ANALYSIS OF FEMALE STAR IMAGES IN POPULAR MAGAZINES IN THE 1960s: THE CASE OF TÜRKAN ŞORAY

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ABSTRACT

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This study covers the 1960s during when Turkish movie industry Yeşilçam had its golden age. Directors and producers made over two hundred films per year in this period. What I would like to do is to analyze how female star images were constructed by popular magazines in the 1960s. I will try to find out how private life of a star influences the representation of his/her image in popular magazines. The magazines that will be analyzed in this thesis are Ses (1961-1967) and Artist (1960-1967). These magazines will be essential for studying the ways that the 'star image' was constructed and explaining how fame was produced through the written media. The case study will focus on Türkan Şoray, an actress who earned a distinctive reputation as a 'star' in this period.

Keywords: Yeşilçam, Cinema, Popular Magazines, Star, Star Image, Türkan Şoray

ÖZET

1960'LARDA POPÜLER DERGİLERDE YILDIZ İMAJININ İNCELENMESİ: ÖRNEK İNCELEME TÜRKAN ŞORAY

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Bu çalışma, Yeşilçam'ın 1960'larda Türk sinema endüstrisindeki altın yıllarını kapsamaktadır. Yönetmenler ve yapımcılar 1960lar'da yılda iki yüz üzerinde film yapmışlardır. Benim bu tezde yapmak istediğim 1960lar'da popüler dergilerde yıldız imajının nasıl oluşturulduğunu incelemektir. Ayrıca bu tezde bir yıldızın özel yaşamının onun popüler dergilerdeki sunumunu nasıl etkilediğini bulmayı amaçlıyorum. Bu çalışmada incelenecek dergiler Ses (1961-1967) ve Artist'tir (1960-1967). Bu dergiler yıldız imajının nasıl yansıtıldığı ve şöhretin yazılı medyada nasıl üretildiğini anlamak için önemlidir. İncelemem Türk sinemasında yıldız olarak önemli bir yere sahip olan Türkan Şoray üzerine odaklanmaktadır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Yeşilçam, Sinema, Popüler Dergiler, Yıldız, Yıldız İmajı, Türkan Şoray

This thesis dedicated to
My dear grandgrandmother Keşfiye Arkan,
My dear grandmother Ülkü Arkan
and
My dear mum M.Müge Çam

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INTRODUCTION

The aim of this thesis is to analyze the ways in which female star images are depicted in popular magazines in the 1960's. Magazines were analyzed to understand how star images were produced, circulated and consumed, and what they revealed about the cultural life of Turkey in the 1960's. Ses (1961-1967) and Artist (1960-1967) magazines are analyzed to study representations of female stars and how stardom is produced through the written media. I argue that the private life of a star influences his/her career as well as the representation of his/her image in popular magazines. In my analysis, I aim to illustrate the changes in stars' private life influence the image of a star by concentration on Türkan Şoray.

Some of these popular magazines used stars' private lives for advertising, with the purpose of increasing their sales. One of the main reasons magazines used star images as an advertisement technique was that the public was overtly interested in their private lives. Society kept up with their lifestyles through popular magazines. Every detail about them would always appear in these popular magazines. Stars are very much considered as manufactured products of the popular culture, and are presented to the society as symbols of its culture, dreams, images, and prejudices. For young people, or those belonging to the middle or lower class, stars symbolized a better life, and portrayed a perfect world that is both desirable and dependable. In other words, stars mirror society; they are what society is, and reflect what society wants to believe in.

The study covers the period of the 1960s. Yeşilçam had its golden years in the 1960s and the early 1970s of the Turkish movie industry. During this period (the 1960s),

directors and producers made more than two hundred films annually. I prefer to focus on the 1960s because not only does it prove to be the most astonishing era for Turkish modern history but also because these years defined a milestone for Turkish Cinema. From 1960 to 1970, there were four female stars that dominated the film screen due to their popularity, and had been accepted and therefore produced by society. These female stars were Fatma Girik, Türkan Şoray, Filiz Akın and Hülya Koçyiğit.

For the case study, I will concentrate on Türkan Şoray, an actress that can best be described as the finest example of a movie star in 1960s in Turkey. She had a distinctive place in Turkish cinema because her celebrity was widespread over many years. Her image, media coverage about her, and her appearances in films deploy the political economy of stardom, questions of performance, and the effect on stardom upon convergence between the film industry and other entertainment industries in 1960s Turkish popular culture. I will analyze star images and stardom through Şoray because the study of her through popular magazines will trace the historical evolution of modern fame. Stars are one of the most dynamic elements of contemporary culture who perform vital social functions and generate a variety of values and knowledge. In addition, Şoray fits all the aspects of star and star theories. She fits the typical concept of star and stardom in Turkey. Until her emergence as a star, no individual or personality had received such interest and the public attention. Therefore, she became the object of popular magazines in Turkey in the 1960s.

There are a number of studies that analyze representations of female identity and female sexuality in the media in general as well as in film studies. In the field of advertisement, for example, Lockeretz and Courtney's work (1971) analyzes the roles portrayed by

women in magazine advertising. Accordingly, general advertisements were not used in women's magazines because those publications described women as housewives. Losco and Venkatesan did similar research (1975), entitled *Women in Magazine Ads: 1959-71*. These studies used content analysis to see the social changes of woman throughout these years in print advertisement. Waddell also studied (2002) the use of female sexuality in advertising. By analyzing the images and texts, this article was more about the sexuality of women and how the advertisements used female sexuality. These studies concentrate on society, women's place in society, cultural life and gender issues.

Another important concept of my study is 'star'. Therefore, I will review studies which focus on the star system and stars. For example, Hugh Look's article (1999), called *The* Author as Star, looked at the system of star. The majority of questions related to the research included how authors become stars, and stars become authors, and the role of advertising and media. Beltran's study (2002) is about Jennifer Lopez's fame and how media built up on her celebrity. This shows a parallelism with my study, but Beltran looks at her stardom through representation of her body and her ethnicity in the media. Buckley's research (2000) is about Gina Lollobrigida who was a star in the 1950s, in Italy. This research is more about Lollobrigida's life, and her place in Italian culture. The difference between my thesis and Buckley's is that Buckley looked at Lollobrigida's films to analyze her stardom; whereas, I will look at popular magazines to see how Turkish female stars were represented, with a focus on Türkan Soray. Feasey's study (2004), called Stardom and Sharon Stone: Power as Masquerade, looked at stardom through Stone. Jackie Stacey combines film theory with discursive contexts and original audience research, in order to investigate how female spectators understood Hollywood stars in the 1940s and 1950s (1994). Further research about star images was undertaken by Barry King who looked at the role of the actor as a re-presenter of signs. He argues that stardom was a strategy of performance that was an adaptive response to the limits and pressures exerted upon acting in mainstream cinema.

There are also Turkish researchers who study Turkish cinema, melodrama, and star studies. For example, Filiz Çiçek focuses on both the hegemonic and the negotiated elements of male and female roles in Turkish melodramatic films from 1965-1975. Nezih Erdoğan (1998) on the other hand, examines the dynamics that Turkish popular cinema describes a national identity and the discourse of the national identity in 1965 to 1975. Serpil Kırel's work (2005) includes the dynamics that created Yeşilçam; the social, economic, political and cultural life in the 1960s, and the relationship between Yeşilçam and spectators, producers, directors, stars and script writers in Yeşilçam. Seçil Büker's and Canan Uluyağcı's work (1993) is about Türkan Şoray's life. Other studies about Türkan Şoray were done by Atillla Dorsay (2003). These studies are more like a biography of Şoray. However my study focuses on the representation of star images in the popular magazines in the 1960s, in order to understand the place of stars and how magazines build up star images. My argument is that, a star's life effects her/his image in popular magazines.

