remained outside NATO, as well as the desire to be recognised as an equal partner by the Western democracies (Abou-El-Fadl, 2018: 138; Lippe, 2000: 97), were the primary motivations for the country to join the alliance.

However, the issue of Türkiye's membership was not a smooth one. European states, particularly the UK and northern European nations, vehemently opposed it. As such, the Turks had to demonstrate their worthiness to the West. The onset of the Korean War presented the Democrats with an opportunity to prove their utility and commitment to NATO allies. Making the best use of this by sending a 4,500-man combat brigade in the initial phase, the government also maintained a vigorous publicity campaign emphasising the benefits of Turkish accession (Abou-El-Fadl, 2018: 132). To set an example, Foreign Minister Köprülü released a statement published in *New York Times*

and pointed out that the Turkish public viewed NATO membership as an acid test of US interest in Türkiye and that Türkiye's inclusion was essential to closing a breach in the allies' defence system (Fowle, 1950). Such actions were covered not just internationally but also in the domestic media. Newspapers from both the ruling and opposition parties printed on their pages the reasons why Türkiye must join the Atlantic Pact and its heroic efforts in this direction¹². In light of these efforts and with the belief that the Turks had established their strategic importance to the West by fighting in Korea, the NATO Ministerial Council agreed to invite Türkiye to join the alliance in September 1951, followed by an official membership on February 18, 1952.

This involvement had effects on Turkish foreign policy. First, this pact enhanced the position of the DP government vis-à-vis the RPP, whose attempts to join NATO failed during its reign (Özcan, 2015: 111). Second, the Turkish Armed Forces were standardised and modernised as a result of the pact's enhanced military assistance (Zürcher, 2004: 239). This also necessitated the modernisation of infrastructure to be utilised for US and NATO plans. Third, a number of agreements were made, including the NATO Status of Forces Agreement, which permitted the United States to establish military bases in Türkiye, host military personnel, and grant them privileges (*Kuzey Atlantik Andlaşmasına Taraf Devletler*, 1954). Here, it is possible to conclude that closer ties with the United States brought both development assistance and US meddling in internal matters. Fourth, in compliance with alliance aspirations, Türkiye assumed a leadership position in the formation of regional defence arrangements, such as the aforementioned Balkan Pact and Baghdad Pact (Sander, 1979: 84-85). Last, although it is not a direct result of joining

¹² See Yalçın, H. C. (1950, August 9). Atlantik Misakında Türkiye. *Ulus*, p.1.; Fenik, M. F. (1950). Türk Gücü ve Barış İdeali. *Ayın Tarihi*, 201, 131–132.

NATO, Türkiye halted a thirty-year policy of non-involvement in international conflicts on the way to becoming an ally. Overall, these developments increased American activity in Türkiye and converted NATO into a framework affecting Türkiye's military, economic, and social interactions, and ramping up the American presence in the country, well beyond its traditional role as a security alliance.

2.4.2.2. Social Setting

Under the strong influence of these external developments, the 1950s in Türkiye represented the years when societal and mentality transformation gained momentum and even began to spread to the lower strata. The United States, the growing superpower, began to exert its influence in various spheres of the social, cultural, and intellectual lives of its peripheral supporters, utilising a subtle organisation, an abundance of monetary resources, and fierce propaganda (Alkan, 2015: 593). Türkiye became one of the countries where the change was most noticeable. People's daily routines, including eating and drinking habits, household appliances, clothing, and leisure activities, changed as a result of embracing the consumerist underpinning of capitalism that the US made appealing. Turkish society swiftly adopted a new way of life and transformed into a consumerist, ideologically pro-American entity. Since there were only radio, newspapers, and magazines as the press, all of these novelties were primarily portrayed in them, and by covering such an agenda, the press was positioned at the vanguard of social transformation (Şenol-Cantek, 2015: 429).

2.4.2.2.1. Press

As a clear sign that the transportation and communication policies modernised with American assistance also accelerated cultural circulation, the number and

circulation¹³ of newspapers increased during this decade; newspapers became more colourful, printing techniques were refined, weekly magazines highlighting the blessings of the urban lifestyle and consumer society began to be published, and the radio became widespread (Demirel, 2021: 147).

First, the radios that American soldiers carried with them, thanks to the customs exemption, familiarised the ordinary Turkish people with these portable boxes, significantly contributing to a radical change in daily life patterns. In 1959, the number of radios, which was 320 thousand in 1950, is known to have surpassed one million two hundred thousand, with daily broadcasts of around 12 hours (Alkan, 2015: 610). With the recognition of their political and guiding function along with entertainment, radio programmes were produced about Türkiye's relations with the Western world, especially with the United States, as well as those emphasising the significance and purpose of Marshall Aid in line with the agreement's publicity clause. The periodic broadcasts include UNESCO Time, United Nations Time, NATO Time, and Marshall Plan in Türkiye (Ersarı, 2015: 410). Radio also became the "voice" of America, a country projecting an image of global dominance. The radio station with the same label, *Voice of America*, acted as the primary cultural propaganda instrument of the United States and the capitalist world and began producing radio programmes for Turkish listeners (Keloğlu-İşler & Analı, 2015: 90). These instances reveal how crucial radio was as a branch of the press with political and manipulative power.

¹³ The circulation of the press, which was 150,000 in 1949, climbed to 500,000 for the first time in the 1950s, eventually becoming a competitive factor for the newspapers of the period. See Alkan, M. Ö. (2015). Soğuk Savaş'ın Toplumsal, Kültürel ve Günlük Hayatı İnşa Edilirken... In M. K. Kaynar (Ed.), *Türkiye'nin 1950'li Yılları* (1st ed., pp. 591–617). İletişim Yayınları.

Second, the newspapers of the time were staunch proponents of this shift, along with mass adoption and preserving Americanisation. Prominent figures symbolising the American lifestyle in the 1950s, urbanisation, architectural and decoration styles, fashion, popular cultural products, and locations and forms for socialising were the primary focus of these publications. Furthermore, foreign policy frames were among the newspapers' essential themes. To set an example, politics and social news from the US, as well as news about Turkish-American friendship, occupied a large portion of *Hürriyet*, which pioneered popular journalism with a high capacity for shaping public opinion in accordance with official policies in Türkiye (Tüfekçioğlu, 1994). Throughout this decade, new newspapers also emerged, including *Istanbul Ekspres* and *Tercüman*. The substance of the publications was supplemented and moulded within the framework of world politics, as was daily life and culture.

Another of the outlets in which the American influence on social settings was most evident during the Democrat Party decade was magazines. This decade coincided with the publication of Turkish editions of American magazines, with the material reflecting consumerist patterns for the reader (Yıldırım, 2002: 215). These publications attempted to develop a fresh conversation with the reader. They were oriented towards American culture, colourful news from Hollywood, and included translations of articles on global politics (Alkan, 2015: 602-603). The United States was their new reference point, and modernisation was established through the reflections of American capitalism, conformism, and conservatism in daily life. Oktay (1995) reveals that themes like anticommunism, sexuality, the tabloidisation of high culture, and daily myths were also regularly seen in magazines like *Resimli Hayat*, *Hafta*, and *Bütün Dünya*.

Here, a remarkable point is bringing women and their sexual lives to the attention of the public through such publications, the latter of which is a novel phenomenon compared to earlier times (Yıldırım, 2002: 223). It is possible that the development of the

magazine's material for women was prompted by the erroneous assumption that women are the ones who require sexual education. Likewise, throughout the description of the perfect citizen, women frequently receive the most advice, prohibitions, and wishes. Şenol-Cantek maintains that this may be one of the causes for the increase in women's magazines during this period (2015: 435). While these media impose traditional moral standards on dating, sexual interactions, marriage, familial ties, and childrearing, they promote Western practices in areas such as housekeeping, handicrafts, care services, shopping, and fashion. In terms of the changes to the gender regime, Sancar (2014: 232) referred to the period between 1945 and 1965 as the conservative modernisation period and similarly disclosed that it was a time when Western principles were introduced in response to transformations in everyday life, yet conservative values were still upheld. Here, it is important to emphasise that during the 1950s, women in the US were also characterised in a very conservative manner. This was not a result of long-established tradition but rather a new phenomenon that evolved in post-war America (May, 2008: 13-14). Women's magazines offering a microcosm of the 1950s' social setting offered a diverse range of content, including articles on fashion and personal style, advice on managing household tasks such as cooking, cleaning, childcare, and home decoration, as well as tips for maintaining a harmonious marriage (Walker, 1998: 3). Friedan (1977: 37), for example, performs a scrutiny of visual depictions observed in women's periodicals prior to and following World War II. She observes that the publications after World War II promoted the notion that the ultimate value and major commitment of women resided in their roles as homemakers. Therefore, it would be reasonable to assert that the portrayal of women in the United States and their representation in a similar manner throughout the DP period are highly compatible. The overall portrayal of the press during this period indicates a reflection of the American way of life. It highlights both the tabloid side of

social life and the prominence of high culture. Additionally, it consistently emphasises the limited social positions and freedom of women, akin to the American atmosphere.

2.4.2.2.2. Culture Industry

Since the beginning of artistic production, there has been a clear connection between the political and social climate and the art produced in every era and civilisation; Türkiye in the 1950s appears to have been no exception in this regard. In support of this, Alkan informed his audience that throughout the era, historical films promoting nationalism against communism and heroic films about the Korean War were favoured (2015: 605). In these years, with the global rise of the United States, expensive Hollywood productions also began to reach audiences in Turkish movie theatres. It should be recognised that Hollywood is an effective instrument of cultural imperialism and propaganda, as well as a source of economic advantage for the United States (Yeter, 2017: 3). In fact, as Chomsky (1997: 14) puts it, “Propaganda is to a democracy what the bludgeon is to a totalitarian state.” So, it is unsurprising that the United States, which sought to establish its own democratic values as the norm, adopted such a strategy. The phenomenon we refer to as propaganda does not require overt production. The implicit, manipulative contribution to the target audience’s perception of events and circumstances via consuming materials will likewise serve the aim and, in our case, contribute to the success of the US' aspirations to become a cultural superpower. Horkheimer and Adorno explain this scenario with regard to cinema as follows:

The familiar experience of the moviegoer, who perceives the street outside as a continuation of the film he has just left, because the film seeks strictly to reproduce the world of everyday perception, has become the guideline of production. The more densely and completely its techniques duplicate empirical objects, the more easily it creates the illusion that the world outside is a seamless extension of the one which has been revealed in the cinema (1944/2002: 99).

This interpretation also outlines the way of establishing the worldview intended for Turkish society at the time.

Nevertheless, cinema was not the only cultural agent of societal change. The realm of music also contributed to the formation of the American perception of Turkish people. During this time, Elvis Presley encouraged the formation of indigenous pop music in Türkiye, as well as a growing admiration for him. Expanding capitalism, altering city life and relative democracy also transformed forms and places of entertainment. The respectable and dignified balls of the single-party era elite gave way to the rock and roll style with lots of dancing, which was popularised in the 1950s by university students (Alkan, 2015: 611). Furthermore, “the Song of Friendship”, performed by Celal İnce, appeared on a record extensively distributed in the mid-1950s and became a reflection of the well-established image of "Turkish-American friendship" in that social setting (Bora, 2007: 152; Oran, 2009: 493).

Novels also began to focus on agrarian growth and capitalism's impact on the rural structure, economic order, urban migration, class divisions, and rapid social change. Such notable authors as Yaşar Kemal, Fakir Baykurt, and Orhan Kemal penned populist-leaning books shedding light on the era. Similar to their equivalents in the US, numerous pocketbook series also spread widely during this time. For instance, Refik Erduran, Ertem Eğilmez, and Haldun Sel founded the Çağlayan Publishing House in 1953 to begin publishing a novel translation of a well-known pocketbook series, *Mike Hammer*.

In this regard, it is appropriate to highlight translation as an additional tool of cultural propaganda. In recognition of the practical utility of books in disseminating American values to the world and their potential in the ideological struggle, the US

Department of State initiated a book translation programme¹⁴ in various non-Western nations, including Türkiye. Over the 1950s, this initiative disseminated about fifty million copies of American titles worldwide (Barnhisel, 2010: 198). Örnek (2013: 137-138) documents that the US Embassy partnered with the Turkish Ministry of Education and local publishers, including *Nebioğlu*, *İnkılap*, *Doğan Kardeşler*, and *Varlık*, to publish and distribute American publications in Türkiye. She also notes that American titles translated into Turkish were predominantly 1930s naturalist novels based on rural transformation observed in rural communities' daily lives, which overlapped with Türkiye's Marshall Plan-inspired agricultural development agenda and strong populist political and cultural tendencies. In addition to those promoting the American way of life, anti-communist publications in Türkiye relied heavily on translations and quotations from American sources (Bora, 2007: 156). Contemporary Soviet literature, on the other side, was almost completely disregarded by the publishers. This lack of attention was deliberate, as evidenced by *Varlık*'s clear response to a reader's question on the subject. "We are unable to publish any works of modern Russian literature, including, as you stated, those unrelated to ideology; please excuse us in this regard; some individuals cannot even bear translations of classic Russian authors" (*Okuyucularımızla Başbaşa*,

¹⁴ The book translation programme was not the only literature-related activity conducted by the United States in Türkiye, as there were also American libraries in Ankara, Istanbul, and Izmir that offered in-library reading facilities, loan privileges, and special events such as book exhibitions and English classes; the US government and private institutions provided grants to send Turkish librarians to the US for librarian training or to invite American librarians to Türkiye; the Ford Foundation funded the founding of a librarianship chair at Ankara University, whereas the Rockefeller Foundation supported the establishment of new American literature departments at Istanbul and Ankara universities. See Örnek, C. (2013). 'The Populist Effect': Promotion and Reception of American Literature in Turkey in the 1950s. In C. Örnek & Ç. Üngör (Eds.), *Turkey in the Cold War: Ideology and Culture* (1st ed., pp. 130–158). Palgrave Macmillan.

1955). This demonstrates that the literary world was not immune to the chill of the Cold War.

2.4.2.2.3. Other Consumption Materials

Türkiye's modernisation, bolstered by American aid and the government's agrarian strategy, enabled it to capitalise on the growing demand for agricultural goods on global markets due to the Korean War. With the influx of export profits, particularly from cotton, Türkiye evolved into a land of plenty. Welfare mirrored in daily life, and the rise in purchasing power began to stimulate consumption in all aspects. This period, unsurprisingly, coincided with products of American origin making their way into the Turkish marketplace. Specifically, the 1950s saw the widespread introduction of margarine into household kitchens. Both Vita and Sana established factories in Bakırköy, Istanbul. As part of the Marshall Plan, powdered milk also pervaded society, with elementary schools being major consumers. Again, soft drinks gained popularity, prompting the late 1950s decision to open a Coca-Cola plant in 1964. In addition, durable goods, such as American-brand refrigerators, washing machines, vacuum cleaners, irons, and radios, constituted the majority of middle-class houses' furnishings at the time (Öymen, 2004: 46-48). Likewise, items like nylon stockings, blue jeans—a hallmark of the American working class—and clothing distinguished by colour and vibrancy—were in high demand. Demirel reports that shops selling second-hand American-style clothing, including jeans, stockings, and even pants, emerged in Ankara, where the American population was concentrated (2021: 148). The American bazaars in Istanbul were also flooded with comparable goods brought to the city by US officials on duty. Lastly, highway policies promoted the import of automobiles, filling Istanbul streets with American automobiles. Due to the economic crisis that began in 1955, imports were halted, and until the 1980s, the most frequent American-made vehicles in the country

were those manufactured in 1951, 1952, and 1953 (Alkan, 2015: 600). Shortly put, the Turkish-American interaction, which hit a peak during the Democrat Party decade, had a profound impact on the socio-cultural life of Turkish society at all tiers, yielding substantial changes to the prevalent mentality in terms of consumption habits.

CHAPTER THREE

POPULAR CULTURE IN THEORY

The preceding chapter elucidates that the fundamental adhesive binding together the ideology and practises of the state and the construction of the American image during this era of the Democrat Party was primarily rooted in popular culture. The emergence of a cultural shift in politics, driven by the lingering effects of the war, appears to have served as a strategic instrument for foreign policymaking on the Turkish side and a means of exerting hegemonic influence on the US side. To better comprehend this evolution, I will conduct an in-depth exploration of the historical expansion and breadth of popular culture in the present chapter. Following a brief of the interplay between popular culture and advertising, I will examine women's magazines as a type of popular culture, taking into account their historical context and making comparisons with their Western counterparts. I will conclude the chapter by providing insights into the impact of American culture on the Turkish publishing industry.

3.1. Popular Culture

Popular culture has remained a topic of ongoing debate and lacks consensus regarding its origins, creators, intended audience, definition, and function, despite the extensive body of research on the issue. The relevant literature typically presents definitions that are grounded in its fundamental term "popular" and relatedly "people" (Yıldırım, 2002: 213). However, it has been challenging to give a clear explanation of either of these concepts as well.

3.1.1. The Term 'Popular' and the Folk/Mass Culture Debate

The term "popular" emerged during the 15th century, first denoting a sense of being public or pertaining to the people, and experienced semantic shifts over the subsequent centuries, encompassing connotations of being well-liked and favoured by the general populace (*Popular* | *Search Online Etymology Dictionary*, n.d.). However, the issue of the specific composition of the public referring to popular has sparked another discourse. The public first came to be understood as the prevailing segment of the population, whereas popular culture referred to a cultural phenomenon widely embraced by this majority, along with alternative perspectives that restrict the notion of the public to the working class (Güngör, 1999: 9-10). Hence, within this context, popular culture was delineated as the cultural expressions and practises associated with the working class. The presence of a negative perception of working-class culture inevitably influenced the delineation of popular culture, providing a rationale for its exclusion from the recognised canon of 'high culture' (Bennett, 1994/2006: 92). This approach, articulated by Bennett through the notion of culturalism, acknowledges popular culture as a contemporary iteration of conventional folk culture, designating it as a domain whereby the public can openly manifest their expressions (93).

On the other hand, particularly within the realm of Marxist literary and cultural criticism, popular culture is regarded as a form of mass culture imposed upon individuals through commercial channels and characterised by a lack of agency on the part of the public, who are considered homogeneous consumers devoid of any creative capacities (Bennett, 1999: 67). Likewise, Erdoğan (1999: 22) asserts that popular culture encompasses the popular commodities and patterns of consumption within a customised mass culture that is structured by market forces for the purpose of consuming inside the marketplace. This phenomenon, from a structuralist lens, also gives rise to two interconnected perspectives. The initial point is to the equation of popular culture with

mass culture, wherein there exists an inverse relationship between the quality and quantity aspects of cultural production. As Güngör (1999: 10) puts it, the proliferation of technical advancements significantly expanded the scope of reproduction techniques, thereby fostering a conducive climate for mass production and mass cultural development. As such, an argument was introduced positing that popular cultural artefacts, which became pervasive in this milieu and experienced a surge in quantity, exhibited a lack of quality. Nevertheless, considering that quality and quantity are not inherently contradictory, substantiating the soundness of this argument will pose a challenge. The most logical inference that can be made is that popular culture possesses a broad sphere of circulation inside society, albeit with its intrinsic quality subject to debate. The second perspective covers debates regarding the involvement of the public in the process of cultural production.

