

AN ANALYSIS OF THE WEEKEND SUPPLEMENTS OF TURKISH
DAILY NEWSPAPERS:
FROM WOMEN'S PAGES TO LIFESTYLE GUIDES

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ABSTRACT

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This study is an attempt to analyse the newspaper supplements published by the Turkish printed press. An analysis of the qualitative and quantitative characteristics of the contents of the newspaper supplements selected due to the circulation numbers follows a brief history of the newspaper supplements. The study ends with the interviews made with the editor-in-chiefs of the weekend supplements. What results from these two analyses on different levels is that even though the basic aim of the daily newspaper supplements, mainly the weekend supplements is to increase the advertising revenues of the publishing companies, the content presented to the readers through these supplements also plays an important role in the social-ideological reproduction as the symbol of a specific life style. Therefore, this study also shows that critical political-economic approaches have to be completed with cultural analyses in the media studies.

Keywords: Newspaper Supplements, Content Analysis, Lifestyles, Consumption, Advertisement

ÖZ

GÜNDELİK TÜRK GAZETELERİNİN HAFTASONU EKLERİNİN ANALİZİ: KADIN SAYFALARINDAN YAŞAM TARZI REHBERLERİNE

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Bu çalışma Türk yazılı basınının yayınladığı gazete eklerini incelemeye yöneliktir. Gazete eklerinin tarihçesi üzerine kısa bir derlemeyi mevcut tiraj rakamlarına göre seçilen gazetelerin haftasonu eklerinin içeriklerinin nitel ve nicel özelliklerinin çözümlemesi izlemektedir. Çalışma haftasonu eklerinin sorumlu editörleri ile yapılan görüşmelerle tamamlanmaktadır. Bu farklı iki düzeyde analizin gösterdiği sonuç ise başta haftasonu ekleri olmak üzere günlük gazete eklerinin temel amacı yayın kuruluşunun reklam gelirlerini arttırmak olsa da, bu ekler ile okurlara sunulan içerik belirli bir hayat tarzının ifadesi olarak toplumsal ideolojik yeniden üretim açısından da önemli bir işlev yerine getirmektedir. Bu nedenle medya araştırmalarında eleştirel ekonomik politik yaklaşımların kültürel analizle tamamlanması gerekliliği bu çalışma ile de sergilenmektedir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Gazete Ekleri, İçerik Analizi, Yaşam Tarzları, Tüketim, Reklam

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Media are at the centre of social life in the twenty-first century in Turkey and worldwide. The extent to which the media constitute, define, or otherwise influence what we take to be the “reality” in this modern world is certainly a matter for dispute. But, what is indisputable is that the mass media organizations as big business today, are economic institutions seeking profits and engaged in the production and dissemination of content targeted toward large number of consumers. Therefore, media organizations are, in the first hand, business firms whose behaviour is governed by economic considerations. Moreover, media products, i.e., the media content, are designed to attract not only the end consumers but also advertisers who want access to these consumers to sell their own products. Thus, advertisers are also closely interested in the content that the media firms produce and consequently influence them. Consequently, media content, which is a symbolic product, is clearly linked to economics through a complex process. As a matter of fact, media as a sector of big business:

On the one hand, (. . .) have a range of features in common with other areas of production and are increasingly integrated into the general industrial structure. On the other hand, it is equally clear that the goods they manufacture – newspapers, advertisements, television programmes and feature films – play a pivotal role in organizing the images and discourses through which people make sense of the world (Golding and Murdock, 1991: 70).

This is what makes the widely acknowledged “hybrid character” of the media and justifies their appellation as “cultural industries” (Kaya, 1999). In

this connection, the newspaper industry represents one of the oldest and the most important forms of mass media, which play a central role in economic and cultural aspects of the modern societies. It is a fact that, everyday in addition to proper daily papers, their supplements reach vast number of readers in the world and in Turkey.

This is precisely why the subject matter of this study is chosen as the analysis of newspaper supplements in Turkey. In deed today, almost all daily papers have weekend supplements. In addition, many of them give supplements even during the weekdays. In the formal discourse of the media organisations, these supplements are prepared and given in order to better fulfil communication needs and demands of the readers since their publication is there to serve for the public interest. That is to say that they give, as providers of a public service, what the people (majority of citizens) want regardless of the fact that such claims are of divergent or contradictory character. But this altruistic rhetoric is shaded by the “criteria of success” which is indexed to market operations. However, whatever may be the motive for the media organization, what is marketed and sold is the media content. In other words, during this process, “images and discourses through which people make sense of the world” are produced and disseminated to large audiences with far reaching ideological effects and influences.

A consideration of such assertion requires an inquiry into the nature, role, and function of these newspaper supplements. Thus, the subject matter of study emerges as a significant research topic.

In this connection, as the first level of investigation of this study, in depth interviews are conducted with the responsible editors and other editorial staff of the major newspapers’ weekend supplements as to shed light on how they perceived and evaluated the function fulfilled by their publication and their own endeavour. By the same token, some information is tried to be gathered as to the production processes and inherent features of these publications.

As another level of the research, an analysis is realised to get an insight concerning the quantitative aspects of the content of supplements. Finally, an attempt is made as to discern and analyse the discourse produced and disseminated by the newspaper supplements.

Consequently, the plan of this study is set as follows: the chapter that explains and frames the newspaper in an historical perspective precedes this introduction. It is completed with a historical review and account of the newspaper supplements in turkey. Then, the interviews with the editorial staff of the newspapers are presented and discussed. The third chapter is on the quantitative aspects of the content to elucidate the topics treated and space devoted advertisements, news items and editorial columns, etc. It is followed by a qualitative analysis of this very content as to comprehend the worldview embedded in and disseminated by it. Finally, in the conclusion, the role and the function of newspaper supplements as a source of public information and ideological agent is discussed.

As stated in the introduction, three levels of analysis is conducted in this study. In the first instance, in depth interviews are realized with the editors and former editors of the newspaper supplement. The interviews are conducted with the editors of the supplements who are regarded as the head of the staff who are responsible for preparing the supplements. The interviews were held in Istanbul where all head offices of the mentioned papers lie. Generally, after getting appointment from the editors, the interviews were conducted face to face in the offices where they prepare the supplements. Nazan Ortaç, the chief editor of the supplements that the daily *Akşam* present, Pınar Çelikel Şekerleme who is responsible for the supplements of *Vatan*, Tuğba Balıkçioğlu of *Sabah* and İlke Gürsoy of *Milliyet* were the interviewees who recently work for the mentioned papers. Furthermore, Zeynep Avcı who worked for the newspapers *Cumhuriyet*, *Yeni İstanbul*, *Hürriyet*, and *Milliyet* for different periods between the years 1966 and 1975 answered my questions via mail.

During the interviews, firstly, questions are directed to interviewees to obtain information as to production processes of their publications. Secondly, self-evaluations of interviewees as to the contents of their publications are sought.

As for the second level, supplements of seven national newspapers whose daily sales exceed 200.000 exemplars are surveyed as to acquire an insight over their contents. These papers namely are *Posta* (with a circulation of 687.000 copies), *Hürriyet* (546. 000), *Sabah* (465. 000), *Zaman* (450. 000), *Milliyet* (247. 000), *Vatan* (246. 000) and *Akşam* (221. 000). Their supplements are scrutinized for a successive four-week period. Firstly the quantitative aspects and features of their content is tried to be disclosed and analyzed and secondly through a textual analysis the discourse disseminated by this content is evaluated.

CHAPTER II

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

This chapter deals with the historical background of the newspaper supplements. The first part of this chapter will try to explore the notion and history of newspaper supplement and its evolution taking it both as an industrial and cultural form. The analysis of the economic function of the supplements besides its role as a cultural product will be useful for a better understanding of the subject. Besides its commodity character, the newspaper as a means of communication is also means of social and political production and reproduction. As my intention is to understand the characteristics of the newspaper supplement, the works on newspaper industry within the media industry will be utilized particularly. The works related to the subject will be cited in order to have a clear view. In the second part, the emergence of newspaper supplements in Turkish press will be investigated. Besides, the social, cultural, and economical aspects will be utilized for constructing the framework of this investigation.

Newspaper, as the senior medium of the media, is a publication usually issued daily, weekly, or at other regular times that provides news, views, features, and other information of public interest frequently with the addition of advertisements, photographs, articles, and correspondence. Even if the first printed newspaper was published in 17th century, the daily newspaper is essentially the product of the industrialized society. Tunstall (1977: 23) defines the modern newspaper as 'the key invention in the history of world mass media' stating that it gave news, entertainment, and advertising their media shape. Newspaper publishing has a long history but

became a true mass medium towards the end of 19th century (McQuail, 2004). In addition, the advent of mass communication, and the rise of mass circulation newspapers in the nineteenth century and the emergence of broadcasting in the twentieth has had a profound impact on the modes of experience and patterns of interaction characteristic of modern societies (Thompson, 1990: 216)

In the studies on the history of press, the rapid expansion of the newspaper industry is tightly linked with the improvement in methods of production and distribution, the growth in literacy and the abolition of taxes.¹ As a result of the rapid expansion of the newspaper press throughout the eighteenth century, newspapers became part of the everyday life in Britain in the nineteenth century (Barker, 2000). Talking about the history of press in Britain, James Curran (1981: 31) points out the development of new print technology to service an expanding market. Rotary presses, fed by hand, were introduced in the 1860s and 1870s and were gradually replaced by web rotary machines and the linotype machine respectively in the 1880s and 1890s. As Thompson (1990: 177) stresses, these innovations were “crucial for the dramatic augmentation of reproductive capacity in the newspaper industry”. Since the newspaper taxation was abolished, 1855 was another cornerstone in English newspaper history. The repeal of press taxes decreased the running costs of newspaper publishing. They also cut their cover prices. However, to follow the new techniques in printing, newspapers had to purchase new printing machines, which were quite expensive. The rising expenditures and lower cover prices forced up the circulation² level that newspapers had to achieve in order to be profitable. This raised, in turn, the run-in costs of new papers before they built their circulations to break-even point and the newspapers became substantial enterprises with large staffs and long print runs that required large capital

¹ For further information see Barker (2000), Tunstall (1977), Curran and Seaton (1981), Williams (1961), and Encyclopaedia Britannica Online: <http://search.eb.com/eb/article-9055609>

² The number of copies distributed, either on an average day or on particular days is the newspaper's circulation, and is one of the principal factors used to set advertising rates.

resources (Curran, 1981: 31). Despite the new printing technologies were costly for the newspapers, Barker (2000: 99) argues that they resulted not only in more efficient production methods, but also lowered the price of some printing materials and machinery, and played a part in increasing newspaper production. For example, introduction of the Linotype machine in 1886 — first in the United States, then in Britain and other industrialized countries — allowed existing newspapers to increase their production and circulation substantially. These technological innovations directly affected the content of the newspapers. As Wehner (2000: 46) points out:

The four-page or eight-page formats typical of newspapers before the introduction of Linotype machine left scant space to arrange contents by subject let alone by sections. Thus, the classification system we are familiar today can be rightly called a late-nineteenth century innovation.

Furthermore, wider literacy, broadening appeal, developments in communication and transport in the same period also contributed to the rise in the production and circulation of the newspapers. However, the publication of Sunday newspapers dates back to the years in which the press was not that much established, organized, and technically advanced in Britain. In Britain, the first Sunday paper appeared in 1779, namely the *Sunday Monitor* (Williams, 1961: 185). *The Observer* (1791), *Bell's Weekly Messenger* (1796), and *The Weekly Dispatch* (1801) followed it. Williams (1961: 189) further mentions the growth of Sunday papers as the 'most important aspect of press development in this period'. In the first decade of the nineteenth century, the Sunday papers had circulations well above those of the daily papers. Moreover, the readership of newspapers, and especially the Sunday papers, was probably much larger than their actual sale, since they were widely read in coffeehouses, taverns, newsrooms, and clubs (Thompson, 1990: 177).

During this period, US press also published its first Sunday editions of the newspapers. The emergence of Sunday editions of the newspapers is of particular importance for this work since the press entered into the "free day" of the week. That is to say, the weekend supplement that is the subject

of this work is directly linked with the Sunday editions of the newspapers, as they were also special for Sunday in its origin. In this sense, it can be argued that the expansion in the circulation of the Sunday papers and the rise in Sunday readership pioneered the weekend supplements of the present day. As Williams (1961: 193-199) mentions, Sunday morning as a popular time for reading newspapers, is the explanation of the lead that was taken by the Sunday press in the first half of the nineteenth century:

Even as the price of papers came down and more people could buy private copies, the Sunday papers retained their advantage, since they appeared on the only day on which the majority of people had any real leisure. The Sunday papers gave the news of the whole week, and were thus welcome to a public, which still, after the expansion noted, did not buy a daily paper.

The content of Sunday papers, as Williams (1961: 175-176) describes, is:

[S]imilar in type to the older forms of popular literature: ballads, chapbooks, almanacs, stories of murders and executions; combining, with the News Of The Week, a Rich Repository Of Fashion, Wit And Humour, and the interesting Incidents Of Real Life', which in practice means a column for foreign news, a column report of a lively election meeting, half a column of general domestic news, an account of some 'amusing cases' of corpulency, and a miscellany including reports of two murders a prison break attempt, and a robbery.

From 1840 onwards, the most widely selling English newspapers were these cheap (penny) Sunday papers. Williams (1961: 192) also draw a distinction between the daily and the Sunday press, to understand this process of expansion:

From the beginning of Sunday newspapers, a class different from readers of the daily press was being catered for. From the very day of their publication, they were never part of the 'respectable press', and, in the first decades of the nineteenth century, their readers were commonly identified as the 'lower classes'.

Coming to the patterns of newspaper ownership, it can be claimed that a transformation from a tendency of single proprietary in the mid-eighteenth century to group ownership in the latter period took place (Barker,

2000: 99). By the end of the 19th century, the modern pattern of newspaper ownership and production had already been set in the United States and Britain, with newspapers passing to realm of big business. At the same time, the newspaper had already become a permanent part of the social and literary life for educated citizens of most European countries and the United States. This period also witnessed the concentration in the ownership of newspapers and the emergence of “press barons”.³ The chain ownership realized through the purchasing of smaller papers by larger ones. Moreover, a tendency of a few papers trying to become dominant was evidenced in United States in the 1890s. In addition, the increasing importance of advertising revenue, the use of new methods for winning more readers shaped this era. The new trends in content that is also regarded as the directions of modern journalism such as comprehensive coverage and an emphasis on entertainment were novelties of this period. These three traditional features of the press -chain ownership, an expanding market, and a tendency for a few papers to become dominant- merely became more accentuated under the press barons (Curran, 1981: 41). As a consequence, the newspaper industry of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries became increasingly oriented towards a broader public, contrary to the earlier newspapers of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries that aimed at a restricted, relatively well-off, and well-educated part of the population

As already stated, the rapid expansion in circulation was accompanied by significant changes in the nature and content of newspapers. By the beginning of the twentieth century, Sunday editions became voluminous and common in US. Photographs and comics turned out to be an indispensable part of them. Furthermore, the importance of the newspaper as a source of profit from advertising became widely accepted (Tunstall, 1977: 26). Another crucial point is the big shares that the Sunday papers obtained from the advertising revenue than the daily papers did (Curran, 1981: 41).

³ An executive who owned a chain of several newspapers.

2. 1 Emergence of Supplements in Press

Aiming to attract more readers with a greater variety of content, the early forerunners of newspaper supplement were already accompanying some papers of Britain and United States in the early 19th century, and France, and Germany in the late 19th century. Since the regular prototypes of the supplements appeared in the era of mass circulation press, it is possible to claim they are products of mass-market industry.

A newspaper supplement is an often-weekly section of a newspaper, usually in the format of a tabloid or magazine, covering wide-ranging and less time-critical subjects. In addition, there is also an advertising supplement, which periodically accompanies a newspaper and is prepared by the paper's advertising staff instead of its editorial staff, covering topics such as real estate and automobiles on behalf of the paper's frequent advertisers. In its literary meaning a supplement⁴ is something added to supply a deficiency; an addition to anything by which its defects are supplied; a part added to complete a literary work or any written account or document; a part of a periodical publication issued as an addition to the regular numbers and containing some special item and/or items.

In order to understand the significance of the emergence of newspaper supplements in printed press one must recall Hall's emphasis about the appearance of new categories:

Only when new categories appear do we become aware something more than simple journalistic innovation or change in format is taking space. New categories suggest major shifts in the direction of newspaper's appeal, changes in readership, or an assumed shift in the patterns of readers' interests and attention, and thus, indirectly, in cultural assumptions - those taken for granted, 'seen but unnoticed background features and expectancies' by which people share a collective world of cultural meanings (Hall, 1975: 18).

Following the traces backwards for the first supplement, Turbett points that the *Sunday Chronicle* published a supplementary section on

⁴ Oxford Dictionary of English

1869 aiming to attract more readers with a greater variety of content. Moreover, she (1999: 8-10) adds: "With more feature material to be absorbed at the leisurely pace of the traditional day of rest, people who had never purchased newspapers before started buying the publications." After a short period, the papers in U. S. created Saturday supplements containing book notices, essays, and fictional sketches as cited by Turbett (1999: 46). Nevertheless, the important point to mention is that supplements are already regarded as profit centres within the newspapers in the 19th century.

The information about the history of publishing in Encyclopaedia Britannica mentions the Sunday supplements between the lines. The forerunners of the Sunday supplements in US were also regarded as one of the new trends that the press barons introduced. William Randolph Hearst, one of the well-known newspapers barons of the 1900s, was also the creator of the:

[N]ew tactics like alarmist headlines and attention-grabbing campaigns. Equally important in the sensationalist yellow journalism of the era were vivid pictorial designs—photographs, cartoons, graphic illustrations—and the new Sunday supplements, which focused on human-interest stories and comic strips.

Each newspaper company published only one supplement and it was distributed within all the newspapers that joined the chains. The supplements provided subjects like love, hate, fear, vanity, morality, superstition, curiosity, culture, science, amusement. However, it was not until 1920 that these supplements became a regular part of the Sunday newspapers. As the competition among American papers for circulation continued during the 1920s and '30s, the supplements became a regular feature with the wide use of columnists and ready-to-use features, comic strips, crossword puzzles, and other amusements (Turbett, 1999: 98).

In addition to the difference in the content of the supplements compared to the newspaper itself, the daily newspapers also adopted a lighter and livelier style of journalism, as well as a more vivid side of presentation, in order to attract a wider readership. They gave greater

attention to crime, sexual violence, sport, and gambling - these were the staples of the 'new journalism'. At the same time, commercial advertising assumed an increasingly important role in the financial organization of the industry. Newspapers became a crucial mechanism in facilitating the sale of other goods and services, and their capacity to secure advertising revenue was directly linked to the size and profile of their readership. The exploitation of the link between advertising and mass circulation newspapers became increasingly important in the early decades of the twentieth century (Thompson, 1990: 178). As the newspapers became large-scale investments, which required large quantities of capital, high circulation numbers became insufficient to sustain the survival of the newspaper in the face of increasingly intense competition. High circulation levels meant nothing if the paper did not attract advertising revenue and if inflated production costs prevented it from making any sort of profit (Thompson, 1990, Curran, 2006).

Concentration of press ownership also reduced the diversity of the press since papers in the same group tended to adopt similar editorial positions. A no less significant feature of the development was the declining attention given to public affairs, and the greatly increased proportion of space, which is devoted to sports, pictures, and entertainment features. As a consequence of the adjustment to the advertising system, newspapers became more and more dependent on market researches about what people read in popular papers, and devoted less space to political and industrial coverage and more to human interest stories, photographs, women's articles and strip cartoons. This was identified as the most promising way to rebuild a mass circulation and, in particular, to 'bring women - vital to the advertising department'. In the late 1950s, the papers also pursued, for a mixture of motives, young, and upwardly mobile readers (Curran 1981: 92, 94-96).