My thesis consists of four chapters. The first chapter discusses the meaning of 'star' and 'stardom'. In order to analyze the concept of stardom, we should begin by understanding society and contemporary culture, both in local and global sense. The second chapter is about the popular Yeşilçam film industry, the platform in which films were produced by and for the stars in the 1960s. In this chapter, social, political, economic and cultural

changes in the 1960s are analyzed, followed by an examination of the female stars of Yeşilçam, and melodramas. In the third chapter, popular magazines are assessed in order to see the role of magazines in the creation of stardom in the 1960s. The last chapter includes an analysis of the representation of Turkish female stars in popular magazines in the 1960s, and the case study about Türkan Şoray. In this chapter, articles and photographs are analyzed to see the importance of Türkan Şoray and how was she represented as a star in magazines in the 1960s.

I will deploy a qualitative approach to analyze written texts and images, as well as content analysis. I will divide Türkan Şoray's career as a star into three periods. In accordance with the developments in different time periods of Türkan Şoray's life, I will analyze repercussions of these developments on her coverage in *Ses* and *Artist*. These time periods are: 1960 to 1962 when her stardom started, 1963 to 1964 when she was with Rüçhan Adlı, and the last period is 1965 to 1967 when she started to create "Şoray Rules" (with Rüçhan Adlı). This study addresses these periods (1960 to 1962, 1962 to 1965 and 1965 to 1967) and the changes in Şoray's life, how her private life influenced her image and the treatment of her image in popular magazines. I look at how much space popular magazines devoted to Türkan Şoray. Also, I examine the number of photographs and articles published about her throughout the period of the 1960s, in comparison to those of other stars (Fatma Girik, Filiz Akın and Hülya Koçyiğit).

CHAPTER 1

STAR

1.1 MEANING OF STAR AND STARDOM

Although there are several vocabulary meanings, star and stardom suggest a series of different meanings that could provide us a theoretical framework in which we can understand, and then clarify some basic concepts of popular culture and mass communication. Generally speaking, stars and stardom are understood as the system of stars in popular culture and mass communication; they are both culturally and socially constructed concepts. That is, they are products of cultural and social codes, in accordance with the society's likes and dislikes.

In this chapter, I am going to emphasize the 'film star', which means a well-known film actor or actress, but also the culturally and socially constructed concepts in order to provide a theoretical framework to understand the basic aspects of popular culture and society.

1.1.1 Star

The word *star* has an assortment of uses as a noun, an adjective and a verb. According to the Oxford English Dictionary, the primary meaning of 'star' as a noun is "a fixed luminous point in the night sky which is a large, remote, incandescent body like the sun". Another meaning suggests, "A stylized representation of a star, often used to indicate a category of excellence". One of the meanings refers to stars as, "a famous or

talented entertainer or sports player". The last one is "an outstanding person or thing in a group".

The American Heritage Dictionary defines 'star' as a noun, where the person is an artistic performer or athlete whose leading role or superior performance is acknowledged. As an intransitive verb, the meaning of star is, playing the leading role in a theatrical production, or according to the Oxford English Dictionary "(of a film, play, etc.) have (someone) as a principal performer. In addition (of a performer) have a principal role in a film, play, etc".

These meanings are clarified by a series of sources and theorists. Those definitions that appear alongside the preliminary definitions of star suggest several aspects of the concept, but fail to comprehend the entire context, including its social and cultural features. However, most of the studies investigating star regard 'star' not only as an individual, but also as a system of signs. Apart from its vocabulary meanings, as a product of culture, a star could imply distinct meanings in popular culture and mass communication studies.

Any researcher who focuses on stars must deal with the cultural and social process in which a star, through utilization of their individual characteristics, is born or created. In other words, it is the duty of the researcher to clarify how an image of a person or their particular characteristics can be turned into a new pattern. It is a social and cultural process. According to Büker and Uluyağcı, stars cannot be deprived of the society where she/he was born and created. Stars represent the hope of society directly and indirectly (1993:11). As Hinerman stated in his article, in investigating the phenomenon of

stardom, we are not dealing with particular characteristics such as talent, beauty, charisma etc. but with a complexity of cultural processes (2000:205).

Celeste indicates, "A social construction, flattened into a text that has multiple meanings and that can be read as cultural product" (2005:29). For example, in the article *National Body: Gina Lollobrigida and the Cult of the Star in the 1950s*, Bukley underlines the social and cultural aspects of star through his analysis of Edgar Morin and he says that

The sociologist Edgar Morin wrote in his pioneering work Les Stars that: 'The star is a distant being, unattainable and astral. In other words, a star is destined to radiate his or her light on to the public, for in reality [the star] is nothing than the sun [to its public]'. Alexander Walker added to Morin's statement, saying that: 'Stars...are the direct or indirect reflection of the needs drives and dreams of...society'. Stars are, therefore, a collective group of people whose lives arouse a considerable degree of interest and whose presence and activities both reflect and influence the wider population. They are not 'private' individuals but people whose lives are wholly or partly exposed to scrutiny of the public (2000:527).

The variety of stars necessitates analysis of star characteristics through different perspectives. For example, for semiotics stars are at issue, they have an effective role in the meaning of the film. Therefore, for this type of research stars are one of the narration tools of the film.

1.1.2 Stardom

The Oxford English Dictionary defines star, as the state or status of being a famous or talented entertainer or sports player. However, in star studies, the term 'stardom' is conferred to denote dialectic between on/off screen presences (Ellis 1982).

Stardom might be described as a system in which stars belong; a cultural system and a mass communication area in which stars are the pillars, in which they are legitimate and institutionalize the star system.

Stardom is presented as a source of identity and meaning in popular culture. In accordance with the social and cultural aspects, Dyer indicates, "Stardom is an image of the way stars live" (1986:39), and therefore refers to a system of signs in which stars are recognized and identified. For instance, Barry King points out that stardom is a strategy of performance that is an adaptive response to the limits and pressures exerted upon acting in mainstream cinema (Feasey, 2004:199).

In today's cultural studies, there are various approaches to stardom. Geraghty in his article, *Re-examining Stardom*, defines three kinds of film stars;

- The *star as celebrity* indicates someone whose fame rests overwhelmingly on what happens outside the sphere of his or her work and who is famous for having a lifestyle.
- The *star as performer* is defined by his or her work, drawing upon the element of performance as a demonstration of skills.
- The third kind is, *star as professional* (2000:187).

The *star-as-performer* is often associated with the high cultural values of theatrical performance, even when that performance takes place within the Hollywood film industry. Therefore, the more actors are known only for their performance, the more cultural capital and artistic value they are likely to be given.

The approach of this thesis will be the first one, *star as celebrity*. Stardom in Turkish popular culture deploys that stars are celebrities whose lives are the subjects of public curiosity. According to Geraghy, reference must be made to the way the star circulates in society. The division between stars' public and private lives, therefore tends to become the focus of star studies. Geraghty claims that:

The concept of star-as-performer has become a way of re-establishing film star status through a route which makes its claim through the film text rather than appearances in newspapers (2000:192).

As Beltran indicates in her article, *The Hollywood Latina Body as Site of Social Struggle: Media Constructions of Stardom and Jennifer Lopez's "Cross-over Butt"*, star studies scholars tend to define a star as a film actor who becomes the object of public fascination to extent that their off-screen lifestyles and personalities equal or surpass ability in importance. In her article she quotes Gredhill, stating:

According to Gredhill 'stars off-screen lifestyles and personalities or surpass acting in importance'. The opportunity to attain star status generally comes with being cast in psychologically or romantically compelling lead roles in films, as well as through being given star treatment publicity in the entertainment media. Stardom also is much more than media representation; it is a dynamic process of production activity on the part of media industries, media texts that make up star images, and audience reaction (Beltran, 2002:74).