3.1.2. Public Involvement

Analogous to the folk culture/mass culture divide, the public is occasionally cast in the role of the creative agent and, at other times, as a passive recipient. Within the theoretical framework that posits popular culture as synonymous with folk culture, the cultural realm is delineated as a domain wherein individuals' thoughts and feelings circulate without being subject to the influence of the culture industry (Bennett, 1999: 69). It allows for direct self-expression, thus positioning the public as the influential force that shapes, determines, and generates popular culture. The notion that the public assumes a passive role as consumers is, on the other hand, prominently articulated within the theories espoused by the Frankfurt School. They maintain that the ascendancy of mass culture and the commodification of the popular resulted in the hegemony of the culture industry over society and that the masses found themselves subjected to the enslaving influence of this cultural phenomenon rather than resisting it (Erdoğan, 1999: 46).

According to Adorno and Horkheimer, the culture industry functions in a manner akin to mass deception, operating under the guise of enlightenment (Bennett, 1999: 62-63). The organisation of cultural production within the context of advanced capitalism leads to a discernible homogeneity that permeates all facets of society. In their own words, "Culture now impresses the same stamp on everything. Films, radio, and magazines make up a system which is uniform as a whole and in every part" (Adorno & Horkheimer, 1979: 349). In such a perspective, the public is described, as Stuart Hall (2006a: 481) characterises it, namely as "cultural dopes who can't tell that what they are being fed is an updated form of the opium of the people."

3.1.3. Convergence of Opposing Camps

It would not be wise, however, to categorise popular culture as a product solely determined by these two poles, culturalism or structuralism, one of which must be inherently accurate, or as a construct in which the notion of the public, comprised of stable cultural frameworks and behaviours, is regarded as an immutable and constant entity. This stalemate prompted scholars to direct their attention towards the works of Antonio Gramsci, with particular emphasis on the concept of hegemony. Gramsci argues that an in-depth understanding of popular culture cannot be achieved solely through a rigidly delineated dynamic between dominant and subordinate social groups (Yıldırım, 2002: 213). Instead of seeking to exert control over marginalised cultures, the capitalist culture attempts to establish a connection with the social groups and classes it engages with, so reinforcing its dominance by infiltrating into these cultures. Popular culture is a space where these two forces interact and negotiate, resulting in a blend of dominant, subordinate, and oppositional cultural and ideological values and elements in various combinations (Bennett, 1994/2006: 96). Fiske, supportively and in a more positive light, rejects the assertion that the people are mere cultural dupes, lacking agency and

discernment, and hence vulnerable to the economic, cultural, and political dominance of industry rulers (1989: 309). He asserts that popular culture serves as a locus for resistance, ascribing agency to social groups that exist beyond the dominant hegemonic groups. According to Yıldırım (2002: 214), such an approach demonstrates an excessive level of optimism as it is based on the premise that those lacking economic and political influence have an equivalent capacity for resistance compared to groups that possess such power. While it is widely acknowledged that subordinate groups do not exist without any influence, Yıldırım's perspective appears to be valid when considering the potential of cultural hegemonic powers. Nevertheless, it appears that Gramsci's theoretical framework on popular culture has significantly transformed the research landscape by eliminating the selective requirement for scholars to align themselves with one of the two opposing camps.

3.1.4. Defining Powers of the Popular

Building upon this balanced perspective, Hall contends that one of these dominant actors with hegemonic power is the state. He asserts that the evolution of the state's involvement in popular culture, spanning from the 18th to the 20th century, demonstrates notable changes in both quantity and quality (Hall, 2006b: 364). The state, which formerly exhibited its authority in a more overt manner, progressively developed a preference for assuming a more discreet role (Güngör, 1999: 14). However, declining direct control does not imply decreasing power. Rather, it signals a shift towards a more subtle, hegemonic strategy that might turn out to be more potent and persistent, rendering popular culture an essential state apparatus.

The commercial power known as the media, which is primarily fuelled by advertising, is another force that defines the popular and exploits it as an ideological

agent. However, it is imperative to avoid the fallacy of perceiving the media as an entity in direct opposition to the state. Instead of standing up to state power and other dominant groups, the media serves as an overt or covert conduit for the ideologies established by these segments. The media assumes a complementary function in shaping societal direction by disseminating ideological messages that permeate its products. Kellner (2020: 5) reports that popular texts, television, advertising, and news stories all communicate specific ideological perspectives and help reproduce prevailing forms of social power, favouring the interests of society elites or dominant social groupings while also acknowledging alternative or contentious narratives. By the same token, Erdoğan asserts that the content of popular culture serves as a catalyst for the promotion of specific behavioural patterns (1999: 28). According to him, under the façade of libertarian rhetoric, the pursuit of freedom and serving capitalism is driven not by the mere act of consuming products but rather by adopting the goods and accepting the ideology propagated by the media outlet in issue. Curran and Sparks echo in a supportive tone that the amusement sections of popular publications frequently mirror mainstream conservative ideologies, even in instances where their political relevance may seem negligible (1999: 458). This implies that all manifestations of popular culture function as conduits for ideological messages and agents for propagating specific political ideas. Yet, compared to other items, advertising holds a more prominent position in the realm of popular culture due to its being a cultural form that directly engages with consumerist ideology and its more explicit promotion of capitalism.

3.1.5. Popular Culture and Advertising

Being referred to as the "official art of modern capitalist society" by Williams (1980: 184), advertising is basically centred on selling commodities and making profits. The success of advertising thus lies in the fact that customers are driven to use and

purchase popular goods even while they are aware of their deception (Adorno & Horkheimer, 1944/2002: 136). Furthermore, advertising serves purposes beyond the mere promotion and sale of specific products and services, and it is primarily through these supplementary tasks that advertising gains its higher relevance. The most significant of these tasks is to legitimise the capitalist consumerist perspective (Qualter, 1991: 62) and advance the American way of life (Croteau et al., 2011: 179). Supportively, Harms and Kellner (n.d.) argue that advertisements not only help manage consumer demand and facilitate capital accumulation but also create the ideological atmosphere essential to consumer capitalism.

In a similar vein, and using slightly different terminology, advertisements have also been perceived as instruments of propaganda. Adorno and Horkheimer (1944/2002: 133) posit that the act of mechanically repeating a cultural product is tantamount to the repetition of a propaganda slogan. The theory proposed herein appears to be credible, given that the efficacy of advertising does not stem from individual messages that may have a restricted influence but rather from the cumulative effect of a broad array of intentional highlighting of an ideology. Schudson (1984/2013: 5) draws an analogous conclusion, characterising advertising as a rampant and overt form of consumer culture propaganda. He contends that advertising serves as a vehicle for propagating capitalist ideologies such as individualism, materialism, and consumers' freedom of choice (218). So, it appears that the advertisement phenomenon has expanded from its conventional role in marketing items to cover the sphere of political promotion, and those in authority strategically positioned themselves within the advertising industry.

In sum, despite the existence of diverse perspectives regarding the definition, purpose, and role of popular culture, scholars have arrived at a shared understanding of its evolutionary trajectory. Accordingly, it would be prudent to consider adopting a popular culture approach that avoids perceiving it as comprising fixed cultural

frameworks, refrains from positioning it at the extremes of definition and from conceptualising the public as an inert and narrow entity, as in the case of the working class. Besides, it is vital to acknowledge that popular culture has purposes beyond its role as a form of public entertainment. The commodities made available to the public for consumption, facilitated by the market and backed by the state and capital, serve as vehicles for the dissemination of capitalist ideology (Yıldırım, 2002: 214). Among these, advertisements are particularly notable for their frequent use as ideological carriers. However, their prominence does not inherently imply that they serve as explicit conveyors of ideological messages. A comprehensive examination of advertisements from an ideological perspective necessitates an exploration of what O'Barr (1994) terms as "secondary discourse" embedded within these pieces. In contrast to the primary discourse, which focuses on the precise attributes of the marketed product, secondary discourses encompass notions related to society and culture that are contained inside the advertisements (3). This perspective posits that the ideology embedded within commercial images can be discerned through the manner in which these images communicate signals pertaining to societal life (Croteau et al., 2011: 182). As such, they stand as a significant popular culture database for the purpose of revealing cultural hegemonic influence and ideological messages.

3.1.6. A Particular Type of Popular Culture: Women's Magazines

Among other types of popular culture, newspapers and magazines emerged as the primary channels of advertising at a time when television was just entering the market, and satellite television and computers were even unimaginable. They thus assumed more importance than they do today in helping to both shape and reflect the values, habits, and aspirations of people. Similarly, women's magazines, which serve as the main source material for this thesis, reached large readerships and circulations in Türkiye and around

the world and had a great and particular impact on women and society as a whole during the 1950s. According to Walker (1998: 2), prominent women's magazines of the US at the time, such as *Good Housekeeping* and *Woman's Home Companion*, had subscriber lists ranging from two to eight million. She also mentions that these figures likely underestimated the actual readership since copies of the magazines were often shared among family members and friends, resulting in a higher reach. However, precise data on the circulation or subscription of women's magazines published in Türkiye has been found to be unattainable (Koçer, 2009: 8). Nevertheless, the observed rise in the number of women's magazines from 12 during the period of 1930-1940 to 24 during 1950-1960 (Davaz-Mardin, 1998: 12-13) is possible to suggest that this increase could be attributed to supply and demand dynamics along with various other factors, including advancements in printing technology, government-media interactions, and the prevailing political climate. In other words, the quantity of publications may have experienced an upsurge as a result of the heightened demand, that is, readership. In fact, the documented rise in the proportion of literate women, which escalated from approximately 16.65% in 1950 to 23.44% by 1960 (TÜİK, 2014), can substantiate this inference. Furthermore, *Kadın Dünyası* (Women's World), a periodical that commenced publication in 1952, consistently features a section titled "Biz Bize (Only Us)" in each issue, wherein numerous letters from readers are published¹⁵. This practice is indicative of the extensive distribution and widespread appeal of magazines in the country.

These magazines provided a range of content, including fictional stories, articles on fashion and personal aesthetics, guidance on domestic administration encompassing culinary skills, cleanliness, childcare, home embellishment, and maintaining harmonious marital relationships, along with a select few committed to promoting women's rights

¹⁵ See, for instance, Tuğcu, K. (Ed.). (1952, May). Biz Bize. *Kadın Dünyası*, 1, 30–31.

(Walker, 1998: 3). Additionally, the magazines showed a willingness to address sociopolitical matters. The heightened geopolitical rivalry during the Cold War was continuously reflected in the content of periodicals during the post-World War II era. Politically invoking the American way of life as something that needed to be safeguarded against Soviet danger matched exactly what the magazines were meant to promote: the nuclear family, living in peace, and benefiting from the capitalistic system (Walker, 1998: 8). It is important here to highlight that the portrayal of the idealised family during the 1950s was not a product of longstanding tradition; rather, it emerged as a novel phenomenon fostered by post-war America (May, 2008: 13-14). The primary objective was to advance the ideology of capitalism in the face of communism by drawing a parallel between the establishment of traditional family structures with assigned roles and the principles of democracy. In this particular context, the term "democracy" pertains to the notion that individuals within a family, women in particular, own the autonomy to select their own residence, employ labour-saving devices, and enjoy material comforts inside their homes (Walker, 1998: 18).

As such, women's magazines, in tandem with the advertising industry, formulated a female persona centred around consumer behaviour. Within this construct, the feminine role of household provision became synonymous with shopping, a prevalent theme historically and consistently portrayed in these periodicals (Beetham, 1996: 7-8). To set an example, Friedan (1977), in her analysis of visual representations seen in women's magazines before and after World War II, notes that post-World War II publications propagated the idea that women's ultimate worth and primary dedication lay in their responsibilities as housewives (37) and that a significant function performed by women in their role as housewives is to buy more household goods (197). To serve the ultimate aim of creating a capitalist consumerist society, the extensive collection of advertisements in the magazines showcased women engaging with electric mixers, washing machines,

and a range of cleaning products (Walker, 1998: 8). Such a strong dependence on advertising inevitably reinforced the concept of “women-as-consumers” and sparked a distinct perspective for women, as described by Ferguson (1983: 2), “a particular female world view of the desirable, the possible, and the purchasable.” In brief, advertisements, serving as unnoticed conduits for ideological messages, not only perpetuated traditional gender roles ascribed to women but also contributed to the continued existence of a consumerist society, which upholds the capitalist order, through the construction of a discourse centred around women. Within the broader context, women's magazines emerged as creations of popular culture that took on the mission of spreading the official ideology of the Western bloc through the advertisements, which they feature considerably more than any other type of content.

3.1.7. Women’s Magazines in Türkiye

Compared to their Western contemporaries, women's publications in Türkiye share both parallels and distinctions in their backgrounds, scope, and motives. The evolution of Turkish women's magazines was closely intertwined with the growing visibility of women on the political agenda. The discourse surrounding the role and status of women in Turkish society has been a prominent topic within the political framework during the era of Ottoman reforms implemented by the Young Turks in the mid-nineteenth century (Sirman, 1989: 3). The final stage of modernisation efforts during this era contained regulations that paved the way for women's participation in social life, resulting in the emergence of an informed women's mass. The libertarian environment brought about by the Second Constitutional Monarchy and other structural changes in society enabled the conveying of women's demands to achieve visibility and a different status through women-centred printed materials and thus led to the proliferation of women's magazines in the early twentieth century (Toska et al., 1993). With the founding

of the Republic, women's magazines also assumed an enlightening function and played a crucial role in creating new women under the modernisation project. These magazines, exhibiting parallelism with domestic and international political trends, gave women access to information and guidance on virtually every topic, encouraging them to actively engage in education and the workforce, as well as political and social life. In the 1950s, however, these political trends saw extraordinary shifts. Alongside the transition to the multi-party system and the ascent of the Democrat Party to power, the Cold War shaped women's economic, political, and social experiences as well as their way of life, family structure, positions in society, the expectations women had of the press and how it represented them. Briefly, in the context of Türkiye, women's magazines reveal a strong correlation with the sociopolitical and sociocultural milieu, evolving and progressing in tandem with the advancements and transformations. The country's foreign relations, being a significant determinant of the ideological framework, manifested themselves in magazines through diverse means across various epochs, serving as an indicator of the prevailing official perspective (Oktay, 1995: 51).

Following the execution of the Truman Doctrine and the Marshall Plan, accompanied by extensive propaganda campaigns by the United States, the ascendancy of the American way of life became apparent in Türkiye. This led to the prominence of capitalism and a heightened desire for consumerism, driven by the abundance of products made available with US economic aid. Thus, the magazines of the 1950s shifted their focus away from their previous role of providing enlightenment and information; instead, they began presenting their content in a manner that prioritised marketing and entertainment (Oktay, 1995: 80), ultimately positioning themselves as intended for swift consumption. Such an extreme transformation again mirrored the substantial shift in Türkiye's political path and set Turkish women's magazine publishing apart from its

Western cousins, despite sharing the common characteristic of depicting women as domestic consumers.

Nevertheless, these periodicals exhibit much similarity with regard to their substance and ideology. It is justifiable to assert that a significant factor contributing to this phenomenon is the dissemination of Turkish editions of American magazines within the country. *Bütün Dünya* (Whole World), the Turkish edition of “Reader's Digest,” *Akis* (Echo), considered the Turkish equivalent of “Time,” and *Hayat* (Life), which served as a counterpart to “Life,” sped up introducing American culture and lifestyle to Turkish society (Yıldırım, 2002: 215). This endeavour is rooted in the famous Thornburg Report. This paper argues for the Americanisation of the Turkish publication market, as expressed through the following words:

A great service would be tendered if appropriately selected American books and magazines were made more available. American popular literature reflects, and in some measure produces, the alert and facile adoption of new information and ideas which is a national characteristic. Not all the ideas thus disseminated are worthy of cultivation, even in America, but in a healthy community the good crowds out the bad. Such publications would find a wide reading in all the Turkish cities and most of the larger towns...Many Turkish publications would pick up much from such American sources if the material were made available to them (Thornburg et al., 1949: 251)

Given those resemblances, it is foreseeable that the dissemination of ideological messages and the endeavour to promote the adoption of an anti-communist American way of life will inevitably occur through the medium of advertising, alongside other discreetly political components of magazines. Hence, this thesis intends to analyse the construction of capitalist ideology and the ways the United States exerted its cultural influence in women's magazines during the 1950s by means of advertisements. It hopes to offer a valuable contribution to the existing body of literature by illuminating a topic that has received limited scholarly attention by disclosing the historical link between politics and

the press, as well as to challenge the established elitist perspective that cultural artefacts primarily intended for entertainment lack the substantive qualities necessary for academic and critical scrutiny by demonstrating the presence of analytically significant data within these magazines.

CHAPTER FOUR

ANALYSIS OF THE DP-ERA WOMEN'S MAGAZINES

This chapter will move away from the theoretical framework and instead provide an overview of the three women's magazines that were published between 1950 and 1960, namely, *Kadın Dünyası (Women's World - 1952)*, *Resimli Hayat (Life Illustrated)*, and *Kadın Dünyası (Women's World - 1958)*. I will analyse the advertisements contained in these magazines using summative content analysis with the aim of examining the supposed influence of the United States on Turkish popular media. While seeking to determine whether women's magazines primarily served as a source of entertainment, as assumed, or were utilised as a medium for infusing sociopolitical transformations into society, I will evaluate the validity of two hypotheses in this chapter:

(1) Women's magazines served as a medium that facilitated Americanisation and promoted the American lifestyle through the use of a variety of advertisements, and

(2) These publications aligned themselves with the government's policy orientation shaped in response to resounding domestic and international developments.