The introduction of other mass media, especially television, has nonetheless influenced the style and the substance of newspapers, especially as audiences seek entertainment in tandem with more

straightforward news. When newspapers were forced to meet profit expectations during the 1970s “newspaper executives discovered there was a whole universe of readers out there who weren’t vitally interested in government and diplomacy” (Wehner, 2000: 156). The increase in leisure time led the papers to adjust their content in order to keep up with the growth of a diversity of leisure activities. Newspapers have devoted special features to the activities such as home improvement, gardening, and food and wine, particularly in their weekend editions. In addition, issues like travel and sports have been affected by the changing leisure patterns. As a result, the papers reorganized themselves allowing informative articles on popular tourist destinations, and expanded the sports section to cover less popular sports in order to fulfil the new demands. The economic advantage of covering more leisure activities and interests was the efforts of the newspapers to attract advertising revenue from commercial suppliers of leisure goods and services. In expanding their coverage to include modern leisure interests, newspapers seem to reflect the society of which they are a part.

In accordance with these changes in the content of the newspapers, the line drawn between the quality and the popular press blurred and became unperceivable. As Curran (1981: 97) stresses the quality press has been gaining two-thirds of its revenue from advertising, it tries to appeal high-spending, niche audiences. The popular press, on the other hand, primarily aims success at circulation since it has been obtaining more revenue from sales and its value to advertisers. Thus, as the quality press has to ‘select’ its ‘quality’ of its readers as a way of safeguarding its advertising income, the presence of the popular press is based on a mass circulation, namely, the ‘quantity’. Newspaper’s competition with alternative media, changing readership habits and increased emphasis on profits paved the way to a new journalistic style; sensationalism, infotainment and trivial magazine news, and as a consequence, lower-quality, simple feature

stories featuring crimes and happy lifestyles⁵ dominate the contemporary media (Pfeifer, 1994; Hartley, 1996).

It is not possible for a product to survive unless it is profitable under the pressure of the market. Following this statement, the supplements become comprehensible with their intense advertisement pages and especially the Sunday papers that come with more than hundred pages. As the supplements are part of the newspapers for over two hundred years, with changes in content and shape it can be appropriate to state that they have always been, in some way, profitable products for the newspaper industry. To put it briefly, the basic motivation for the press in presenting the supplement can be linked to the desire to increase their circulation through diversification of their products. The increase in circulation numbers entail more reader to buy and read, namely to consume, the newspaper. The increase in the circulation numbers also signifies the increase in advertising revenue by attracting the advertiser. In that case, supplement means more reader and more advertising revenue. But in order to achieve the goal of more reader, the supplements do have to offer a content that will attract the reader as well as the advertiser. Therefore, it is proper to state that today the supplements became vital tools for the mentioned goals of the newspapers. This statement can easily be revealed just by checking the supplements of some of the leading national newspapers of the mentioned countries.

The Guardian as an example, one of the national dailies in the Britain comes with the *G2* supplement containing feature articles, columns, television and radio listings, and the quick crossword on each weekday. In addition, the newspaper provides various supplements with different

⁵ Lifestyle, life style, or life-style: the way in which a person lives, including purchasing habits, manners of dress, and other expressions of personality and values. The section of a newspaper or a periodical that deals with food, fashion, relationships, and other personal subjects is called the lifestyle page or style page (or section). It includes what formerly was called the women's (or family) department. (Webster's New World dictionary of Media and Communications: 338)

contents on every day of the week. *MediaGuardian*, on Mondays; *EducationGuardian* on Tuesdays; *SocietyGuardian* on Wednesdays; *TechnologyGuardian* on Thursdays; *Film & Music* on Fridays. The Saturday edition of *The Guardian* includes some sections of varying sizes: *The Guide* (a weekly listings magazine), *Weekend* (the colour supplement), *Review* (covers literature), *Money, Work, Rise* (covering careers for new graduates), *Travel*, and *Family*. On Sunday, *The Guardian* comes as *The Observer* that is published traditionally on Sundays.

The Times, another daily in Britain comes with *T2*. *T2* is *The Times'* main supplement, featuring various lifestyle columns aimed at women. *Crème* is the newspaper's supplement for public administrators, secretaries, executive assistants and anyone who works in administrative support. *The Times Magazine* accompanies the newspaper on Saturday, and features columns touching on various subjects such as celebrities, fashion and beauty, food and drink, homes and gardens or simply writers' anecdotes.

The New York Times Magazine is a weekly supplement of the American newspaper *The New York Times*. The newspaper also provides a book review supplement, *Art & Leisure* supplement, Sunday supplements, and advertising supplements on various days of the week. Many weekend newspapers also incorporate magazine supplements, such as *Parade* and *Life*, in USA, and the *Sunday Times Magazine* in UK. *This Week* was a Sunday magazine supplement – syndicated to various newspapers across US. These are magazines sold to a number of different newspapers for simultaneous publication. *Parade* is a magazine, distributed as a Sunday supplement in hundreds of newspapers in the United States. The magazines generally have feature articles, regular columns; about various celebrities, advice columns, health, fitness, profiles on newly released gadgets, interviews, consumer advice columns and there is also a significant amount of advertising.

Frith (1991: 210) uses the term 'mediation' in order to describe the mentioned condition of newspapers: "Newspaper and magazine publishing

has long depended economically on titles attracting advertisers rather than readers as such; or, rather, on titles attracting the readers the advertisers want". In the same manner, the struggle for more advertising revenue for Garnham (1990: 40) results in "The creation, packaging, and sale, not of cultural and informational goods to direct consumers, but of audiences to advertisers". The consequences of the tendencies towards commercialization and concentration in the media industry gave rise to the increase in the advertisement in order to multiply advertising revenue and the struggle for circulation blurred line between news, entertainment and advertisement. Whether it is named as industrialization or commercialisation the tendency towards concentration and profit maximization in the media industry changes the products of this industry.

To put it briefly, the media, since its early prototypes, were set as commercial enterprises, requiring capital, labour, and other material resources of production and distribution. The way of which the news is produced resembles in many respects to the production of other commodities. The newspapers that give public service with their instructive, informative, decision-making functions are also vulnerable to the circumstances in the market as every industrial product is. Competition for readers and advertising revenue often paved the way for novelties and different profit making enterprises in the newspaper industry. Therefore, it can be argued that the newspaper had two resources of finance - public sales and advertising. But the crucial points is stated by Garnham as:

The most obvious way in which cultural production services the wider system of material production is through advertising. The existence of advertising media and their audiences constructed through the cultural practices of newspapers, magazines, and broadcasting have been essential to the development of modern consumer capitalism (Garnham, 1990: 3).

Most newspapers make nearly all their money from advertising. The income gained from the customer's payment at the newsstand is small in comparison. Publishers of commercial newspapers strive for higher circulation so that advertising in their newspaper becomes more effective,

allowing the newspaper to attract more advertisers and charge more for the service. As the economic circumstances – the need to attract advertising – have impelled newspapers to increase their circulation, methods like promising some prizes and lotteries were introduced. The supplement can also be regarded as one of the methods that the newspapers developed in seeking for different means in order to increase their circulation and advertising revenue.

To put it briefly, more or less regular papers appeared in the 17th century; by 1800, the standards of a free press were established in much of Europe and the US. Since 1900, newspaper publishing worldwide has expanded significantly. This period also witnessed the commercialization of the press gradually. It is possible to explain the evolution of the mentioned development in different ways. As the newspapers did begin to be published regularly and became a profitable product, the newspaper companies produced different methods in order to increase their circulation and income. The Sunday papers and supplements can be mentioned as some of these methods. As it can be seen clearly, the supplements with their various contents can be regarded as indispensable parts for contemporary newspapers, and Turkish press is also a part of this generalisation.

2. 2 Newspaper Supplements in Turkey

As mentioned above, the supplements have been a part of newspapers for a long time and Turkish daily printed press is not an exception. The path the supplements follow in Turkish daily press is somehow similar with the route of the above-mentioned Sunday papers. Before analyzing the current supplements of Turkish daily press, a brief history of the press in Turkey can help to have a clear view about the historical roots and the processes of which the supplements underwent. The social and political transformations of Turkey will also be underlined in order to understand the atmosphere in which the supplements developed. Such a historical background will provide a framework in order to understand the recent supplements of Turkish daily press.

As one of the actors of “cultural construction process” (Gürkan, 2003:158), Turkish press has a history that begins with the first half of the 19th century. However, the introduction of the supplements to this history was in the 1950s, which were also the years of the press becoming an industry. Therefore, it will be useful to underline the basic developments in Turkish press until the 1950s to have a general view.

Even a new technology in printing, the rotary press, was introduced in the first years of Turkish Republic; the financial problems dominated the press between 1923 and 1950. Despite some advantages of low cost and high printing, the entrance of rotary press did not end the need of newspapers for financial support. This support could only be provided by the state that was the most powerful economic actor. Between the years 1923 and 1950, the press needed government subsidies in order to survive. As a result, the press was controlled by government in the single party period like many other institutions of the early republic. At the beginning, the press was supported to ensure its functioning; but in time, such supports have weakened. In this period, the newspapers were published under very difficult conditions; the electricity was insufficient to run the machine so newspaper printing was done using an unmechanised hand press. With the small number of sales and quite few advertising revenues, workers' payments were hardly met. Government subsidies were also not effective in supporting the newspapers since they were unequally distributed due to the power relations between newspaper owners and state. Such economic problems also influenced technical developments, transportation, distribution and marketing as well as the content of the newspaper. Although the newspapers are usually printed on inexpensive, off-white paper known as newsprint, another troublesome problem of Turkish printed press in this period was the paper scarcity (Oral, 1968: 104-105). Because the paper used for printing the newspaper was imported, the prices were quite high and the control was in the hands of the state (Erdoğan, 1997: 386-387, Dalbudak: 19-20). The shortage of the newsprint decreased the number of pages in the newspaper and the circulation. As

well as the launch of radio broadcasting in 1927, the low rate of literacy, which was only 11 percent, also had a severe influence on circulation numbers. Although the literacy rate rose to 20 percent in 1938, the circulation numbers were still quite low until the Second World War.

There were 113 newspapers with a total circulation number of sixty thousand per day in 1941 in Turkey. The leading newspapers of the period were *Cumhuriyet*, *Akşam*, *Tan*, *Vatan*, *Yeni Sabah*, *Tanin*, and *Tasvir-i Efkar*. Each newspaper company had a rotative machine, but as the circulation numbers were around twenty five- thirty thousand these machines were idle except for the rush hours. Even though the machines have the capacity to print five of the leading newspapers at the same time, the owners did not allow it with a fear of news theft (Dalbudak: 22-25). Under the state control, the newspapers of the period were accepted as apparatuses for introducing and disseminating state policies. On the other hand, for the publisher newspaper was a tool, which would provide benefits due to its power of political influence. As it can be seen, the newspaper publication continued under very hard conditions in the single party period. The press endured an important paper scarcity as a result of the Second World War. This led the papers to decrease the number of pages and use smaller type sizes (Oral, 1968: 156-57). Technical inadequacies and shortage of newsprint impeded the newspapers to publish any regular supplement. In addition, the content of the papers were mostly about the political developments of the period. The year 1947 is mentioned as the year of shape reform, almost every paper increased the number of columns per page using smaller type sizes. In addition, Oral states that Turkish press did begin to become a real industry with this year (Oral: 158).

In his study on magazine press, Oktay (1993: 64) states some characteristics of the products of the 1940s and 1950s. He tries to demonstrate the social transformation of the society during the modernization process and its relation with the magazine, focusing on some leading and popular magazines of the period. Until the 1950s, the dominant discourse in the magazines as mentioned by Oktay is the discourse of the

republic, praise to the regime and the chief, modernization and passion of technology, are the popular issues. Emphasizing the importance attached to women issues, Oktay assumes that women were already identified with their consumer character. Oktay also states the instructor tone of these magazines (Oktay, 1993: 45-68).

I think it is neither weird nor irrelevant to assume that the characteristics of the magazines somehow had an effect on the other printed materials like supplements. As both of them are prepared for the leisure time of the reader, Oktay's work will be enlightening for my study in order to understand the basic motivations of the press in those periods. The role this magazines plays for Oktay is giving the reader a runaway possibility to forget daily life. However, one must also mention that the magazines that were taken into consideration by Oktay display diverse characteristics. That is to say, it is not appropriate to evaluate all the magazines as if they were similar in content and style.

2. 2.1 General Characteristics of the Supplements in the 1950s

In the 1950s, import substitution industrialization and modernization in agriculture paved the way for transformation from a rural to an urban society. Between 1950 and 1960, the largest cities of Turkey experienced a 75 percent increase in population. The labour force became qualified and occupations that require technical skills increased through the 1960s. While significant wealth, income, and educational inequalities existed in this period, state and government pursued national developmentalism and tried to include all segments in Turkey in various ways. The economic policies of the state were based on import substitution industrialization, which supported an atmosphere of class consensus and integration of different socio-economic groups into a broader national framework with welfare policies for all socio-economic groups. The conditions of import substitution industrialization provided political and economical stability, and populist democracy helped ease the transformation from a rural society to an urban one (Keyder, 1987, 1999; Işık and Pınarcıoğlu, 2001, Aydın, 2003: 7).

The 1950s could be accepted as a cornerstone in the history of Turkish press. After the 1950 elections, a multiparty period began with the government of the Democrat Party (DP). The decisions of the DP constituted important turning points for a transformation of press. Therefore, according to Özükan, it is possible to examine Turkish press, as before and after the 1950s (1996: 229). With the new government, the economic policy changed from strict statism to mixed economy. Keyder (1999: 165) utilizes the terms 'economic developmentalism' and 'economic liberalisation' for describing the policies of the period. In addition to the tendency for removing the obstacles against the market and capitalism (Keyder, 1999: 172), the Turkish government protected national industry and expanded the bourgeois class. Such changes in the social class structures also influenced the condition of Turkish press.

The foundation of the newspaper *Hürriyet* by Sedat Simavi in May 1948 was one of the formations in the new atmosphere. The peculiarity of *Hürriyet* was its mass circulation press character. Since *Hürriyet* began its publication with 100.000 circulation, the spread of the newspaper nationwide became easier. The opportunity of using the highest technology, and the motto "utmost paper, utmost ink, and utmost circulation" *Hürriyet* gained an increase of 100.000 in circulation. In addition, the paper attached a great importance and space to advertisements of private sectors (Oral, 1968: 153-54).

Erdoğan (1997: 387-388) also mentions the newspapers *Yeni Sabah* and *Hürriyet* as the launcher of American and European style of "modern" journalism with their sensational news and lower quality in content. As it was announced that the free enterprise was going to be supported by the state, the conditions for competition were created. Competition also supported the press by maintaining the suitable circumstances for the growth of advertisement sector. Development in transportation also eased the distribution of newspapers. With the words of Özükan, (1996: 230), from then it was possible to talk about a "mass circulation press" in Turkey. Oral remarks an unprecedented mechanization process in Turkish press

beginning with the 1950s. These years are also stated as modernization and industrialization period of the press. Moreover, Oral claims that these investments could only be realized by the endeavours of partisanship of the political parties (Oral, 1968: 173).

The new printing techniques allowed existing papers to increase their production and circulation. As the circulation rose, the accumulation of capital accelerated and the newspapers entered to the realm of big business. The circumstances that paved the way for the press for industrialization is accepted as a result of the economic and political program of the new government (Gevgilili, 1996; 222). Moreover, Oral claims that the press was the sector that highly benefited from the opportunities of the new economic order in this period (Oral, 1968: 176).

In order to give information about the world war, Turkish papers used ten times more paper and paint than they used previously. In this period, the numbers of the readers, newspapers, and circulations rose remarkably. Since an important source of information for the papers ended, the events of the multi party period gradually became a rich source for the press (Oral, 1968: 176). The years following World War II recorded a growth on daily circulation numbers.

With the increase in the circulation numbers, the publishers attached importance to news, photos, and commentaries in their newspapers. The total number of circulation per day of the newspapers in 1945, which was a hundred and fifty thousand, exceeded half a million in 1955. Massive urban growth has fuelled newspaper readership in the 1950s. In its first year 1948, *Hürriyet's* number of circulation per day is about thirty thousand. The number of circulation per day rose to fifty six thousand in 1949, eighty three thousand in 1950, one hundred thousand in 1951, and then to half a million afterwards. *Hürriyet* became Turkey's most important newspaper through the 1950s with its modern printing techniques. The presentation of supplement with the national newspapers coincides with the above-mentioned developments.

It is plausible to say that the newspaper supplement is a product of the popular Turkish newspapers of this period. Despite the fact that during the Ottoman period, the act of providing supplements for some newspapers, like serials of fiction were accepted usual in order to increase the circulations by some scholars (Soysal, 1996: 223), we don't see any regular supplements served with the newspapers till the 1950s. Similar to the ones in the Ottoman period, supplements were given with the newspaper either as a part of a novel or serials within the pages, which is widely accepted as a usual behaviour to increase sales. In addition, Oral (1968: 102) mentions the additional pages and supplements of Turkish press during the first years of the republic. "Turkish press published special pages and supplements for special days. However, with the republican period, especially the 10th and 15th anniversary year of the republic, we encountered a competition for publishing supplement that has never seen before. While the other big newspapers' supplements were not more than sixty-four pages, the newspaper *Hakimiyet-i Milliye (Ulus)* set a new record by publishing a ninety-six paged supplement. Remarking that it was revolutionary for the Turkish press, Oral (1968: 113) also states that the 15th anniversary supplement of *Hakimiyet-i Milliye (Ulus)* was not free of charge; it was the same price with the paper. Since Oral labels this situation as a revolution, it is appropriate to say that publishing supplement is not a usual trend for the period's papers.

Generally, the newspapers became known and accepted as successful with their head columnists. Unlike this general tendency, *Hürriyet*, with its attention-grabbing news, short articles, and comments, succeeded to be popular. Its success for Gevgilili (1996: 219-220) lies in its ability to appeal to wider classes of the society. The new papers of the period *Hürriyet* and *Milliyet* gave prominence to photographs and magazine news in their contents. These papers with easily digested simple feature stories began to gain high circulation numbers, and gained an important role in the formation of mass circulation press. *Hürriyet*, *Yeni Sabah* and *Milliyet*, with their modern printing techniques and the new journalism policies

became the papers with more than a hundred thousand daily circulations in the second half of the 1950s. The rise in the circulation numbers of the dailies also points a break in the style of journalism. For the higher circulation numbers the papers reconsidered their style in order to be read by a higher part of the population. For that reason as Gevgilili (1996: 222) claims, a standard popular style of journalism became dominant instead of the elitist attitude of the earlier press. As they became increasingly oriented towards a broader public for high circulation numbers significant changes in the nature and content accompanied this tendency. Since the government provided facilities in order to fulfil the necessities of the press for paper and printing machines, the press equipped with automatic typesetting and printing machines. Moreover, sensational news and a new style of journalism that is adapted from Italian, French, and American press did begin to cover the pages of the papers (Oral, 1968: 176).

The struggle for a market economy, development in transportation, the rapid transformation in the urban space and industrialization also reshaped the everyday life. With the spread of cinema and radio, and the influence of press, the urban culture was extended. The rising welfare also created an increasing demand for durable consumer products. In addition, Zürcher (1998: 386) cites an awareness of a western and especially American way of life. Westernization, for Belge (1996: 875-76), became Americanization in particular. Symbols of American way of life also fetched with the other developments related to the Marshall Aid and entrance to NATO. However, all these new patterns and values must be treated as tendencies of urban upper classes. Even modernity and western lifestyle were among the rising values, this statement is not appropriate in terms of lower classes and rural people.

Oskay, who points to the acceleration of social transformation in the 1950s, also underlines the connections of this transformation with the media. He defines the 1950s, when modernization process took advance with both positive and negative aspects as follows: "From 1950s onwards, the rural and urban population rates changed; export-oriented

industrialization policy was adopted. The printing techniques, distribution networks, total circulation numbers, newsgathering technologies, news styles of the newspapers changed. Control mechanisms for radio and latterly for television were maintained in order to guarantee the spread of official thought. On the other hand, record industry; cassettes; ready-made clothing industry; arrangement of work and leisure times, entertainment; various marginal and extraordinary lives and their projections at the television and magazines caused a brand new cultural structure” (Oskay, 1983, 170). Not only daily newspapers but also weekly and monthly magazines started to be read by a widespread population (Erdoğan, 1997: 400). The emergence of American way of life, the rise of anti communism, popularization, and tabloidisation of high culture are the highly regarded issues of the period’s magazines (Oktay, 1993: 70-88). After the 1950s, Turkish press is accepted as the mirror of political diversity, activity, and change especially. Struggles on finding the proper political and economic remedies for social problems took place in newspapers. Under these circumstances, the content of the supplements were also determined according to the necessities of the society.