In light of Gledhill's words, studying the star system gains importance both in understanding the social and cultural codes through the media representation of stars as well as through the dynamism of production activities of the mass communication and popular culture industries. In this context, stardom within the contemporary star system

refers to the making up of stars in the production process, particularly in the film industry.

1.2 STAR SYSTEM

The star system may have begun with the development of movies, but it did not stop there. In Hinerman's article, *Star Culture*, stardom and the star system have been crucial to processes that are the development of multinational business practices coupled simultaneously with industry's desire to reach large audiences. It is essential to the function of modern communications technologies (2000:204) including mass media, television, magazines, and cinema.

The star is one of the factors, which give audiences an idea about the subject of the film. Generally, people judge films according to their stars. With regard to the role of the star upon determining people's movie preferences, Segula states that:

Before everything in film, star will be most liked. It is natural function of stars. It is more than enough to show off to follow them. And also stars have the film sold, which is the main reason for star's existence. Their shows, images, voices, films, and also their memories make them valuable (1997: 219-220).

Bordwell claims that creating a rough character prototype for each star, which is adjusted to the particular needs of the role, is one of the functions of the star system (1985:157). Spectators can easily understand the type of the film by looking at the cast list. Thus, spectators generally decide to watch films according to the cast.

Due to the strong linkage between the preferences of spectator and the star, stars are presented to the society in a way society requires through mass communication tools.

This process can work from the opposite side, which is to mean the need within the society for a new star is "invented". Even though the power of the society is remarkable in acceptance of new created star in the society; society sometimes cannot freely take a decision to accept a new star. They may accept what they are presented. However, within the process of creation of a star, the ultimate decision always belongs to society. They might sometimes not decide who will be the star, but ultimately they will decide whether the new star will make it or not. A starlet is not a star unless society accepts her/him

Drake's analysis of the emergence of the U.S. star system is consistent with the argument that stardom is the product of society:

Richard De Cordoba, in his article, Picture Personalities, examines previous histories of the star system and gives more credence to the view that stars are the product of vast machinery. However, he cautions against taking this view to the extreme. He explains, [The star system does not produce stars the way that a factory produces goods. The system is rationalized. But it is not geared toward producing a standardized product in the usual sense of the word. It produces a product that is in fact highly individuated—the individual star.] The star system is complex and involves many elements, which may sometimes seem opposed. For example, although the star is an individual, what can be known about the star is limited by the system that makes them a star (2005:8-9).

1.3 STAR IMAGE

In today's popular understanding, the image is something that is created. Therefore, image and stardom are two convergent concepts, and "star image" emerges out of this context as a specific subject in star studies.

Stardom is the creation of image through fictitious identities, though popular culture products. These fictitious identities most of all are created through fiction can make some trouble. Dyer said that, "spectators take the mixed fiction coming from mass communication tools and interpret this fiction according to his/her needs" (1987:5).

Dyer employed a sociological approach to stardom in order to discuss star performers as industrial, ideological and cultural products through notions of stars as social phenomena, stars as images and stars as signs. According to him, a star is an actor or actresses whose private life takes on as much significance as his or her acting roles. The image of the star consists of everything that is publicly available about a performer. According to star studies, a star's image is not just made of on screen performances, but is made up multimedia and inter-textual materials such as film reviews, fan magazines and gossip publications that depict the actors life off screen (1986:2-3).

Richard Dyer has proposed the term "star text" which is a term coined to point to the idea that the film star is larger than just the roles played in movies. It includes all forms of their image in popular culture. Dyer explains that a "star image is a constructed personage in media texts," (1997), not just in films but also in all forms of media. The star text includes star filmography, and other forms of media in which her image appeared, such as fan magazines, books, and television interviews.

Producers make an assessment regarding prospective reaction of societies for the new star candidate. If a producer believes in the potential of a candidate, he may consider investing more time and energy on the candidate to create a new star. Given that existence of a star is an essential component in the marketing and advertisement strategy of a movie, this fact renders the star as the element that sells the film. Stars have a currency, which runs beyond the institution of cinema. According to Cook and Bernink:

The difference between the other actresses and the stars are; stars are used for increasing the financial of the film and the spectators want her/him...Most investigators suggest that stars were introduced as marketing devices for independent producers (1999:34).

1.3.1 Power of the Star Image

Dyer discusses the relationship between character and star image and points out that "star image or persona may either 'fit' the fictional character or work to produce a disjuncture which may have ideological significance" (1986:145). Thus, it is possible to argue that star image carries powerful cultural connotations such as identification and fictional codes of the character. There is no star without individualism and mass reproduction. Everyone can potentially occupy the role of the star, but a star cannot be everyone. A star is singular (Celeste, 2005:35) but very powerful. In most cases, within the star system, it is "the star" that saves the day. It is the "star", and his/her image that is sold in films. In such a system and business that depends on stars, they are the most powerful players. In a star system, the survival of the industry is possible if stars exercise power over the audience to allow them to pay money for tickets. This works almost in the same manner in the popular media industry, in the sense that the huge sales and circulation numbers of popular magazines come along with the power of stars. As Alberoni points out:

Stars are considered as a part of a group of people whose institutional power is very limited or non-existent while whose doings and way of life arouse a considerable and sometimes even a maximum degree of interest (1972:75).

Members of this group are popular people and well known in the society, such as singers, directors, etc. Stars preserve their power as far as their charisma based on their own capabilities. It is not easy to describe the correlation between power and capability because there is no concrete proof for that (Jarvie, 1982:149).

As I mentioned above, stars have the power to allow people to consume. As Dyer suggests, "Stars become consumption for consumer society" (1986:45). The consumer society of this age focuses on making money in order to be able to spend and consume more.

The power of the stars works as the main medium of identification among society. The more power stars have on society, the more society tends to identify themselves with the stars. Society identifies and idolizes stars through sociological, psychological and socio-psychological processes in which the audience tries to adopt star life-styles, characteristics, and in more cases, their physical appearance, clothes, or make up. Moreover, society tends to become and live as stars do. Since people aim to imitate star lifestyles, they have a tendency to copy how and what stars wear, the sports they participate in, where they go, and how they dine.

Each star has an image in the public mind and given that stars are being considered as God or Goddess in societies, this image has mostly been accepted by the majority of society. According to Celeste, "to desire the stars is to have great ambitions, to seek nothing short of immorality, or the other side of time (2005:33)". Stars have power, which stems from their relationship with other stars, films and spectators. This power relationship is sort of a love affair. Celeste claims that to love a star is to love an image of singularity. On the other hand, it is rarely seen that the lover is satisfied with this image (2005:31).

Spectators admire the image of the star rather than its real character. People admire the image of the star, which was created by mass production companies for their appearances before the public. Producers are familiar with the needs of the spectator, so these stars have been projected by mass communication tools in a way that society desires to see. Indeed, as an image, stars become evident on the stage or in the narrative by reflecting the story of the role onto the world (Celeste, 2005:32).

In the power relations of the star system, society is both the subject and the exerciser of power. The power of society should be conceived in the star studies. As stated by Hinerman, the audience determines celebrity, the only way to understand fame, therefore, is to understand those who emulate the famous, and how they do so (2000:200).