4.1. Kadın Dünyası of 1952

Kadın Dünyası of 1952, a periodical catering to family and women's interests, was published on a monthly basis between the years 1952 and 1953. The magazine, which was produced by Türkiye Yayınevi (Türkiye Publishing House), was owned by Tahsin Demiray and edited by Kemalettin Tuğcu. Tahsin Demiray is also recognised as the proprietor of Türkiye Yayınevi. It consisted of a total of ten issues, with each issue costing 50 kuruş. The magazine comprises multiple sections, including short stories, guidance for women in social and domestic spheres, visual and textual content on worldwide fashion,

culinary recipes, riddles and entertaining pieces, letters from readers and related responses, updates on current events, and home architecture and decoration. This magazine places significant emphasis on the role of women as mothers and wives, caretakers of the home, and fundamental contributors to the preservation of familial bonds. The roles that the magazine assigns to women and seeks to implant in them are made evident by even these comments in the opening pages: “Yes, this is the reason for this life: marriage... For a girl to put forth effort through employment, education, and knowledge is to be desired by a more suited husband” (Davaz-Mardin, 1998: 67). As previously stated, this aligns with Sancar's concept of Turkish conservative modernisation. She states that during the period between 1945 and 1965, Western ideals were embraced in response to transformations in daily life, while conservative values were still maintained (2014: 232). Thus, a possible alignment between the portrayal of women in popular cultural goods and the perception of women by the DP¹⁶, which

¹⁶ The DP's stance on women, as a party philosophy, was fundamentally conservative. While not representing the official stance of the party, DP congresses put up proposals from members, such as the dismissal of female civil servants to compel them to return home and focus on raising children. Additionally, they suggested imposing a yearly tax of 250 liras on women who did not have children. See Aydın, A., & Yıldız, M. (2016). 1950-1960 Döneminde Türkiye’de Kadın Hareketlerinin Niteliği Üzerine Bir Değerlendirme. *Yasama Dergisi*, 33, 50–67.

The representation of women in politics was also significantly inadequate. Three and four DP women deputies were elected to parliament in the 1950 and 1954 elections, respectively. In 1957, this number rose to seven. Taking into account that in the four elections conducted between 1935 and 1950, these numbers were 18, 16, 16, and 9, respectively, it can be concluded that there was a discernible decrease in the number of women in politics during the DP period. See Türkiye İstatistik Kurumu. (2012). *Milletvekili Genel Seçimleri 1923 - 2011*. Türkiye İstatistik Kurumu Matbaası.

The overall demographic and social conditions of women during the period of 1950-1960 reveal that the percentage of adult women who were literate was approximately 16.65% in 1950 and only managed to

comprised the ruling cadre, would not be surprising. Also, there exists a notable convergence between the American perspective on women and the DP's conservative modernisation approach to women. Although the relationship with the United States does not seem to be the main driver of this parallel, it is plausible that it played a role in the increased popularity of magazines and materials with American undertones since the US was perceived as the new ideal, and there was a deliberate effort to emulate its progress during the 1950s.

The perspective held by the owners of the magazine greatly impacts the publication's breadth and substance. Tahsin Demiray, an influential player in the realm of politics, exhibited significant dedication towards fostering a transition to a multi-party system in Türkiye. Notably, he expressed admiration for the Democrat Party and endeavoured to provide guidance on its course of action (Ertürk, 1989: 109). However, following a period of moderate engagement that persisted until 1952, he redirected his critique of authoritarianism, previously directed at the Republican People's Party, towards

increase to 23.44% by 1960. Education initiatives failed to attain the necessary standards to substantially enhance the status of women. See Türkiye İstatistik Kurumu. (2014). *İstatistik Göstergeler / Statistical Indicators 1923-2013*. Türkiye İstatistik Kurumu Matbaası.

Regarding the voluntary organisations, the DP government permitted the growth of women's associations but sought to exert control over their development. Specifically, to avoid harming relations with the United States, certain procedures were implemented to prevent women's associations from establishing connections with socialist organisations. For instance, in accordance with the resolution numbered 16160 by the Council of Ministers, all publications and materials produced by the Women's International Democratic Federation were prohibited from being imported and distributed in Türkiye. See *Enternasyonal Demokratik Kadınlar Federasyonu» Adlı Teşekkülün Bilümum Matbuaların Türkiye'ye Sokulmalarının ve Dağıtılmalarının Menedilmesine Dair Kararname*. (1953, February 24). Official Gazette (Issue: 8331). Retrieved December 17, 2023, from <https://www.resmigazete.gov.tr/arsiv/8331.pdf>

the Democrat Party, resulting in a divergence of paths. In May 1952, he assumed a pivotal role as a founding member of the Turkish Villagers' Party, with the explicit aim of countering the DP. Nevertheless, it is important to note that this opposition should not be misconstrued as a complete rejection of the philosophy espoused by the Democrat Party. Ertürk reveals that there exists an interconnection between politics and sociology in the ideology of Tahsin Demiray (1989: 124). His approach to resolving political issues was rooted in sociological principles, with private enterprise and decentralisation being the proposed remedies within this framework. Furthermore, "We endorse the general policy with our Western allies and friends, particularly the United States. Our ties with the peoples and governments of these nations, to whom we are morally bound by historical ties, should be strengthened," Demiray (1956: 10) said in his party congress, indicating his alignment with the DP's foreign policy strategy. Thus, it would be realistic to anticipate the presence of pieces that promote the lifestyle prevalent in the Western bloc and highlight the capitalist and conservative mindset of the United States, with a notable absence of any reference to the Eastern bloc inside the pages of *Kadın Dünyası* of 1952.

4.2. Resimli Hayat

Resimli Hayat is another periodical publication available to women, encompassing topics such as fashion, current events, the arts, and sports. The magazine, which was established in May 1952 and produced a total of 39 issues until July 1955¹⁷,

¹⁷ Some authors interpret Hayat as a direct extension of Resimli Hayat. Resimli Hayat ceased publication in 1955, but Rado introduced a magazine that lined up with it in terms of content, size, paper type, and print quality and named it "Hayat" (Life) in 1956, inspired by the popular American magazine "Life" and remaining a prominent publication until the 1980s. The debut issue of Hayat went on sale in March 1956 for 15 kurus, and manufacturing of numbered issues, which were sold for 75 kurus, started in April. Given

was under the ownership and editorial control of Şevket Rado. The publication was issued by Doğan Kardeş Yayınevi (Doğan Kardeş Publishing House). The magazine started to be sold at 100 kuruş. The magazine is among the few publications that have achieved longevity. Resimli Hayat mostly focused on content targeted towards women, such as current fashion tips, news from high society, celebrity interviews, pre-marriage questionnaires, and marriage advice for females. However, unlike Kadın Dünyası of 1952, it also featured a substantial amount of advertisements, news, and pieces pertaining to social and political matters that might potentially captivate a wider audience. Indeed, an analysis of reader letters from different issues revealed that some of the senders were male, which may have some significance for the demographics of the magazine's readership. For instance, İsmail Köksalan from Çatalzeytin, a reader, submitted a letter in the magazine's fifth issue asking that text-free pictures of the Turkish beauty queens of 1950 and 1951 be printed on certain pages of the following issue. Meanwhile, in the same issue, Adana resident Yılmaz Nakipoğlu contends that Resimli Hayat was the most esteemed publication in Türkiye that had never faced any criticism. While this case underscores the limitations of this particular medium in precisely defining and tailoring

the modifications to the magazine, it was decided that the cut-off point for this thesis would be the start of the interval between the two versions. See Güntepe-Yeşilbursa, E. (n.d.). *Hayat Dergisi (1956-1992)*. Atatürk Ansiklopedisi. Retrieved December 7, 2023, from <https://ataturkansiklopedisi.gov.tr/bilgi/hayat-dergisi-1956-1992/>; Dağtaş, B. (2014). Americanization of the Popular Culture in the 1950's Turkish Magazine: Hayat. *Rhetoric and Communications E-journal*, 14. https://www.researchgate.net/publication/321392246_Americanization_of_the_Popular_Culture_in_the_1950s_Turkish_Magazine_Hayat; Pınarcı, S. (2013). *Hayat Dergisinde (1956-1960) Kadının Meta Olarak Sunumu ve Popülerleştirilmesi* [MA Thesis]. Gazi University.

its target audience, it is plausible that the magazine may have achieved success in terms of expanding its publishing span by appealing to a broad range of readers.

The owner, Şevket Rado, is also a prominent figure in the realm of Turkish media. He authored numerous literary works across multiple genres, as well as emerging as a prominent figure in Turkish magazine publishing. He assumed responsibility for managing the press and publishing operations of Yapı ve Kredi Bank, where he successfully published the *Aile*, *Resimli Hayat*, and *Doğan Kardeş* magazines with the financial backing of the bank. In line with the prevailing circumstances of the era, Rado published essays and news pieces that offered sociocultural insights into the American way of life in his magazines and advocated for the adoption of the consumption-indexed American lifestyle among his readers, covering a wide range of related themes (Günteppe-Yeşilbursa, n.d.). Similarly, Alkan asserts that *Resimli Hayat* aspires to be a Western-style magazine, and that this aspiration is reflected in the magazine's content (2015: 603). Moreover, Memduh Moran, who established the Reklam Moran agency in 1952 with the support of Kazım Taşkent, the founder of Yapı ve Kredi Bank, was in charge of the advertisements to be published. His clientele was extensive and included Singer and a number of products from Unilever (*Memduh Moran*, n.d.). While similar data for other magazines is unavailable, it is believed that Memduh Moran's perspective and relations with his customers would also influence the calibre of advertisements in *Resimli Hayat*. In addition, it has been previously revealed that the US Department of State launched a book translation initiative in numerous non-Western countries, including Türkiye, recognising the practical significance of books in promoting American values around the globe (Barnhisel, 2010: 198) and that the US Embassy established a collaborative alliance with the Turkish Ministry of National Education and local publishers, including Doğan Kardeş Yayınevi, with the aim of producing and disseminating these publications within

the borders of Türkiye (Örnek, 2013: 137-138). Given this perspective, it is possible to speculate that Resimli Hayat may likewise include material that serves this objective.

4.3. Kadın Dünyası of 1958

Kadın Dünyası of 1958 is also a magazine that appeals to the interests of women, focusing on topics related to fashion and family matters. The magazine comprises a total of twelve issues, and it was introduced on May 31, 1958, with a biweekly release schedule. The ownership of the magazine rests with Bülent Sokullu, while Seyfi Özgen assumes the role of editor. The magazine was produced at the Ankara Yeni Desen Printing House. It was purchased for a price of 100 kuruş.

The first issue underscored the nature of the magazine as a fashion publication, emphasising that no distinct fashion magazine had been produced prior to its release. Also mentioned was that they had established a partnership with the Associated Press, a globally recognised American news agency, for the purpose of disseminating up-to-date fashion and current affairs photographs specifically related to women. The magazine was equipped with sections dedicated to community events, riddles, fortune-telling, and quizzes. This prompts a stereotyped questioning, particularly when put in context with the name of the publication. For this magazine, which started its publishing life as a fashion-oriented magazine, does a woman's world solely consist of fashion and beauty? The seeming reductionist method loses its rationale as the contextual analysis becomes more comprehensive. Hasan Ali Yücel, in the inaugural edition, advocated for women's presence in the public domain, affirming that women can occupy roles such as lawyers, judges, teachers, merchants, physicians, ambassadors, legislators, and workers. Within the same issue, an interview featuring a female flight attendant was incorporated, promoting the profession of flight attendants. Meanwhile, in the third issue, Bahtiyar

Demirağ highlighted motherhood as the most revered entity in the world, implying that the focus on conservative gender roles still persisted. Thus, it is evident that the magazine sought to broaden women's horizons by incorporating content that promotes women's participation in the public domain, even as upholding conservative principles. The magazine's unparalleled emphasis on political matters such as gender equality, as well as featuring psychological and pedagogical articles in the subsequent issues authored by notable figures like Rasim Adasal and Hasan Ali Yücel also set it apart from other periodicals. However, as a result of budgetary limitations (Koçer, 2009: 173), the substance of the publication progressively adopted a relatively shallow nature. Indeed, the publication of pornographic images and the dissemination of gossip pertaining to film celebrities emerged in the subsequent issues.

The practice of exclusively importing paper for the press from a single source, coupled with the easy supply of paper by the DP to publications that supported the government, posed a significant challenge to magazine publishing at the time. Supportively, in his piece about DP-era public and private advertisements, Alemdar (2017: 248-250) states that the government gave the green light for its pro-partizan actions through other legal regulations and practices as well. One of the most striking actions that came out of the DP era was the governmental control over commercial advertisements, along with official ones. In May 1951, the DP implemented a decree that changed the distribution of official advertisements. Previously, a private company had been responsible for distributing them evenly to newspapers. However, the new decree stated that the government would now handle the distribution and determine the proportions in accordance with its regulations (*Bakanlar Kurulu Kararları*, 1951). On November 27, 1957, another decree was published in the Official Gazette, which indicated that the Turkish Press Union Limited Partnership for Official Advertisements would assume the

authority over the publication of commercial advertisements in newspapers and magazines and specify the quantity of advertisements and the prices at which they would be published (*Bilimum İlan ve Reklamların*, 1957). This approach was utilised as a method of keeping magazine owners under control and pressure. Indeed, this observation may elucidate an underlying factor contributing to the ephemeral nature of women's magazines published during the period spanning from 1950 to 1960. In this case, however, available sources do not provide any information regarding the identities and political leanings of the magazine's owner and editor. Therefore, it would not be practical to offer an evaluation of their influence on the content of the magazine.

4.4. Analysis of the Magazines

When assessing advertisements in terms of layout design, they typically incorporate a combination of textual and visual elements. The advertisements employ straightforward and easily understandable language, incorporating expressions that not only provide information but also aim to captivate the reader. As an illustration, the Tangee lipstick advertisement in the fifth issue of *Kadın Dünyası* of 1952 not only provides information about lipstick specifics but also expressly targets women seeking love by emphasising that "soft, attractive lips awaken love" in order to enhance the appeal of the lipstick. Again, the phrase "our most valuable citizens, the farmers, at work" in the Allgaier tractor advertisement in the ninth issue of *Resimli Hayat* communicates sub-messages that intersect with Türkiye's agricultural development agenda shaped by various internal and external factors. The placement of advertisements in *Kadın Dünyası* of 1952 is mostly oriented on the initial and concluding pages, with certain advertisements also appearing within the interior pages. The cover page showcases coloured photos of renowned women, including Hollywood icons, while the final page of the magazine

displays a coloured full-length advertisement. The size of other advertisements varies throughout the entire publication. On its cover page, *Resimli Hayat* also features well-known women, and on the following page is a lengthy advertisement from Yapı ve Kredi Bank, which is unsurprising considering its ownership by the bank. The last page alternates between product advertisements and full-length celebrity portraits.

In contrast to *Kadın Dünyası* of 1952, *Resimli Hayat* includes coloured, full-length celebrity images on the inside pages as well. Additionally, the reader is presented with numerous advertisements of different sizes and topics on these pages. While it may be challenging to draw broad statements about *Kadın Dünyası* of 1958, the cover page prominently displays coloured images of Hollywood stars, and the advertisements are presented in a condensed format without much dispersion throughout the magazine. Typically, multiple advertisements are displayed on a single page. The final page occasionally includes coloured images of celebrities and, alternatively, showcases full-size product advertisements. Here, it is worth mentioning that the incorporation of Hollywood stars also serves capitalism, as these modern figures appeared as the symbols of American mass culture and American modernism. Rosenberg states that within American culture, depictions of women's positions functioned as symbolic indicators of the level of civilization achieved by society (1999: 480). In this case, Hollywood celebrities are thought to have acted as exemplars for Turkish society, which was striving to emulate the US. Advertisements typically have a monochromatic or limited colour palette. Regarding advertising rates, *Kadın Dünyası* of 1958 requests a charge of 2 liras per square centimetre for each advertisement to be shown within the magazine. There is a lack of available information in *Kadın Dünyası* of 1952, while *Resimli Hayat* charges 175 liras for a full-page advertisement and 25 liras for one that covers 1/16th of a page.

I have expanded upon the above information by conducting an in-depth analysis of the advertisements across 10 categories, which reveals both quantitative and qualitative data (see Tables in the Appendix). The classification of the promoted products and their brands has provided insight into the evaluations based on country-of-origin data. The examination of the advertisement category has also been predicated on these two variables. Furthermore, the number and regularity of the advertisements have yielded quantitative data on how frequently analysed brands reappeared. The distinctive aspect of summative content analysis, as opposed to quantitative analyses, lies in the interpretation of the contextual framework with reference to quantitative data. Lastly, I have obtained the qualitative data by delving into the specifics of visual and textual indicators, which allows for evaluations regarding the portrayal of women, potential readership, and the presence of compradors.

4.4.1. Country of Origin

The examination of ten issues of *Kadın Dünyası* of 1952 has unveiled that out of the total 155 advertisements scrutinised, 50 of them are promotional materials for either US-branded products or Turkish products that incorporated an American element in some capacity. Upon analysis of the data issue-by-issue, it is seen that the proportion of US-branded or related advertisements in relation to the total number of advertisements exhibits a minimum value of 18 per cent in issue 7. However, this proportion even increases to 40 per cent in both issues 5 and 9. Furthermore, the analysis has identified a collective sum of 67 advertisements promoting Turkish-branded products, out of which 13 are specifically associated with those including an American component. Besides, a total of 38 advertisements promote products originating from nations within the Western bloc, while 12 advertisements are associated with Switzerland. Notably, just one

advertisement has been found to highlight a product from Czechoslovakia, a country situated within the Eastern Bloc. Here, it is important to remember that during the Cold War, Switzerland adopted a policy of strict neutrality between the two opposing blocs. However, it identified itself as part of the Western bloc in terms of economic, political, and cultural terms (Federal Department of Foreign Affairs of Switzerland, n.d.). Hence, it would be appropriate to characterise Switzerland as a nation situated inside the Western sphere of influence. The analysis of magazine advertising by country thus demonstrates a notable emphasis on the Western bloc, particularly the United States. This trend also aligns with the foreign policy strategies and diplomatic relationships observed during the DP period.

Regarding *Resimli Hayat*, which has twelve issues available, the analysis reveals that out of 176 advertisements, 48 were either of American origin or Turkish advertisements with an American element. The proportion of these advertisements in relation to the overall number of advertisements reached its lowest point at 15% in issues 5 and 7 but experienced an increase to 40% in issue 9. There are 80 advertisements for products from other Western bloc countries, and 5 of them have the US listed as one of the countries of origin. Forty-nine advertisements promote Turkish brands, with eight of them including any US component. The other twelve ads are for goods from Switzerland. *Resimli Hayat* contains no commercials for goods produced in any of the countries that make up the Eastern Bloc. Like *Kadın Dünyası* of 1952, the magazine had a notable abundance of American advertisements during a time of close connections with the United States and the ongoing rise of the Democrat Party.