After a preliminary research about the history of the newspaper supplements in Turkey, it can be seen that only the newspapers with high circulation numbers presented supplements. In the face of competition with technologies such as radio, the newspaper reformed itself with new features like supplements, coupons for various goods and lottery. I chose *Hürriyet*, which has the higher circulation in this period in order to make a deeper analysis of the supplements of the 1950s. I randomly picked supplements among several old editions of the newspaper.

The daily newspaper *Hürriyet* as the circulation leader of national newspapers of the 1950s presents a supplement special to Sundays, *Hürriyet Pazar*. It is a supplement, which is especially organized with a content that would attract the attention of women. *Hürriyet Pazar* consists of four pages; filling its columns with personalities, gossip, scientific marvels, human-interest stories, serialized fiction, verse, illustrations, and comics all

interspersed with an occasional snippet of news. Fashion notes, recipes, and dress patterns were also included. The comics and caricatures cover the first and last pages; crossword puzzle, some magazine news and real life stories take place on the second page. On the third page, there is some historical, geographical information; part of a novel that is presented regularly and finally a test prepared according to the interests of women reader lies on the third page. Except for this supplement special to Sunday, there is no other supplement for the other days of the week. In the rest of the week, the newspaper does not have any supplement but a page with some comic strips, magazine news, and serialized fiction takes place inside the newspaper.

2.2.2 General Characteristics of the Supplements in the 1960 - 1980 Period

The period, which starts after 27 May 1960 and ends with 12 September 1980, is a period that the Turkish society entered a rapid economic development and industrialization. The period between 1960 and 1973 is determined with the industrialization policies. The growth of modern industry was under protection of the state in this period (Keyder, 1999: 264, 277). As for as the position of the bourgeoisie in society;

This class tries to promote a western way of life and the bourgeois worldview in the 1960s, but it was still incapable of asserting competitive individualism instead of traditional collectivism and the corresponding social behaviour. Its hegemonic project was one of rejecting all class-based issues and movements, but was more democratic in political orientation and organization than in the subsequent periods. (Tünay, 1993: 18)

Since the mechanization of agriculture as a policy of 1950s, the migration from rural areas to cities accelerated especially in this period. The inclusion policy was a supportive part of industrialization in order to create labour force for the developing industries. To put it briefly, the cities, especially Istanbul, witnessed a decisive growth in population.

Certainly, this processes has influenced the newspapers. The 1961 Constitution credited some regulations in order to maintain freedom of the press. In line with this policy, reduction in taxes, communication fees like telephone, telegraph and telex, cost of paper, and vehicle's customs was implemented and distribution and the news sources has been provided. The tacit effects of 1961 constitution in the content of the newspapers and the developments in distribution and printing methods caused augmentation of circulation. The newspapers achieved a total circulation number of one million.

Furthermore, with the end of the 1960s the television broadcasting has been established. The introduction of television broadcasting has influenced the newspapers in both content and style. The newspapers developed some methods in order to regain their readers, who are under the attraction of television. In order to appeal readers' attention, regulations about the content, to do so, technological renovations became necessary. The second impact of television was in terms of advertisement incomes. The loss of advertising revenue was a serious peril for the papers. The technological developments necessitate a powerful financial source. On the other hand, newspaper's cost was more than its sale price. The revenue gained at the newsstand could only afford one third of the costs. This loss could only be compensated with certain tax reductions of the state and with the advertisement revenue, which comes from the private sector (Dalbudak, 33-36).

In this period, press was named as 'coloured or boulevard press' which benefits from new offset⁶ technique and produces news that awakens curiosity instead of news that deal with important political events (Gevgilili, 1996: 222-225). Newspapers, especially with high circulation numbers applied different methods to increase the circulation (Soysal, 1996: 223). The 1960s are also labelled as the beginning of lottery period in printed press. Since political and social news covered the newspapers, also comics

⁶ Offset is a printing method that accelerated the printing process in which a printing plate transfers ink to a blanket that in turn transfers the ink to the paper.

and serialised novels began to take place in the content. Another novelty is the sports news becoming an indispensable part of the content first in the newspaper *Vatan* and later *Hürriyet*. *Milliyet* also started to devote its back page for the sports news. In addition to modern technical systems, *Hürriyet* moved to a new building in the centre of Turkish press, Babıâli. Furthermore, *Hürriyet* established a news agency and a distribution service. Oral mentions the establishment of sub publications like the papers *Son*, *Saklambaç*, and *Günaydın* with the late 1960s. These papers were printed with the new offset technique.

Babıali as the centre of the printed press in Turkey witnessed important transformations and commercialization processes of newspaper companies until the 12 March 1971 memorandum. In this period, the papers had reached such circulation numbers: *Cumhuriyet* 160.000, *Akşam* 150.000, *Milliyet* 200.000, *Tercüman* 300.000, *Hürriyet* 600.000, and *Günaydın* 350.000. The daily newspapers introduced the offset. As an outcome, the use of more coloured photographs has influenced the wide masses and the newspapers that were printed with new techniques reached to very large circulations. Also as another outcome, as the papers continued to maintain their commitment to serious political and public affairs coverage they actually increased their coverage of human-interest content (Gevgilili 1996: 222-225). As the political life becomes active, the press also became vividly active. *Hürriyet*, with its advanced printing techniques and popular content, recorded the decade's best sale in the middle of 1960s with the circulation over one million in day. Moreover, Oral claims that with its weekend supplements *Hürriyet* became one of the foremost papers in the world (Oral, 1968: 153-54).

After a ten years period, in 1960s, it is seen that the newspaper *Hürriyet* still presents only a weekend supplement on the day Sunday: *Hürriyet Pazar Extra*. Now the name of the supplement is changed from *Hürriyet Sunday Supplement (Hürriyet Pazar İlavesi)* to *Hürriyet Sunday Extra (Hürriyet Pazar Extra)*. Just like the 1950s, the supplement consists of four pages in the 1960s. The rest of the week, the newspaper does not have

any supplement but there is a page with magazine news and a new feature: a column for horoscope takes place in the newspaper. The interviews with Hollywood figures, some tips about how to renew old fashion clothes, the new fashion of the season, technological improvements that would attract the women reader also takes place in the supplements of the period. It is observed that the content such as columns, horoscope, medical issues, and recipes, which are published in a page of the newspaper during the weekdays in 1950s and 1960s, became a separate supplement gradually. Zeynep Avcı, the creator of the daily supplement *Hürriyet Kelebek*, comments that the reason is the development of magazine news in the newspaper.

Through the end of the 1960s, the economic growth started to slow down. 1970s also witnessed another military intervention. The 1971 memorandum, could not maintain stability in both economy and society. For Keyder (1999: 252) the foreign currency that the workers brought to Turkey also delayed the economic crisis that occurred through the end of 1970s. This crisis, for Tünay (1993: 17) can be traced back to the 1960s, during the rapid capitalist development occurred. Another important point mentioned by Keyder (1999: 252) is the settlement of the new consumption patterns due to the Turkish workers in Europe. The Turkish citizens, who settled abroad, especially in Europe, for occupation, integrated to mass consumption culture quickly and eased the adoption of these patterns in Turkey.

New patterns were not just about consumption, the press also met with new printing techniques. Four-color process and offset printing techniques launched in the 1970s in Turkey, unlike several developed countries. These techniques became common in the 1980s in United States and even in British daily press, the inventor of the offset and as they used the offset, products they produced, the costs were not as high as it was in Turkey. Furthermore, even the offset is used in daily press in many countries the expenses are under control, as they use less colour compared to Turkish press. This technique necessitated imported goods especially in

the beginning and therefore the costs were quite high. Consequently, the newspaper has to compensate the deficit with advertising revenue. And it is expected that as the supplements provide new rooms for advertisements this would provide possibilities for compensating the deficits. The supplements do not increase the costs as it is supposed generally. The cost of newsprint had become a small amount of the general cost. On the contrary, supplement sustains the newspaper with the advertisement revenue. Besides, as most of the supplements do not include daily content generally, they are printed before or after the rush hours when the newspapers are printed. Therefore, they provide a more efficient usage of the printing machines. In the mid-1970s, television has become the primary and cheapest source for information and entertainment in Turkey. As television broadcasting advanced at a nationwide level, it provoked the use of colour and more photographs in press. The technical skills and capital capacity gained utmost importance especially in big press. For the Turkish press, the 1970s was a period when widespread television broadcasting has hindered the increase in the circulation of daily press and managed to capture nearly half of the advertising share of the printed press. As the small newspaper companies with inadequate possibilities suffered from crisis, offset printing technique based upon the most modern printing methods became dominant in the big companies. The increase in the paper prices and the addition of more coloured pages in order to attract the readers' attention has raised the costs. Some of the big newspaper companies that usually benefits from the characteristics of boulevard press also used methods like lottery and promotion in order to attract a wider readership (Gevgilili, 1996; 227).

The press reached important capabilities in newsgathering, printing, a private distribution system within such big investments, and supports of new technological equipments. Consequently, after the daily newspaper's printing hours such an investment needed to use the potential in order to reach the break-even-point and maximize the profits. This resulted as the newspapers, which use the mentioned technology to produce new printed

materials like magazines, on different branches like music, culture, youth, children and even a second newspaper with a light content. The possibility of big press for free advertising through their own publications (cross promotion), and spreading these new publications directly the whole country with their own distribution services, effected the publications that are produced and distributed by smaller companies. Thus, the impact of the capital paved the way for the process of monopolization in the press industry. The one's that cannot comply with these rules could not manage to survive (Dalbudak 37). For that reason, it can be claimed that the supplements did begin to become a *sine qua non* part of the newspapers.

With the 1970s, there are some important changes in both quality and quantity of the newspapers and their supplements. There is still a weekend supplement on Sunday but we also come across to a daily supplement with regional news and advertisements in content. On weekdays and Saturday, we see that there is a supplement '*Hürriyet İstanbul*' with four pages that includes regional news and two pages of advertisements. In addition, there is still a page with some comic strips, magazine news, radio and television guide, horoscope, and a serialized fiction takes place inside the newspaper. With the 1970s this presentation became established after the spread of television broadcasting and a new printing technique 'offset' entered to daily use in Turkish press. With this new technique, the number of copies produced per hour increased and the total time that was spent for printing the newspaper decreased. Consequently, there occurred more free time that can be used for printing other materials, namely, the supplement.

The only weekend supplement of *Hürriyet* '*Hürriyet Pazar*' is still published on Sunday but it increased to eight pages from this day onwards. There are two pages special for the ads, one page for children, and short city news for İstanbul. The Sunday supplement is more news-centred, and we can point that there is more place given to the literary products like poems and novels of contemporary Turkish writers, compared to the former supplements. On the Sunday supplements of 1970s the magazine news,

serialized fiction stories written by a foreign writer and summarized by Doğan Hızlan every Sunday, and a poem written by a famous poet of Turkish literature, and also some poems sent by readers are presented. The news of the third page is generally about Istanbul; advertisements that are usually about real estates and cars for sale, covers two pages of the supplement.

As outlined by Oktay (1993: 89-110), the magazines of the period 1970-1990 deals with symbols of elitism, special places, and fashion. An elitist and incentive tone, oriented towards consumption (Oktay, 1993: 89-110), shape the discourse of these magazines.

2.2.3 General Characteristics of the Supplements in the 1980s and 1990s

The failure of import substitution policies, the lack of foreign currency, high inflation rate, and extreme budgetary deficits caused an economic crisis. The hegemonic crisis with the economic instability led the country to the third intervention in 12 September 1980. 24 January decisions and 1982 constitution were the attempts to re-establish the economic, political, and social order. An authoritarian constitution in 1982 replaced the liberal democratic constitution of 1961 (Tünay, 1993: 20). These regulations were also a turning point for the country. Liberalism and conservatism, namely new right, was the fundamental base for the new regulations. The November 1983 general elections marked the beginning of a very significant era in the history of the country, because the new right, under the political leadership of the Motherland Party (MP), initiated a campaign to solve the ongoing hegemonic crisis (Tünay, 1993: 17). The main characteristic of the post crisis period is a deep transformation of the relationship between state and society. First of all, the state limited its activities in the economic sphere. However, most importantly, the state ceased to act as an umpire for the social relations after the 1980s. (Pınarcıoğlu- Işık, 2001: 34)

The shift to an export promotion development strategy, the reconstitution of law and order, the progressively worsening income

distribution, the emergence of a new type of individualism, and above all, the formation of a new right movement are among the most striking developments leading to the new equilibrium (Tünay, 1993: 11).

The implemented export oriented economic policy, and free market economy, namely, the new liberal economic policies; the bourgeoisie was already extended and strengthened. During this expansion, in the banking, finance, media, housing, and export sectors, the standard of living for many rose remarkably. In addition, the gap between the poor and the rich has also deepened. Competition, individualism, and success in any way were the rising values of the period. As a result, there occurred a profound income polarization in Turkey. Still more importantly, the cultural hierarchies between the rich and the poor became even more sharp and impermeable (Pınarcıoğlu- Işık, 2001: 35).

As a result of the social, economic, and cultural transformations within the last three decades, there has been a significant turn from class-based to identity politics, from ideology to lifestyle, and from mass production to consumption. Identity politics, lifestyle, and consumption have emerged as fundamental forces in the late modern era. Consequently, especially after the 1980s, the cultural aspects of social life (Davis 1982) have increasingly defined social stratification (Aydın, 2003: 6). Turkey is a part of this ongoing transformation.

On the other hand, 20 years following the 1961 constitution, the development that the society endured, also paved the way for freedom of press and diversification in the publications. The press was completely under control of professional generation. The traditional journalistic style was replaced with the news and articles that are based on further investigation and reflection. Special pages did begin to be devoted to particular topics like foreign policy, economy, science, arts and culture and other special features. On the other hand, the gradually rising expenditures and the economic problems of the newspapers as a result of deprivation of advertising revenue also advanced the monopolization process of the press

(Gevgilili, 1996: 227-228). As the press raised the consumption with the help of advertisements, it also gained profit together with the private sectors. Furthermore, as a result of the interdependence between press and private sectors in terms of advertisements, the desire of the private sector for gaining the ownership of the newspapers launched the process of integration of press with the private sector in the 1980s (Özükan, 1996:230).

As the conglomerates did begin to dominate the press industry, an opportunity to renew the printing technology emerged. Changeover to the offset printing system that was introduced in the 1970s became widespread with the 1980s. These investments caused high deficits in companies' budgets that could not be compensated with the previous periods' incomes. Getting state loans appeared as a strong solution. Besides, the struggle for gaining the biggest portion of the advertisement revenue also continued. The result of such efforts was heavy promotion period of the Turkish press (Koloğlu, 1996: 137).

The leading impacts in the formation of press after the 1980s are the control of big business and the tendencies towards monopolization. In the late 1980s, several groups owning more than one newspaper, magazines, their own news agencies, and marketing and trade companies began to emerge in the sector. Koloğlu (1996: 136) points that these groups continuously produced new publications for the market. Moreover, he also adds that this was not a necessity but just a part of the efforts to make the investment profitable. Thus, it became possible to benefit from the printing machines that were idle except the rush hours and, as the possibility to gain more advertisement occurred, they became profitable by producing new mediums for advertisement.

While fifty-six percent of the advertisement revenue was gained from the official ads in 1969, it reduced to 6.8 percent in 1980. That is, newspapers had come to a state that they became very dependent on the sources of the private sector. Furthermore, state subvention for the newsprint was withdrawn in accordance with 24 January decisions in 1980.

The newspapers that could not take the sector's support for advertisement could not manage to survive in the market. There remained only the liberal economy defensive press with the prohibitions of military regime (Koloğlu, 1996: 134).

1980s is also a period that important advancements were made in mass communication. As the coloured broadcast of the television launched, the number, and total duration of the broadcasting were increased. In 1981, the TV broadcasting has already reached the remotest areas of the country. In addition, the numbers of the daily newspapers increased. In addition, the weekly news magazines became a part of the press at this period. In addition, there appears a significant increase in the numbers of monthly, weekly magazines for women and men, youth, art, culture and, politics magazines (Saktanber, 1990: 211-212).

Since the newspapers attempted to make more technological investments, they moved to new buildings at the outer areas of Istanbul, leaving their historical centre, Cağaloğlu (Gür, 1996: 146). These artificial new buildings could be seen as one of the symbols of the change that the Turkish press experienced (Koloğlu, 1996: 143). In the same manner, Türkeş (2001: 157) points out the outcomes of changing economic structure of the press in the 1980s. He states that with large press monopolies' and capital groups' power, the location of authority in the literary fields has changed. Within this new world, for Türkeş,

(o)ld meeting places of literary discussions and moneyless but excited young magazine publishers and writers were replaced by modern plazas, and authorities directing literary products evolved to the upper classes who work as professionals in those showy places.

In press sector, it takes a long time for the high investments to reach the break-even-point and a longer period for making a profit. In addition, because of the primitive distribution system and the double monopoly in production and distribution, the attempts of small entrepreneurs and investors are usually doomed to failure. On the contrary, the existing big

groups with their technological investment did gradually begin to produce more and more publications (Gür, 1996:147-48).

The economic necessities have played an important role over the press's content and societal role. After the 1980s, the economic issues were highly regarded at the national press. Special pages were devoted to the economical issues at the newspapers. The newspaper *Milliyet* has led this by increasing its economy pages to two.

As the Turkish economy was reshaped with the 24 January decisions, the press also underwent transformation. As a result of the stability decisions the subvention on newsprint was abrogated. Afterwards, the cost of newsprint increased and the press faced with important financial problems. During the years 1980-1989, the increase on paper costs was an average of fifty-five percent. This was equal to the period's inflation rate. As a result, advertisements have gained importance. Only the newspapers that gained support from the private sector and the advertisement revenue did manage to survive. However, the advertising revenue did not compensate for the loss that the abrogation of paper subvention caused.

The struggle to maintain or increase their share of the available advertising revenue and higher circulation numbers directed the newspapers towards a very costly promotion war. Thus, the "lottery" or in other words "coupon" journalism emerged. As a result of the promotion campaigns, newspapers like *Milliyet*, *Sabah* and *Türkiye* gained sales over one million. In 1990 the general sale was about 4.5-5 million. However, they could not manage to gain real newspaper readers thus the circulations descended to the old numbers after the promotions were finished. Furthermore, this method was quite expensive and some newspapers have been dragged to the bankruptcies.

Oppression and depolitization policies of 12 September military intervention comprised a new content. The economy broadcasts and economy pages developed in this period. Economy became the focus in

order to maintain the neo-liberal order. The proportion of the news on political and local issues used to cover the 70 percent of the newspaper's coverage in the 1970s, while the photographs, magazine, and sports news used to cover 5 percent. Comparing with the 1980s, Koloğlu (1996: 137-139) mentions a very fundamental structural change. The use of plenty colours, as a result of the increase in magazine news was another factor in the increase of the costs. The Turkish newspapers could not manage to be stable as they are mentioned as the worlds most coloured and advertisement publishing newspapers notwithstanding. It is not possible to say they did manage to form a dialog with their target readers (Koloğlu, 1996: 139). In addition, it was not possible to reach the rural areas with a content that addresses the masses especially with high incomes (Koloğlu, 1996: 137).

Advertising and marketing strategies began to change as well. Previously, advertisements appealed to the general populace, without targeting a specific audience. However, after 1980, according to Öncü (1997), it became important to tailor advertisements to reach particular socio-economic target audiences. Specifically they were designed to appeal to the desires of the upper middle class. Television advertisements constantly emphasized the status of certain consumer goods. In these new advertisements, the models represented the upper class as well educated, smiling, and happy.