According to Kapferer, being a star is not something that is coincidental. A star might be namely a project that combines a number of elements such as physics, personality and the immediate needs of the society (1990:223). There is a new relationship that begins with the star and the spectator. This relationship has unwritten rules about what a star does or does not do. As mentioned above, although producers create stars, spectators give the power to and accept this star. If the audience ignores a starlet or star-candidate,

there is no possibility to promote his/her as a star. In such cases, producers and directors look for different alternatives to find candidates and to demonstrate these candidates to the electorate (spectators) who are to choose one of them. A star candidate is looking for a personality. She should use her body and she should accept everything that the stars refused to make (Büker,Uluyağcı, 1993:11). According to Morin;

Makeup is one of the important things for the star candidate. Makeup has the power to create a new meaning to a face; on the other hand, it destroys the meaning of the face. By the help of makeup, a candidate star can constitute a personality for herself (1960:40).

As a result, the star is often used as a symbol to indicate work that is well done. Stars affect consumers, influencing them to see certain films, to purchase certain products and services by their image in advertisements, and the products used in their films.

Stardom is notoriously hard to define but easy to recognize in actors and pop stars. Obviously, the star must have 'star quality,' but in itself that is not sufficient (although essential). Full stardom only happens when that quality is widely recognized by the public and rewarded by attention and by purchase of their output (Look, 1999:13).

As outlined in the introduction, this thesis is about the female star images in popular magazines of the 1960s. In those years, female stars emerged from the Turkish cinema, so it is important to look at the Turkish cinema and the female stars in those years.

CHAPTER 2

YEŞİLÇAM

This chapter of the thesis is going to focus on Yeşilçam. It consists of four parts. The first one is about the female stars in Yeşilçam from 1920-1970. The second is about Yeşilçam in the 1960s. It is important to look at the female stars and Yeşilçam in 1960s because this will provide information about the stars, society, economy the influence of these factors upon magazines. The third chapter is about melodramas, which society preferred to watch in the 1960s. The last chapter is about Yeşilçam and the women in Yeşilçam.

2.1 FEMALE STARS IN YEŞİLÇAM 1920-1970

The beginning of Turkish cinema goes back to the period where the country was struggling during World War I. Following this period, Turkish cinema started to develop and this progress created chances for female characters. Being a star stipulates attaining popularity in mass culture in a short time. To make this possible, it was necessary to achieve adaptation to the technology and techniques of the new century.

In the history of Turkish cinema, there are lots of actresses or stars who could build a successful career in cinema, from old times to the present. While some were forgotten, these people maintain the shine of stardom. They have given all of their efforts towards developing the Turkish film sector and have made Turkish cinema a precious art. Some of them had their own rules and restrictions.

In 1923, Muhsin Ertuğrul directed *Ateşten Gömlek*, which was the first film with a Turkish female character. Before that time, Russian women and some representatives of minorities played the female roles. Some examples include Madam Kalitea (who was one of the first foreign national women in Turkish cinema, acted in *Mürebbiye* (Ahmet Fehim, 1919) and was the first woman who was kissed on-screen), Matmazel Blanche (who acted in *Binnaz*, the film directed by Ahmet Fehim in 1919), Anna Mariyeviç (who acted in *İstanbul'da Bir Facia Aşk* by Muhsin Ertuğrul in 1922).

The first Turkish woman characters were Bediha Muvahhit (Ayşe) and Neyyire Neyyir (Kezban) who acted in *Ateşten Gömlek* (1923 Muhsin Ertuğrul). As Özgüç noted

Bediha Muvahhit's and Neyyire Neyyir's appearances on the screen as Muslim women opened a new era in Turkish cinema. However, they were not dominant figures in male oriented films. Because at that time the major picture characters were always male, those were leading figures of narrative (2000).

From 1930-1940 Cahide Sonku was the first woman movie star of the Turkish cinema. Sonku's importance was not only attributable to being a star for a long time but also to her being Turkey's first female director and producer. Ertuğrul presented its first rural drama to the Turkish cinema with the film called *Bataklı Damın Kızı Aysel* (Muhsin Ertuğrul, 1935). In that film, narrative was established through the female character. She had a scarf on her head and later on, this would become a fashion among the girls. After this film she acted in a role in a tale of bar women in *Şehvet Kurbanı* (Muhsin Ertuğrul, 1940). In addition, with this role she displayed the vamp-face of women to the spectators. Sonku was a beautiful and talented woman. As Büker and Uluyağcı wrote in their book, "she looked like the westernized woman that the republic ideology describes. Spectators named her as our Greta Garbo (1993:19)". She had an important place in

Turkish cinema because she opened the doors for women to become stars. She had been the only female star in Turkish cinema for 18 years.

Between 1940 and 1950, a new generation of actresses such as Ayla Karaca, Hümaşah Hican, Nedret Güvenç, Gülistan Güzey and Sezer Sezin existed. Indeed Sezer Sezin became a matter of primary importance among others with her physical advantages, films and talent. Özgüç named this period as the *Starless Years* (2000:33).

From 1950-1960, there was an increase in the number of films which alternately increased the number of actors and actresses. Directors and producers tried to find new faces; some of them were liked by the society such as Sezer Sezin, Muhterem Nur, Neriman Köksal, Belgin Doruk, Fatma Girik, Leyla Sayar and Türkan Şoray. Muhterem Nur - known as the second star of Turkish cinema, usually played in poor, unlucky young woman roles. Therefore, she became the star for the rural part of the society. As Özgüç noted, "she was the most photogenic woman in the cinema (2000)". Besides that, it is noteworthy to mention Neriman Köksal, who was the first and the longest-term vamp woman of Turkish cinema. In Turkish cinema, Neriman Köksal played a femme fatale character (which means an attractive woman who leads men into difficult or doomed situations), in *Fosforlu Cevriye* (Aydın Arakon, 1959). She was very beautiful, and dangerous. She looked masculine by speaking, acting, and drinking alcohol like men, but at the same time, she was an attractive woman.

As Özgüç noted, "Leyla Sayar brought a new woman character to Turkish cinema, the unforgettable sexual object of the 1960s (2000)". To define the term sexual object, we should look at the article of Laura Mulvey (who was a feminist film critic) which was

called *Visual Pleasure and Narrative cinema*. Mulvey indicates that mainstream films presented images of women who were produced simply for the gratification of male viewers. Laura Mulvey asserts that in a world ordered by sexual imbalance, pleasure in looking has been organized around a split between the "active male" and the "passive female" as they are represented in narrative cinema. We are informed that the determining male gaze projects its fantasy onto the female figure in such a way as to display strong visual and erotic impact (Mulvey, 1975: 27). However, during that period, female sexuality in Turkey was still regarded as non-existent. If existing at all, it was attributed to femme fatale characters, or vamp personalities. That is why in the 1960s, it was impossible for any actress to be a star as they deployed "the female sexuality" onscreen. Then, it is clearly understandable why Belgin Doruk might be the first of a series of women stars in Turkish Cinema always playing "innocent" or asexual characters.

Belgin Doruk was characterized with her well-known "little lady" roles as the most beautiful woman in the film industry. Her sexuality had never shown in her films and she was always shown as a baby doll (Özgüç, 2000:36). Her private life was always a subject for the magazines. Doruk had attracted the attention of the film makers after winning beauty pageants. In those years, there were lots of female actresses in Turkish cinema who gained fame through beauty contests. Some examples are Belgin Doruk as mentioned before, Filiz Akın and Hülya Koçyiğit. These contests were one of the ways to reach the film acting level.

The period from 1960 to 1970 was that of the four great stars. In the 1960s, there were many female actresses in the cinema sector, but the news media utilized four great stars: Fatma Girik, Türkan Şoray, Filiz Akın and Hülya Koçyiğit. First, we saw Fatma Girik

who played roles that were more masculine, and her roles continued in this manner.