Thirdly, nine issues of *Kadın Dünyası* of 1958 have been accessed, with 50 advertisements analysed in total. Surprisingly, it has been discovered that all advertisements promote Turkish brands. The political trajectory of the DP follows a

pattern characterised by an upward phase from 1950 to 1954, a period of stagnation from 1954 to 1957, and a further drop from 1957 to 1960. The ascent was fuelled by the implementation of the Truman Doctrine, Marshall Aid, and other politically motivated aid, as well as NATO membership and strong ties with the United States. However, over time, this gave way to an economic decline, an import substitution economic strategy, and strained relations with the United States. From this standpoint, it can be inferred that the import substitution strategy, in particular, may have a direct effect on halting the promotion of all other foreign goods alongside those from the US. Furthermore, taking into consideration Türkiye's production capacity will also provide significant insights. During the rising period of the DP, agricultural output was prioritised as a policy focus. However, Türkiye's manufacturing of readily advertised items like durable goods began during the late 1950s (Yavuz, 2013: 232). Thus, the variations in the figures of the country of origin-based analysis can also be attributed to Türkiye's limited potential for production.

4.4.2. Advertisement Category

When analysed by category, there are 73 advertisements for cosmetics, twelve for accessories, 27 for literature such as translated books and American-style magazines, ten for textiles, including knitting yarns, thirteen for pharmaceuticals, five for laundry cleaning, twelve for infant care, and three for personal care in *Kadın Dünyası* of 1952. Out of the total advertising promoting products of American origin, 35 pertain to cosmetics, while a mere two pertain to personal care items. Thirteen advertisements for Turkish products that incorporated an American component were classified under the literature category. The assortment of products encompasses literary works and periodicals translated and published by Türkiye Yayınevi. The aforementioned

perspective of Tahsin Demiray, the owner of the publishing company, about American political and cultural life underscores his undeniable role in facilitating the process of Americanisation through his periodical. According to Şenol-Cantek, Türkiye Yayınevi, which was popular in the 1940s and 1950s, was the publishing house that had the strongest affinity for American culture (2015: 429). This may essentially provide a valid rationale for the promotion of products with American components. Another noteworthy aspect is that all textile advertisements originate from Türkiye. According to Eroğul, there exists a notable inclination among international capitalists to delegate the operation of some sectors, such as the textile industry, to domestic capital in Türkiye (1990: 171). This assertion possibly serves as a rationale for the presence of only domestic advertisements on textiles.

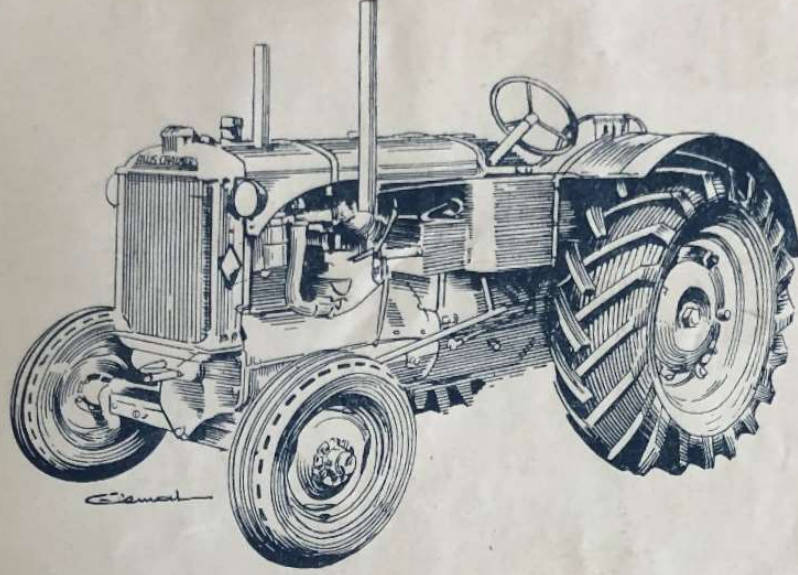
As for *Resimli Hayat*, twenty-three of the advertisements fall into the category of agricultural production, including tractor models, ten into furniture, 24 into household goods, sixteen into accessories, twelve into textiles such as sewing machines, 22 into personal care, seven into cosmetics, twelve into literature, ten into laundry cleaning, six into pharmaceuticals, one into architecture, five into infant care, thirteen into banking and insurance, four into foods and beverages, one into tobacco, seven into transportation, and fifteen into communications. Out of the 40 advertising for American brands, fifteen are for household goods, eight are for agriculture, eleven are for personal care, one is for pharmaceuticals, and five are for communications. Regarding the Turkish-branded advertisements with an American component, six of them are translations of American classics by Doğan Kardeş Yayınevi, while the other two market a domestic product made with American equipment. When one reconsiders the agreement between Doğan Kardeş Yayınevi and the US Embassy (Örnek, 2013: 137-138), the existence of these advertisements in women's magazines would not appear odd. Moreover, Türkiye's

modernisation in the 1950s, supported by American assistance and the government's agricultural strategy, allowed it to take advantage of the increasing worldwide demand for agricultural products resulting from the Korean War during the early 1950s. Due to the significant increase in export revenues, especially from the cotton industry, Türkiye transformed into a prosperous country. The well-being and increase in disposable income started to encourage spending across all domains. Just around this time, American products started to enter the Turkish market. For instance, the radios carried by American soldiers made their way into the country and introduced the regular Turkish population to these devices in the early 1950s (Alkan, 2015: 596). American assistance also required the modernisation of transportation and communication policies, thereby laying the foundation for the utilisation of transportation and communication goods.

However, in contrast to *Kadın Dünyası* of 1952, *Resimli Hayat* exhibits a broader spectrum of categories. As previously indicated, the magazine's diversification is both rational and noteworthy, given its inclusion of many subjects such as the arts, sports, social, and political matters, in addition to the customary topics typically addressed in any women's magazine. More specifically, it is striking that the women's magazine contains a total of 23 tractor advertisements, aligning with Türkiye's agricultural development strategy informed by the Marshall Plan (Figures 1 and 2). The press extensively covered the mechanisation of agriculture, even in women's magazines, since it became imperative for the country to meet its obligation of exporting agricultural products to European markets because of the economic aid it received. Another noteworthy aspect is the specific terms and conditions outlined in the bilateral agreements between the United States and the recipient countries under the Marshall Plan (*Foreign Assistance Act of 1948*, 1948). The Economic Cooperation Act of 1948 required Türkiye to actively promote industrial and agricultural production (as outlined in Article 1 of the Bilateral

and Multilateral Undertakings section). Additionally, the country was obligated to collaborate with other participating nations to facilitate and encourage the exchange of goods and services, both among themselves and with other countries, while also working towards reducing trade barriers (as outlined in Article 3 of the same section). Furthermore, Türkiye was required to regularly publish detailed information about the purpose, source, allocation, and progress of the aid it received (as outlined in Article 7 of the same section). The press was unquestionably the main driver of this publicity campaign and the booster of products supplied through the increased foreign interactions resulting from reduced trade barriers.

ALLIS CHALMERS



Alacağınız her alet için önce

YAKIN DOĞU MAKİNE A. Ş.

DEMİRBAĞ HAN KAT III GALATA

Adresini sorunuz.

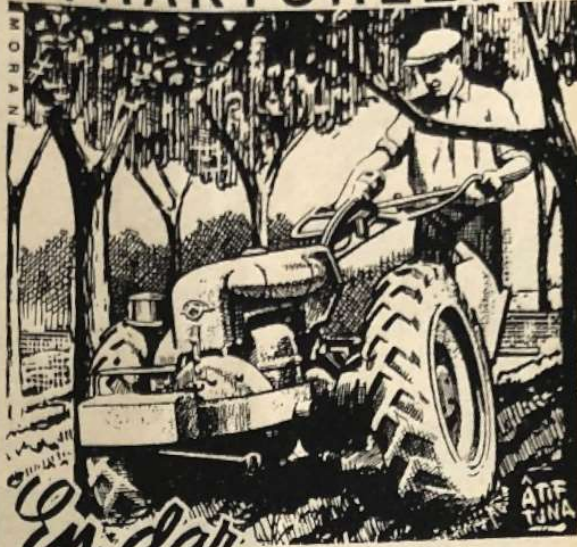
Bol yedek parça, mükemmel servis

ACENTELER :

Adana	: Yakın D. Şubesi	Bursa	: Doğan Güner	İzmir	: Cezmi Uyum
Adapazarı	: Muammer Yazar	Çatalca	: Raşit Aykut	Konya	: S. Gürol
Amasya	: Hamdi Z. Rahtuvan	Çorlu	: Saffet Tenguç	Kütahya	: İ. Germiyanoğlu
Ankara	: Yusuf Sirmen	Edirne	: Kemal Argün	Lüleburgaz	: Ahmet Azun
Antalya	: M. Ali Gönen	Elâzığ	: Mustafa Saka	Malkara	: Hüseyin Alp
Babaeski	: Sefaeddin Neşeli	Eskişehir	: İlhan Kalkanoğlu	Uzunköprü	: Salih Yüksel
Biga	: Mehmet N. Demiral				

Figure 1: A tractor ad from US-origin Allis Chalmers, Resimli Hayat, Issue 4

BUNGARTZ TRAKTÖRLERİ



*En dar
yerlerde çalışır*

BUNGARTZ traktörleri küçük çiftlik, bağ, bahçe, bostan, fidanlık, fundalık, zeytinlik, portakal ve limon bahçeleri,

tütün, pamuk ziraatinde çiftçinin her işini kolaylıkla görür.

BUNGARTZ traktörlerine pulluk, çapa makinesi, kaz ayağı, ark açacağı mibzer, ilaç püskürtme cihazı, kasnak, su tulumbası, çayır makinesi, orak makinesi, biçer bağlar, patates ve pancar sökme aleti, fidan için çukur açma ve fidan dikme aleti ve 1500 kiloya kadar remork bağlanır.



BUNGARTZ traktörleri 1 saatte $1\frac{1}{2}$ dekara yakın iş görürler ve bu esnada 0,75 litreden 3 litreye kadar benzin yakarlar.

BUNGARTZ traktörleri 30-40 işçinin 1 günde yaptığı işi 1 makine tek başına aynı zamanda yapar.

3 TİP :

4, 6 ve 11 Beygir

ÖMSER TİCARET T. A. Ş.

Karaköy Palası karşısında, Galata - İstanbul

Figure 2: A tractor ad from German-origin Bungartz, Resimli Hayat, Issue 7

The advertisements reflect other notable transformations, such as the increased visibility of banking activities. This can be attributed to two factors: firstly, the financial sponsor of the magazine being a bank, and secondly, the necessity to address liquidity requirements in order to sustain the expansion of monetary and economic activities resulting from the shift from a statist policy to a free market economy under the new government. Additionally, the advent of the notion of private property, which is intrinsic to capitalism, also propelled the prominence of insurance within the advertising sector. Lastly, the promotion of sewing machines that cater to domestic production as opposed to ready-to-wear garments is possible to indirectly reinforce Eroğul's standpoint on textiles (1990: 171).

The advertisements in *Resimli Hayat* and *Kadın Dünyası* of 1952 share similar composition, implied meanings, and intensity, and they align with the DP's foreign policy strategy. However, the examination of *Kadın Dünyası* of 1958 reveals that forty-seven of the advertisements are for banking promotions, while the final three are related to the real estate sector. There was a noticeable decrease in the quantity and diversity of advertisements, with a predominant focus on banking-related activities. The magazine did not contain any advertisements promoting foreign products, either. Considering the historical background, it is plausible to enumerate multiple factors contributing to these changes. First, as stated earlier, commercial activity experienced an impressive surge during the tenure of the Democrat Party, mostly due to the shift away from statist policies, the promotion of private enterprise, and the adoption of an economic liberalist stance. The implementation of the agricultural development agenda stipulated by the Marshall Plan and in accordance with the liberal economic and financial policies the DP led to the expansion of economic activity. This expansion necessitated increased liquidity and fostered a conducive climate for the banking sector. During the period from 1950 to 1960,

a total of 24 new banks are known to have been established, accompanied by a substantial increase in the number of branches operated by existing banks (Erdoğan, 1993: 492). The press, and by extension, the advertising industry, must have played a significant role in publicising such a rise.

Second, the conventional perspective on consumption underwent a transformation due to the implementation of policies that fostered a free market economy, capitalism, and competition. Consequently, there was a significant rise in the volume of advertisements and advertising expenditures, driven by the growing demand for mass-produced and imported goods. However, the high cost of imported goods catalysed domestic manufacturers to meet the demand for sought-after items like washing machines and refrigerators during the latter part of the 1950s (Yavuz, 2013: 232). Simultaneously, this prompted housewives to save money for the purchase of these products, which were perceived as indispensable commodities and symbols of social status (Buğra, 2000: 14). These savings materialised across several categories of commodities, ranging from household items to larger assets such as residential properties and automobiles. On the other hand, the agricultural boom ended in the mid-1950s, and exports decreased, causing an imbalance between imports and exports that would later cause a problem. Upon failing to address the deficit, the government implemented measures to restrict foreign trade, which may have also resulted in a decrease in the quantity of advertisements.

Last but not least, it is imperative to highlight once more the harsh press policies implemented by the DP. The imprisonment of dissident journalists, the imposition of legal constraints on press freedom, and the implementation of repressive measures, such as centralised authority over printing paper import and allocation of official and commercial advertisements, plausibly compelled magazine proprietors to align themselves with the government in order to ensure the longevity of their publications. In contrast to the other

two magazines, the political disposition of the owner and editor of Kadın Dünyası of 1958 remains unknown. The available data only indicates that the magazine encountered financial challenges. By considering this circumstance in connection with the prevailing press policies of that era, it becomes possible to derive more insightful conclusions.

4.4.3. Portrayal of Women

Broadly speaking, it is pertinent to assert that the codes underscored by Kadın Dünyası of 1952 in its portrayal of women through advertisements encompass motherhood, domesticity, and a modern look. Advertisements for cosmetics, personal care goods, and accessories often depict the image of a refined woman who takes pride in her appearance, as well as a socially concerned and contemporary one who prioritises donating to organisations like the Anti-Tuberculosis Society, so enhancing her social and public standing (Figure 3). They also serve to please a male gaze and, as a result, to maintain traditional patterns of female subordination. Similarly, advertisements for laundry cleaning and textile products portray the identity of a housewife, who is expected to fulfil her traditional tasks within her domestic sphere. Additionally, advertisements for baby care items emphasise the sacred duty of motherhood.



Figure 3: A lipstick ad from US-origin Vizzande, Kadın Dünyası of 1952, Issue 3

Again, it is evident through categorisation that Resimli Hayat, akin to Kadın Dünyası of 1952, incorporates advertisements that offer insights into the societal construction of womanhood. The emphasis on women as the target consumers for durable household goods, cleaning supplies, and infant care products underscores their traditional roles as housewives and mothers. However, it also reflects the conformist tendencies fostered by the capitalist system. The prevalent message in advertisements is that the availability of long-lasting home appliances, such as washing machines and vacuum cleaners, enables women to allocate more time towards self-care and entertainment (Figure 4), attending to their children and spouses (Figure 5), and enhancing their overall quality of life. Likewise, it is readily apparent that numerous advertisements promoting accessories, personal care products, and cosmetics accentuate an additional societal function ascribed to women in the pursuit of conservative modernisation. In a parallel

vein, it is noticeable that the conservative identity associated with the Democrat Party aligns with the portrayal of women in these publications.

Figure 4: A vacuum cleaner ad from US-origin Hoover, Resimli Hayat, Issue 8

Vakti olmıyan anne..



Tosun, yalvararak :
«Anneciğim gel biraz
benimle oyna» dedi.

Fakat annesi Selma, daima evi temizlemek, süpürmekle meşgul-
dü. «Gelemem yavrum, hiç vaktim yok» diye cevap verdi.



«Fakat anneciğim Ali'nin annesi
kendisiyle hep oynuyor!» «Ne
diyeyim oğlum, her halde onun
annesinin benden daha çok fazla
boş vakti vardır.»



Ertesi gün, Selma, Ali'nin anne-
sine, oğlu ile oynamaya nasıl va-
kit bulabildiğini sordu. «Kocam
bir elektrik süpürgesi aldı. Bu
sayede çok boş vaktim kalıyor!»



O gece, Selma kocasına dedi ki :
«Biliyor musun Tosun'la meşgul
olmaya daha çok vakit ayırma-
lıyım. Muhakkak bir Hoover
elektrik süpürgesi almalıyız. Ay-
da 25 lira taksitle veriliyormuş.»



Birkaç hafta sonra, Tosun soru-
yor : «Anneciğim, benimle oy-
namaya vaktin var mı? Annesi,
«İstediğin zaman oynayabiliriz
yavrum, HOOVER sayesinde ar-
tık her şeye vaktim var.»

BİR HOOVER ELEKTRİK SÜPÜRGESİ almak aynı zamanda fev-
kalâde iktisadidir, zira halılarımızın uzun müddet dayanmasını
temin eder. HOOVER, dövücüleri sayesinde halının derinlerine
kadar nüfuz eden kum ve toprak tanelerini temizler. HOOVER,
yalnız halıları değil, muşambaları, perdeleri, koltukları da temizler.

*Süpürgenin çalışmasını bayilerde görebilirsiniz.**

AYDA 25 LİRA	HOOVER Dünyanın en üstün elektrik SÜPÜRGESİ	AYDA 25 LİRA
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MATAŞ TİCARET T. A. Ş. GALATA, TAHİR HAN, İSTANBUL

Figure 5: Another vacuum cleaner ad from US-origin Hoover, Resimli Hayat, Issue 3

In the advertisements of Kadın Dünyası of 1958, the woman retains her contemporary appearance but is not objectified to the same extent as in the other two publications. She is typically portrayed as a member of the nuclear family.

4.4.4. Brand Frequency

Brand frequency analysis for Kadın Dünyası of 1952 reveals that 25 of the 35 brands appearing in ten issues are repeated at least once, with Türkiye Yayınları (n=27), Ören Bayan (n=10), and Vizzande (n=10) being the three most frequent brands. Besides, it is observed that 80% of American brands are found to have been reproduced at least once, with a tendency towards frequent repetition.

In Resimli Hayat, it is observable that out of the 37 brands featured in twelve issues, 29 of them recurrently appeared. Notably, the three most frequently indicated brands were Hoover (n=13), Erel (n=12), and Doğan Kardeş (n=12), respectively. Furthermore, it is worth noting that a significant majority of American brands, specifically 5 out of 6, are observed to be reproduced at least once. Notably, American brands producing household goods, agricultural machinery, and personal care items had a high frequency of recurrence.

Lastly, a total of eight different brands are promoted in Kadın Dünyası of 1958, with seven of them belonging to banking institutions and one representing a privately owned real estate agency. The brands that appear most frequently in the dataset are Vakıflar Bank (n=9), Türkiye Emlak Kredi Bank (n=9), and Ziraat Bank (n=8), while the brand with the least frequent occurrence is Şekerbank (n=1). The utilisation of repetition as a discursive approach is an influential instrument for inculcating an ideology. The

recurrent nature of specific advertising may have also played a role in fostering consumerism, mostly by enhancing the memorability of certain products and influencing how they are perceived and interpreted by readers.