Kozanoğlu claims that the daily life at any period of the republican era, did not witness to a change, which was as continuous and fast as it was between the years 1980 and 1990. As every area and every piece that constitutes the daily life, like consumption patterns, ways of entertainment, language, eating habits and sports had been influenced by this fast change, a significant process of diversification was also in company with a process of similarity. The developments in the communication sphere, and some power related preferences, served the possibility of resembling to the western wing of the traditional East-West dilemma. Occidental and European, but more than this an American way of life was effective in

reshaping the society. International food chains have settled in big cities and then spread to the other cities of Turkey while becoming a cultural symbol, which is something more than merely a food culture (Kozanođlu, 1996: 598). The rising values and individualism of the neo-liberal thought that has dominated the 1980s can be an indicator to understand the cultural change of the period.

In the 1980s, as Oktay (1996: 822-823) claims, the clearest characteristic of the cultural life is articulation to the entertainment industry and visualisation. Especially the launch of commercial television channels in the year 1990 has influenced all classes of the society. The fact of visualisation and articulation with entertainment industry also influenced the daily press. Within this general transformation process, the press that is regarded as the fourth estate started to change their purposes and become similar with the television. The anxiety about rating and sale weakened the main ethical principle of newspapers: neutrality. Interpretation and news merged, newspapers and publishers have comprised organic vicinity with politics and business. Media became the agent of agenda setting and as the patronages of the newspapers were under control of the big companies media became an explicit part of the marketing system. Oktay (1996:822-823) also reminds the Sunday articles of the big newspapers' writers that became daily with personal empty fancy contents.

It is observed that there is a daily supplement called *Kelebek* and an extensive supplement *Kelebek Pazar* on Sundays in the 1980s. With the developments in printing techniques, more and bigger photos take place in the supplements. There is a supplement with six pages, named *Kelebek*, which is special to weekdays and *Kelebek Pazar* special to Sundays. It is seen that columns such as horoscope, medical issues and recipes which are published in a page of the newspaper during the weekdays in 1950s and 1960s, moved to a separate supplement of the newspaper gradually. Zeynep Avcı who is the creator of the *Kelebek*, daily supplement of the newspaper *Hürriyet*, comments that the reason is the development of “magazine” news:

Newspaper readership was not rooted enough when the television broadcasting as a new media launched in Turkey. Therefore, when the TV broadcasting spread to all country in 1980s the first generation who read newspaper was about their 50s. And the next generation has grown up with television. Briefly, the population that is formed by a majority of young people did not even have a habit like reading newspaper for getting news. In addition, the history of press in Turkey is quite shorter in comparison with western countries and even China and India. Moreover, the television broadcasting has a great influence on the development of the magazine notion. When the period that the reader was buying newspaper for getting information was over, it was magazine news that gives the reader a new desire for buying newspaper.

These two supplements are also differing in some ways, and similar in others. Sunday supplement is twelve pages while weekday supplement consists of six pages. On the first page of the weekday supplement *Kelebek*, we see some magazine news about popular figures of the day. And some news like “What do men seek in women?” which are prepared for attracting the attention of women reader. When we look at the second page of the daily supplement *Kelebek*, we observe a new feature: novels are presented with photos that are called fotoromance. The third page, titled *Hürriyet Medicine Centre*, has some tips on health issues like tetanus, burn injuries, and ways to quit smoking without getting weight. In addition, there are some new features like answering reader questions about their problems of health. The fourth page has some comic strips and special features for children. Furthermore, on the fifth page, there is beauty, health, and happiness guide with tips for women reader.

On Sunday, we see the supplement *Kelebek Pazar*. It contains more informational content than the daily supplement *Kelebek* does. The regular articles are an important point that deserves attention. In addition to the continued stories – fotoromance -, and crossword puzzles, a column by Aydın Boysan on nutrition issues lay on the pages of the supplement. Furthermore a column written by Halit Kivanç, some historical information and magazine news about the popular singers of the day also takes place. Beauty, health, and happiness guide similar with the daily supplement and comic strips also takes place in Sunday supplement. We see some modest

features like “Guide for Housewife” recipes for cooking omelette, cauliflower, headings like “How to Cut Boiled Eggs”, “For Strengthening the Buttons”, “Knit Yourself, Wear Cheap”, as well as presentation of expensive goods: “Channel’s Newest Perfume is For Sale in Turkey”. As another new feature, underwear products are presented as ‘favourite’ with photos and with their prices.

Magazine supplements that are aimed at women reader for Saktanber (1990: 218-219) are also carriers and founders of conception of a certain type of woman. Such supplements devotes its pages home decoration, tips about housework, recipes, new trends of fashion, make up tricks, gynaecologic information, horoscopes, advice columns, news about sensational love affairs, marriages, murders, and lives of popular figures of show business, singers, models. Sabah, one of the high circulation papers, began to publish a magazine supplement *Melodi* in 1989 with an expression “qualified women paper”. With the words of Saktanber the content of this supplement was similar with the other magazine supplements of the period (Saktanber, 1990: p. 218-219).

In addition, targeting at the women reader, the advertisements in the supplements of 1980s are usually about cleaning materials, they occupy very little spaces, and the total number of advertisements in a supplement is not more than two or three.

Every country has been acquainted with the concept of consumption culture after transition to the free market economy. Consumption culture, which started to be mentioned frequently with the mid 1980s, became the dominant ideology in the 1990’s in Turkey. Its prevalence is related with the reconstruction of daily life and some changes in the structure of the society in the 1980s: However, consumption culture developed parallel to the developments in the production systems in the 1960s. Mass production system was dependent upon the idea of modesty related to the traditional society. 1950s witnessed the rise of American life style both in political, economic, and societal meanings. For Çubukçu, the dominant

understanding of consumption until the 1980s leans on the principles of being satisfied and thrifty. Clothing, food, and drinks were mainly homemade as they have been consumed in house (Çubukçu, 1996: 840).

However, after the 1980s, with new de-regulation economic policies of the new right, role of the state as a mediator and judge was greatly reduced. A small group of upper middle class professionals gradually became connected to global market, and exposed to global consumption and cultural influences (Keyder 1999). As a result of new policies, a considerable proportion of the middle and working class lost their income and welfare provisions, and a new professional group, completely new to the Turkish socio-cultural context, appeared after the 1980s (Kozanoğlu, Bali). And the result was increasing social inequality among different social classes in Turkey. It is this new pattern of social stratification, which has an emphasis on consumption and lifestyle. (Aydın, 2003: 7)

In Turkey, newspaper ownership is not esteemed as a profitable investment. That is why the major press groups have investments in other profitable areas. Therefore, after a period of dependence on the subsidies provided by the state, the newspapers today have become the subject of the profit motive of the private sector thus aiming to increase their revenues through advertisements and by promoting sales through lotteries and games. The rise of the number of popular newspapers that devote much space to coloured photographs and soft news items is another outcome of the profit seeking motivation of capitalism (İnal, 1992:68). After the end of import substitution industrialization policies, especially with the mid 1980s, as a result of the implemented economic policies, free market economy accelerated. Since the amounts of the goods increased and diversified the advertisements gained more importance. Consequently, with the 1990s the advertisement revenue became an indispensable part of the Turkish media. Witnessing the death of more than one daily in the past decade, in the competitive newspaper market supplements can be claimed as a strategy to recapture the declining share of advertising revenues especially with the emergence of private television broadcasting.

The tendencies towards commercialization and concentration in the media industry gives rise to the increase in the advertisement in order to multiply advertising revenue, and the struggle for circulation blurred the line between news and entertainment. The break from political patronage and the invention of modern kind of newspaper production, distribution, and consumption as a common response to the new media, like television, which was eroding the readership, were to recast the image of newspaper by using more colours and coloured pictures.

In breaking from established newspaper practices, which were key to the process and overall ideological texture of party politics, the editors and publishers in a certain sense de-politicized the making and consuming of newspapers. Yet through this new content, they re-politicized the whole process in another sense. The new limits were set by capitalist character of the media industry in the face of a changing political economy. According to Bali, similar to yuppies in the United States, a new upper class developed under the new neo-liberal economic policies after 1980. They were young, well educated, and ambitious white-collar professionals, who worked in the banking, stock exchange, finance, and advertisement sectors. Bali reports that after 1980, educated young women also became part of this new class. So, both husband and wife worked in well paid jobs, and that created new lifestyles, tastes and social spaces. They were influenced by western lifestyles as some of them completed their education in western universities. Accordingly, through the 1980s and 1990s, many luxurious restaurants, cafes, and bars opened in upper class neighbourhoods, to accommodate the new upwardly mobile young people. In addition, new shopping centres such as Galleria, Akmerkez, Migros, and Capitol opened as well as international food chain restaurants. In addition to most famous American and European chain restaurants, another development was the increasing number of the exotic local cuisines such as, Chinese, Japanese, and Mexican restaurants in big cities and especially in Istanbul.

Bali argues that at the end of the 1990s there had been fundamental changes in the behaviour and appearance of people in Turkey. These

changes in the appearance for some, such as the national daily newspaper editor Ertuğrul Özkök, were indicators of the success of modern Turkey, that our girls and boys look more beautiful and more handsome than in the past. Column writers of the leading national daily newspapers such as *Milliyet*, *Sabah*, and *Hürriyet* regularly wrote about those rising trends and values of the new upper class and their lifestyle. Bumin (1998: 21) mentioning the new trend in the newspapers, the columnists attempt as “act of essay writing as a hobby”, criticizes this tendency since the columnists devote columns to their private life issues like love.

Parallel changes occurred in the content of media products as well. Öncü (1997) notes that food-related subjects did not occupy much space in newspapers and magazines before 1980. From time to time, a small column about cooking was kept for women readers. However, after 1980s, new magazines on food, restaurants, and fashion began to appear. The media increasingly covered lifestyles in their columns, and all the television channels covered food-related topics.

Another point that we became particularly familiar in the 1990s (the first case that I have come across was in the *Kelebek* of the year 1992) is the news features on the presentation of products given with their main properties, photographs, and prices. In addition to the advertising space in the supplements, this sort of news can be considered as informal or clandestine advertisements.

The mentioned formations in economic and cultural spheres impinged on the supplements as well as the press. In the late 1990s beside the weekday supplement *Yeni Kelebek* there are two different weekend supplements for Saturday: *Hürriyet Tatil* and Sunday: *Hürriyet Pazar*. In 1995, we see that there is a new supplement *TV Kelebek* on Fridays. Therefore, there were three supplements of the newspaper; *TV Kelebek* on Fridays; *Hürriyet Tatil* on Saturdays; and *Hürriyet Pazar* on Sundays. When we consider the current supplements of *Hürriyet*, there are supplements about special issues named *Bilim* (Science), *e.yaşam* (e.life), *Otoyaşam*

(Autolife), *Seyahat* (Travel), and also *Hürriyet Cumartesi* and *Hürriyet Pazar*.

The same tendency, diversification and increase in the numbers of the supplements, is relevant for the other newspapers. Zafer Mutlu, the editor of *Sabah*, mentions the big transformation that the paper undergoes: "Sabah became a more qualified newspaper with its new supplement Sabah Extra" (Bumin, 1998: 186). Mutlu uses the mentioned expression for announcing the new Sunday supplement *Sabah Extra*. Bumin also points the new economic supplements of *Sabah*, which is composed of with the "remains" (1998: 186) of the economy pages of the main paper:

Lately, there is something happening in the economy pages of the newspapers. There occurred pages titled as "special" sector page, in the paper *Sabah*. Nowadays, suitable with the season, air conditioners are on the front plan. On these pages, there lie some technical articles besides the ads. Although there is an exciting relation between the articles and ads, there is not any notice on the articles as if they are advertisements (Bumin, 1998: 21-27).

As the newspapers started to devote more place for the advertisements, they created new areas like supplements that serve as an advertisement medium and even publish supplements at the guidance of the advertiser companies. As the editors of the supplements mentioned, the supplements are designed especially for weekend with an assumption as, the reader should have more free time for reading it. As it is believed, the reader should spent more time for reading the newspaper and its extensions, the weekend supplements cover more news as well as ads compared to any weekday supplement. As the interviews conducted with the editors and the clear increase in the circulation numbers confirm, more people buy newspaper in the weekends than the weekdays. Readership figures are higher than circulation figures because one copy is generally read by more than one person.

The daily press, comprising more than twenty national papers is one of the most important institutions of civil society in contemporary Turkey. Today supplements are conventional parts of newspapers in Turkey.

Newspapers present supplements under various titles and with different contents on different days of the week. They are printed regularly; once a week, everyday, weekends or weekdays, published by a newspaper, produced by the staff of newspaper and presented with the newspaper. Supplements are usually in the same format with the newspaper itself: they contain regular columns and news, pages separated with headings like fashion, health, life, travel, gusto, and interview. The number of pages that a supplement has differs to the newspaper and the day. Usually the weekday supplements have pages between 8 and 12. And the number of pages that a weekend supplement has differs between 20 and 32. The weekday supplements of the Turkish newspapers are generally aimed at women with their magazine content. The other supplements that are published on special days are generally based on advertisements.

Certain press groups have the ownership and economic control of more than one newspaper. Besides the growth of press concentration in Turkey, another key change is the integration of the press into other business enterprises. That is also related to the aspect that newspaper ownership is not respected as a profitable investment. That is why the major press groups also have investments in financial and industrial sectors. The rewards of newspaper ownership cannot be defined solely in terms of profits but also guarding the concerns of the related sectors. Especially after a long period of dependence on the subsidies provided by the state for development, today newspapers became subject to pressures of large-scale business. The newspapers of the private sector today aims to increase their revenues through advertisement income and circulation numbers. The rise of the number of the popular newspapers that devote much space to coloured photographs and soft news items is another outcome of the competition in the sector (İnal, 1992:68).

The economic, political, and ideological transformations that took place all around the world in the 1980s have surely affected Turkey. The new right ideologies based on liberal thought, free market economy, globalization and privatization policies gradually influenced the whole world

and Turkey. Especially with the 1990s, we began to see these transformations in the media industry, as one of the fields that are surely influenced by the transformation in the 1980s. The transformation experienced mostly in 1990s was a result of the end of state monopoly, entrance of conglomerates to market, constitution of private radio and TV channels, the competition over the ownership of the media. The goal of profit predominate the function of public service related to the economic circumstances. As a result, such a reconstruction in media also affected the products, including the newspaper supplements. Tabloidisation, the blurring boundaries between marketing, and the media, the increase of the lifestyle in the media texts are some of these results mentioned by scholars.

After this transformation in the media industry, we faced with some diversifications in the supplements. The numbers and pages of the newspaper supplements increased. Moreover, the newspapers established special departments with a special crew that organize the supplements. The weekend supplements have been accompanying Turkish daily newspapers until the rise of mass circulation press. In conjunction with the economic purposes relevant to its emergence, the supplements are cultural products. As an output of media industry, to analyse the content of the supplements with reference to the role of media as a tool for producing and reproducing the meanings circulating in the society deserves attention.

The ancestors of the regular newspaper supplements which we are familiar today are products of the mass circulation press. The formation of mass circulation press in Turkey can be dated as early 1950s, which is also the period the newspapers became parts of an industry. Secondly, after 1980, there is an increase in the number of the supplements. Especially with the end of 1980s, the number of pages increased as the content of the supplements diversified. The collections of “soft” news, in terms of journalism, human-interest stories, personalities, cultural reviews, advice columns, and the like-, which had traditionally been scattered throughout the paper, are gathered in the supplements. And finally, becoming an

indispensable part of the newspapers, these supplements did begin to present more advertisement.

In his commentary on market-driven journalism, Hallin (1991:221-228) mentions the pressures over the print media towards commercialization: “The results of this shift are plain to see in any media product, through their extent varies considerably. They include shorter stories, colour and graphics, and a shift in the news agenda away from traditional ‘public affairs’ and towards lifestyle features and ‘news you can use’.”

The crucial function of the mass media for Smythe (1978) is not to sell packages of ideology to consumers, but audiences to advertisers. Similarly, Hartley (1982: 130) mentions: (. . .) one of the commodities the newspapers like to produce is readers. Unable to survive at a price people can afford to pay without including advertising newspapers delivers readers to advertisers”. Featherstone, for the same reason, mentions the construction of new markets and the ‘education’ of publics to become consumers through advertising and other media. (1991: 14)

These two tendencies, namely, the competition for more circulation and more advertising revenue bring about crucial leanings towards commercialisation in newspapers. The need to entertain readers with different standpoints and social lives in addition to the promotion of particular perspectives reshaped the editorial content of the papers. As the rising feature of newspaper content “lifestyle” fitted comfortably with the suitable medium, the supplements, the lifestyle supplements became another consequence of the above-mentioned leanings. Lifestyle sections are often alleged to serve as not only staging grounds for the commercialization of the news, but also as one of the means through which marketing techniques have successfully permeated editorial decisions and routines.

The available information revealed different trends in the histories of newspaper supplements. In the early years of the newspapers, the

supplements were irregular parts. As the printing technology developed, the role of the supplements as indispensable parts of the newspapers changed to that of a guide for the women reader. However, with the restructuring of the Turkish media landscape within the last decades the supplements became a mere promotional tool in the service of advertising revenue. Besides providing an extra income for the newspaper companies, these supplements can be evaluated as carriers of a specific worldview within their content that contributes to the formation and maintenance of consumption patterns.

The change is towards tabloidisation, namely, promotional news in content. To put it briefly, the appearance, content and attitude of newspaper supplements are about to change as an outcome of these changes. The weekend supplements with attractive, readable, and informative lifestyle sections becoming similar with the magazines. As a concluding remark, we can state that the women pages within the newspapers that were prepared to attract the women reader gradually turned out to be advertisement based lifestyle guides.

Hartley (1982, 1996) directs our attention to the meanings circulating via popular journalism. "Here and now the emphasis is not on public life but private meaning and the readership has morphed from: male to female, old to young, militant to private, governmental to consumerist, law-making to identity-forming".

The industrial basis, the dependency on advertising, and the extent of newspaper's circulation are the indicatives of the press' "mass" character. Due to the changing conditions of the press and the media in general, the newspaper's weekend supplements, as a cultural commodity and a product of the mass circulation press in Turkey had been subjected to some changes from the moment they first appeared in the 1950s until now. In the early years of the newspapers, the supplements were irregular parts of the newspapers. As the printing technology developed, the role of the supplements as indispensable parts of the newspapers changed to that of a

guide for the women reader. The weekend supplements of 1950s can be accepted as an extended version of the women's pages within the newspapers. With their magazine-intense content these supplements can be regarded as "women's supplements" until the 1990s. While the magazine news in the newspapers and their supplements also provides information about the lifestyles of the popular figures, the appearance of news on lifestyle issues is witnessed in the 1990s in the newspapers and their supplements. However, within the last decades the supplements became a mere promotional tool in the service of advertising revenue. To reach the masses and the potential customer companies, the newspapers developed certain methods. Therefore, the supplements diversified and spread to weekdays, as well as weekends.

Competition with TV, search for economic benefit, novelty, and need for being up to date or informing, can all be stated as reasons for the presence of the supplements. Whatever the intent may be, especially the reorganization and expansion of the supplements with new features and sections with titles like "gourmet", "marine", "aviation", "collection", or "pet" might be indicators of different parameters. One must acknowledge the fact that social trends, fashion, and the texture of metropolitan life had become more visible with the advent of these sorts of sections as components of newspaper coverage. In his work "Magazin Tarihi" Ahmet Oktay states the introduction of the notion lifestyle to the publishing industries with the magazines of 1950s. While "lifestyles" might have made earlier appearances as an organizing principle for magazines catered for specialized audiences, one might argue that by the creation of this feature as information about lifestyles in the "general interest" newspaper grants the notion a further legitimacy. Lifestyles became a dominant content in media products especially with the introduction of "private lives" in television programmes, magazine pages and unavoidably in the newspapers. Since the scope of entertainment extended and mass media products as an important part of leisure time activities began to include lifestyles, the notion of media once again, becomes debatable. Through a deeper analysis of the

supplements, I would try to highlight the lifestyle content in the supplements and sections of the newspapers related to my research question.