Generally, she acted in films based on stories in villages. According to Özgüc:

Girik is a different type of Neriman Köksal because Girik was symbolizing a girl who devoted her life to help her people unless somebody made her angry. She played her roles and portrayed characters very persuasively (2000:37).

Secondly, in the 1960s we saw Türkan Şoray who started to stand in the foreground and could play every kind of role very successfully. As Nazlı Eda Noyan wrote in her thesis;

The name of the star was so meaningful in terms of "star's image's career". As "sultan of Turkish cinema", Türkan Şoray is known to be the honorable virgin or faithful woman in her films which are supposed to be romantic or legitimate love stories through 1960s or 1970s (1998:60).

Şoray was a woman that everybody could fall in love with. Everybody tried to imitate her. According to Özgüç, "Şoray was a fetish woman (2000:41)". She created the interest of the male and female spectators by her feminine and puerile roles. As Kırel wrote in her book, "the reason for her stardom was her acting, on the other hand another reason could be her swarthiness, because in the period of black and white films, a good female character was always swarthy (2005:87)".

Then Filiz Akın came to the stage with her European style and her long blonde hair. She looked like a city lady. As Silan wrote in her book;

Her story was like a fairy tale. She was the first innocent blonde woman in the Turkish cinema. Until her performances, all the blonde women were played in bad roles. She was always seemed like a college girl (2004:208).

It is not so true to say that she was the first innocent blonde woman in Turkish cinema, because Cahide Sonku was also a blonde. Nevertheless, generally woman with blonde hair were depicted as bad characters in films.

Finally, Hülya Koçyiğit joined the cinema sector as a star. When she won beauty pageants, producers and directors discovered her. She acted as a pure and innocent girl in her films. She was the fragile woman of Yeşilçam. In addition, with *Susuz Yaz* (Metin Erksan, 1963) she became one of the four great stars.

"According to Dorsay, Girik, Şoray, Akın and Koçyiğit were on the agenda for a long time because of the increase in film production (Kırel, 2005:91)". On the other hand, being on the agenda for a long time could be negative for the stars, because society could get bored of seeing their faces all the time.

As outlined before, there were different types of female stars. Some of them were more masculine, some were more close to the rural class, and some were like a little lady. Society loved them and saw them as stars for different reasons. They sometimes played in different roles. As Justice Daniel wrote in his article:

If the star was perceived as a girl -good, cute, and wholesome- she was likely to be embraced into narratives of ethnic assimilation... If, however, the star more closely fit the category of woman -strong, uncontrollable, vampish- her representation more often followed a trajectory of fascination, fear, and discomfort (:2004:247).

In the 1960s, stars acted in popular films; on the other hand, they also acted in the realistic films. As Kırel said, "they started their careers with films that had social content (2005:206)". Türkan Şoray acted in *Otobüs Yolcuları* (Ertem Göreç, 1961),

Acı Hayat (Metin Erksan, 1963), and Hülya Koçyiğit in Susuz Yaz (Metin Erksan, 1963)

In the 1960s, the common aspect of popular women stars was being with the men who had power in business life. As Kırel wrote in her book, "to be a star in cinema, you have to be with a powerful man (2005:98)". Good examples of this argument were Türkan Şoray with Rüçhan Adlı, Filiz Akın with Türker İnanoğlu, and Fatma Girik with Memduh Ün. In the 1960s, stars gained power from society and this reflected the competition between producers, because stars knew that society wanted them and that producers needed them. As a result of this, the star prices increased.

Being a star in Turkish cinema has many rules. For example stars generally did not play in bad roles, they have right to choose the male actor and the script, they did not prefer to make love in their films (it could change according to director and the script). They usually did not show their full naked body, their character in films generally portrayed honorable woman. Society loved these stars and accepted them with their rules and their private life. For example, Fatma Girik had a forbidden love affair with director Memduh Ün, and Türkan Şoray with Rüçhan Adlı. Although these two men were married to other women, society accepted this.

2.2 YEŞİLÇAM IN THE 1960s

Cinema has been one of the crucial components of social and cultural life. One should not examine cinema independent of society. Films were made according to social events. In other words, cinema is the major kingdom of popular culture. In particular, cinema gained more importance after the military intervention on 27 May 1960. Because of the

military intervention, there were some movements in social, economic and political life in the 1960's. According to Özön,

The 1960 military intervention and the 1961 constitution exposed every problem of Turkey that constraint, pressure and police-governmental methods had tried to prevent (1985:363).

Due to the revolutionary impact of the social movement in the 1960s, people became freer and had more liberty to exercise fundamental human rights in the context of democratization. Turkish filmmakers started to polarize their views and the social, economic, and aesthetic aspects of the society through films.

In the 1960s universities, state radio and television became autonomous. New corporations were established through five year developmental planning. The aim of this planning was to assist the private sector in development. This was a mixed economy. Due to the new sectors, that of industry and service, population in the urban areas increased. As an outcome, the construction sector developed. People in rural areas migrated to urban areas. They could not afford to buy homes. Therefore, they built their own slum houses. People who lived in these slum houses created their own culture which named as arabesque culture.

As the urban population had been increasing dramatically, popular culture mediums such as radio, magazines, photo novels and newspapers became a vital part of daily life. By the 1960s, there emerged a series of different types of magazines such as *Ses* and *Artist*, which were popular and published in an American style that was distinguished with its visual features. Along with these popular magazines, such journals as *Yön*,

Aksiyon, Sol and Devrim dominated the political and social scene, and directed the ideological debate of the era.

The 1960s were remarkable not only in Turkish modern history, but could also be referred to as the turning point for Turkish Cinema. During the era, as mentioned before, Turkish society witnessed a series of economical and social changes such as social mobilization and migration form countryside to urban areas. At that time, the rate of migration to cities from villages was at such a high rate, that this development in the population structure of cities led to the occurrence of new social classes (Derman, 2001:223). All these changes became a subject for films. The 1960s genres and subgenres directly reflected these changes. The first examples of films about the class struggle emerged in these years. A number of films such as *Gurbet Kuşları* (Halit Refiğ, 1964) about the migration were also made in 1960s. For the first time, Turkish cinema saw the politicization process. However, the dominant genre was melodrama, which was very much appropriate to present the stereotype female character and conventional female stardom.

By the 1960s, cinema was to be seen as a new domain of intellectual debates along with other artistic activities such as theatre, literature, and music. Cinema started to be used as a medium of communication in expressing the ideas on social, economic, cultural, and aesthetic issues. Directors and producers made more than two hundred films per year (see table 1). A cinematic image of national harmony and unity was demanded by a series of filmmakers and intellectuals. Erdoğan stated, "The 1960s were the most brilliant period of Yeşilçam".

Yeşilçam cinema industry was mostly based on the star system (Özön, 1985:369), where the films were made due to the popular stars. Even the name of the star was written above as smashing headlines, in greater size than the name of the movie. To render the interest of society, producers produced their films with the star who society wanted to see and liked. Kırel noted that, "stars were the reflection of the needs and the dreams of the society directly and indirectly (2005:75)".

Table 1: The number of Turkish films, 1960 - 1968

YEAR	NUMBER OF	BLACK / WHITE	COLOR
	FILMS		
1960	68	68	
1961	116	116	
1962	127	127	
1963	125	124	1
1964	178	177	1
1965	214	212	2
1966	238	238	
1967	206	199	7
1968	177	153	24
1968	229	173	56

(Scognamillo, 1998:191)

For Yeşilçam it was possible to say that Yeşilçam was sort of an imitation of the Hollywood star system and some of the themes of Yeşilçam were similar to the Hollywood film industry. The best example of imitation was the female stars of Hollywood cinema that put heavy make up on their faces all the time. In films, Yeşilçam female stars -even when they were suffering from fatal diseases and were desperately sick- continued to apply heavy make up on their faces while they were in bed. Another example is the advertisement methods of female stars both in Hollywood and in the Yeşilçam industry.