4.4.5. Visual and Textual Indicators and Target Audience

Advertisements in *Kadın Dünyası* of 1952 effectively address the intended demographic with a combination of textual and visual elements. Upon analysing the advertisements featuring visual content, it becomes evident that pictures portraying women's grooming, maternity, and domesticity were prominently featured, aligning with the prevailing pattern observed in the category analysis. Advertisements are observed to garner attention by featuring modern depictions of women who emulate American and Western fashion trends and are adorned with makeup and fashionable clothes. In parallel with the category distribution, but in limited numbers, the analysis reveals the presence of images depicting mothers engaged in household duties and tending to their infants. In this sense, the publication might be considered a microcosm of the phenomenon of conservative modernisation. There also exist textual details promoting the American way of life. The advertisement for Türkiye Yayınevi's *6 Kişi Arasında* (The Bishop Murder Case) employs the statements “the novel selling over 1,300,000 copies in the US” and “the most widely read novel in Europe and the US by readers of all ages and professions” (Figure 6). The advertisement intentionally incorporates references to the United States in order to augment the appeal of the translated book. The utilisation of the phrase "An American-style magazine" in the debut of *52 Yazlığı* also serves to encapsulate the prevailing cultural milieu of the period, along with highlighting the American image.

Esrar ★ Macera ★ Detektif ★ Esrar ★ Macera ★ Detektif ★ Esrar ★ Macera

**ŞİMDİYE KADAR OKUDUĞUNUZ
EN HEYECANLI, MERAKLI ROMAN**

6 KİŞİ ARASINDA

Amerikada 1,300.000 nüsha satılmış olan bu roman «Esrar ★ Macera ★ Detektif Romanları» serisinin ilk eseri olarak çıktı. Fiyatı 1 liradır.

BÜTÜN Avrupa ve Amerikada her yaşta ve her meslekteki okuyucu tarafından en çok okunan romanlar Esrar ★ Macera ★ Detektif Romanlarıdır. Sıcak yaz günleri trende, vapurda plaja giderken, evinizin bahçesinde, bir gezmede, her yerde okuyabileceğiniz, sonra cebinize, çantanıza sokabileceğiniz boyda gayet cici bir şekilde, 5 renkli resimli bir kapak içinde 200 e yakın sahifelik kitaplar halinde hazırlanan bu nefis romanların bir hususiyeti de her birinin sahifelerinin açık ve fiyatlarının da değişmeden 1 lira oluşudur.

CEP ROMANLARI adı altında her ay bir tane çıkacak olan bu kitapların her biri başka bir jandradır olacaktır.

Esrar ★ Macera ★ Detektif ★ Esrar ★ Macera ★ Detektif ★ Esrar ★ Macera

Figure 6: A book ad from Turkish-origin Türkiye Yayınevi, Kadın Dünyası of 1952, Issue 1

Furthermore, it upholds the notion of Westernisation through the use of words such as "masterpiece of Western literature" to describe Quo Vadis, originally written in Polish, and "the greatest romance novel of the West" to characterise Jane Eyre, originally written in English. Besides, textual elements incorporated by American brands such as Cutex, Tangee, Vog, and Dura Gloss in their promotional campaigns serve to promote the idea of Turkish women emulating the American lifestyle and adopting their preferred products. These advertisements for Cutex emphasise the superiority of American techniques and the durability of American nail polishes; those for Tangee highlight the desirability of American lipsticks for American women (Figure 7); and those for Vog point to the usage of American creams by the upper classes in both the US and Europe. They predominantly focus on women as their target audience. While they may not always explicitly mention the intended consumers for products like watches, books, and toothpaste, they subtly convey that women are consistently positioned as the primary readers through indirect messaging, such as the thematic elements of the books and the aesthetic appeal of the watch models.



Figure 7: A lipstick ad from US-origin Tangee, Kadın Dünyası of 1952, Issue 5

While the predominant portrayal in *Resimli Hayat* is that of a modern-looking woman, it is worth noting that there is also a substantial presence of images that embody the traditional gender roles ascribed to women like housewifery and motherhood, which exemplifies the concept of conservative modernisation. With regard to the textual indicators, agriculture constituted an often-employed code among tractor advertisements. Furthermore, the inclusion of bank lotteries for housing, prominently featured in the advertisements of Yapı ve Kredi Bank, serves as an additional factor that fosters private ownership and, thereby, capitalism, while also helping the bank to fulfil its objectives. These indicators also collectively suggest that the intended readership of the magazine

extends beyond women and encompasses their husbands. This is evident by the inclusion of imagery depicting men on tractors and cars and advertisements promoting bank bonuses. The expansion of the audience, on the one hand, presents a potential dilution of content specialisation within the magazine. On the other hand, it might be interpreted as a deliberate tactic to stimulate heightened levels of consumption.

Conversely, it can be noticed in Kadın Dünyası of 1958 that the advertising exhibits a higher prevalence of textual material in comparison to visual content. Nevertheless, a restricted quantity of advertisements features depictions of modern-looking women. However, they predominantly favoured family-themed visuals that emphasised the nuclear family, a *sine qua non* for capitalist societies (Figure 8).



Figure 8: A banking promotion ad from Turkish-origin Şekerbank, Kadın Dünyası of 1958, Issue 1

Regarding textual indicators, statements of campaigns, bonuses, and lotteries designed to promote homeownership and foster savings among families garner significant attention, thereby solidifying the concept of private property while also stimulating consumption. Furthermore, these savings campaigns can also be understood as a means through which women were increasingly empowered to purchase durable goods, which are recognised as indicators of social standing. The target demographic of the advertisements extends beyond solely women and begins to attract a broader readership. Rather than perpetually constituting the target audience, women are also assigned the role of serving as conduits to relay these promotions to the primary audience, their husbands.

4.4.6. Presence of Compradors

In contrast to the other two publications, *Resimli Hayat* offers additional insights by including advertising content that features details about compradors. The existence of compradors is expected to facilitate Americanisation by promoting the widespread familiarity of a nation and its people with foreign goods, hence stimulating consumption. As Demirel (2021: 110) said, the DP was a political party that placed a high importance on the interests of the proto-bourgeoisie (business people and merchants), as well as landowners in Western Anatolia and the Mediterranean region. It persistently favoured foreign trade liberalisation during the 1950s, made significant efforts to attract foreign capital to the country and implemented legislation to promote foreign investment (Eroğul, 1990: 95). It may initially be perceived as contrary to the proto-bourgeoisie's interests, yet foreign capital would ultimately be most advantageous for them. Recognising that, domestic industrialists were not uncomfortable with this decision; they preferred being employed as national representatives, agents, assembly firms, etc., for foreign capitalists (Eroğul, 1990: 179-180). Sixty-nine advertisements within the magazine serve as tangible

proof supporting the existence of a comprador scenario and the potential for cultural absorption. The accelerated transformation towards the American and Western lifestyle may be attributed to such organisations as Mataş Trade Inc., Oklar Co. Ltd., and Yakın Doğu Makine Inc. being national representatives for products originating from Western bloc countries, particularly the United States.

All in all, the summative content analysis conducted on these three periodicals yielded the following significant findings:

- The magazines published during the DP's governance extensively carried advertisements for products from the Western bloc, particularly those of American origin. However, especially with the worsening economic conditions, as well as the waning of the party's influence and the deterioration of ties with the US, advertisements in these magazines shifted their focus solely to promoting domestically produced goods.
- The process of Americanisation was not solely facilitated by American advertisements but also by the utilisation of linguistic and visual cues that glorified the United States in advertisements for items originating from other countries. While advertisers and companies are responsible for producing these visual and linguistic materials, it would be unfair to claim that magazine owners, editors, and intermediary advertising agencies serve no purpose during this process. Given that the advertising prices are fixed, factors other than financial considerations may have influenced the selection of advertisements to be published, including government regulations such as those on the control over the publication of commercial advertisements, as well as the preferences of other people having a say in magazine publishing.

- The conservative ideology of the DP was even evident in women's periodicals. Accordingly, women were portrayed in a manner that aligned with government-led conservative values in these publications. The US conception of women was also crucial to this conception. The portrayal of women as a component of modernisation during the DP era matches the prevailing American way of life and the established perception of women in the United States. However, given this type of convergence, it would be more precise to assert that DP's perspective on women aligning with that of the US actually eased the process of Americanisation, rather than implying that the portrayal of women in magazines is only a result of direct American influence, or that women were defined in a conservative manner simply because that was the prevailing norm in the US.
- The Marshall Plan-inspired agricultural development agenda of Türkiye, which served as the cornerstone of its relations with the US, was so thoroughly internalised that it permeated marketing materials in women's magazines such as advertisements for tractors, radios, and cars.
- The prominence of the US as a fresh symbol of modernity was consistently a central theme in advertisements. This modernisation was portrayed through the reflections of American way of capitalism, conformism, and conservatism in everyday life. As a result, Turkish women were encouraged to imitate American women, adopting their lifestyles, utilising the same products, and striving to keep pace with them.

Norman Douglas (1917: 56) asserts that "you can tell the ideals of a nation by its advertisements." Likewise, my thesis intends to tell Türkiye's ideals during the Democrat Party decade through exploring whether women's magazines, which have received limited academic attention despite their significant functional variations in Türkiye,

served as an ideologically motivated tool influenced by Cold War-driven developments in internal and international politics. It advances the hypotheses that (1) women's magazines served as a medium that facilitated Americanisation and promoted the American lifestyle through the use of a variety of advertisements; and (2) these publications aligned themselves with the government's policy orientation shaped in response to resounding domestic and international developments. The findings of this research, which involved the collection of data from advertising, validate the proposed hypotheses. The time under consideration witnessed that women's magazines were instrumental in shaping the formation of Western identity. Just like for the DP, the United States assumed the role of the new Western exemplar and point of reference for these publications. The rhetoric around modernisation within these advertisements was shaped by American style of capitalism, conformism, and conservatism. Thus, within the concluding statements of this thesis, it can be contended that in the era of modern advertising and consumer culture, the concept of Americanisation, denoting the dissemination of American goods and consumption patterns globally, did not pass by Türkiye. Rather, it became subject to deliberate attention and cultivation for previously outlined reasons, with women's magazines playing a significant role in this phenomenon.

Furthermore, the analysis reveals that the portrayal of the American image varied in intensity and frequency during different periods of the DP government. As the DP administration experienced an economic and political decline and strained relations with the US, there were notable changes in the advertising coverage of the press. The observed trend entailed a dramatic decrease in both the quantity and diversity of advertisements, resulting in diminished visibility of American products. Additionally, discernible indications emerged suggesting Türkiye's transition towards an import-substituting economy. As in bank advertising, the process of modernisation for the DP, namely

Americanisation, was no longer overtly evident but rather conveyed through subtle imagery that alludes to the subsequent outcomes of actions taken during the intimate interactions between the US and the DP. All in all, the examination of advertising in three women's magazines demonstrated the influence of the government's stance and its interactions within the context of global politics on cultural dynamics. Like the political climate itself, the cultural climate did not adhere to a consistent and uninterrupted trajectory over the span of ten years. Rather, sharp changes were prominently observable in these printed materials of popular culture.

CONCLUSION

Türkiye's democratisation has a short yet intricate history, which has been marked by the Democrat Party era. Emerging from a conducive environment, the Democrat Party prioritised economic liberalism and intended to establish a foundation based on national will and democratic principles in domestic politics, while its subsequent actions contradicted these ideals. Furthermore, it pursued a foreign policy characterised by a pro-imperialist stance and sought to cultivate strong ties with the Western bloc during the Cold War, particularly with the United States, which it perceived as the new benchmark for modernisation. Meanwhile, the foreign landscape was being divided into two opposing camps and had a unidirectional influence on Türkiye from the West, as desired by the incumbent government. Sociocultural items were also a component of this influence, in addition to economic and political considerations. I assumed that the spread of ideologically loaded cultural messages flowing from the United States would undoubtedly take place through the medium of the press, specifically advertising. As such, I examined the presence of sociocultural deviations that occur alongside shifts in political ideology by analysing women's magazines, a widely consumed product of popular culture. I put forward two hypotheses: firstly, that women's magazines served as a medium that facilitated Americanisation and promoted the American lifestyle through the use of a variety of advertisements; and secondly, that these publications aligned themselves with the government's policy orientation shaped in response to resounding domestic and international developments.

According to summative content analysis, the advertisements in 1950s' magazines redirected the magazines' attention from informing and enlightening readers to

entertaining them and marketing products. They promoted the American way of capitalism, which prompted an increased desire for consumerism and conformism attributable to the abundance of goods made available through US interaction. They also portrayed the United States as the cutting edge of modernity, using both visual and textual elements. A bunch of underlying causes were identified for this. First, the objective of the DP was to create a scaled-down replica of the United States. The party functioned as a subservient structure to the functionality of the capitalist system at home, employing legal constraints and covert tactics to control the opposing circles and guarantee the widespread circulation of pro-American propaganda. Furthermore, albeit having a minor impact, actors such as advertising agencies, magazine owners, and editors, who held influence over advertising decisions, were also proponents of the American way of life. The early 1950s thus witnessed an overall modernisation endeavour across the country.

The content of advertisements was also observed to be greatly impacted by external developments and politically driven economic aid, particularly Marshall Aid. The alignment of this assistance with the DP's populist, agrarian inclinations, together with aid-related accords that mandated publicity campaigns of the aid received, domestic agricultural and industrial output, and the reduction of trade barriers with other nations in the Western bloc, resulted in the enhancement of transport and communication networks, an agricultural boom, and skyrocketed export revenue, ultimately leading to an augmentation of social welfare and purchasing power. Also, the introduction of items carried by the foreign workforce arriving in Türkiye upon entering NATO led to a massive surge in consumer demand and consumption. Advertisements are found to have played a major role in fuelling this crazed consumption behaviour, both as short-term profit-making tools and as long-term bearers of consumerist ideology.

Another surprising conclusion is that Americanisation was served not only by advertisements for American-origin products but also by those promoting translated American literary publications, Western products that include pro-American content, and Western-made items like tractors, cars, and radios that align with the American strategy for the revival of the war-hit Western world. As postulated in my hypothesis, women's magazines had a facilitating effect on Americanisation by allowing for the appearance of these varying advertisements.

As part of the research, I also looked at how these magazines portrayed their readers, and I found parallels in the DP-US-press triangle. Motherhood, housewifery, and a contemporary style were the pillars upon which the representation of women rested. Advertisements were observed to portray women as housewives expected to carry out their traditional responsibilities within the confines of their homes; as mothers tending to their infants; and as fashionable figures taking pride in their looks to appeal to the male gaze and perpetuate stereotypical patterns of female subordination. These advertisements also conveyed the message that capitalism bestowed upon women the freedom to choose their own residence, use labour-saving equipment, and enjoy material comforts within their homes. Upon analysing this depiction in relation to DP's perspective on women, it became evident that this environment fostered an atmosphere where women could flourish, yet with limited freedoms, under the framework of conservative modernisation. Likewise, the American perception of women was conservative in the 1950s, akin to its political leaning. On this basis, I concluded that DP's stance on women coinciding with US ideology must have served as another factor expediting Americanisation.

The final notable observation was the alterations in both the calibre and volume of advertisements over the course of time. A multitude of issues, primarily driven by economic decline, caused disruptions in relations with the US, destabilised the import-

export balance, and led to the adoption of the import-substitution policy, which all limited the visibility of both foreign products and their advertisements appearing in the magazines. As the tenure of the DP government neared its end, the magazine advertising landscape was found to be dominated by domestic product advertisements that merely reflected the secondary repercussions of Americanisation.

Based on these findings, my thesis has verified the hypotheses that women's magazines acted as a platform that facilitated Americanisation and the American way of life through advertisements and that they aligned with the government's policy direction, notwithstanding varying root causes. As stated earlier, however, there are several limitations to the study. It could not be possible to fully assess the impact of American values without considering the reception of this discourse among readers, i.e., whether women embraced the modernisation perspective provided to them through advertisements or not. Similarly, there are non-political domestic and international factors that influence how magazines approach and reframe their subjects. Additionally, the analysis variables are limited and are not the sole determinants of cultural influence. Also, both explicit and implicit materials played a role in the analysis, which can introduce bias. Despite these limitations, my thesis contributes significantly to the literature by disclosing the historical, dominant link between politics and the press and revealing the hegemonic effect of the United States on Turkish popular culture. Future research is advised to explore other women's and popular magazines and products within popular culture, employing diverse methodologies and directing attention towards previously overlooked elements.