CHAPER III

NEWSPAPER SUPPLEMENTS IN TURKEY

Newspaper industry, the oldest form of mass media in Turkey plays an important role in society as a source of news and information as well as a commercial entity linking advertisers and consumers. As already stated in the previous chapter, it constitutes a heavily concentrated market. Today most daily papers are part of large industrial and or financial groups and became profitable businesses. Since, newspapers are operating under a monopolistic market structure economies of scope exist in newspaper production, circulation, and advertising, creating significant barriers to new competitors. Under the circumstances of such a severe competition, all daily newspapers are tended or obliged to give one or more supplements (See Table I).

Table I - Supplements of Recent Daily Newspapers

DOĞAN MEDIA GROUP			
HÜRRİYET	MİLLİYET	RADİKAL	POSTA
Kelebek	Milliyet Cumartesi	Radikal Kitap	Posta Alışveriş
Hürriyet Cuma	Milliyet Pazar	Radikal Cumartesi	Pazar Postası
Hürriyet Cumartesi	İnsan Kaynakları	Radikal İki	Bulmaca
Hürriyet Cumartesi Extra			
Hürriyet Pazar			
Seyahat			
Otoyaşam			
e-yaşam			
Bilim			
Hürriyet İK			

Table I (Continued)

T MEDIA		ASLI NEWSPAPER		
SABAH	TAKVİM	AKŞAM	GÜNEŞ	HALKA VE OLAYLARA TERCUMAN
Günaydın	Papatya	Pencere	Güneş Junior	İnci
Cuma Sabah		Cumartesi		
Cumartesi Sabah		Pazar		
Sabah Pazar				
İşte İnsan				

CUMHURİYET FOUNDATION	STAR MEDIA AND PUBLICATIONS INC.	BAĞIMSIZ GAZETECİLER PUBLICATION INC.
CUMHURİYET	STAR	VATAN
Strateji	Star Extra	Vatan Çikolata
Cumhuriyet Kitap	Star Box	Pazar Vatan
Bilim Teknik		Vatan Moda
Pazar Dergi		Vatan Güzel Evim

KOZA İPEK NEWSPAPER & PUBLICATION	FEZA NEWSPAPER	SES PUBLICATION
BUGÜN	ZAMAN	BİRGÜN
Melodi	Spor Vizyon	Birgün Pazar
Cumartesi	Turkuaz	Birgün Kitap
Pazar		

The supplements given by Turkish newspapers can be classified in three major categories. In the first category there is the regular supplements given during the weekdays. Secondly, there are weekly thematically

diversified supplements published on certain days of the week and finally there are occasional supplements organised around specific themes such as “decoration”, “technology”, “cosmetics” etc. often sponsored by the producers of certain products.

3.1 Contents of Newspaper Supplements in Turkey

As already stated, today all major daily papers give one or more than one supplement on weekends. Moreover, some newspapers give regular supplements even during the weekdays. A complete list of the supplements of the Turkish dailies is given above. As seen from the list, it is the daily *Hürriyet*, which gives the highest and most diversified number of titles. Besides, *Kelebek* which is given on weekdays and specialised in news on magazine events and gossip, *Hürriyet* gives *Seyahat*, *Otoyaşam*, *e-yaşam*, *Bilim*, *Hürriyet İK*, respectively designed for specific audiences on issues of travel, cars, internet, science, and job opportunities. As can easily be understood, all of these supplements’ contents are contemplated to meet specific advertisers and demands. Moreover, *Hürriyet* gives three weekends supplement, namely, *Hürriyet Cumartesi*, *Hürriyet Cumartesi Extra* and *Hürriyet Pazar*, which are among the supplements scrutinized in this study.

The decision to launch out a new supplement is almost always presented as the provision of a new service to the readers. But it is clear that the actual decision is taken by the managerial board which weighs the benefits against the anticipated costs. This can be easily deduced from the fact that when a decision is taken to suppress the publication of a certain supplement is announced; the financial difficulties to recapture the return on investment are evoked. The supplements have their own editorial cadres in general under the supervision of a chief editor or a publication coordinator. But, in the big media groups, they may enjoy the support of all the editorial staff of the group and thus make use of the stocked news or other editorial material.

3.1.1 Quantitative Analysis of the Weekend Supplements

As already stated, within the scope of this thesis weekend supplements of seven dailies, namely, *Akşam (Cumartesi, Pazar)*, *Hürriyet (Cumartesi, Cumartesi Extra, Pazar)*, *Milliyet (Cumartesi, Pazar)*, *Posta (Alışveriş, Pazar Postası)*, *Sabah (Cumartesi, Pazar Aktüel)*, *Vatan (Çikolata, Pazar)* and *Zaman (Turkuaz)*, contents are analyzed for a successive time period of four weeks. The supplements chosen for analysis are the supplements of Turkey's highest circulation dailies, aimed at a wide range of reader.

In this respect the very first observation that merits mentioning is that there is no predetermined number of pages for these supplements which are almost all broadsheets. Actually, the number of pages vary-from eight to twenty pages- according to the amount of pages devoted to advertisements. This is confirmed by all the interviewed editors. Today the supplements have their own editors, writers, columnists apart from the main paper's staff. The number of employees diversifies between eight and twenty-five related to the number of the supplements that the newspapers publish. Merely this situation explains the importance attached to the supplements by the newspaper firms. Contents of all newspapers are made up of editorial content and advertisements.

Moreover, interviewed editors claimed that the *raison detre* of the supplements were to increase the advertisement revenue of the newspaper. Therefore, having an insight as to the space devoted to advertisements seems necessary for healthy evaluations. Table II shows the distribution of the content between proper editorial content and the advertisements. The table indicates that in almost all supplements there is an equal ratio as to the space devoted to advertisements and proper editorial content. In other words, all supplements devote half of their space to advertisements and announcements. It is interesting to note here that a special attention is given

Table II - The Distribution According to Advertising and Editorial Space

Date	Newspaper Supplement	Total Page (unit)	Total Space (cm2)	Distribution			
				Advertising Space		Editorial Space	
				Space (cm2)	%	Space (cm2)	%
04.06.2005	Hürriyet Cumartesi	18	36.000	13.769	38,25%	20.581	57,17%
11.06.2005	Hürriyet Cumartesi	16	28.800	13.799	47,91%	13.721	47,64%
18.06.2005	Hürriyet Cumartesi	24	43.200	20.656	47,81%	22.013	50,96%
25.06.2005	Hürriyet Cumartesi	20	36.000	16.074	44,65%	18.875	52,43%
Monthly Average		19,50	36.000,00	16.074,50	44,65%	18.797,50	52,22%
04.06.2005	Hürriyet Cumartesi Extra	16	28.800	13.603	47,23%	14.877	51,66%
11.06.2005	Hürriyet Cumartesi Extra	20	36.000	18.820	52,28%	16.001	44,45%
18.06.2005	Hürriyet Cumartesi Extra	18	32.400	16.211	50,03%	15.439	47,65%
25.06.2005	Hürriyet Cumartesi Extra	18	32.400	15.054	46,46%	16.470	50,83%
Monthly Average		18,00	32.400,00	15.922,00	49,14%	15.696,75	48,45%
05.06.2005	Hürriyet Pazar	28	50.400	18.892	37,48%	30.475	60,47%
12.06.2005	Hürriyet Pazar	28	50.400	17.317	34,36%	30.954	61,42%
19.06.2005	Hürriyet Pazar	28	50.400	18.804	37,31%	31.600	62,70%
26.06.2005	Hürriyet Pazar	28	50.400	18.996	37,69%	30.116	59,75%
Monthly Average		28,00	50.400,00	18.502,25	36,71%	30.786,25	61,08%

Table II (continued)

04.06.2005	Akşam Cumartesi	12	21.600	8.051	37,27%	12.924	59,83%
11.06.2005	Akşam Cumartesi	12	21.600	7.837	36,28%	12.656	58,59%
18.06.2005	Akşam Cumartesi	12	21.600	8.577	39,71%	10.691	49,50%
25.06.2005	Akşam Cumartesi	12	21.600	4.550	21,06%	16.211	75,05%
Monthly Average		12,00	21.600,00	7.253,75	33,58%	13.120,50	60,74%

05.06.2005	Akşam Pazar	16	28.800	6.957	24,16%	21.027	73,01%
12.06.2005	Akşam Pazar	16	28.800	8.668	30,10%	19.031	66,08%
19.06.2005	Akşam Pazar	16	28.800	7.820	27,15%	20.338	70,62%
26.06.2005	Akşam Pazar	16	28.800	8.085	28,07%	19.347	67,18%
Monthly Average		16,00	28.800,00	7.882,50	27,37%	19.935,75	69,22%

04.06.2005	Milliyet Cumartesi	22	39.600	16.788	42,39%	20.886	52,74%
11.06.2005	Milliyet Cumartesi	20	36.000	15.300	42,50%	18.985	52,74%
18.06.2005	Milliyet Cumartesi	20	36.000	15.300	42,50%	19.985	55,51%
25.06.2005	Milliyet Cumartesi	18	32.400	14.005	43,23%	17.084	52,73%
Monthly Average		20,00	36.000,00	15.348,25	42,63%	19.235,00	53,43%

04.06.2005	Milliyet Pazar	22	39.600	17.371	43,87%	20.795	52,51%
12.06.2005	Milliyet Pazar	26	46.800	23.139	49,44%	21.888	46,77%
19.06.2005	Milliyet Pazar	24	43.200	17.300	40,05%	24.770	57,34%
26.06.2005	Milliyet Pazar	24	43.200	20.500	47,45%	20.618	47,73%
Monthly Average		24,00	43.200,00	19.577,50	45,32%	22.017,75	50,97%

Table II (continued)

04.06.2005	Posta Alışverişi	16	28.800	14.483	50,29%	12.828	44,54%
11.06.2005	Posta Alışverişi	16	28.800	15.400	53,47%	12.502	43,41%
18.06.2005	Posta Alışverişi	16	28.800	16.347	56,76%	10.046	34,88%
25.06.2005	Posta Alışverişi	10	18.000	9.570	53,17%	8.633	47,96%
Monthly Average		14,50	26.100,00	13.950,00	53,45%	11.002,25	42,15%
05.06.2005	Posta Pazar Postası	16	28.800	13.037	45,27%	13.650	47,40%
12.06.2005	Posta Pazar Postası	16	28.800	15.887	55,16%	12.057	41,86%
19.06.2005	Posta Pazar Postası	20	36.000	21.447	59,58%	14.661	40,73%
26.06.2005	Posta Pazar Postası	14	25.200	13.177	52,29%	10.861	43,10%
Monthly Average		16,50	29.700,00	15.887,00	53,49%	12.807,25	43,12%
04.06.2005	Sabah Cumartesi	24	43.200	20.532	47,53%	21.061	48,75%
11.06.2005	Sabah Cumartesi	24	43.200	21.600	50,00%	20.013	46,33%
18.06.2005	Sabah Cumartesi	24	43.200	23.500	54,40%	18.288	42,33%
25.06.2005	Sabah Cumartesi	24	43.200	17.565	40,66%	23.835	55,17%
Monthly Average		24,00	43.200,00	20.799,25	48,15%	20.799,25	48,15%
05.06.2005	Sabah Aktüel Pazar	28	50.400	23.705	47,03%	25.226	50,05%
12.06.2005	Sabah Aktüel Pazar	28	50.400	26.135	51,86%	24.122	47,86%
19.06.2005	Sabah Aktüel Pazar	28	50.400	25.135	49,87%	23.666	46,96%
26.06.2005	Sabah Aktüel Pazar	28	50.400	22.275	44,20%	26.786	53,15%
Monthly Average		28,00	50.400,00	24.312,50	48,24%	24.950,00	49,50%

Table II (continued)

04.06.2005	Vatan Çikolata	16	28.800	13.359	46,39%	14.287	49,61%
11.06.2005	Vatan Çikolata	20	36.000	16.154	44,87%	18.019	50,05%
18.06.2005	Vatan Çikolata	20	36.000	17.209	47,80%	17.318	48,11%
25.06.2005	Vatan Çikolata	16	28.800	13.845	48,07%	13.465	46,75%
Monthly Average		18,00	32.400,00	15.141,75	46,73%	15.772,25	48,68%
05.06.2005	Vatan Pazar	20	36.000	18.368	51,02%	16.869	46,86%
12.06.2005	Vatan Pazar	24	43.200	21.427	49,60%	19.215	44,48%
19.06.2005	Vatan Pazar	22	39.600	19.610	49,52%	17.415	43,98%
26.06.2005	Vatan Pazar	20	36.000	16.335	45,38%	19.665	54,63%
Monthly Average		21,50	38.700,00	18.935,00	48,93%	18.291,00	47,26%
04.06.2005	Zaman Turkuaz	20	34.800	8.934	25,67%	24.848	71,40%
11.06.2005	Zaman Turkuaz	20	34.800	7.791	22,39%	24.264	69,72%
18.06.2005	Zaman Turkuaz	20	34.800	9.196	26,43%	23.238	66,78%
26.06.2005	Zaman Turkuaz	20	34.800	8.640	24,83%	24.416	70,16%
Monthly Average		20,00	34.800,00	8.640,25	24,83%	24.191,50	69,52%

to compound a piece of advertisement with an editorial content related to advertised good or service. In this connection, there is not any significant difference between Saturday and Sunday supplements.

As the editorial content is composed of photographs, illustrations and the written content, Table III is designed to show the space distribution of the editorial content. It is clearly seen that photographs comprise a large space of the editorial content. At least about one third of the editorial space is devoted to photographs and illustrations. This proportion amounts to more than fifty percent in some newspaper as it is the case for *Posta*.

The written editorial content is divided into two categories, namely, the news columns and comments and analysis devoted to opinions of columnists or other occasional contributors. The classification of the 1035 news items in the studied fifty-six exemplars according to the subject matters that they treated are made below under twenty seven heading. 1) News of the magazine events and interviews, 2) Food and Drinking, 3) Health and Beauty, 4) Culture and Arts, 5) Societal Problems, 6) Fashion & Decoration, 7) Music, Books & Movies, 8) Travel, 9) Living - Outdoor Activities, 10) Promotional News, 11) Science & Technology, 12) Childcare, 13) Sexuality, 14) Pet, 15) Sports, 16) Relationships, 17) Collection, 18) Marine, 19) Aviation, 20) Automobile, 21) Kid's page, 22) Quiz, 23) TV Guide, 24) Cartoon Strip, 25) Advice Column, 26) Horoscope, 27) Other.

Magazine news are the news about the celebrities mostly of the show business like film actresses, actors, singers and sportspersons. Interviews with such persons are also a frequent feature in the news content. Such news need to be the event of the moment. In other words, news selection and reporting is not sensitive to the current events. As a matter of fact, interviewed declare that often those news reports on celebrities can not find space in the proper newspaper itself on the weekday are given in the weekend supplements. News of love affairs or who goes out with whom is a privileged news item of the supplements. Normally they should be

Table III - The Distribution of the Editorial Content

Date	Newspaper Supplement	Editorial Space (cm2)	Distribution				
			Photographs & Illustrations			Verbal Content	
			Unit	Space (cm2)	%	Space (cm2)	%
04.06.2005	Hürriyet Cumartesi	20.581	64	6.470	31,44%	14.111	68,56%
11.06.2005	Hürriyet Cumartesi	13.721	47	3.945	28,75%	9.776	71,25%
18.06.2005	Hürriyet Cumartesi	22.013	48	5.395	24,51%	16.618	75,49%
25.06.2005	Hürriyet Cumartesi	18.875	54	5.276	27,95%	13.599	72,05%
Monthly Avarage		18.797,50	53,25	5.271,50	28,04%	13.526,00	71,96%
04.06.2005	Hürriyet Cumartesi Extra	14.877	39	5.090	34,21%	9.789	65,80%
11.06.2005	Hürriyet Cumartesi Extra	16.001	46	4.883	30,52%	11.118	69,48%
18.06.2005	Hürriyet Cumartesi Extra	15.439	42	5.007	32,43%	10.432	67,57%
25.06.2005	Hürriyet Cumartesi Extra	16.470	48	5.438	33,02%	11.032	66,98%
Monthly Avarage		15.696,75	43,75	5.104,50	32,52%	10.592,75	67,48%
05.06.2005	Hürriyet Pazar	30.475	84	8.175	26,83%	22.300	73,17%
09.06.2005	Hürriyet Pazar	30.954	66	8.015	25,89%	22.939	74,11%
19.06.2005	Hürriyet Pazar	31.600	103	9.258	29,30%	22.342	70,70%
26.06.2005	Hürriyet Pazar	30.116	73	8.159	27,09%	21.957	72,91%
Monthly Avarage		30.786,25	81,50	8.401,75	27,29%	22.384,50	72,71%
04.06.2005	Akşam Cumartesi	12.924	51	4.268	33,02%	8.656	66,98%
11.06.2005	Akşam Cumartesi	12.656	43	4.025	31,80%	8.631	68,20%
18.06.2005	Akşam Cumartesi	10.691	36	3.893	36,41%	6.798	63,59%
25.06.2005	Akşam Cumartesi	16.211	58	6.940	42,81%	9.271	57,19%
Monthly Avarage		13.120,50	47,00	4.781,50	36,44%	8.339,00	63,56%

Table III (continued)

05.06.2005	Akşam Pazar	21.027	58	7.469	35,52%	13.558	64,48%
09.06.2005	Akşam Pazar	19.031	57	6.136	32,24%	12.895	67,76%
19.06.2005	Akşam Pazar	20.338	51	8.042	39,54%	12.296	60,46%
26.06.2005	Akşam Pazar	19.347	61	9.964	51,50%	9.383	48,50%
Monthly Avarage		19.935,75	56,75	7.902,75	39,64%	12.033,00	60,36%
04.06.2005	Milliyet Cumartesi	20.886	91	6.250	29,92%	14.656	70,17%
11.06.2005	Milliyet Cumartesi	18.985	81	5.471	28,82%	13.514	71,18%
18.06.2005	Milliyet Cumartesi	19.985	87	5.760	28,82%	14.225	71,18%
25.06.2005	Milliyet Cumartesi	17.084	71	4.692	27,46%	12.392	72,54%
Monthly Avarage		19.235,00	82,50	5.543,25	28,82%	13.696,75	71,21%
05.06.2005	Milliyet Pazar	20.795	56	5.057	24,32%	15.738	75,68%
09.06.2005	Milliyet Pazar	21.888	60	5.751	26,27%	16.137	73,73%
19.06.2005	Milliyet Pazar	24.770	70	6.441	26,00%	18.339	74,04%
26.06.2005	Milliyet Pazar	20.618	47	6.598	32,00%	14.020	68,00%
Monthly Avarage		22.017,75	58,25	5.961,75	27,08%	16.058,50	72,93%
04.06.2005	Posta Alış - Veriş	12.828	66	6.833	53,27%	6.495	50,63%
11.06.2005	Posta Alış - Veriş	12.502	60	6.090	48,71%	6.412	51,29%
18.06.2005	Posta Alış - Veriş	10.046	48	4.878	48,56%	5.168	51,44%
25.06.2005	Posta Alış - Veriş	8.633	41	3.558	41,21%	5.075	58,79%
Monthly Avarage		11.002,25	53,75	5.339,75	48,53%	5.787,50	52,60%
05.06.2005	Posta Pazar Postası	13.650	45	4.605	33,74%	9.045	66,26%
09.06.2005	Posta Pazar Postası	12.057	60	6.200	51,42%	5.857	48,58%
19.06.2005	Posta Pazar Postası	14.661	69	6.109	41,67%	8.552	58,33%
26.06.2005	Posta Pazar Postası	10.861	49	3.867	35,60%	9.994	92,02%
Monthly Avarage		12.807,25	55,75	5.195,25	40,56%	8.362,00	65,29%

Table III (continued)

04.06.2005	Sabah Cumartesi	21.061	95	6.945	32,98%	14.116	67,02%
11.06.2005	Sabah Cumartesi	20.013	90	6.790	33,93%	13.223	66,07%
18.06.2005	Sabah Cumartesi	18.288	99	5.798	31,70%	12.490	68,30%
25.06.2005	Sabah Cumartesi	23.835	92	8.089	33,94%	15.746	66,06%
Monthly Avarage		20.799,25	94,00	6.905,50	33,20%	13.893,75	66,80%
05.06.2005	Sabah Aktüel Pazar	25.226	94	7.545	29,91%	17.681	70,09%
09.06.2005	Sabah Aktüel Pazar	24.122	94	7.620	31,59%	18.515	76,76%
19.06.2005	Sabah Aktüel Pazar	23.666	93	7.221	30,51%	16.445	69,49%
26.06.2005	Sabah Aktüel Pazar	26.786	94	7.869	29,38%	18.917	70,62%
Monthly Avarage		24.950,00	93,75	7.563,75	30,32%	17.889,50	71,70%
04.06.2005	Vatan Çikolata	14.287	57	3.883	27,18%	10.404	72,82%
11.06.2005	Vatan Çikolata	18.019	50	3.738	20,74%	14.281	79,26%
18.06.2005	Vatan Çikolata	17.318	59	4.795	27,69%	12.523	72,31%
25.06.2005	Vatan Çikolata	13.465	59	3.075	22,84%	10.390	77,16%
Monthly Avarage		15.772,25	56,25	3.872,75	24,55%	11.899,50	75,45%
05.06.2005	Vatan Pazar	16.869	51	5.207	30,87%	11.662	69,13%
09.06.2005	Vatan Pazar	19.215	74	5.523	28,74%	13.692	71,26%
19.06.2005	Vatan Pazar	17.415	68	4.788	27,49%	12.627	72,51%
26.06.2005	Vatan Pazar	19.665	69	5.680	28,88%	13.485	68,57%
Monthly Avarage		18.291,00	65,50	5.299,50	28,97%	12.866,50	70,34%
05.06.2005	Zaman Turkuaz	24.848	35	6.401	25,76%	18.847	75,85%
09.06.2005	Zaman Turkuaz	24.264	37	8.454	34,84%	15.810	65,16%
19.06.2005	Zaman Turkuaz	23.238	56	6.949	29,90%	15.393	66,24%
26.06.2005	Zaman Turkuaz	24.416	43	7.268	29,77%	17.418	71,34%
Monthly Avarage		24.191,50	42,75	7.268,00	30,04%	16.867,00	69,72%

classified under the heading of magazine news but since a significant space is devoted to such items they are classified under a separate heading namely relationships.