As Halit Refiğ said, our cinema was not born in our dramatic sources; West and Hollywood films affected our cinema. The taste of the Turkish society was a mix of American cinema, Ortaoyunu, Karagöz and Hacivat (Kırel, 2005:185).

According to this explanation of Refig, Kirel named Yeşilçam as a narrator cinema; on the other hand she named Meddah as a storyteller (2005:279).

In addition the influence of westernization process in Turkey was very strong. This effected popular magazines which were oriented to Turkish society by imitating the lifestyles of Hollywood stars. Society started to copy their dress codes, life style, food and music.

The subject of Yeşilçam generally came from literary, which were liked by the society. As Kırel said in her book, "popular cinema had an intensive relationship with popular literature" (2005:226). Yeşilçam not only used novels but also it copied foreign films especially Hollywood films. Producers and directors preferred to use the literary and foreign films because in the 1960s, there were lots of films produced and it was difficult to find new subjects. For this reason they preferred to use novels and foreign films that the society had enjoyed previously. Another example of the difficulty to find new subjects is scripts. When we look at the scripts, they were all similar and they were modeled the same in Yeşilçam. Yeşilçam was also based on dialog, and this could possibly be attributed to the habit of listening to the radio. As mentioned before radio was one of the important instruments from 1950 to 1960.

The popular films that Yeşilçam produced became part of the daily life of society. As Noyan noted, "these movies answered the needs of the consumer" (1998:21). The

primary goal of a film production is based on a profit-oriented approach aim to make money. On the other hand, producers and directors are aware that they are obliged to consider and satisfy the demands of consumers (spectators) needs, because money will come from demand and interest of people. According to Erdoğan:

Films are made by money coming from the people, so they must be made for the people, one way, or another. Since it is impossible to reach and to identify the characteristics of Turkish people, demands and needs of people must be developed within Yeşilçam, which already formed its audience (1998:262).

During these years, some producers began to give more importance to films which were dealing with social issues, such as migration. On the other hand, some of the directors' preferred to shoot the melodramas based on same narratives. As a result of this, a new type of cinema, called "National cinema", appeared. Metin Erksan, Halit Refig and Atıf Yılmaz were some of the members of this cinema. Their main focus was on the cultural needs of society. *Otobüs Yolcuları* (Ertem Göreç, 1961), *Acı Hayat* (Metin Erksan, 1963), *Susuz Yaz* (Metin Erksan, 1963), and *Karanlıkta Uyuyanlar* (Metin Erksan, 1964) were good examples of national cinema. Yusuf Kaplan argues:

A nation has to develop its own cinematography, its own film language by relying on its own visual culture, narrative traditions, and capacity for artistic experiments. Turkish filmmakers have proved that they are beginning to discover a distinctive way of story-telling which will enable them to create a truly national cinema (1996: 661).

The genres, which touch spectators' heart, especially women spectators, were preferred more. The type of melodrama (which means sensational play with exaggerated

characters and exciting events), gains importance in cinema, and directors and producers work hard at melodrama.

2.2.1 Yeşilçam Melodrama

Çiçek who was interested in both the hegemonic and the negotiated elements of male and female roles in Turkish melodramatic films from 1965-1975 defined melodrama as "an extravagantly sentimental or emotionally exaggerated drama or play; formerly, a romantic interspersed with music" (2005:1). Melodrama was the first genre coming to mind when the subject was Yeşilçam. In melodramas, the audience wants to see certain places, certain themes, certain characters, and even certain endings in certain movies.

Yeşilçam, rising in 60's, started to fall down with the changing socio-economic and historical conditions after the first half of the 70's. Moreover sharing the melodramatic codes such as 'love, coincidence, prevented heterosexual coupling, missed opportunities, expression of feelings and thoughts by music (Akbulut, http://cim.anadolu.edu.tr/?page=abs info&id=86).

The concepts of Yeşilçam melodrama are always the same. A rich boy falls in love with a poor girl, she tells him a lie about her life, and the parents of the boy do not want this girl and slander her. Alternatively, the rich boy and the girl marry but the ex-lover of the boy slanders the bride and it turns out to be an issue of honor rather than matter of love. Boy leaves girl and it continues. Nevertheless, in the end of the film there will be a happy ending. Bad things happen and the bad characters are deservedly punished, while good ones achieve happiness. In other words, the melodrama told the tale of rural/urban and rich/poor oppositions. These kinds of melodramas mostly focused on love affairs,

sexuality and parenthood. The subject is usually an impossible love affair between the poor boy and the rich girl or vice versa.

Erdoğan referred to melodrama as a "fairy tale" (1998:265) and their point as being a heartbreaker full of tears. As Kırel said, "a good film makes people cry (2005:273)". Although spectators know the subject of the film and the type of the Yeşilçam films, as Scognamillo said, "They fall in this artificial set of game" (1998:15).

One of the characteristics of melodrama's are the conflicts, between good and bad, rich and poor, ugly and beautiful, west and east, cultured and uncultured. These conflicts are the key parts of the narrative. The actual subject of melodramas is impossible love stories. These impossibilities occur because of the different conditions of the man and woman, who are supposed to fall in love.

As Erdoğan said,

Yeşilçam exploits melodramas in articulating the desires aroused not only by class conflict but also by rural/urban and eastern/western oppositions. Immigration from rural areas to big cities is still a social phenomenon with significant economic and cultural consequences (1998:265).

Turkish cinema is utilized to clarify the contradictions between the desires of west and east. As Çiçek wrote in her article, "melodramas with love stories then; bring the individual face to face with the collective: sexual freedom versus virtue, economic freedom versus loss of control which threatens to compromise the patriarchal power structure" (2005:2).

Another characteristic of melodramas are the messages relayed that must be "relevant in a clear and visual way to the audience" (Sarıkartal: 90). Everything is shown to the spectator; he knows who the bad people are and sees the misfortunes. Everything is clear and there is no question in the spectator's mind about the narrative or the characters. In other words, in melodramas, spectators know everything about the characters and it does not change during the film.

In melodramas, there are always misfortunes. But these misfortunes are dissolved at the end. There is always a happy ending. All the misfortunes disappear and the lovers unite once again. It could be argued that the audience wants to see what it believes on the screen.

In Sarıkartal's article called *Voice of Contraction*, there is a part from the Gredhill's book of *Signs of Melodrama*:

He explains the construction of star personae; physical being, dress and actions can be conceived as externalized expressions of personalized moral forces; gestures can be considered as a link between ethical forces and personal desires. Body and face are used as a way of reaching the audience; gesture reveals what words conceal, the language of the face cannot be suppressed or controlled...the goal of personification is the production of clear psychic and moral identities; making the world morally legible is more important than triumph of the virtuous (2003:83).

In melodramas, spectators can fully identify and establish empathy with the character, because in melodramas, everything is clear and spectators know about narrative more than the characters in the film. Spectators come to cinema to forget their problems, feel the fairytale, identify with the character and feel the same things that the character does,

such as; falling in love, being betrayed, having a life struggle and so on. Spectators fall into the narrative and sometimes forget that she/he was watching a film. Yeşilçam melodrama has an effect on the emotions of the spectator not on their logic. Melodramas are watched to escape from reality. In other words, people watch films and the melodrama genre to distract their minds from their problems.