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APPENDIX

KADIN DÜNYASI OF 1952 (ISSUE: 1)										
NO	PRODUCT	AD BRAND	AD FREQUENCY	COUNTRY OF ORIGIN	AD CATEGORY	AD CONTENT	VISUAL INDICATORS	TEXTUAL INDICATORS	POTENTIAL TARGET AUDIENCE	PRESENCE OF COMPRADORS
1	Cream	Havilland	1	United States	Cosmetics	Both	Modern looking woman	-	Women	-
2	Medication for Freckle Removal	Fazıl	1	Türkiye	Pharmaceuticals	Visual	Modern looking woman	-	Women	-
3	Book <i>6 Kişi Arasında</i> <i>*Originally in English (US)</i>	Türkiye Yayınevi	1	Türkiye	Literature	Textual	-	“The novel sold over 1,300,000 copies in the US” “The most widely read novels in Europe and the US by readers of all ages and professions”	Women	-
4	Brilliantine	Roja	1	France	Cosmetics	Both	Modern looking woman	-	Women	-

5	Watch	Omega	1	Switzerland	Accessories	Both	Modern looking woman	-	Women	-
6	Perfume and Lotion	Sortilège	1	France	Cosmetics	Both	-	-	Women	-
7	Powder	Coty	1	France	Cosmetics	Both	Modern looking woman	-	Women	-
8	Perfume	Ülgen	1	Türkiye	Cosmetics	Both	Modern looking woman	-	Women	-
9	Indigo dye	Colman	1	United Kingdom	Laundry cleaning	Both	Housewife	-	Women	-
10	Knitting yarn	Ören Bayan	1	Türkiye	Textiles	Both	-	-	Women	-
11	Nail polish	Cutex	1	United States	Cosmetics	Both	Modern looking woman	-	Women	-

KADIN DÜNYASI OF 1952 (ISSUE: 2)										
NO	PRODUCT	AD BRAND	AD FREQUENCY	COUNTRY OF ORIGIN	AD CATEGORY	AD CONTENT	VISUAL INDICATORS	TEXTUAL INDICATORS	POTENTIAL TARGET AUDIENCE	PRESENCE OF COMPRADORS
1	Cream	Havilland	1	United States	Cosmetics	Both	Modern looking woman	-	Women	-
2	Watch	Singer	1	Switzerland	Accessories	Both	-	-	Not specified / General	-
3	Pomade	Cire Aseptine	1	Switzerland	Cosmetics	Both	Modern looking woman	-	Women	-
4	Nail Polish	Vizzande	1	United States	Cosmetics	Both	Modern looking woman	-	Women	-
	Lipstick		1							
5	Watch	Omega	1	Switzerland	Accessories	Both	Modern looking woman	-	Women	-
6	Book <i>6 Kişi Arasında</i> <i>*Originally in English (US)</i>	Türkiye Yayınevi	1	Türkiye	Literature	Textual	-	-	Women	-

7	Book <i>Kader Yolcuları</i> <i>*Originally in English</i>	Türkiye Yayınevi	2	Türkiye	Literature	Both	-	-	Not specified / General	-
8	Lotion	Scherk	1	Germany	Cosmetics	Both	Modern looking woman	“Less time-consuming for working women”	Women	-
9	Book <i>Binbir Roman</i> <i>*Originally in English (US)</i>	Türkiye Yayınevi	1	Türkiye	Literature	Both	-	-	Not specified / General	-
10	Cream	Coty	1	France	Cosmetics	Both	Modern looking woman	-	Women	-
11	Perfume	Lanvin	1	France	Cosmetics	Both	-	-	Women	-
12	Perfume	Sortilège	1	France	Cosmetics	Both	-	-	Women	-
13	Brilliantine	Roja	1	France	Cosmetics	Both	Modern looking woman	-	Women	-
14	Knitting yarn	Ören Bayan	1	Türkiye	Textiles	Both	-	-	Women	-

15	Perfume	Ülgen	1	Türkiye	Cosmetics	Both	Modern looking woman	-	Women	-
16	Book <i>Sevenler Hanı</i> <i>*Originally in English</i>	Türkiye Yayınevi	1	Türkiye	Literature	Textual	-	-	Not specified / General	-
17	Nail polish	Cutex	1	United States	Cosmetics	Both	Modern looking woman	"A miracle of American technique"	Women	-

KADIN DÜNYASI OF 1952 (ISSUE: 3)										
NO	PRODUCT	AD BRAND	AD FREQUENCY	COUNTRY OF ORIGIN	AD CATEGORY	AD CONTENT	VISUAL INDICATORS	TEXTUAL INDICATORS	POTENTIAL TARGET AUDIENCE	PRESENCE OF COMPRADORS
1	Laundry detergent	Lux	1	United Kingdom	Laundry cleaning	Both	Housewife	-	Women	-
2	Baby formula	Paro	1	Türkiye	Infant care	Both	-	-	Women	-
3	Watch	Omega	1	Switzerland	Accessories	Both	Modern looking woman	-	Women	-
4	Lipstick	Vizzande	1	United States	Cosmetics	Both	Modern looking woman	-	Women	-
5	Book <i>Şüpheli Kadın</i> <i>*Originally in English</i>	Türkiye Yayınevi	1	Türkiye	Literature	Both	-	-	Women	-
6	Book <i>Seni İstiyorum</i> <i>*Originally in English</i>	Türkiye Yayınevi	1	Türkiye	Literature	Both	-	-	Not specified / General	-

7	Perfume	Sortilège	1	France	Cosmetics	Both	-	-	Women	-
8	Perfume	Ülgen	1	Türkiye	Cosmetics	Both	Modern looking woman	-	Women	-
9	Cream	Havilland	1	United States	Cosmetics	Visual	Modern looking woman	-	Women	-
10	Knitting yarn	Ören Bayan	1	Türkiye	Textiles	Both	-	-	Women	-
11	Lipstick	Tangee	1	United States	Cosmetics	Both	Modern looking woman	"The lipstick of choice for the American woman"	Women	-
12	Nail polish	Dura Gloss	1	United States	Cosmetics	Both	Modern looking woman	-	Women	-
13	Watch	Singer	1	Switzerland	Accessories	Both	-	-	Not specified / General	-
14	Toothpaste	Colgate	1	United States	Personal care	Both	-	-	Not specified / General	-
15	Weight-loss pill	Radyo Karbon	1	Türkiye	Pharmaceuticals	Both	-	-	Women	-
16	Cream	Tokalon	1	France	Cosmetics	Both	Modern looking woman	-	Women	-

KADIN DÜNYASI OF 1952 (ISSUE: 4)										
NO	PRODUCT	AD BRAND	AD FREQUENCY	COUNTRY OF ORIGIN	AD CATEGORY	AD CONTENT	VISUAL INDICATORS	TEXTUAL INDICATORS	POTENTIAL TARGET AUDIENCE	PRESENCE OF COMPRADORS
1	Book <i>Eva</i> <i>*Originally in English (US)</i>	Türkiye Yayınevi	1	Türkiye	Literature	Both	-	-	Not specified / General	-
2	Book <i>Oliver Twist</i> <i>*Originally in English</i>	Türkiye Yayınevi	1	Türkiye	Literature	Both	-	-	Not specified / General	-
3	Cream	Scherk	1	Germany	Cosmetics	Both	Modern looking woman	-	Women	-
4	Toothpaste	Colgate	1	United States	Personal care	Both	-	-	Not specified / General	-
5	Baby formula	Paro	1	Türkiye	Infant care	Both	-	-	Women	-
6	Baby powder	Fredo	1	Türkiye	Infant care	Both	-	-	Women	-
7	Book	Türkiye Yayınevi	1	Türkiye	Literature	Both	-	-	Women	-

	<i>Türk Korsanları</i>									
8	Cream	Vog	1	United States	Cosmetics	Both	Modern looking woman	"Used by the upper classes in the US and Europe"	Women	-
9	Nail polish	Vizzande	1	United States	Cosmetics	Both	Modern looking woman	-	Women	-
10	Perfume	Robert Piguet	1	France	Cosmetics	Textual	-	-	Women	-
11	Cream	Necipbey	1	Türkiye	Cosmetics	Both	Modern looking woman	-	Women	-
12	Watch	Omega	1	Switzerland	Accessories	Both	-	-	Not specified / General	-
13	Knitting yarn	Ören Bayan	1	Türkiye	Textiles	Both	-	-	Women	-
14	Lipstick	Tangee	1	United States	Cosmetics	Both	Modern looking woman	"The lipstick of choice for the American woman"	Women	-
15	Weight-loss pill	Radyo Karbon	1	Türkiye	Pharmaceuticals	Both	Modern looking woman	-	Women	-
16	Laundry detergent	Lux	1	United Kingdom	Laundry cleaning	Both	Housewife	-	Women	-

17	Nail polish	Dura Gloss	1	United States	Cosmetics	Both	Modern looking woman	-	Women	-
18	Lipstick	Louis Phillippe	1	France	Cosmetics	Both	Modern looking woman	"The most superior lipstick that conquered the youth of America and Europe"	Women	-

KADIN DÜNYASI OF 1952 (ISSUE: 5)										
NO	PRODUCT	AD BRAND	AD FREQUENCY	COUNTRY OF ORIGIN	AD CATEGORY	AD CONTENT	VISUAL INDICATORS	TEXTUAL INDICATORS	POTENTIAL TARGET AUDIENCE	PRESENCE OF COMPRADORS
1	Book <i>Oliver Twist</i> <i>*Originally in English</i>	Türkiye Yayınevi	1	Türkiye	Literature	Both	-	-	Not specified / General	-
2	Nail polish	Dura Gloss	1	United States	Cosmetics	Both	-	"Made in the USA"	Women	-
3	Perfume	Sortilège	1	France	Cosmetics	Both	-	-	Women	-
4	Book <i>Anthony Adverse</i> <i>*Originally in English (US)</i>	Türkiye Yayınevi	1	Türkiye	Literature	Both	-	-	Not specified / General	-
5	Medication for Freckle Removal	Savaş	1	Türkiye	Pharmaceuticals	Both	Modern looking woman	-	Women	-
6	Baby powder	Fredo	1	Türkiye	Infant care	Both	-	-	Women	-

7	Watch	Omega	1	Switzerland	Accessories	Both	Modern looking woman	-	Women	-
8	Cream	Scherk	1	Germany	Cosmetics	Both	Modern looking woman	-	Women	-
9	Lipstick	Tangee	1	United States	Cosmetics	Both	Modern looking woman	"The lipstick of choice for the American woman"	Women	-
10	Baby formula	Paro	1	Türkiye	Infant care	Both	-	-	Women	-
11	Brilliantine	Roja	1	France	Cosmetics	Both	Modern looking woman	-	Women	-
12	Knitting yarn	Ören Bayan	1	Türkiye	Textiles	Both	-	-	Women	-
13	Book <i>Istırap Cenneti</i> <i>*Originally in English (US)</i>	Türkiye Yayınevi	1	Türkiye	Literature	Both	-	-	Not specified / General	-
14	Magazine <i>52 Yazlığı</i>	Türkiye Yayınevi	1	Türkiye	Literature	Textual	-	-	Women	-

15	Nail polish	Cutex	1	United States	Cosmetics	Both	Modern looking woman	-	Women	-
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KADIN DÜNYASI OF 1952 (ISSUE: 6)										
NO	PRODUCT	AD BRAND	AD FREQUENCY	COUNTRY OF ORIGIN	AD CATEGORY	AD CONTENT	VISUAL INDICATORS	TEXTUAL INDICATORS	POTENTIAL TARGET AUDIENCE	PRESENCE OF COMPRADORS
1	Brilliantine	Roja	1	France	Cosmetics	Both	Modern looking woman	-	Women	-
2	Knitting yarn	Ören Bayan	1	Türkiye	Textiles	Both	-	-	Women	-
3	Perfume	Sortilège	1	France	Cosmetics	Both	-	-	Women	-
4	Lipstick	Vizzande	1	United States	Cosmetics	Both	Modern looking woman	-	Women	-
5	Hair Shampoo	Blendax	1	Germany	Personal care	Both	Modern looking woman	-	Women	-
6	Medication for Freckle Removal	Savaş	1	Türkiye	Pharmaceuticals	Both	Modern looking woman	-	Women	-
7	Baby formula	Paro	1	Türkiye	Infant care	Both	-	-	Women	-
8	Book <i>Haftalık Albüm</i>	Türkiye Yayınevi	1	Türkiye	Literature	Both	-	-	Not specified / General	-

	<i>*Originally in English (US)</i>									
9	Watch	Omega	1	Switzerland	Accessories	Both	Modern looking woman	-	Women	-
10	Magazine <i>52 Yazlıđı</i>	Türkiye Yayınevi	2	Türkiye	Literature	Textual	-	"An American-style magazine"	Women	-
11	Cream	Tokalon	1	France	Cosmetics	Both	Modern looking woman	-	Women	-
12	Cream	Scherk	1	Germany	Cosmetics	Both	Modern looking woman	-	Women	-
13	Weight-loss pill	Radyo Karbon	1	Türkiye	Pharmaceuticals	Both	Modern looking woman	-	Women	-
14	Perfume	Bourjois	1	France	Cosmetics	Both	Modern looking woman	-	Women	-
15	Book <i>Eva</i>	Türkiye Yayınevi	1	Türkiye	Literature	Both	-	-	Not specified / General	-

	<i>*Originally in English (US)</i>									
16	Lipstick	Dura Gloss	1	United States	Cosmetics	Both	-	"Made in the USA"	Women	-
17	Nail polish	Cutex	1	United States	Cosmetics	Both	Modern looking woman	"A miracle of American technique"	Women	-

KADIN DÜNYASI OF 1952 (ISSUE: 7)										
NO	PRODUCT	AD BRAND	AD FREQUENCY	COUNTRY OF ORIGIN	AD CATEGORY	AD CONTENT	VISUAL INDICATORS	TEXTUAL INDICATORS	POTENTIAL TARGET AUDIENCE	PRESENCE OF COMPRADORS
1	Nail polish	Cutex	1	United States	Cosmetics	Both	-	"America's most durable nail polish"	Women	-
2	Medication for Freckle Removal	Savaş	1	Türkiye	Pharmaceuticals	Both	Modern looking woman	-	Women	-
3	Baby formula	Paro	1	Türkiye	Infant care	Both	-	-	Women	-
4	Perfume	Sortilège	1	France	Cosmetics	Both	-	-	Women	-
5	Laundry detergent	Lux	1	United Kingdom	Laundry cleaning	Both	Modern looking woman	-	Women	-
6	Watch	Omega	1	Switzerland	Accessories	Both	Modern looking woman	-	Women	-
7	Brilliantine	Roja	1	France	Cosmetics	Both	Modern looking woman	-	Women	-
8	Lipstick	Tangee	1	United States	Cosmetics	Both	Modern looking woman	"The lipstick of choice for the	Women	-

								American woman"		
9	Perfume	Bourjois	1	France	Cosmetics	Both	Modern looking woman	-	Women	-
10	Nail polish	Vizzande	1	United States	Cosmetics	Both	Modern looking woman	-	Women	-
11	Cream	Scherk	1	Germany	Cosmetics	Both	Modern looking woman	-	Women	-
12	Weight-loss pill	Radyo Karbon	1	Türkiye	Pharmaceuticals	Both	Modern looking woman	-	Women	-
13	Baby powder	Fredo	1	Türkiye	Infant care	Both	-	-	Women	-
14	Knitting yarn	Ören Bayan	1	Türkiye	Textiles	Both	-	-	Women	-
15	Lipstick	Louis Phillippe	1	France	Cosmetics	Both	Modern looking woman	-	Women	-
16	Powder	Tokalon	1	France	Cosmetics	Both	Modern looking woman	-	Women	-

KADIN DÜNYASI OF 1952 (ISSUE: 8)										
NO	PRODUCT	AD BRAND	AD FREQUENCY	COUNTRY OF ORIGIN	AD CATEGORY	AD CONTENT	VISUAL INDICATORS	TEXTUAL INDICATORS	POTENTIAL TARGET AUDIENCE	PRESENCE OF COMPRADORS
1	Perfume	Bourjois	1	France	Cosmetics	Both	Modern looking woman	-	Women	-
2	Perfume	Sortilège	1	France	Cosmetics	Both	-	-	Women	-
3	Perfume	Revillon	1	France	Cosmetics	Both	-	-	Women	-
4	Book <i>Quo Vadis</i> <i>*Originally in Polish</i>	Türkiye Yayınevi	1	Türkiye	Literature	Textual	-	-	Not specified / General	-
5	Nail polish	Dura Gloss	1	United States	Cosmetics	Textual	-	“Made in the USA”	Women	-
6	Perfume	Dana	1	United States	Cosmetics	Both	Modern looking woman	-	Women	-
7	Weight-loss pill	Radyo Karbon	1	Türkiye	Pharmaceuticals	Both	Modern looking woman	-	Women	-

8	Laundry detergent	Lux	1	United Kingdom	Laundry cleaning	Both	Modern looking woman	-	Women	-
9	Baby formula	Paro	1	Türkiye	Infant care	Both	-	-	Women	-
10	Knitting yarn	Ören Bayan	1	Türkiye	Textiles	Both	-	-	Women	-
11	Baby powder	Fredo	1	Türkiye	Infant care	Both	-	-	Women	-
12	Lipstick	Tangee	1	United States	Cosmetics	Both	Modern looking woman	"The lipstick of choice for the American woman"	Women	-
13	Medication for Freckle Removal	Savaş	1	Türkiye	Pharmaceuticals	Both	Modern looking woman	-	Women	-
14	Watch	Omega	1	Switzerland	Accessories	Both	Modern looking woman	-	Women	-
15	Nail polish	Vizzande	1	United States	Cosmetics	Both	Modern looking woman	-	Women	-
16	Nail polish	Peggy Sage	1	United States	Cosmetics	Both	Modern looking woman	-	Women	-

KADIN DÜNYASI OF 1952 (ISSUE: 9)										
NO	PRODUCT	AD BRAND	AD FREQUENCY	COUNTRY OF ORIGIN	AD CATEGORY	AD CONTENT	VISUAL INDICATORS	TEXTUAL INDICATORS	POTENTIAL TARGET AUDIENCE	PRESENCE OF COMPRADORS
1	Book <i>6 Kişi Arasında</i> <i>*Originally in English (US)</i> <i>Şüpheli Kadın</i> <i>*Originally in English</i> <i>Kara İmparator</i> <i>*Originally in English</i>	Türkiye Yayınevi	1	Türkiye	Literature	Both	-	-	Not specified / General	-
2	Book <i>Quo Vadis</i> <i>*Originally in Polish</i>	Türkiye Yayınevi	1	Türkiye	Literature	Both	-	“Masterpieces of Western literature”	Not specified / General	-
3	Perfume	Dana	1	United States	Cosmetics	Both	Modern looking woman	-	Women	-

4	Baby powder	Fredo	1	Türkiye	Infant care	Both	Mother	-	Women	-
5	Medication for Freckle Removal	Savaş	1	Türkiye	Pharmaceuticals	Both	Modern looking woman	-	Women	-
6	Lipstick	Tangee	1	United States	Cosmetics	Both	Modern looking woman	"The lipstick of choice for the American woman"	Women	-
7	Weight-loss pill	Radyo Karbon	1	Türkiye	Pharmaceuticals	Textual	-	-	Women	-
8	Nail polish	Vizzande	1	United States	Cosmetics	Both	Modern looking woman	-	Women	-
	Lipstick		1							
9	Jewelry	Jablonex	1	Czechoslovakia	Accessories	Both	Modern looking woman	-	Women	-
10	Baby formula	Paro	1	Türkiye	Infant care	Both	-	-	Women	-
11	Watch	Omega	1	Switzerland	Accessories	Both	Modern looking woman	-	Women	-
12	Knitting yarn	Ören Bayan	1	Türkiye	Textiles	Both	-	-	Women	-
13	Perfume	Sortilège	1	France	Cosmetics	Both	-	-	Women	-
14	Nail polish	Cutex	1	United States	Cosmetics	Both	Modern looking woman	-	Women	-

KADIN DÜNYASI OF 1952 (ISSUE: 10)										
NO	PRODUCT	AD BRAND	AD FREQUENCY	COUNTRY OF ORIGIN	AD CATEGORY	AD CONTENT	VISUAL INDICATORS	TEXTUAL INDICATORS	POTENTIAL TARGET AUDIENCE	PRESENCE OF COMPRADORS
1	Book <i>Istrap Cenneti</i> <i>*Originally in English (US)</i>	Türkiye Yayınevi	1	Türkiye	Literature	Both	-	-	Not specified / General	-
2	Book <i>Jane Eyre</i> <i>*Originally in English</i>	Türkiye Yayınevi	1	Türkiye	Literature	Both	-	“The greatest romance novel of the West”	Not specified / General	-
3	Book <i>Ayrılık Şarkısı</i> <i>*Originally in English</i>	Türkiye Yayınevi	1	Türkiye	Literature	Both	-	-	Not specified / General	-
4	Weight-loss pill	Radyo Karbon	1	Türkiye	Pharmaceuticals	Textual	-	-	Women	-
5	Perfume	Lanvin	1	France	Cosmetics	Both	-	-	Women	-