As can be seen from the Table IV all of the supplements devote largest part of their space to such news items. Even in some papers like *Akşam*, *Hürriyet*, and *Posta* and on certain weeks space devoted to such news exceeds the fifty percent of the total space.

As the headings suggest, remaining part of the content consists of soft news, which cannot be easily related, with the pending, current events of the societal life if the announcements as to the certain activities such as arts exhibitions, concerts etc. and namely published books excepted. It is hard to discern this content from entertainment and qualify as information even if the news headings suggest that they are designed to provide information.

In this connection, those news content that can be considered as having an informational value are concerned with the promotion of a new product or service. This is why they are classified under a separate heading of promotional news. As can be read from the Table, the space devoted to such news is by no means negligible. Most of these news can be considered as content sponsored directly by commercial interest holders since it is, as already stated, exactly conforms to the situation defined by the interviewed editors.

Thematic distribution of the topics treated in the comments and analysis of the regular columnists and occasional contributors are almost identical with the news content. In this respect a specific heading namely relationships is added to the Table IV in order to indicate and underline that comments or analysis of love affairs or who goes out with whom is also a privileged topic of the opinion editorials. Otherwise, they would be classified under the heading magazine and gossips. This fact and other points cell for a qualitative analysis of the newspaper supplements comments.

Table IV - The Distribution of the Editorial Content According to Main Subject Categories

04.06.2005	cm2	%	11.06.2005	cm2	%	18.06.2005	cm2	%	25.06.2005	cm2	%
Akşam Cumartesi	21.600		Akşam Cumartesi	21.600		Akşam Cumartesi	21.600		Akşam Cumartesi	21.600	
Editorial Space	12.924	60%	Editorial Space	12.656	59%	Editorial Space	10.691	49%	Editorial Space	16.211	75%
News	9.242	72%	News	9.311	74%	News	7.632	71%	News	11.471	71%
Magazine & Interviews	400	4%	Magazine & Interviews	2.833	30%	Magazine & Interviews	4.300	56%	Magazine & Interviews	240	2%
Food & Drinking	598	6%	Sexuality	1.100	12%	Health& Beauty	432	6%	Food & Drinking	1.715	15%
Health& Beauty	509	6%	Outdoor Activities	1.300	14%	Outdoor Activities	1.100	14%	Fashion & Decoration	2.650	23%
Outdoor Activities	1.800	19%	Travel	1.948	21%	TV Guide	1.800	24%	Outdoor Activities	3.600	31%
Promotional News	2.806	30%	Childcare	330	4%				Promotional News	650	6%
Travel	1.334	14%	TV Guide	1.800	19%				Travel	1.400	12%
TV Guide	1.800	19%							TV Guide	1.800	16%
Column	3.682	28%	Column	3.345	26%	Column	3.059	29%	Column	4.740	29%
Magazine & Interviews	770	21%	Food & Drinking	500	15%	Magazine & Interviews	735	24%	Magazine & Interviews	800	17%
Food & Drinking	460	12%	Health& Beauty	1.245	37%	Food & Drinking	200	7%	Health& Beauty	700	15%
Health& Beauty	990	27%	Music, Books& Movies	800	24%	Health& Beauty	700	23%	Music, Books& Movies	1.800	38%
Music, Books& Movies	590	16%	Travel	600	18%	Music, Books& Movies	600	20%	Travel	600	13%
Travel	680	18%	Horoscope	200	6%	Travel	584	19%	Horoscope	256	5%
Horoscope	192	5%				Horoscope	240	8%			

Table IV (continued)

04.06.2005	cm2	%	11.06.2005	cm2	%	18.06.2005	cm2	%	25.06.2005	cm2	%
Hürriyet Cumartesi	36.000		Hürriyet Cumartesi	28.800		Hürriyet Cumartesi	43.200		Hürriyet Cumartesi	36.000	
Editorial Space	20.581	57%	Editorial Space	13.721	48%	Editorial Space	22.013	51%	Editorial Space	18.875	52%
News	16.546	80%	News	7.221	53%	News	17.549	80%	News	15.880	84%
Magazine & Interviews	1.590	10%	Magazine & Interviews	5.710	79%	Magazine & Interviews	3.192	18%	Magazine & Interviews	2.090	13%
Sexuality	1.275	8%	Culture & Arts	681	9%	Fashion & Decoration	3.140	18%	Sexuality	1.275	8%
Fashion & Decoration	4.972	30%	Outdoor Activities	330	5%	Music, Books& Movies	2.951	17%	Fashion & Decoration	2.500	16%
Music, Books& Movies	1.300	8%	Societal Problems	500	7%	Culture & Arts	1.000	6%	Music, Books& Movies	1.300	8%
Culture & Arts	3.648	22%			Outdoor Activities	2.158	12%	Culture & Arts	3.150	20%	
Outdoor Activities	1.491	9%			Promotional News	208	1%	Societal Problems	1.000	6%	
Childcare	912	6%			Societal Problems	1.000	6%	Outdoor Activities	1.591	10%	
Pet	1.228	7%			Pet	1.000	6%	Childcare	912	6%	
					Kid's page	1.200	7%	Pet	1.228	8%	
					TV Guide	1.700	10%				
Column	4.035	20%	Column	6.500	47%	Column	4.464	20%	Column	2.995	16%
Magazine & Interviews	2.145	53%	Magazine & Interviews	1.250	19%	Magazine & Interviews	1.466	33%	Magazine & Interviews	1.145	38%
Childcare	324	8%	Culture & Arts	1.000	15%	Music, Books& Movies	800	18%	Childcare	320	11%
Advice Column	780	19%	Childcare	1.200	18%	Childcare	332	7%	Advice Column	780	26%
Horoscope	747	19%	Societal Problems	1.950	30%	Societal Problems	600	13%	Horoscope	750	25%
			Pet	1.200	18%	Advice Column	700	16%			
			Advice Column	1.100	17%	Horoscope	576	13%			

Table IV (continued)

04.06.2005	cm2	%	11.06.2005	cm2	%	18.06.2005	cm2	%	25.06.2005	cm2	%
Hürriyet Cumartesi Extra	28.800		Hürriyet Cumartesi Extra	36.000		Hürriyet Cumartesi Extra	32.400		Hürriyet Cumartesi Extra	32.400	
Editorial Space	14.877	52%	Editorial Space	16.001	44%	Editorial Space	15.439	48%	Editorial Space	11.032	34%
News	12.593	85%	News	13.051	82%	News	12.539	81%	News	9.132	83%
Magazine & Interviews	2.950	23%	Magazine & Interviews	1.430	11%	Magazine & Interviews	2.720	22%	Magazine & Interviews	1.700	19%
Food & Drinking	3.088	25%	Music, Books& Movies	2.345	18%	Music, Books& Movies	1.635	13%	Music, Books& Movies	1.460	16%
Fashion & Decoration	2.370	19%	Culture & Arts	775	6%	Culture & Arts	775	6%	Culture & Arts	800	9%
Music, Books& Movies	1.035	8%	Outdoor Activities	400	3%	Outdoor Activities	500	4%	Outdoor Activities	950	10%
Culture & Arts	700	6%	Promotional News	2.876	22%	Promotional News	1.876	15%	Promotional News	890	10%
Marine	900	7%	Childcare	840	6%	Childcare	840	7%	Childcare	800	9%
TV Guide	1.550	12%	Social Issues	1.475	11%	Social Issues	1.875	15%	Social Issues	1.075	12%
			Collection	910	7%	Collection	689	5%	TV Guide	1.450	16%
			TV Guide	2.000	15%	TV Guide	1.600	13%			
Column	2.115	14%	Column	2.950	18%	Column	2.900	19%	Column	1.900	17%
Fashion & Decoration	1.000	47%	Food & Drinking	875	30%	Food & Drinking	900	31%	Food & Drinking	500	26%
Music, Books& Movies	1.115	53%	Music, Books& Movies	1.475	50%	Music, Books& Movies	1.400	48%	Music, Books& Movies	800	42%
			Horoscope	600	20%	Horoscope	600	21%	Horoscope	600	32%

Table IV (continued)

04.06.2005	cm2	%	11.06.2005	cm2	%	18.06.2005	cm2	%	25.06.2005	cm2	%
Milliyet Cumartesi	39.600	%	Milliyet Cumartesi	36.000		Milliyet Cumartesi	36.000		Milliyet Cumartesi	32.400	
Editorial Space	20.886	53%	Editorial Space	18.985	53%	Editorial Space	19.985	56%	Editorial Space	17.084	53%
News	17.056	82%	News	15.600	82%	News	16.024	80%	News	14.076	82%
Magazine & Interviews	3.339	20%	Magazine & Interviews	2.500	16%	Magazine & Interviews	3.200	20%	Music, Books& Movies	4.191	30%
Fashion & Decoration	2.400	14%	Fashion & Decoration	1.800	12%	Fashion & Decoration	1.900	12%	Outdoor Activities	2.747	20%
Music, Books& Movies	1.969	12%	Music, Books& Movies	2.100	13%	Music, Books& Movies	1.800	11%	Promotional News	1.775	13%
Culture & Arts	80	0%	Culture & Arts	400	3%	Culture & Arts	550	3%	Social Issues	1.540	11%
Outdoor Activities	4.138	24%	Outdoor Activities	2.238	14%	Outdoor Activities	3.700	23%	Kid's Page	1.800	13%
Promotional News	60	0%	Promotional News	600	4%	Promotional News	400	2%	TV Guide	800	6%
Social Issues	280	2%	Social Issues	880	6%	Social Issues	1.300	8%			
Sports	2.130	12%	Sports	2.340	15%	Sports	600	4%			
Kid's Page	1.800	11%	Kid's Page	1.800	12%	Kid's Page	1.800	11%			
TV Guide	800	5%	TV Guide	940	6%	TV Guide	800	5%			
Column	3.830	18%	Column	3.385	18%	Column	3.961	20%	Column	3.008	18%
Magazine & Interviews	540	14%	Magazine & Interviews	840	25%	Magazine & Interviews	1.200	30%	Magazine & Interviews	1.684	56%
Food & Drinking	600	16%	Food & Drinking	500	15%	Food & Drinking	600	15%	Food & Drinking	470	16%
Relationships	750	20%	Relationships	400	12%	Social Issues	812	20%	Social Issues	512	17%
Childcare	700	18%	Childcare	500	15%	Childcare	500	13%	Horoscope	900	30%
Horoscope	840	22%	Horoscope	840	25%	Horoscope	900	23%	Other	342	11%
Other	400	10%	Other	400	12%	Other	400	10%			

Table IV (continued)

04.06.2005	cm2	%	11.06.2005	cm2	%	18.06.2005	cm2	%	25.06.2005	cm2	%
Posta Alışveriş	28.800		Posta Alışveriş	28.800		Posta Alışveriş	28.800		Posta Alışveriş	18.000	
Editorial Space	12.828	45%	Editorial Space	12.502	43%	Editorial Space	10.046	35%	Editorial Space	8.633	48%
News	10.878	85%	News	11.202	90%	News	8.576	85%	News	7.933	92%
Health& Beauty	478	4%	Magazine & Interviews	175	2%	Magazine & Interviews	133	2%	Magazine & Interviews	175	2%
Fashion & Decoration	713	7%	Promotional News	7.100	63%	Promotional News	6.798	79%	Promotional News	5.485	69%
Promotional News	9.687	89%	Societal Problems	810	7%	Sports	100	1%	Societal Problems	1.278	16%
			Science & Technology	420	4%	Automobile	520	6%	Science & Technology	120	2%
			Health& Beauty	750	7%	Horoscope	1.025	12%	Horoscope	175	2%
			Fashion & Decoration	900	8%						
			Sports	300	3%						
			Horoscope	750	7%						
Column	1.250	10%	Column	1.300	10%	Column	1.470	15%	Column	700	8%
Magazine & Interviews	910	73%	Magazine & Interviews	900	69%	Magazine & Interviews	700	48%	Science & Technology	700	100%
Science & Technology	340	27%	Science & Technology	400	31%	Promotional News	770	52%			

Table IV (continued)

04.06.2005	cm2	%	11.06.2005	cm2	%	18.06.2005	cm2	%	25.06.2005	cm2	%
Sabah Cumartesi	43.200		Sabah Cumartesi	43.200		Sabah Cumartesi	43.200		Sabah Cumartesi	43.200	
Editorial Space	21.061	49%	Editorial Space	20.013	46%	Editorial Space	18.288	42%	Editorial Space	23.835	55%
News	17.000	81%	News	15.650	78%	News	12.583	69%	News	18.710	78%
Magazine & Interviews	3.525	21%	Magazine & Interviews	2.800	18%	Magazine & Interviews	3.525	28%	Magazine & Interviews	2.030	11%
Food & Drinking	308	2%	Health& Beauty	1.230	8%	Food & Drinking	308	2%	Health& Beauty	1.310	7%
Health& Beauty	2.211	13%	Fashion & Decoration	960	6%	Health& Beauty	2.211	18%	Fashion & Decoration	832	4%
Music, Books& Movies	2.460	14%	Music, Books& Movies	1.570	10%	Music, Books& Movies	2.460	20%	Music, Books& Movies	2.640	14%
Culture & Arts	1.135	7%	Culture & Arts	1.700	11%	Culture & Arts	1.135	9%	Culture & Arts	1.505	8%
Outdoor Activities	2.560	15%	Outdoor Activities	3.950	25%	Outdoor Activities	2.540	20%	Outdoor Activities	4.759	25%
Travel	384	2%	Promotional News	1.040	7%	Travel	384	3%	Promotional News	1.096	6%
			Travel	400	3%				Travel	138	1%
			Social Issues	1.700	11%				Childcare	1.200	6%
			Collection	800	5%				Social Issues	1.840	10%
			Sports	600	4%				Collection	360	2%
			TV Guide	600	4%				Sports	400	2%
Column	4.061	19%	Column	3.385	17%	Column	5.705	31%	Column	5.125	22%
Magazine & Interviews	450	11%	Magazine & Interviews	850	25%	Magazine & Interviews	437	8%	Magazine & Interviews	650	13%
Food & Drinking	840	21%	Food & Drinking	800	24%	Food & Drinking	904	16%	Food & Drinking	800	16%
Relationships	345	8%	Health& Beauty	400	12%	Relationships	345	6%	Health& Beauty	308	6%
Fashion & Decoration	700	17%	Relationships	450	13%	Fashion & Decoration	795	14%	Relationships	345	7%
Music, Books& Movies	850	21%	Pet	840	25%	Music, Books& Movies	1.150	20%	Music, Books& Movies	1.400	27%
Pet	850	21%				Social Issues	1.244	22%	Social Issues	782	15%
						Pet	830	15%	Pet	840	16%

Table IV (continued)

04.06.2005	cm2	%	11.06.2005	cm2	%	18.06.2005	cm2	%	25.06.2005	cm2	%
Vatan Çikolata	28.800	%	Vatan Çikolata	36.000	%	Vatan Çikolata	36.000	%	Vatan Çikolata	28.800	%
Editorial Space	14.287	50%	Editorial Space	18.019	50%	Editorial Space	17.318	48%	Editorial Space	13.465	47%
News	11.305	79%	News	13.223	73%	News	11.438	66%	News	9.365	70%
Magazine & Interviews	4.477	40%	Magazine & Interviews	3.950	30%	Magazine & Interviews	1.605	14%	Magazine & Interviews	2.100	22%
Health& Beauty	1.019	9%	Health& Beauty	1.151	9%	Music, Books& Movies	1.392	12%	Relationships	1.395	15%
Relationships	540	5%	Fashion & Decoration	2.200	17%	Culture & Arts	376	3%	Fashion & Decoration	2.394	26%
Fashion & Decoration	676	6%	Music, Books& Movies	1.400	11%	Promotional News	5.425	47%	Music, Books& Movies	1.825	19%
Music, Books& Movies	1.348	12%	Culture & Arts	2.300	17%	Travel	700	6%	Outdoor Activities	1.632	17%
Outdoor Activities	243	2%	Outdoor Activities	1.002	8%	Science & Technology	1.940	17%			
Promotional News	2.462	22%	Promotional News	1.020	8%						
Travel	834	7%	Societal Problems	200	2%						
Aviation	1.042	9%									
Column	3.432	24%	Column	4.796	27%	Column	5.880	34%	Column	4.119	31%
Magazine & Interviews	1.112	32%	Health& Beauty	500	10%	Health& Beauty	770	13%	Magazine & Interviews	343	8%
Health& Beauty	345	10%	Relationships	915	19%	Relationships	981	17%	Food & Drinking	805	20%
Relationships	275	8%	Music, Books& Movies	1.557	32%	Fashion & Decoration	345	6%	Health& Beauty	500	12%
Music, Books& Movies	280	8%	Promotional News	400	8%	Music, Books& Movies	1.464	25%	Relationships	660	16%
Outdoor Activities	136	4%	Childcare	924	19%	Outdoor Activities	1.400	24%	Music, Books& Movies	885	21%
Promotional News	976	28%	Quiz	600	13%	Childcare	365	6%	Childcare	336	8%
Childcare	308	9%				Quiz	555	9%	Quiz	590	14%

Table IV (continued)