So which types of people prefer to watch melodramas? The type of melodrama was generally for people who were from the provinces and those coming to towns from villages. Michael Booth, quoted by Çiçek, wrote that, "melodrama itself is essentially entertainment for the industrial working class...its basic energy was proletarian" (2005:1). In my opinion, melodramas were generally close to the women spectators because as outlined before, the content of melodramas were about love, sexuality, class distinction and parenthood. This was so that they could easily identify with the female star character and distract themselves from real life. As in Morey's article, *Affect and stardom in a domestic Melodrama*, Ann Cvetkovich is quoted as suggesting, "Female melodrama is potentially radical because it at least provides its (female) audience with satisfaction of being able to locate a remedy for suffering" (2004:101).

As a result by watching melodramas, people could escape from real life, identify with the character (laughed and cried with the character) and at the end, the spectator feels satisfied.

2.2.2 Woman in Yeşilçam Melodrama

It is important to remember the importance of the woman character in Yeşilçam melodrama in the 1960s. In the beginning of the cinema, for instance, the male hero

traditionally makes things happen, while the female is the reward for the completion of the task. The female role or a female narrative is often confined to domesticity. According to Sarıkartal;

A female star of Yeşilçam is forced to solve a great dilemma without getting any support from the narrative; on one hand, it has to maintain a line of action in accordance with traditional moral values; on the other hand it is expected to exemplify a new identity for woman in a modernizing society (2003:88).

As in real life, women were suppressed and they were put in a position where they found themselves obliged to struggle with the difficulties that constantly arise in their lives. As time passes, women's place changed in society and Turkish films were apparently affected by this change as well. In the beginning a woman's place was in the home, but after the 1961 constitution, she gained power in society. However, in melodramas, it was not possible to realize all these developments. "Being a star in Yeşilçam melodramas, beauty was a precondition to take the first step to join that sector" (Derman, 2001:48). There were lots of similar narratives about ugly and uncivilized women, during which this woman fell in love with the handsome and civilized man. First, the man did not really consider her to be important and did not take good care of her. His only goal was to abuse women and then leave. However, in most narratives, after a woman is abused, she disappears and eventually returns in a totally new, different and attractive image. The man fails to realize that she was the one he abused. Then it is time for the man to fall in love with this new modern woman. At the end, the man comprehends that indeed the one he had abused and the new attractive lady, were same person. Since the man realized how beautiful and sexy she was, he continued to love her. As a result, being beautiful came on the scene as the first important thing in narrative.

Another possibility was that the rich man used the poor and uncivilized woman, and then in time, he went into financial decline and became poor. Meanwhile, the poor woman becomes rich. At the end, she helps him and he understands that he mistreated the poor woman. He refuses to marry the rich woman. In the end, as usual, the woman and man become equal, both in terms of beauty and financially.

Feminist film critic Laura Mulvey's article, called *Visual Pleasure and Narrative Cinema*, indicates that mainstream films presented images of women who were produced simply for the gratification of male viewers. Cinema as a system of representation poses the question of the form and manner in which the collective subconscious structures ways of seeing and the pleasure of looking (1975). According to Mulvey, there are three kinds of visual pleasure. The first is that the woman is the object of looking, so the spectator takes pleasure from looking at the object of desire. The second is that as the film proceeds the woman in the film is possessed and controlled by the leading male figure. And the third one is a look of a male spectator that imitates the first two. Woman is an image and the man is the one who views the image. Therefore, the star image became an object of desire. (1997:38)

In Yeşilçam melodramas, sexuality of the female star was shown in a very innocent light. Desire was about love, not about sexuality. Spectators never had a chance to see a woman star's naked body. All the relationships were based on sentiments and were separate from sex. On the other hand, in Yeşilçam melodrama, the camera does not show the woman's full naked body, but relays the expression of desire by using close-ups of the eyes and lips. This happens consistently in Şoray films.

In melodramas, lots of women characters acted vivaciously and had the talent to stay innocent and virtuous. According to Dorsay, women characters must be both feminine and a family-oriented as a mother. She had to combine these two different types in one body (1997:59). On one hand, in Yeşilçam cinema, the good female character achieves a happy ending while the bad female character is punished. As Modleski stated, "bad and good characters would never be happy together (1988:90)". At the end of the melodramas good characters, which are the stars of the film, always win.

In Yeşilçam melodramas, female characters created a perception that women need protection and to be taken care of by male characters. Marriage would be a way of protection for female characters. For example in some narratives, the rich man abused women both sexually and emotionally, and in the end, the woman becomes pregnant. In this case, she is coerced into marrying another male character to protect her honor in society.

According to Abisel, "the female characters in these melodramas give up their passions, dreams, benefits, money, business and sometimes their lives. It is because their only desire is having a family" (1994:194). Related to this understanding, female characters would rather give priority to their honor rather than satisfy their desires.

In the 1960s, the melodramatic elements in the popular Yeşilçam films paved the way to the emergence of four different female stars whose films are always melodramatic. Their films are popular because they are widely liked by society and fit the star position in Yeşilçam. These female stars are Fatma Girik, Türkan Şoray, Filiz Akın and Hülya Koçyiğit. In Dorsay's book entitled *Sümbül Sokağın Tutsak Kadını*, he writes:

These four female stars (Fatma Girik, Türkan Şoray, Filiz Akın, Hülya Koçyiğit) create one person by the combination of four of them. Because one of them looks like a child, the other one seems more masculine, one is more feminine and the one seems like a gentlewoman. Features of these four women exemplify the different faces of one woman (2003:17).

However, there were distinctions between them; they could play all kind of characters in their films.

These female stars of Yeşilçam melodrama were close to society. In addition, society used to follow their lifestyles and developments of their lives via the popular magazines. Every detail about them would always be in these popular magazines.

CHAPTER 3

POPULAR MAGAZINES

3.1 MEANING OF POPULAR

According to The Oxford English Dictionary, the first meaning of "popular" is 'liked or admired by many or by a particular group', the second meaning is 'intended for or suited to the taste or means of the general public: *the popular press*'. The third meaning is '(of a belief or attitude) widely held among the general public'. And the last meaning is '(of political activity) carried on by the people as a whole'. On the other hand, the American Heritage Dictionary defines "popular" as a widely liked or appreciated, reflecting the taste of the people at large, regarded with great favor, approval, or affection especially by the general public.

This thesis is going to look at the idea of popular as in the first meaning in the Oxford English Dictionary. In those years, movie stars came from the popular Yeşilçam cinema, which was a kind of cinema that did not have the concept of giving different narration forms, or using concern that was more aesthetic; and it did not have the goal of giving specific messages to the spectators. The aim was to earn money and try to help spectators to forget their daily problems. On the other hand, "National cinema" (which was explained in the second chapter) had the concept of imparting a dominant ideology and specific messages by using lights, atmosphere, and characteristics of the performers. Nevertheless, society showed more interest in the popular Yeşilçam cinema than national cinema. The reason was that being popular was more in the interest of society.

This thesis is about the star image in popular magazines in the 1960s. Popular magazines of the era provide us a context in which we are able to clarify the stars and stardom in Turkey, particularly movie stars. As the cinema in general, and Yeşilçam specifically, constituted almost the entire popular culture, movie stars became the subjects of the popular magazines.

Popular magazines are produced and written for a general audience. Popular magazines served the role of connection between people and the star image, but it is a unilateral communication between star and the society. People learned every detail about the stars' life from these popular magazines. So, it is important to make the connection between popular magazines and stars. Magazines are very popular products of the culture.