6	Lipstick	Vizzande	1	United States	Cosmetics	Both	Modern looking woman	-	Women	-
7	Perfume	Sortilège	1	France	Cosmetics	Both	-	-	Women	-
8	Cream	Havilland	1	United States	Cosmetics	Both	Modern looking woman	-	Women	-
9	Book <i>Quo Vadis</i> <i>*Originally in Polish</i>	Türkiye Yayınevi	2	Türkiye	Literature	Both	-	-	Not specified /General	-
10	Knitting yarn	Ören Bayan	1	Türkiye	Textiles	Both	-	-	Women	-

RESİMLİ HAYAT (ISSUE: 1)										
NO	PRODUCT	AD BRAND	AD FREQUENCY	COUNTRY OF ORIGIN	AD CATEGORY	AD CONTENT	VISUAL INDICATORS	TEXTUAL INDICATORS	POTENTIAL TARGET AUDIENCE	PRESENCE OF COMPRADORS
1	Office furniture	Erel	1	Türkiye	Furniture	Both	-	-	Not specified / General	-
2	Tractor	Bungartz	1	Germany	Agricultural production	Both		“Agriculture”	Men	Ömser Trade Inc.
3	Vacuum cleaner	Hoover	1	United States	Household goods	Both	Housewife	-	Women	Mataş Trade Inc.
	Washing machine		1							
4	Watch	Printania	1	Switzerland	Accessories	Both	-	-	Not specified / General	-
5	Sewing machine	Pfaff	1	Germany	Textiles	Both	Modern looking woman	-	Women	Oklar Co. Ltd.
6	Toothpaste	Dentol	1	France	Personal care	Both	Modern looking woman	-	Not specified / General	-
7	Lipstick	Cansu	1	Türkiye	Cosmetics	Both	-	-	Women	-
8	Tractor	Fahr	1	Germany	Agricultural production	Both	-	“Agriculture”	Men	Yakın Doğu Makine Inc.
9	Multiple books and periodicals	Doğan Kardeş Yayınevi	1	Türkiye	Literature	Textual	-	-	Women Children	-

	<i>*Including translations from US authors</i>									
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RESİMLİ HAYAT (ISSUE: 2)										
NO	PRODUCT	AD BRAND	AD FREQUENCY	COUNTRY OF ORIGIN	AD CATEGORY	AD CONTENT	VISUAL INDICATORS	TEXTUAL INDICATORS	POTENTIAL TARGET AUDIENCE	PRESENCE OF COMPRADORS
1	Laundry Detergent	Fewa	1	Germany	Laundry cleaning	Both	Housewife	-	Women	-
2	Book <i>Yabancı Meşhur Adamlar</i>	Doğan Kardeş Yayınevi	1	Türkiye	Literature	Textual	-	-	Women Children	-
	Periodical <i>Doğan Kardeş</i>		1							
3	Cream and lipstick	Cansu	1	Türkiye	Cosmetics	Both	Modern looking Woman	-	Women	-
4	Office furniture	Erel	1	Türkiye	Furniture	Both	-	-	Not specified / General	-
5	Sewing machine	Pfaff	1	Germany	Textiles	Both	Modern looking woman	-	Women	Oklar Co. Ltd.
6	Washing machine	Hoover	1	United States	Household goods	Both	Modern looking woman	- -	Women	Mataş Trade Inc.

	Vacuum cleaner		1				-			
7	Watch	Printania	1	Switzerland	Accessories	Both	-	-	Not specified / General	-
8	Tractor	Bungartz	1	Germany	Agricultural production	Both	-	“Agriculture”	Men	Ömser Trade Inc.
9	Fridge	Norge	2	United States	Household goods	Both	Modern looking woman	-	Women	Libka Trade Inc.
10	Spirosal solution	Bayer	1	Germany	Pharmaceuticals	Both	-	-	Not specified / General	-
11	Projector	Infranor	1	Switzerland	Architecture	Both	-	-	Not specified / General	-
12	Stroller	Tan-Sad	1	United Kingdom	Infant care	Both	Mother	-	Women	-
13	Tampon	Tampax	1	United States	Personal care	Both	Modern looking woman	-	Women	-
14	Radio Motorcycle Washing and drying machines	Schaub NML Scharff	1	Germany	Communications Transport Household goods	Both	-	-	Not specified / General	Adem Karadağ

15	Toothpaste	Dentol	1	France	Personal care	Both	Modern looking woman	-	Not specified / General	-
16	Tractor	Allis Chalmers	1	United States	Agricultural production	Both	-	-	Men	Yakın Doğu Makine Inc.

RESİMLİ HAYAT (ISSUE: 3)										
NO	PRODUCT	AD BRAND	AD FREQUENCY	COUNTRY OF ORIGIN	AD CATEGORY	AD CONTENT	VISUAL INDICATORS	TEXTUAL INDICATORS	POTENTIAL TARGET AUDIENCE	PRESENCE OF COMPRADORS
1	Washing machine	Hoover	1	United States	Household goods	Both	-	-	Women	Mataş Trade Inc.
	Vacuum cleaner		1				Mother Housewife			
2	Toothpaste	Dentol	1	France	Personal care	Both	Modern looking women	-	Not specified / General	-
3	Spirosal solution	Bayer	1	Germany	Pharmaceuticals	Both	Modern looking woman Mother	-	Not specified / General	-
4	Laundry detergent	Fewa	1	Germany	Laundry cleaning	Both	Housewife	-	Women	-
5	Book <i>Yabancı Meşhur Adamlar</i>	Doğan Kardeş Yayınevi	1	Türkiye	Literature	Textual	-	-	Women Children	-
6	Vacuum cleaner	Nilfisk	1	Denmark	Household goods	Both	Housewife	-	Women	Libka Trade Inc.

7	Office furniture	Erel	1	Türkiye	Furniture	Both	-	-	Not specified / General	-
8	Stroller	Tan-Sad	1	United Kingdom	Infant care	Both	Mother	-	Women	-
9	Tampon	Tampax	1	United States	Personal care	Both	Modern looking woman	-	Women	-
10	Radio Motorcycle Washing and drying machines	Schaub NML Scharff	1	Germany	Communications Transport Household goods	Both	-	-	Not specified / General	Adem Karadağ
11	Cigarette	Sipahiocağı	1	Türkiye	Tobacco	Both	-	-	Not specified / General	-
12	Cream and lipstick	Cansu	1	Türkiye	Cosmetics	Both	Modern looking woman	-	Women	-
13	Tractor	Bungartz	1	Germany	Agricultural production	Both	-	“Agriculture”	Men	Ömser Trade Inc.
14	Watch	Printania	1	Switzerland	Accessories	Both	-	-	Not specified / General	-
15	Tractor	Fahr	1	Germany	Agricultural production	Both	-	“Agriculture”	Men	Yakın Doğu Makine Inc.

RESİMLİ HAYAT (ISSUE: 4)										
NO	PRODUCT	AD BRAND	AD FREQUENCY	COUNTRY OF ORIGIN	AD CATEGORY	AD CONTENT	VISUAL INDICATORS	TEXTUAL INDICATORS	POTENTIAL TARGET AUDIENCE	PRESENCE OF COMPRADORS
1	Vacuum cleaner	Hoover	1	United States	Household goods	Both	Modern looking woman Housewife	-	Women	Mataş Trade Inc.
	Washing machine		1				-			
2	Spirosal solution	Bayer	1	Germany	Pharmaceuticals	Both	Modern looking woman Mother	-	Not specified / General	-
3	Sewing machine	Pfaff	1	Germany	Textiles	Both	Modern looking woman	-	Women	Oklar Co. Ltd.
4	Cream and lipstick	Cansu	1	Türkiye	Cosmetics	Both	Modern looking woman	-	Women	-
5	Office furniture	Erel	1	Türkiye	Furniture	Both	-	-	Not specified / General	-
6	Stroller	Tan-Sad	1	United Kingdom	Infant care	Both	Mother	-	Women	-

7	Watch	Printania	1	Switzerland	Accessories	Both	-	-	Not specified / General	-
8	Toothpaste	Dentol	1	France	Personal care	Both	Modern looking women	-	Not specified / General	-
9	Radio Motorcycle Washing and drying machines	Schaub NML Scharff	1	Germany	Communications Transport Household goods	Both	-	-	Not specified / General	Adem Karadağ
10	Tampon	Tampax	1	United States	Personal care	Both	Modern looking woman	-	Women	-
11	Laundry detergent	Fewa	1	Germany	Laundry cleaning	Both	Housewife	-	Women	-
12	Tractor	Bungartz	1	Germany	Agricultural production	Both	-	"Agriculture"	Men	Ömser Trade Inc.
13	Tractor	Allis Chalmers	1	United States	Agricultural production	Both	-	-	Men	Yakın Doğu Makine Inc.

RESİMLİ HAYAT (ISSUE: 5)										
NO	PRODUCT	AD BRAND	AD FREQUENCY	COUNTRY OF ORIGIN	AD CATEGORY	AD CONTENT	VISUAL INDICATORS	TEXTUAL INDICATORS	POTENTIAL TARGET AUDIENCE	PRESENCE OF COMPRADORS
1	Tampon	Tampax	1	United States	Personal care	Both	Modern looking woman	-	Women	-
2	Watch	Printania	1	Switzerland	Accessories	Both	-	-	Not specified / General	-
3	Stroller	Tan-Sad	1	United Kingdom	Infant care	Both	Mother	-	Women	-
4	Tractor	Bungartz	1	Germany	Agricultural production	Both	-	“Agriculture”	Men	Ömser Trade Inc.
5	Cream and lipstick	Cansu	1	Türkiye	Cosmetics	Both	Modern looking woman	-	Women	-
6	Office furniture	Erel	1	Türkiye	Furniture	Both	-	-	Not specified / General	-
7	Toothpaste	Dentol	1	France	Personal care	Both	Modern looking women	-	Not specified / General	-
8	Tea	Rize	1	Türkiye	Food & Beverages	Both	Modern looking women	-	Not specified / General	-

9	Insurance promotions	Doğan Sigorta	1	Türkiye	Insurance	Textual	-	-	Not specified / General	-
10	Spirosal solution	Bayer	1	Germany	Pharmaceuticals	Both	-	-	Not specified / General	-
11	Laundry detergent	Fewa	1	Germany	Laundry cleaning	Both	Housewife	-	Women	-
12	Tractor	Fahr	1	Germany	Agricultural production	Both	-	“Agriculture”	Men	Yakın Doğu Makine Inc.
13	Washing machine	Hoover	1	United States	Household goods	Both	Modern looking woman Housewife	-	Women	Mataş Trade Inc.

RESİMLİ HAYAT (ISSUE: 6)										
NO	PRODUCT	AD BRAND	AD FREQUENCY	COUNTRY OF ORIGIN	AD CATEGORY	AD CONTENT	VISUAL INDICATORS	TEXTUAL INDICATORS	POTENTIAL TARGET AUDIENCE	PRESENCE OF COMPRADORS
1	Bonuses and promotions	Yapı ve Kredi Bank	1	Türkiye	Banking	Textual	-	“Bank lottery to own a house”	Not specified / General	-
2	Laundry detergent	Fewa	1	Germany	Laundry cleaning	Both	Housewife	-	Women	-
3	Sewing machine	Pfaff	1	Germany	Textiles	Both	Modern looking woman	-	Women	Oklar Co. Ltd.
4	Stroller	Tan-Sad	1	United Kingdom	Infant care	Both	Mother	-	Women	-
5	Toothpaste	Dentol	1	France	Personal care	Both	Modern looking women	-	Not specified / General	-
6	Spirosal solution	Bayer	1	Germany	Pharmaceuticals	Both	-	-	Not specified / General	-
7	Tractor	Bungartz	1	Germany	Agricultural production	Both	-	“Agriculture”	Men	Ömser Trade Inc.
8	Office furniture	Erel	1	Türkiye	Furniture	Both	-	-	Not specified / General	-
9	Radio	Schaub	1	Germany	Communications	Both	-	-	Not specified / General	Adem Karadağ

	Motorcycle Washing and drying machines	NML Scharff			Transport Household goods					
10	Tea	Rize	1	Türkiye	Food & Beverages	Both	Modern looking woman	-	Not specified / General	-
11	Cream and lipstick	Cansu	1	Türkiye	Cosmetics	Both	Modern looking woman	-	Women	-
12	Tampon	Tampax	1	United States	Personal care	Both	Modern looking woman	-	Women	-
13	Insurance promotions	Doğan Sigorta	1	Türkiye	Insurance	Textual	-	-	Not specified / General	-
14	Tractor	Allis Chalmers	1	United States	Agricultural production	Both	-	-	Men	Yakın Doğu Makine Inc.
15	Vacuum cleaner	Hoover	1	United States	Household goods	Both	Modern looking woman Housewife	-	Women	Mataş Trade Inc.

RESİMLİ HAYAT (ISSUE: 7)										
NO	PRODUCT	AD BRAND	AD FREQUENCY	COUNTRY OF ORIGIN	AD CATEGORY	AD CONTENT	VISUAL INDICATORS	TEXTUAL INDICATORS	POTENTIAL TARGET AUDIENCE	PRESENCE OF COMPRADORS
1	Bonuses and promotions	Yapı ve Kredi Bank	1	Türkiye	Banking	Textual	-	“Bank lottery to own a house”	Not specified / General	-
2	Radio	Imperial	1	Germany	Communications	Textual	-	-	Not specified / General	Yeni Şua Store
3	Watch	Rodania	1	Switzerland	Accessories	Both	-	-	Not specified / General	-
4	Car	Fiat	1	Italy	Transport	Visual	-	-	Not specified / General	-
5	Insurance promotions	Doğan Sigorta	1	Türkiye	Insurance	Textual	-	-	Not specified / General	-
6	Office furniture	Erel	1	Türkiye	Furniture	Both	-	-	Not specified / General	-
7	Cream and lipstick	Cansu	1	Türkiye	Cosmetics	Both	Modern looking woman	-	Women	-
8	Tractor	Bungartz	1	Germany	Agricultural production	Both	-	“Agriculture”	Men	Ömser Trade Inc.
9	Periodical	Doğan Kardeş Yayınevi	1	Türkiye	Literature	Textual	-	-	Women Children	-

	<i>Doğan Kardeş</i>									
10	Laundry detergent	Fewa	1	Germany	Laundry cleaning	Both	Housewife	-	Women	-
11	Tampon	Tampax	1	United States	Personal care	Both	Modern looking woman	-	Women	-
12	Radio Motorcycle Washing and drying machines	Schaub NML Scharff	1	Germany	Communications Transport Household goods	Both	-	-	Not specified / General	Adem Karadağ
13	Washing machine	Hoover	1	United States	Household goods	Both	Modern looking woman Housewife	-	Women	Mataş Trade Inc.

RESİMLİ HAYAT (ISSUE: 8)										
NO	PRODUCT	AD BRAND	AD FREQUENCY	COUNTRY OF ORIGIN	AD CATEGORY	AD CONTENT	VISUAL INDICATORS	TEXTUAL INDICATORS	POTENTIAL TARGET AUDIENCE	PRESENCE OF COMPRADORS
1	Radio	Marconi	1	United Kingdom/United States	Communications	Both	-	-	Not specified / General	Vahram Gesar and Other Shareholders
2	Toothpaste	Dentol	1	France	Personal care	Both	Modern looking women	-	Not specified / General	-
3	Sewing machine	Pfaff	1	Germany	Textiles	Both	Modern looking woman	-	Women	Oklar Co. Ltd.
4	Tampon	Tampax	1	United States	Personal care	Both	Modern looking woman	-	Women	-
5	Toothpaste	Prodent	1	The Netherlands	Personal care	Textual	-	-	Not specified / General	-
6	Sewing machine	Anker-Werke	1	Germany	Textiles	Both	Modern looking woman	-	Women	Jak Dekalo and Other Shareholders
7	Watch	Rodania	1	Switzerland	Accessories	Both	-	-	Not specified / General	-
8	Radio Motorcycle	Schaub NML	1	Germany	Communications Transport	Both	-	-	Not specified / General	Adem Karadağ

	Washing and drying machines	Scharff			Household goods					
9	Insurance promotions	Doğan Sigorta	1	Türkiye	Insurance	Textual	-	-	Not specified / General	-
10	Gas heater	Erel	1	Türkiye	Household goods	Both	Modern looking woman	“With original American carburettor”	Not specified / General	
11	Tractor	Allgaier	1	Germany	Agricultural production	Both	-	“Agriculture”	Men	Ömser Trade Inc.
12	Radio	Imperial	1	Germany	Communications	Textual	-	-	Not specified / General	Yeni Şua Store
13	Tractor	Allis Chalmers	1	United States	Agricultural production	Both	-	“Agriculture”	Men	Yakın Doğu Makine Inc.
14	Vacuum cleaner	Hoover	1	United States	Household goods	Both	Modern looking woman Housewife	-	Women	Mataş Trade Inc.

RESİMLİ HAYAT (ISSUE: 9)										
NO	PRODUCT	AD BRAND	AD FREQUENCY	COUNTRY OF ORIGIN	AD CATEGORY	AD CONTENT	VISUAL INDICATORS	TEXTUAL INDICATORS	POTENTIAL TARGET AUDIENCE	PRESENCE OF COMPRADORS
1	Bonuses and promotions	Yapı ve Kredi Bank	1	Türkiye	Banking	Textual	-	“Bank lottery to own a house”	Not specified / General	-
2	Multiple books and periodicals <i>*Including translations from US authors</i>	Doğan Kardeş Yayınevi	1	Türkiye	Literature	Both	-	-	Women Children	-
3	Radio	Imperial	1	Germany	Communications	Textual	-	-	Not specified / General	Yeni Şua Store
4	Tampon	Tampax	1	United States	Personal care	Both	Modern looking woman	-	Women	-
5	Watch	Rodania	1	Switzerland	Accessories	Both	-	-	Not specified / General	-
6	Sewing machine	Anker-Werke	1	Germany	Textiles	Both	Modern looking woman	-	Women	Jak Dekalo and Other Shareholders

7	Insurance promotions	Doğan Sigorta	1	Türkiye	Insurance	Textual	-	-	Not specified / General	-
8	Radio	Marconi	1	United Kingdom/United States	Communications	Both	-	-	Not specified / General	Vahram Gesar and Other Shareholders
9	Tractor	Allgaier	1	Germany	Agricultural production	Both	-	“Agriculture”	Men	Ömser Trade Inc.
10	Laundry detergent	Fewa	1	Germany	Laundry cleaning	Both	Housewife	-	Women	-
11	Umbrella	Knirps	1	Germany	Accessories	Both	-	-	Not specified / General	-
12	Tractor	Unimog	1	Germany	Agricultural production	Both	-	-	Men	Ahmet Veli Menger
13	Gas heater	Erel	1	Türkiye	Household goods	Both	Modern looking woman	“With original American carburettor”	Not specified / General	
14	Tractor	Allis Chalmers	1	United States	Agricultural production	Both	-	“Agriculture”	Men	Yakın Doğu Makine Inc.
15	Washing machine	Hoover	1	United States	Household goods	Both	Modern looking woman Housewife	-	Women	Mataş Trade Inc.