05.06.2005	cm2	%	12.06.2005	cm2	%	19.06.2005	cm2	%	26.06.2005	cm2	%
Akşam Pazar	28.800		Akşam Pazar	28.800		Akşam Pazar	28.800		Akşam Pazar	28.800	
Editorial Space	21.027	73%	Editorial Space	19.031	66%	Editorial Space	20.338	71%	Editorial Space	19.997	69%
News	17.266	82%	News	15.268	80%	News	17.328	85%	News	17.547	88%
Magazine & Interviews	5.300	31%	Magazine & Interviews	8.062	53%	Magazine & Interviews	6.705	39%	Magazine & Interviews	3.670	21%
Health& Beauty	1.400	8%	Culture & Arts	1.365	9%	Music, Books& Movies	766	4%	Health& Beauty	1.000	6%
Fashion & Decoration	340	2%	Outdoor Activities	400	3%	Culture & Arts	270	2%	Music, Books& Movies	819	5%
Outdoor Activities	1.240	7%	Travel	1.119	7%	Travel	2.841	16%	Outdoor Activities	4.095	23%
Promotional News	3.866	22%	Societal Problems	700	5%	Societal Problems	2.736	16%	Promotional News	96	1%
Societal Problems	860	5%	TV Guide	1.800	12%	Collection	170	1%	Travel	3.097	18%
Science & Technology	1.660	10%	Cartoon Strip	1.300	9%	Automobile	1.800	10%	Societal Problems	2.970	17%
Collection	800	5%				TV Guide	1.800	10%	TV Guide	1.800	10%
TV Guide	1.800	10%									
Column	3.761	18%	Column	3.763	20%	Column	3.010	15%	Column	2.450	12%
Magazine & Interviews	1.643	44%	Food & Drinking	889	24%	Food & Drinking	870	29%	Food & Drinking	840	34%
Food & Drinking	800	21%	Music, Books& Movies	860	23%	Music, Books& Movies	600	20%	Societal Problems	910	37%
Societal Problems	1.108	29%	Societal Problems	1.014	27%	Societal Problems	1.195	40%	Science & Technology	460	19%
Horoscope	240	6%	Science & Technology	832	22%	Science & Technology	345	11%	Horoscope	240	10%
			Horoscope	168	4%	Horoscope	240	8%			

Table IV (continued)

05.06.2005	cm2	%	12.06.2005	cm2	%	19.06.2005	cm2	%	26.06.2005	cm2	%
Hürriyet Pazar	50.400		Hürriyet Pazar	50.400		Hürriyet Pazar	50.400		Hürriyet Pazar	50.400	
Editorial Space	30.475	60%	Editorial Space	30.954	61%	Editorial Space	31.600	63%	Editorial Space	30.116	60%
News	21.889	72%	News	22.895	74%	News	19.193	61%	News	20.128	67%
Magazine & Interviews	7.680	35%	Magazine & Interviews	7.900	35%	Magazine & Interviews	4.650	24%	Magazine & Interviews	8.150	40%
Music, Books& Movies	435	2%	Outdoor Activities	2.100	9%	Fashion & Decoration	900	5%	Health& Beauty	700	3%
Culture & Arts	600	3%	Societal Problems	5.420	24%	Societal Problems	7.093	37%	Music, Books& Movies	268	1%
Promotional News	1.800	8%	Aviation	735	3%	Aviation	1.800	9%	Culture & Arts	1.800	9%
Travel	1.200	5%	Science & Technology	2.200	10%	Science & Technology	2.000	10%	Societal Problems	6.690	33%
Societal Problems	4.876	22%	Marine	1.150	5%	Marine	950	5%	Science & Technology	900	4%
Aviation	1.800	8%	Sports	2.590	11%	Sports	1.800	9%	Sports	270	1%
Science & Technology	850	4%	Cartoon Strip	800	3%				Cartoon Strip	850	4%
Marine	1.800	8%									
Cartoon Strip	840	4%									
Column	8.586	28%	Column	8.059	26%	Column	12.407	39%	Column	9.988	33%
Magazine & Interviews	2.300	27%	Magazine & Interviews	600	7%	Magazine & Interviews	3.810	31%	Magazine & Interviews	1.220	12%
Food & Drinking	1.300	15%	Food & Drinking	1.200	15%	Food & Drinking	1.750	14%	Food & Drinking	1.700	17%
Health& Beauty	800	9%	Health& Beauty	1.100	14%	Health& Beauty	1.100	9%	Health& Beauty	1.100	11%
Culture & Arts	1.890	22%	Travel	2.650	33%	Music, Books& Movies	600	5%	Travel	1.768	18%
Travel	1.100	13%	Societal Problems	700	9%	Culture & Arts	700	6%	Aviation	1.800	18%
Societal Problems	700	8%	Aviation	1.000	12%	Travel	1.850	15%	Marine	1.800	18%
Horoscope	476	6%	Marine	609	8%	Societal Problems	420	3%	Horoscope	600	6%
			Horoscope	200	2%	Marine	812	7%			
						Cartoon Strip	900	7%			
						Horoscope	465	4%			
						Cartoon Strip	900	7%			
						Horoscope	465	4%			

Table IV (continued)

05.06.2005	cm2	%	12.06.2005	cm2	%	19.06.2005	cm2	%	26.06.2005	cm2	%
Milliyet Pazar	39.600		Milliyet Pazar	46.800		Milliyet Pazar	43.200		Milliyet Pazar	43.200	
Editorial Space	20.795	53%	Editorial Space	21.888	47%	Editorial Space	24.770	57%	Editorial Space	20.618	48%
News	16.851	81%	News	15.580	71%	News	16.502	67%	News	14.128	69%
Magazine & Interviews	6.425	38%	Magazine & Interviews	4.050	26%	Magazine & Interviews	7.674	47%	Magazine & Interviews	6.650	47%
Fashion & Decoration	300	2%	Food & Drinking	1.800	12%	Outdoor Activities	1.460	9%	Fashion & Decoration	560	4%
Culture & Arts	800	5%	Health& Beauty	1.000	6%	Promotional News	800	5%	Outdoor Activities	745	5%
Outdoor Activities	200	1%	Fashion & Decoration	1.200	8%	Societal Problems	3.376	20%	Promotional News	1.708	12%
Travel	3.680	22%	Culture & Arts	2.900	19%	Science & Technology	380	2%	Kid's Page	1.800	13%
Societal Problems	1.830	11%	Outdoor Activities	981	6%	Kid's Page	1.800	11%	TV Guide	870	6%
Kid's Page	1.800	11%	Societal Problems	840	5%	TV Guide	700	4%	Cartoon Strip	195	1%
Quiz	840	5%	Kid's Page	1.800	12%	Cartoon Strip	322	2%			
TV Guide	700	4%	TV Guide	800	5%						
Cartoon Strip	276	2%	Cartoon Strip	209	1%						
Column	3.944	19%	Column	6.308	29%	Column	8.268	33%	Column	6.490	31%
Food & Drinking	544	14%	Magazine & Interviews	1.100	17%	Magazine & Interviews	1.028	12%	Magazine & Interviews	800	12%
Health& Beauty	800	20%	Food & Drinking	450	7%	Food & Drinking	1.280	15%	Health& Beauty	600	9%
Culture & Arts	450	11%	Health& Beauty	1.200	19%	Health& Beauty	1.200	15%	Culture & Arts	600	9%
Societal Problems	700	18%	Culture & Arts	560	9%	Culture & Arts	600	7%	Travel	1.000	15%
Science & Technology	700	18%	Societal Problems	983	16%	Travel	1.300	16%	Societal Problems	1.430	22%
Horoscope	750	19%	Quiz	1.000	16%	Societal Problems	600	7%	Quiz	860	13%
			Horoscope	1.015		Quiz	900	11%	TV Guide	600	9%
						TV Guide	400	5%	Horoscope	600	9%
						Horoscope	960	12%			

Table IV (continued)

05.06.2005	cm2	%	12.06.2005	cm2	%	19.06.2005	cm2	%	26.06.2005	cm2	%
Pazar Postası	28.800		Pazar Postası	28.800		Pazar Postası	36.000		Pazar Postası	25.200	
Editorial Space	13.650	47%	Editorial Space	12.057	42%	Editorial Space	14.661	41%	Editorial Space	10.861	43%
News	7.026	51%	News	8.550	71%	News	10.344	71%	News	6.463	60%
Magazine & Interviews	3.090	44%	Magazine & Interviews	4.200	49%	Magazine & Interviews	7.192	70%	Magazine & Interviews	2.100	32%
Health& Beauty	416	6%	Food & Drinking	700	8%	Food & Drinking	78	1%	Health& Beauty	894	14%
Outdoor Activities	630	9%	Health& Beauty	800	9%	Health& Beauty	1.332	13%	Fashion & Decoration	170	3%
Travel	1.840	26%	Fashion & Decoration	1.500	18%	Fashion & Decoration	1.199	12%	Promotional News	1.512	23%
Social Issues	1.040	15%	Outdoor Activities	500	6%	Outdoor Activities	420	4%	Travel	142	2%
			Travel	850	10%	Travel	143	1%	Societal Problems	1.345	21%
Column	6.624	49%	Column	3.447	29%	Column	4.317	29%	Column	4.438	41%
Magazine & Interviews	2.630	40%	Magazine & Interviews	600	17%	Magazine & Interviews	700	16%	Magazine & Interviews	630	14%
Health& Beauty	240	4%	Food & Drinking	550	16%	Food & Drinking	550	13%	Food & Drinking	500	11%
Relationships	1.650	25%	Relationships	1.000	29%	Relationships	1.603	37%	Relationships	1.508	34%
Promotional News	1.000	15%	Fashion & Decoration	600	17%	Fashion & Decoration	600	14%	Travel	800	18%
Childcare	800	12%	Travel	600	17%	Travel	600	14%	Childcare	1.000	23%
other	304	5%				Childcare	264	6%			

Table IV (continued)

05.06.2005	cm2	%	12.06.2005	cm2	%	19.06.2005	cm2	%	26.06.2005	cm2	%
Sabah Aktüel Pazar	50.400		Sabah Aktüel Pazar	50.400		Sabah Aktüel Pazar	50.400		Sabah Aktüel Pazar	50.400	
Editorial Space	25.226	50%	Editorial Space	26.135	52%	Editorial Space	23.666	47%	Editorial Space	26.786	53%
News	20.216	80%	News	20.400	78%	News	17.435	74%	News	20.619	77%
Magazine & Interviews	2.500	12%	Magazine & Interviews	9.300	46%	Magazine & Interviews	8.257	47%	Magazine & Interviews	2.425	12%
Food & Drinking	500	2%	Health& Beauty	450	2%	Health& Beauty	228	1%	Food & Drinking	400	2%
Health& Beauty	480	2%	Fashion & Decoration	1.300	6%	Fashion & Decoration	590	3%	Health& Beauty	480	2%
Music, Books& Movies	520	3%	Music, Books& Movies	1.640	8%	Music, Books& Movies	670	4%	Music, Books& Movies	500	2%
Culture & Arts	2.300	11%	Outdoor Activities	275	1%	Outdoor Activities	224	1%	Culture & Arts	2.010	10%
Promotional News	1.700	8%	Promotional News	3.500	17%	Promotional News	3.070	18%	Promotional News	1.000	5%
Travel	2.500	12%	Travel	900	4%	Travel	720	4%	Travel	2.500	12%
Societal Problems	3.500	17%	Societal Problems	2.500	12%	Societal Problems	2.416	14%	Societal Problems	3.993	19%
Aviation	1.200	6%	Marine	500	2%	Marine	272	2%	Aviation	1.285	6%
Science & Technology	800	4%	Cartoon Strip	90	0,4%	Cartoon Strip	88	1%	Science & Technology	500	2%
Marine	2.500	12%							Marine	2.480	12%
Sports	1.600	8%							Sports	2.750	13%
Cartoon Strip	96	0,5%							Cartoon Strip	96	0,5%
Column	5.010	20%	Column	5.735	22%	Column	6.231	26%	Column	6.167	23%
Magazine & Interviews	749	15%	Magazine & Interviews	1.035	18%	Magazine & Interviews	1.092	18%	Magazine & Interviews	749	12%
Food & Drinking	1.700	34%	Food & Drinking	2.300	40%	Food & Drinking	2.200	35%	Food & Drinking	1.700	28%
Culture & Arts	418	8%	Relationships	450	8%	Relationships	345	6%	Culture & Arts	418	7%
Societal Problems	2.200	44%	Societal Problems	1.100	19%	Societal Problems	1.624	26%	Societal Problems	3.300	54%
			Marine	900	16%	Marine	970	16%			

Table IV (continued)

05.06.2005	cm2	%	12.06.2005	cm2	%	19.06.2005	cm2	%	26.06.2005	cm2	%
Pazar Vatan	36.000		Pazar Vatan	43.200		Pazar Vatan	39.600		Pazar Vatan	36.000	
Editorial Space	16.869	47%	Editorial Space	19.215	44%	Editorial Space	17.415	44%	Editorial Space	19.665	55%
News	12.924	77%	News	14.974	78%	News	14.263	82%	News	17.068	87%
Magazine & Interviews	5.680	44%	Magazine & Interviews	4.032	27%	Magazine & Interviews	6.848	48%	Magazine & Interviews	4.925	29%
Culture & Arts	1.270	10%	Sexuality	3.534	24%	Food & Drinking	280	2%	Fashion & Decoration	184	1%
Travel	800	6%	Outdoor Activities	760	5%	Music, Books & Movies	600	4%	Music, Books& Movies	1.100	6%
Societal Problems	4.874	38%	Travel	2.628	18%	Promotional News	1.727	12%	Culture & Arts	1.605	9%
Science & Technology	300	2%	Societal Problems	4.020	27%	Travel	861	6%	Outdoor Activities	845	5%
						Societal Problems	1.800	13%	Promotional News	360	2%
						Science & Technology	353	2%	Societal Problems	6.537	38%
						Sports	1.800	13%			
Column	3.945	23%	Column	4.421	23%	Column	3.152	18%	Column	2.597	13%
Magazine & Interviews	2.135	54%	Magazine & Interviews	400	9%	Magazine & Interviews	920	29%	Magazine & Interviews	330	13%
Food & Drinking	880	22%	Food & Drinking	1.500	34%	Food & Drinking	742	24%	Food & Drinking	707	27%
Relationships	430	11%	Relationships	730	17%	Childcare	350	11%	Relationships	760	29%
Societal Problems	500	13%	Travel	570	13%	Science & Technology	335	11%	Travel	600	23%
			Science & Technology	456	10%	Sports	805	26%	Science & Technology	200	8%
			Horoscope	765	17%						

Table IV (continued)

05.06.2005	cm2	%	12.06.2005	cm2	%	19.06.2005	cm2	%	26.06.2005	cm2	%
Zaman Turkuaz	34.800	%	Zaman Turkuaz	34.800	%	Zaman Turkuaz	34.800	%	Zaman Turkuaz	34.800	%
Editorial Space	24.848	71%	Editorial Space	24.264	70%	Editorial Space	23.238	67%	Editorial Space	24.416	70%
News	21.122	85%	News	21.419	88%	News	20.576	89%	News	21.560	88%
Magazine & Interviews	1.646	8%	Magazine & Interviews	3.240	15%	Magazine & Interviews	2.100	10%	Magazine & Interviews	1.250	6%
Health& Beauty	1.715	8%	Fashion & Decoration	1.060	5%	Food & Drinking	654	3%	Health& Beauty	1.700	8%
Fashion & Decoration	784	4%	Music, Books& Movies	3.225	15%	Music, Books& Movies	1.176	6%	Fashion & Decoration	780	4%
Music, Books& Movies	420	2%	Culture & Arts	1.280	6%	Outdoor Activities	1.026	5%	Music, Books& Movies	520	2%
Culture & Arts	4.231	20%	Outdoor Activities	805	4%	Promotional News	540	3%	Culture & Arts	4.250	20%
Outdoor Activities	1.217	6%	Promotional News	1.192	6%	Societal Problems	11.540	56%	Outdoor Activities	1.050	5%
Promotional News	1.132	5%	Travel	875	4%	Sports	840	4%	Promotional News	1.300	6%
Travel	797	4%	Societal Problems	4.547	21%	Automobile	900	4%	Travel	900	4%
Societal Problems	5.881	28%	Science & Technology	1.750	8%	Other	1.800	9%	Societal Problems	7.800	36%
Science & Technology	117	1%	Sports	1.260	6%				Science & Technology	117	1%
Automobile	1.467	7%	Automobile	1.250	6%				Automobile	1.400	6%
Other	1.740	8%	Other	1.740	8%				Other	1.740	8%
Column	3.726	15%	Column	2.845	12%	Column	2.662	11%	Column	2.856	12%
Food & Drinking	432	12%	Music, Books& Movies	280	10%	Magazine & Interviews	576	22%	Food & Drinking	432	15%
Culture & Arts	774	21%	Societal Problems	1.415	50%	Music, Books& Movies	252	9%	Music, Books& Movies	280	10%
Societal Problems	750	20%	Other	1.150	40%	Societal Problems	679	26%	Societal Problems	1.050	37%
Other	1.770	48%				Other	1.155	43%	Other	1.100	39%

3.1.2 Newspaper Supplements' Content as Discourse

Weekend supplements are quite an old form of newspaper industry in turkey. Despite remarkable diversification, it is hard to claim that their contents have undergone radical changes in the recent years. But the number of their titles and circulations displayed significant increases. Consequently, one can assume that their social influences and effects have also increased. Therefore, the analysis of the discourse produced and disseminated in these contents merit a closer attention.

As already stated, most of the editorial content of the newspaper supplements are devoted to magazine events mostly based on lives of celebrities. It is needless to underline that they are often presented in a sensational manner since it is almost the common feature of all newspapers with high circulations and big commercial profits. But it is interesting to note that their life routine is often presented as normal and/or desirable. In that sense it can be easily claimed that they are explicitly presented as role models. Even technological innovations such as newly developed electronic devices are presented in association with the viewpoints of such persons. This situation is as expected, more explicit in the interviews. Besides the celebrities of the show business, successful businesspersons, sportsmen etc. are interviewed as to disclose their tastes, hobbies, habits etc. as can be easily seen from the below narrations:

“Varsa Yoksa Elektronik: Yabancı Damat dizisinin yakışıklı oyuncusu Özgür Çevik tam bir teknoloji tutkunu. ‘Ben bir şeyi beğendiysen indirim umurumda olmaz, onu mutlaka alırım, aldığım şeyin beni mutlu edeceğine inanırsam alırım’ (Mad About Electronic Devices: Özgür Çevik, the handsome leading-actor of the TV serial Yabancı Damat, is a passionate lover of technology. ‘If I like something, I would not care about discounts, and I certainly buy it. I buy it if I believe it would make me happy’). (Posta Alışverişi, 4 June 2005).

“Ünlülerin Silah Merakı: Karagümrük'teki As Silah Sarayı'nın müşterileri arasında işkadınları ve sanat dünyasının ünlü isimleri dikkat çekiyor. Ebru Gündeş'in 35 bin dolarlık özel üretim bir silahı var. Osman Sınay 'Desert Eagle' adı verilen büyük tipte bir silah sahibi (Celebrities' Passion For Guns:

Businesswomen and famous figures of show business are clients of As Silah Sarayı (As Gun Palace) which is in Karag mr k. Ebru G ndeş owns a specially produced gun, which is worth 35 thousand dollars. Osman Sınav is owner of a heavy gun, which is called ‘Desert Eagle’)” (Sabah Akt el Pazar, 19 June 2005)

Another important aspect of such narratives is that they directly aim at reinforcing the tendency for consumption. Most “promotional news” are presented as “novelties” or “ins & outs” while promoting the newly marketed products or devices. Moreover, in these news narratives it is frequently resorted to classical propaganda techniques like “appealing to herd instincts” and/or setting false associations. Thus, the headings like “haven’t you bought yet?” or “I get crazy if I don’t buy” are commonly witnesses in the news narratives. Below lies two example for the mentioned news narratives:

“Sıraya Girdiler: Şarkıcı Seren Serengil ile manken Ebru Şallı, Nişantaşındaki Louis Vuitton mağazasına gitmiş. D nyaca  nl  bu markanın jean kumaşından yapılan yeni modelini g r p bayılmışlar. Ancak 3000 dolarlık bu  anta sipariş rekoru kırdığı i in bitmiş. Seren ‘Beni listeye alın bu  antadan mutlaka istiyorum’ demiş. Ebru da listeye girmiş. İkili şimdi yeni  antalarını bekliyor”. (Singer Seren Serengil and model Ebru Şallı, had gone to Louis Vuitton shop in Nişantaşı. They both liked the new model of this worldwide trademark, which was made from jean fabric. But since this 3000-dollar-bag became a bestseller the shop has run out of it . Seren said, “Put me into the list. I certainly want this bag’. Ebru also joined the list. The two friend are now waiting for their bags.)” (Pazar Postası, 5 June 2005)

“Almazsam  ıldırım: Uzun zamandır g z m var bu Swatch takılarda. Sonunda tam kendime gore bu kolyeleri buldum. Harika deęil mi! İster bilezik yap, ister kolye. Ama hem beyaz hem altın rengini almalı. Tek tek takınca aynı etkiyi yaratmıyor. Fiyatı: 145 YTL” (I Get Crazy If I Don’t Buy: I admire the jewelleries of Swatch for quite a long time. Finally, I found these necklaces that exactly fit on me. Isn’t it wonderful! You can either use them as bracelet or as necklace. But one must buy both the golden and white coloured ones. It does not give the same impression if you use only one of them. Each costs 145 YTL), (Vatan  ikolata, 25 June 2005).