RESİMLİ HAYAT (ISSUE: 10)										
NO	PRODUCT	AD BRAND	AD FREQUENCY	COUNTRY OF ORIGIN	AD CATEGORY	AD CONTENT	VISUAL INDICATORS	TEXTUAL INDICATORS	POTENTIAL TARGET AUDIENCE	PRESENCE OF COMPRADORS
1	Multiple books and periodicals <i>*Including translations from US authors</i>	Doğan Kardeş Yayınevi	1	Türkiye	Literature	Both	-	-	Women Children	-
2	Toothpaste	Dentol	1	France	Personal care	Both	Modern looking women	-	Not specified / General	-
3	Insurance promotions	Doğan Sigorta	1	Türkiye	Insurance	Textual	-	-	Not specified / General	-
4	Radio	Imperial	1	Germany	Communications	Textual	-	-	Not specified / General	Yeni Şua Store
5	Office furniture	Erel	1	Türkiye	Furniture	Both	-	-	Not specified / General	-
6	Sewing machine	Anker-Werke	1	Germany	Textiles	Both	Modern looking woman	-	Women	Jak Dekalo and Other Shareholders
7	Tractor	Allgaier	1	Germany	Agricultural production	Both	-	“Agriculture”	Men	Ömser Trade Inc.

8	Watch	Rodania	1	Switzerland	Accessories	Both	Modern looking woman	-	Not specified / General	-
9	Sewing machine	Pfaff	1	Germany	Textiles	Both	Modern looking woman	-	Women	Oklar Co. Ltd.
10	Umbrella	Knirps	1	Germany	Accessories	Both	Modern looking woman	-	Not specified / General	-
11	Radio	Marconi	1	United Kingdom/United States	Communications	Both	-	-	Not specified / General	Vahram Gesar and Other Shareholders
12	Tampon	Tampax	1	United States	Personal care	Both	Modern looking woman	-	Women	Pastör Pharmacy
13	Laundry detergent	Fewa	1	Germany	Laundry cleaning	Both	Housewife	-	Women	-
14	Tractor	Allis Chalmers	1	United States	Agricultural production	Both	-	“Agriculture”	Men	Yakın Doğu Makine Inc.
15	Bonuses and promotions	Yapı ve Kredi Bank	1	Türkiye	Banking	Textual	-	“Bank lottery to own a house”	Not specified / General	-

RESİMLİ HAYAT (ISSUE: 11)										
NO	PRODUCT	AD BRAND	AD FREQUENCY	COUNTRY OF ORIGIN	AD CATEGORY	AD CONTENT	VISUAL INDICATORS	TEXTUAL INDICATORS	POTENTIAL TARGET AUDIENCE	PRESENCE OF COMPRADORS
1	Multiple books and periodicals <i>*Including translations from US authors</i>	Doğan Kardeş Yayınevi	2	Türkiye	Literature	Both	-	-	Women Children	-
2	Shoe	Andre Kifidis * Owned by an orthopaedist of Greek origin	1	Türkiye	Accessories	Both	Modern looking woman	-	Women	-
3	Hairclip	Tac	1	France	Accessories	Both	Modern looking woman	-	Women	-
4	Radio	Marconi	1	United Kingdom/United States	Communications	Both	-	-	Not specified / General	Vahram Gesar and Other Shareholders
5	Margarine	Sana	1	United Kingdom	Food & Beverages	Both	-	-	Women	-

6	Laundry detergent	Fewa	1	Germany	Laundry cleaning	Both	Housewife	-	Women	-
7	Sewing machine	Anker-Werke	1	Germany	Textiles	Both	Modern looking woman	-	Women	Jak Dekalo and Other Shareholders
8	Toothpaste	Dentol	1	France	Personal care	Both	Modern looking women	-	Not specified / General	-
9	Insurance promotions	Doğan Sigorta	1	Türkiye	Insurance	Textual	-	-	Not specified / General	-
10	Office furniture	Erel	1	Türkiye	Furniture	Both	-	-	Not specified / General	-
11	Tractor	Allgaier	1	Germany	Agricultural production	Both	-	“Agriculture”	Men	Ömser Trade Inc.
12	Tampon	Tampax	1	United States	Personal care	Both	Modern looking woman	-	Women	Pastör Pharmacy
13	Book <i>Çalınan Taç</i> <i>*Originally in English (US)</i>	Doğan Kardeş Yayınevi	1	Türkiye	Literature	Textual	-	-	Not specified / General	-
13	Watch	Rodania	1	Switzerland	Accessories	Both	Modern looking woman	-	Not specified / General	-

14	Tractor	Allis Chalmers	1	United States	Agricultural production	Both	-	“Agriculture”	Men	Yakın Doğu Makine Inc.
15	Bonuses and promotions	Yapı ve Kredi Bank	1	Türkiye	Banking	Textual	-	“Bank lottery to own a house”	Not specified / General	-

RESİMLİ HAYAT (ISSUE: 12)										
NO	PRODUCT	AD BRAND	AD FREQUENCY	COUNTRY OF ORIGIN	AD CATEGORY	AD CONTENT	VISUAL INDICATORS	TEXTUAL INDICATORS	POTENTIAL TARGET AUDIENCE	PRESENCE OF COMPRADORS
1	Book <i>Keşifler ve İcatlar Ansiklopedisi</i>	Doğan Kardeş Yayınevi	2	Türkiye	Literature	Both	-	-	Women Children	-
2	Tampon	Tampax	1	United States	Personal care	Both	Modern looking woman	-	Women	Pastör Pharmacy
3	Sewing machine	Anker-Werke	1	Germany	Textiles	Both	Modern looking woman	-	Women	Jak Dekalo and Other Shareholders
4	Toothpaste	Dentol	1	France	Personal care	Both	Modern looking women	-	Not specified / General	-
5	Radio	Marconi	1	United Kingdom/United States	Communications	Both	-	-	Not specified / General	Vahram Gesar and Other Shareholders
6	Medication	Squibb	1	United States	Pharmaceuticals	Both	-	-	Not specified / General	-
7	Insurance promotions	Doğan Sigorta	1	Türkiye	Insurance	Textual	-	-	Not specified / General	-

8	Laundry detergent	Fewa	1	Germany	Laundry cleaning	Both	Housewife	-	Women	-
9	Sewing machine	Pfaff	1	Germany	Textiles	Both	-	-	Women	Oklar Co. Ltd.
10	Margarine	Sana	1	United Kingdom	Food & Beverages	Both	-	-	Women	-
11	Shoe	Andre Kifidis * Owned by an orthopaedist of Greek origin	1	Türkiye	Accessories	Both	Modern looking woman	-	Women	-
12	Office furniture	Erel	1	Türkiye	Furniture	Both	-	-	Not specified / General	-
13	Watch	Rodania	1	Switzerland	Accessories	Both	-	-	Not specified / General	-
14	Tractor	Allis Chalmers	1	United States	Agricultural production	Both	-	"Agriculture"	Men	Yakın Doğu Makine Inc.

KADIN DÜNYASI OF 1958 (ISSUE: 1)										
NO	PRODUCT	AD BRAND	AD FREQUENCY	COUNTRY OF ORIGIN	AD CATEGORY	AD CONTENT	VISUAL INDICATORS	TEXTUAL INDICATORS	POTENTIAL TARGET AUDIENCE	PRESENCE OF COMPRADORS
1	Bonuses and promotions	Vakıflar Bank	1	Türkiye	Banking	Textual	-	-	Not specified / General	-
2	Bonuses and promotions	Türkiye Emlak Kredi Bank	1	Türkiye	Banking	Both	-	"The opportunity to have a house" "Savings for ownership"	Not specified / General	-
3	Bonuses and promotions	Şekerbank	1	Türkiye	Banking	Both	Modern looking woman	"For savings"	Not specified / General	-
4	Bonuses and promotions	Ziraat Bank	1	Türkiye	Banking	Textual	-	"For those fortunate enough to have a savings account"	Not specified / General	-
5	Bonuses and promotions	Sümerbank	1	Türkiye	Banking	Textual	-	"Apartments"	Not specified / General	-

KADIN DÜNYASI OF 1958 (ISSUE: 2)										
NO	PRODUCT	AD BRAND	AD FREQUENCY	COUNTRY OF ORIGIN	AD CATEGORY	AD CONTENT	VISUAL INDICATORS	TEXTUAL INDICATORS	POTENTIAL TARGET AUDIENCE	PRESENCE OF COMPRADORS
1	Bonuses and promotions	Vakıflar Bank	1	Türkiye	Banking	Textual	-	-	Not specified / General	-
2	Bonuses and promotions	Türkiye Emlak Kredi Bank	1	Türkiye	Banking	Both	-	"The opportunity to have a house" "Savings for ownership"	Not specified / General	-
3	Bonuses and promotions	Ziraat Bank	1	Türkiye	Banking	Textual	-	"For those fortunate enough to have a savings account"	Not specified / General	-
4	Bonuses and promotions	Sümerbank	1	Türkiye	Banking	Textual	-	"Apartments"	Not specified / General	-
5	Bonuses and promotions	Raybank	1	Türkiye	Banking	Textual	-	"Apartments"	Not specified / General	-

KADIN DÜNYASI OF 1958 (ISSUE: 3, 4, 5)										
NO	PRODUCT	AD BRAND	AD FREQUENCY	COUNTRY OF ORIGIN	AD CATEGORY	AD CONTENT	VISUAL INDICATORS	TEXTUAL INDICATORS	POTENTIAL TARGET AUDIENCE	PRESENCE OF COMPRADORS
1	Bonuses and promotions	Vakıflar Bank	1	Türkiye	Banking	Textual	-	-	Not specified / General	-
2	Bonuses and promotions	Türkiye Emlak Kredi Bank	1	Türkiye	Banking	Both	-	"The opportunity to have a house" "Savings for ownership"	Not specified / General	-
3	Bonuses and promotions	Ziraat Bank	1	Türkiye	Banking	Textual	-	"For those fortunate enough to have a savings account"	Not specified / General	-
4	Bonuses and promotions	Sümerbank	1	Türkiye	Banking	Textual	-	"Apartments"	Not specified / General	-
5	Bonuses and promotions	Raybank	1	Türkiye	Banking	Textual	-	"Apartments"	Not specified / General	-
6	Bonuses and promotions	İller Bank	1	Türkiye	Banking	Textual	-	-	Not specified / General	-

KADIN DÜNYASI OF 1958 (ISSUE: 9)										
NO	PRODUCT	AD BRAND	AD FREQUENCY	COUNTRY OF ORIGIN	AD CATEGORY	AD CONTENT	VISUAL INDICATORS	TEXTUAL INDICATORS	POTENTIAL TARGET AUDIENCE	PRESENCE OF COMPRADORS
1	Bonuses and promotions	Vakıflar Bank	1	Türkiye	Banking	Textual	-	-	Not specified / General	-
2	Bonuses and promotions	Türkiye Emlak Kredi Bank	1	Türkiye	Banking	Both	-	"The opportunity to have a house" "Savings for ownership"	Not specified / General	-
3	Bonuses and promotions	Ziraat Bank	1	Türkiye	Banking	Textual	-	"For those fortunate enough to have a savings account"	Not specified / General	-
4	Bonuses and promotions	Sümerbank	1	Türkiye	Banking	Textual	-	"Apartments"	Not specified / General	-
5	Bonuses and promotions	Raybank	1	Türkiye	Banking	Textual	-	"Apartments"	Not specified / General	-
6	Bonuses and promotions	İller Bank	1	Türkiye	Banking	Textual	-	-	Not specified / General	-
7	Summerhouse	Mehmet Gür Corporation	1	Türkçe	Real estate	Both	Modern looking woman	"Summerhouse" "Deed of real estate"	Not specified / General	-

KADIN DÜNYASI OF 1958 (ISSUE: 10)										
NO	PRODUCT	AD BRAND	AD FREQUENCY	COUNTRY OF ORIGIN	AD CATEGORY	AD CONTENT	VISUAL INDICATORS	TEXTUAL INDICATORS	POTENTIAL TARGET AUDIENCE	PRESENCE OF COMPRADORS
1	Bonuses and promotions	Vakıflar Bank	1	Türkiye	Banking	Textual	-	-	Not specified / General	-
2	Bonuses and promotions	Türkiye Emlak Kredi Bank	1	Türkiye	Banking	Both	-	"The opportunity to have a house" "Savings for ownership"	Not specified / General	-
3	Bonuses and promotions	Ziraat Bank	1	Türkiye	Banking	Textual	-	"For those fortunate enough to have a savings account"	Not specified / General	-
4	Bonuses and promotions	Raybank	1	Türkiye	Banking	Textual	-	"Apartments"	Not specified / General	-
5	Bonuses and promotions	İller Bank	1	Türkiye	Banking	Textual	-	-	Not specified / General	-
6	Summerhouse	Mehmet Gür Corporation	1	Türkçe	Real estate	Both	Modern looking woman	"Summerhouse" "Deed of real estate"	Not specified / General	-

KADIN DÜNYASI OF 1958 (ISSUE: 11)										
NO	PRODUCT	AD BRAND	AD FREQUENCY	COUNTRY OF ORIGIN	AD CATEGORY	AD CONTENT	VISUAL INDICATORS	TEXTUAL INDICATORS	POTENTIAL TARGET AUDIENCE	PRESENCE OF COMPRADORS
1	Bonuses and promotions	Vakıflar Bank	1	Türkiye	Banking	Textual	-	-	Not specified / General	-
2	Bonuses and promotions	Türkiye Emlak Kredi Bank	1	Türkiye	Banking	Both	-	"The opportunity to have a house" "Savings for ownership"	Not specified / General	-
3	Bonuses and promotions	İller Bank	1	Türkiye	Banking	Textual	-	-	Not specified / General	-
4	Summerhouse	Mehmet Gür Corporation	1	Türkçe	Real estate	Both	Modern looking woman	"Summerhouse" "Deed of real estate"	Not specified / General	-

KADIN DÜNYASI OF 1958 (ISSUE: 12)										
NO	PRODUCT	AD BRAND	AD FREQUENCY	COUNTRY OF ORIGIN	AD CATEGORY	AD CONTENT	VISUAL INDICATORS	TEXTUAL INDICATORS	POTENTIAL TARGET AUDIENCE	PRESENCE OF COMPRADORS
1	Bonuses and promotions	Vakıflar Bank	1	Türkiye	Banking	Textual	-	-	Not specified / General	-
2	Bonuses and promotions	Türkiye Emlak Kredi Bank	1	Türkiye	Banking	Both	-	"The opportunity to have a house" "Savings for ownership"	Not specified / General	-
3	Bonuses and promotions	İller Bank	1	Türkiye	Banking	Textual	-	-	Not specified / General	-
4	Bonuses and promotions	Ziraat Bank	1	Türkiye	Banking	Textual	-	"For those fortunate enough to have a savings account"	Not specified / General	-
5	Bonuses and promotions	Sümerbank	1	Türkiye	Banking	Textual	-	"Apartments"	Not specified / General	-

ABSTRACT

The Democrat Party came into power during a period of transition from a physical to a cultural war on a global scale, resulting in the establishment of a bipolar global power structure. Türkiye was also involved in the conflict between these two worldviews and became a country under the Western, specifically American, sphere of influence. This interaction had a significant impact on the political and economic spheres, leading to the formulation of policies in favour of the United States, which was considered the new ideal for Westernisation. Sociocultural practices were not immune to this interaction, either. Assuming that the Democrat Party's intrinsic populist political ideology, which aligns with the American mindset, may have accelerated the US' influence on sociocultural elements, I have carried out this study to track the deviations in cultural materials that accompanied the political ideology shift through women's magazines, a product of popular culture. I have adopted a comparative, period-specific approach in my thesis, utilising summative content analysis. This analysis has revealed that women's magazines functioned as a conduit that facilitated the process of Americanisation and promoted the American way of life through a diverse range of advertisements. The cultural atmosphere, much like the political climate, did not follow a constant and uninterrupted path over the course of ten years. The government's evolving position over time and its relations with the US have significantly influenced the nature and extent of advertising.

Keywords: Americanisation, Cold War, Conservative Modernisation, Democrat Party, Popular Culture

ÖZET

Demokrat Parti, küresel çaplı fiziki savaştan kültürel savaşa geçişin yaşandığı ve iki kutuplu küresel güç yapısının temellerinin atıldığı bir dönemde iktidara gelmiştir. Türkiye bu iki dünya görüşü arasında süregelen mücadeleye dahil olmuş; Amerika Birleşik Devletleri başta olmak üzere, Batı bloğunun etki sahasında varlık gösteren bir ülke halini almıştır. Batı ile etkileşim siyasi ve ekonomik düzlemlere önemli değişimler getirmiş; iç ve dış politikaların Batılılığın yeni referansı olarak görülen ABD ekseninde şekillenmesinde başat bir rol oynamıştır. Sosyokültürel pratikler de bu etkileşimden nasibini almıştır. Söz konusu çalışma, Demokrat Parti'nin Amerikan zihniyetiyle örtüşen popülist siyasi ideolojisinin ABD'nin sosyokültürel unsurlar üzerindeki nüfuzunu artırmış olabileceği varsayımından hareketle, siyasi ideoloji değişimine eşlik eden kültürel içerik değişimlerini popüler kültürün bir ürünü olan kadın dergileri üzerinden tespit etmek amacıyla gerçekleştirilmiştir. Tez çalışmasında dönem odaklı, karşılaştırmalı bir yaklaşım benimsenmiş ve özetleyici içerik analizi kullanılmıştır. Analiz, kadın dergilerinin Amerikanlaşma sürecini kolaylaştıran bir kanal işlevi gördüğünü ve çeşitli reklamlar aracılığıyla Amerikan yaşam tarzını teşvik ettiğini ortaya koymuştur. Siyasi iklimde olduğu gibi, kültürel hayatta da on yıl boyunca sabit ve kesintisiz bir seyir gözlenmemiştir. Hükümetin yıllar içinde değişen tutumu ve ABD ile etkileşimleri, reklamların niteliğini ve hacmini önemli ölçüde etkilemiştir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Amerikanlaşma, Demokrat Parti, Muhafazakâr Modernleşme, Popüler Kültür, Soğuk Savaş