In this respects shopping is treated as a natural but very delicate activity, which necessitates expert knowledge. These news narratives contain hints as to shopping opportunities that are often clandestine advertisements of certain products and/or services.

“Siz dore ayakkabı almadınız mı?: Hotiç sıcak yaz günlerine indirimle devam ediyor. Dore yanında dolgu topukların ve espadrillerin yeniden zirveye oturduğu yaz sezonunda, hotiç koleksiyonu şık ve farklı olmak isteyen kadınlara mükemmel seçenekler sunuyor. (Haven't You Bought Doree Shoes?: Hotiç continues discounts in the hot summer days. In the summer season when platform heels and espadrilles became popular as well as doree, Hotiç collection presents perfect alternatives to the women who want to be stylish and different),” (Sabah Cumartesi, 25 June 2005).

“Mudo City'ye Aksesuar Yağıyor: özellikle tatile gitmek üzere olanların uğraması gereken Mudo Accessoires, tüm ihtiyaçlara cevap verecek. Eğer buradan alışveriş yaparsanız işlemeli tunikler ile yaz aylarının en gözde taticileri arasında yer alacak, pareonuzla tüm dikkatleri üzerinizde toplayacaksınız (Accessories pour into Mudo City: Mudo Accessories, which has to be visited especially by potential holidaymakers, will respond to all needs. If you do your shopping from here you will be among the most popular holidaymakers with your embroidered tunics and be the centre of attraction with your pareo)”, (Pazar Vatan, 26 June 2005).

This kind of a discourse is illustrated and can be better ascertained in the news and feature articles on “food and drinks”. In this regards, firstly certain and often expensive foods and drinks are presented as having high nutrition content and stressed they are necessary to improve nutrition habits as seen in the following news with the heading “İki Buçuk Ayda 8 Ton İstakoz Sattılar (8 tons of lobster sold in two and a half months)”, (Hürriyet Pazar 24 July 2005). Which is accompanied by the interview with the chief cook of a five star hotel Ritz Carlton which is designated as the best place to savour the lobsters as a “reasonable” price. It is needless to stress that the posted price which is 80 YTL for one kilo is only within the reach of quite well-to-do people.

“İstakoz, yemek kültüründe lüksün sembolü olmuştur hep. Büyük davetlerde, lüks yemeklerde mөнünün baş köşesinde yeri hep hazırdır. Şimdi bu lüks, sema çelebinin amerikadan getirdiği istakozlarla türkiyede de yaygınlaşıyor... The Ritz Carlton Oteli Executive Şefi Geoffrey D. Bone istakoz yeme adabını şöyle açıklıyor. . . (Lobster has always been the symbol of luxury in the food culture. It always stands at the top of the menu in big parties and luxurious feasts. This luxury is becoming widespread nowadays thanks to Sema Çelebi's American-imported lobsters...Executive Chief of Ritz Carlton Hotel Geoffrey D. Bone describes the right manners of eating lobster as: ...),” (Hürriyet Pazar 24 July 2005).

As already stated topics treated by the columnists overlap almost identically with the headings of the news items. Below a list of selected headings of the articles produced in the supplements during the studies' time period is given to better illustrate the topics.

Some of the headings of the columns on travel issues are:

Dilek Önder (Üçüncü Göz) "Nefis Bir Plaj. Trendy Deyişle "Beach". Escape Beach'deyim. Kıbrıs'ta". (A wonderful seaside resort, and in trendy words, "Beach". I am at Escape Beach, Cyprus), (*PazarVatan*, 25 June 2005),

Yiğiter Uluğ (Sesler, Yüzler, Sokaklar). "Hep Tebessümle Andığım Bu Gezide Hem Leziz Yemekler Yedim, Hem De İyi Şaraplar Tattım" (I have eaten delicious food and tasted delicious wine in this trip, which I always remember with a smile on my face), (*PazarVatan*, 25 June 2005),

Fatih Türkmenoğlu (Gezmek Gerek) "Holistik Tatil Çok moda" (Holistic holidays are very trendy), (*Milliyet Pazar* 19 June 2005),

Fatih Türkmenoğlu (Gezmek Gerek) "Kuzey Ege'nin Bakir Koyu: Enez: ne yapılır, nerede kalınır, ne yenir?" (The virginal bay of the Northern Aegean: Enez, What to do, where to stay, what to eat?), (*Milliyet Pazar* 26 June 2005),

Marmara, Karadeniz Ve Egedeki İstanbul'a Yakın Tatil Beldeleri" (Holiday sites in Marmara, Black Sea and Aegean, which are nearby İstanbul), (*Pazar Postası*, 19 June 2005),

"Eğlencenin Yeni Adresi Marmaris" (The New Address of Entertainment is Marmaris), (*Akşam Pazar*, 19 June 2005).

Some of the headings of the columns on food and drinking issues are:

Engin Akın (Gurme) "Geçenlerde Gittiğim Ve Sizlerle Lezzetlerini Paylaştığım Hint Mutfağından Delhinin Ünlü Oberio Otelinde. . ." (In famous Hotel Oberio of Delhi which I have recently been and shared with you the flavours of Indian cuisine. . .), (*PazarVatan*, 25 June 2005),

Teoman Hünal "Sunset'in Şarap Listesi Kitap Gibi" (Sunset's wine menu is like a book), (*PazarVatan*, 25 June 2005),

Teoman Hünal "Şarabı İyi Korumak Risksiz Bir Yatırım Yapmak Demek" (Preserving the wine carefully means a risk-free investment), (*PazarVatan* 19 June 2005),

Ahmet Örs (Afiyetle) “İthal İçki Stokları Alarm Veriyor” (Imported alcoholic drink stocks are on alarm), (*Cumartesi Sabah* 18 June 2005),

Doç. Dr. Ertan Anlı (Gusto) “Şarap Mahzeninde Büyür” (Wine grows in the cellar), (*Akşam Pazar* 26 June 2005),

Ahmet Örs (Afiyetle) “Yeni Kuşak Yeşil Periyi Keşfediyor” “New generation discovers the Yeşil Peri (Green Faerie),

Doç. Dr. Ertan Anlı (Gusto) “Yaz Şarapları” (Summer Wines), (*Akşam Pazar* 19 June 2005),

Doç. Dr. Ertan Anlı (Gusto) “Kalecik Karası Bir Efsane Mi, Gerçek Bir Değer Mi?” (Is Kalecik Karası a myth or a real value?), (*Akşam Pazar* 12 June 2005),

Mehmet Yalçın (Şişedeki Balık) “500 Milyona Kavaklıdere” (Kavaklıdere for 500 million), (*Milliyet Pazar* 12 June 2005),

Ahmet Örs (Afiyetle) “İstanbulun Tepeden Bakan Teraslar” (Terraces on the top of Istanbul), (*Sabah Aktüel Pazar* 19 June 2005),

Doç. Dr. Ertan Anlı (Gusto) “Özel Bir Şaraplık Kara Üzüm: Şiraz” (A Special Black Grapes for Wine-making: Şiraz), (*Akşam Pazar* 5 June 2005),

Mehmet Yalçın (Şişedeki Balık) “Şaraplara Özgürlük” (Freedom for the Wines), (*Milliyet Pazar* 5 June 2005).

Some of the headings of the columns on fashion and shopping issues are:

Tülin Kermen (Vitrin Meleği) “Tatilde de Modaya Uymak Şart” (One has to keep up with the fashion even on holiday), “Almazsam Çıldırımım: Chanel’in Bu Dünyalar Güzeli Telefon Aksesuarına Bir Bakın Ne Güzel Değil Mi? Fiyatı ise 130-180 Dolar Arasında” (I get crazy if I don’t buy: Just have a look at this gorgeous phone accessory of Chanel. Isn’t it beautiful? And it costs between 130 and 180 dollars), (*Vatan Çikolata* 4 June 2005),

Tülin Kermen (Vitrin Meleği) “Okumadan Denize Girmeyin” (Do not go swimming without reading it), (*Vatan Çikolata* 11 June 2005).

Considering the above headings, it is needless to stress that most of the topics treated by the columnists are closely related with the promotion of a service or marketed good. They, in their comments and analysis, see their function to provide advice in matters such as food, travel, shopping, collection etc. In this connection, the food columnists recommend stylish

recipes and organise menus. These menus are often completed with a shopping list. The recipes generally comprise expensive ingredients and/or special gadgetry. “Trendy” restaurant reviews are also preferred topics for such columnists. The similar approach is also the trend for the travel columnists. Their articles concentrate on reviews of hotels and/or sights to visit.

Wine is another favourite subject for newspaper supplements. Almost all weekend supplements have one columnist specialised in the analysis of new products.

The common denominator in the comments and analysis of almost all columnists is that they write about the dominant traits in their specialisation and advice their readers to try to fit in. they announce the “new” buzzwords of the season, designate objects or services at a tipping point of price, production and quality. Their recommendations are all aimed at a new aspirational category of clients since most of their recommendations are beyond reach of the moderate-income level readers.

3.2 Responses of the Interviewees

All the interviewed editors and former editors of the supplements are senior journalists have a quite long experience in the profession. This seniority is earned mostly in the weekly magazines. They declare that they have their own team of reporters and they enjoy a considerable degree of autonomy in the production of their own contents. They readily acknowledge that editors and columnists and other collaborators of the supplements are paid relatively less than the editors and columnists of the paper edition.

All the interviewed editors affirm that the decision to launch a new supplement is taken by the managerial boards before the prior decision of the newspaper’s editorial boards. This is expressed by Nazan Ortaç, editor of daily *Akşam*’s supplements as follows in an illustrative manner:

When a decision is made to launch a new supplement, directors of publication, responsables of the marketing and advertising departments convene with the managerial representatives to fix the expected augmentation in the circulation and advertising revenue. (Interview with Ortaç, 7 November 2005)

She also affirms that supplements aim and serve to raise the circulation of the newspaper:

Akşam's daily circulations during weekdays without supplements vary between 250 – 300 thousand. This circulation rises to 350 on weekends. Moreover, on Tuesdays and Fridays when we publish *İddia* – a specialised supplement providing “diagnostics” for who bet in football pools – the worse circulation rises to 350.000. That is to say, about 100 thousand more copy is sold when the paper gives a supplement.

Responses of all the interviewees indicate that the editors of the newspaper supplements have accepted, even internalized, the organisational goal of increasing the number of sold copies as their primary concern and task. Since the advertisers would tend to place more money in the paper that attracts the most readers, there is nothing unusual in this itself. But, what is stunning is that they are almost unanimously aware that the very existence of their publication depends solely on the satisfaction of the advertiser demands.

This clearly means that the editorial policy of the supplements are directly subordinated to such demands. Consequently, contents of the newspaper supplements target to satisfy advertiser demands instead of the informational needs of the readers. Nazan Ortaç's below statement is the best illustration of the supplements dependence to advertiser demands: “Everyday we receive millions of press releases but only those issued by firms that are hoped to be our potential advertisers are published”. This situation is illustrated implicitly and/or indirectly in the remarks of all editors. For instance, when Gürsoy from daily *Milliyet* refers to the differences that can be observed between the contents of the supplements that are given respectively on Saturdays and Sundays states that:

For quite a long time we did not make a differentiation in the contents of our Saturday and Sunday supplements. They were similar in their contents. But you have to reorganise yourself according to the conditions and imperatives of the sector. With the times, most of the newspapers rearranged and redesigned their supplements, began devoting their Saturday supplements to issues related with fashion, shopping and like. Thus we also had to apt for a similar orientation because these were preferred topics of the advertisers and getting advertisements is a crucial issue for the weekends. If the advertiser tends to put money in such sort of supplements it necessarily affects our own orientations. We have to follow strictly the advertisers' inclinations. (Interview with Gürsoy, 11 February 2006)

Interviewed editors are certainly not unaware of the differences in content between the proper editions and the supplements, which are so obvious. But when they are asked to draw a distinction between the two, their capacity as the producers of this content they restrain themselves from qualifying them as entertainment oriented, light or trivial like many would do.

In their responses and remarks they all acknowledge that their publication is intended for certain audiences but refrain themselves from declaring that their content is more and more often turned into entertainment; and that in their pursuit of certain audiences, conventional journalistic norms have been abandoned and audience enjoyment is overemphasised in choosing and shaping news narratives. As expected in their statements, instead of entertainment the content is referred as "provision of information pertinent to recreational activities". However, they are inclined to make a clear distinction between the weekend supplements and supplements given during the weekdays. They seem more warm and even indulgent towards weekend supplements. For example, Şekerleme (*Vatan*) who claims that weekend supplements are research oriented "contrary to the light content of daily supplements, the weekend supplements are informative and investigative". She underlines the informational content of the weekend supplements as follows:

As the readers have more time to read the newspaper on weekend, the weekend supplements should be more intense in content different from daily supplements. The weekend supplements generally deal with the issues that are not scrutinized enough during the week because of the

heavy agenda. Nevertheless, different from the main paper's serious approach these issues are considered with a different aspect that will also entertain the reader while giving information. Briefly, we try to carry the week's agenda to the weekend supplements but with a different approach (interview with Şekerleme, 11 February 2006).

Nazan Ortaç of Akşam defends the content of weekend supplements in an interesting manner:

The weekend supplements aim to reach the upper class what we call the A-B group readers at higher income levels. They are the principal targets of advertisers of the firms holding well-known trademarks. Thus, the weekend supplements' narratives are of higher quality; they are related with the issues of art and culture where as the weekday supplements cover magazine and gossip news.

Nevertheless, some of the editors cannot easily hide their bitter disillusionment as can be observed in the following statement: "Supplements are seen as the appropriate media for the news narratives that could not find the due coverage in the proper paper" (Gürsoy, 11 February 2006). He also gives utterance to his views when he declares that "the modus operandi" for the content of the weekend supplements is "attracting readers' attention as much as possible in less space as possible".

Tuğba Balıkçioğlu of *Sabah* distances herself from the occasional supplements for promotional purposes by declaring that they were essentially prepared by the advertisement departments of the papers and almost 90% of the content is devoted to advertisements.

3.3 Discussion

Scrutiny of the analysed newspaper supplements and the information obtained from the statements of the interviewed editors of these publications strongly overlap and confirm the fact that supplements are additions to newspaper publication activity to increase the advertisement revenue. They provide new channels to publishing companies to further their profitability.

One of the interviewees discloses the production process of the newspaper supplements in the following words:

Even every morning technical staff responsible for the printing of the paper sends us a roster sheet of the advertisements that will be published. We cannot start setting our editorial pages before receiving this sheet because we must set out the “mise en page” accordingly. This is why we do not have a prefixed number of editorial pages.

However, whatever may be their primary concern or working habits, they eventually produce a content that continuously disseminates symbolic messages in the form of images and discourses to their readers. Moreover, as is evident, the advertisements that constitute a large portion of the content are always carrying particular kind of such symbolic messages to large audiences. Consequently, analysis and consideration of such a content can not be dissociated from the function fulfilled by these publications.

In this regards, it is indispensable to note that the content of the newspaper supplements are on one hand designed to foster the consumption of certain goods and services, on the other hand they are promoting a certain way of life, in other words “life style”. They publicise the places that are frequented or visited by “important persons”. They recommend foods consumed by gourmets, they publicise the hobbies practised by celebrities.

They emphasize what is “in demand” or what are the dominant traits. This kind of a publication activity on one hand with its “light” content offers the readers to pass the time during leisure, on the other hand they advise the reader to try to fit in. this kind of a content suggests all readers that they must make an effort to adopt to the society where they live. The kind of life style portrayed in these contents can easily be considered as “La Dolce Vita”. Therefore it can be claimed that aspirational feelings are continuously agitated.

CHAPTER IV

CONCLUSION

The aim of this thesis was to scrutinize the weekend newspaper supplements in Turkey. As a matter of fact, today in Turkey, almost all national daily newspapers are supplying one or more supplements to their readers. Even if the first supplements to daily papers have made their appearances as early as 1950s. We witnessed a considerable increase in number of titles and especially a deep diversification and specialization during the last decades. They constitute a considerable part of the newspaper industry's output in Turkey. Therefore an analysis of these supplements can give an idea as to the place, role and function of the print media in Turkey.

Consequently, to disclose the function fulfilled by the supplements, a two level of analysis is undertaken. Following an historical account to frame the development of supplements in general, quantitative and qualitative aspects of the weekend supplements' contents of seven newspapers are analyzed for a period of four weeks in order to have an idea as to the images and discourses that account for the sense of the world that the readers make through this content. As another level of analysis, in depth interviews are realised with the acting and former editors of the major weekend supplements. Thus, the production process and the organisational goal(s) assigned to these publications are tried to be elucidated.

The interviews put it very clearly that the first and foremost goal for all the newspaper supplements was set as to increase the advertisement revenue of the publishing firm. The extent of space devoted to

advertisements and/or announcements in the supplements supports the claim of the editors. As a matter of fact, more than an average of one third of the space is devoted to advertisements.

If the space given to frequently seen “promotional news” sponsored by the advertisers or directly by the producer firms as confirmed by the editors themselves is added to the proper advertisements, this ratio nears and sometimes exceeds the fifty percent of the whole space. Moreover, again as confirmed by the editors, if certain supplement can not earn the foreseen amount of advertisement money, a decision to cease its publication is taken by the managerial board without any hesitation. Consequently it can be easily claimed that the probable conflicts between the three-fold division of work cultures into management; editorial, creative or writing people; and technical, design and production staff is claimed by Engwall (1978) does not exist or can not surface within the media organisation since the editorial judgements are subordinated to economic pressures and vested interests of the media firm. Even it is hard to state that there is a clear separation of advertising from editorial content since sponsorships are not publicly reported.

The content disseminated to the readers of the supplements consists of soft news and comments and opinions on issues that can be easily qualified as “light” even trivial if the informational needs of the citizens are considered. However, it is hard to deny the entertainment value of this content for the readers. This is clearly illustrated by the fact that the total numbers of sold newspapers on weekends are considerably superior to that of the weekdays.

Textual analysis of the same content reveals that it is primarily designed with a desire to foster consumption. But at the same time by providing accounts of the “contemporary world” and images of a certain (good) life style this very content plays a role - even a pivotal one – in shaping social consciousness. As a matter of fact as claimed by Curran (1981: 107):

The expanding consumer and lifestyle sections (of the media) concerned with music, travel, motoring, fashion, homes, health, and personal finance tacitly promoted a seductive view that consumption is a way of expressing self in a real world removed from, and transcending, hierarchies of power.

This statement of Curran enables us to affirm that the consumption of newspaper supplements (i.e. reading them) is directly linked with the ideological reproduction processes. By the same token it is plausible to conclude that even if the manifest objective of a media firm in launching a new product is purely economic, the very nature of the endeavour brings about far reaching consequences with important ideological effects. Thus, it becomes apparent that in my effort to comprehend and explain the place and the function of the mass media in the social life the analysis should focus on the interplay between the economic and symbolic dimensions of the public communications. In other words, necessary critical political economic approach to the study of mass media should be complemented with a cultural (and a reception) analysis.

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