3.2 MAGAZINES, STARS AND FANS

As indicated before, popular magazines are one of the important tools that make the connection between society and stars (movie stars). According to society, stars are the people that no one can reach. Society saw them on the screen, but with the help of popular magazines, society learned everything about their lives and brought them to life. Before talking about the connection between magazine, star and society, it is essential to talk about the popular magazines.

In popular magazines, articles are usually short and written in a language that is easy to understand. In some cases, such as in gossip magazines, photographs gain more importance than the text. One of the important characteristics of the popular magazines is the photos. As Sidey and Fox wrote, "Photos attract readers. Editors…have to hold as much as possible of their readers' time and attention, and among their best weapons are

their cameras" (1956:11, cited in Zillmann, Knobloch, Yu, 2001:301). There are large photos of stars in magazines, through which society can easily identify with the image. Photos are half of the story about the subject.

Magazines can be analyzed through iconographical forms, which means where the subject matter of themes and concepts are the focus of iconography proper. However, "a correct identification of motifs is necessary for a correct iconographical analysis" (Panofsky, 1972:6). The images (photographs) of the stars in magazines can be seen as motifs. But it is important not to forget that images are interpreted and they don't have uniform meanings. Images are understood through what we bring to them from our experience, knowledge of other images, and personal histories. In other words, the interpretation could change depending upon the age, gender, social class and background of the viewer. Barthes describes the photo as "memento more comes to mind" (1981:96).

With or without text every image has a story to tell. Photographs are the copy of reality. It is a visual code so that the photographs are presented as a visual form in many media such as magazines and newspapers. And in these type media 'text supporting the image', where the validity of the photograph is explained and justified through the text (Watson, http://www.aber.ac.uk/media/Students/jjw9903.html).

In other words, as Gibson noted, "photographs can tell some kinds of stories far better than words and can be used as strong lures to attract readers to text matter" (1991:276 cited in Zillmann, Knobloch, Yu, 2001:302). That is to say, a picture is worth a thousand words.

Films and stars influenced society and society had a great interest in the stars. Magazines especially, which contain lots of gossip, help to shape our views about stars and the lives they live. Society learned every little detail about stars, such as how they lived, how they became stars, where they lived, where they bought their clothes, where they went for holidays, what they ate and who they loved. Also, by reading magazines about stars as a society, our perceptions about man and woman could be changed. This type of media shows society such things as how women should look, how she should dress and how she should act in society. As Celeste said, "the print and broadcast media exist to serve the interest of both star and fan (2005:32)".

Newspapers and magazines helped to promote the fashion of the stars by running features on their dresses or costume designers, and by treating female stars as the first source of glamour pictures. (Macdonald, 1995:75)

As Dyer wrote in his book *Stars* (1986:69), the image of the star is made by promotion, publicity and films. Popular magazines were used for star publicity. In popular magazines there were gossip columns, interviews with stars, and big photos of stars. Media corporations use stardom and celebrity to please the masses. People wanted to read about the stars so popular magazines used stars to earning more revenue. By reading popular magazines, society feels that they are close to the stars. Stars gained publicity by using magazines, and magazines earned more money by using stars.

As explained initially, society is very interested in the private lives of stars, and the most popular subject in magazines is who the stars are in love with. Their loves, divorces, marriages and conflicts were the main subjects. The reason for this could be the identification with the character while watching his/her film. In films, society identifies

with the star character, and forgets that they were watching a film. This could affect female audiences more. When the female audience puts themselves in the place of the female star, they feel the love that female star feels towards the male star. Magazines used stars personal lives as an advertisement. As Dyer said, "love is promoted by films and by articles in the fan magazines" (1986:52).

In my opinion, one of the characteristics of popular magazines was giving hope to the younger generation for being a star. Popular magazines exposed this by writing about the stars past life and how they became a star. Youngsters identify with the stars and believe that they can accomplish the same goals and move up in society. According to them, stars are rich, famous, charismatic, and beautiful. They think of life as a fairy tale. So they read magazines about stars and start to act like them. On the other hand, these popular magazines could give false opinion to the readers, too. Horkheimer and Adorno believed that culture industries used stars as vehicles to create false hopes of upward social mobility and meaningful social change among audience members. They argued that:

Those [stars] discovered by the talent scouts and then publicized on a vast scale by the studio are ideal types of the new dependent average. Of course, the scarlet is meant to symbolize the typist in such a way that the splendid evening dress seems meant for the actress as distant from the real girl. The girls in the audience not only feel that they could be on the screen, but realize that great gulf separating them from it...Whenever the culture industry still issues an invitation naively to identify, it is immediately withdrawn. No one can escape from himself anymore (1972:145).

Another method of creating hope for being a star was through magazine contests. In Turkey, the popular magazines *Ses* and *Artist* held contests to discover new stars. This was a chance for youngsters to become stars.

3.2.1 Popular Magazines in Turkey; SES and ARTIST

Before the 1950s there was a magazine called *Temaşa*, which was about theater news. In the 1960s, *Sisa*, *Artist*, *Kamera*, *İstanbul Hollywood Sinemagazin*, *Kolsuz Bebek*, *Yedinci Sanat/Yeni Sinema*, *Artist Özel Sayısı*, *Sinema 1960* were published. *Artist Yıllığı*, *Film Roman*, *Ses*, *Sinema Albümü*, *Ayşecik Şeytan Çekici* were added as cinema magazine. *Şahlar Geliyor* (1963), *Film-Magazin* (1963), *Tenik Film* (1963), *Kulis*, *Sinesis* (1963), *Sinema Ekspres* (1964), *Si-Ti* (1964), *Lamek Film* (1964), *Sinema Postası* (1964), *Film*, *Güney Film Postası* (1964), *Sinema* 65 (1965), *Yıldız Magazine* (1965), *Yeni Sinema* (1966), *Görüntü* (1966), *Artist Perde Aralığı* (1966), *Beyaz Perde Haberleri* (1966), *Salıncak* (1966), *Ege Filmciler Postası* (1967), *Yeni Gazete-Magazin* (1967), *Film ve Sinema* (1967), *Özgür Sinema* (1968), *Genç Sinema* (1968), *As-Akademik Sinema* (1969), *Foto Sahne* (1969) were the cinema magazines which were published in the 1960s. (Kırel, 2005:44)

Pazar Postasi, Devir Dergisi, Akis and Kim magazines were the magazines that had news about cinema, but as Biryıldız wrote in her book, these criticisms could be experiments about film criticism (2002:76). In 1964, there was a magazine called Film Dergisi but its publication life was short. There were only three editions.

In the 1960s there were other cinema magazines such as; Sinema 65, Yeni Sinema, Özgür Sinema – Ulusal Sinema, Genç Sinema, AS. As Biryıldız writes, in these

magazines, the writers were not making serious critiques about films. According to Özkırım, the reason for that was the politics of Yeşilçam (2002:115).

Ses and Artist magazine were the most popular fan magazines in the 1960s. Ses magazine, which was a fan and gossip magazine about stars and their lives, was established in 1961, and continued publishing until 1978. It consisted of 865 issues. It was a weekly magazine, which was published by Sevket Rado in İstanbul.

The first film critiques in *Ses* were started in 1961, in its third weekly issue. There was a column called *Daily Films*. This column was about introducing the films and they were published without a signature at the end. After one week, a new column about *Gördüğümüz Filmler* (films that we had seen) by Orhan Özmez began running. These critiques were made by classical type. In 1963, this column was written by Coşkun Şensoy through 1967 (Biryıldız, 2002:109).

Artist magazine, which was a fan and gossip magazine about stars and their lives, was first published from 1960 to 1967. It was also a weekly magazine, published in İstanbul by Esref Ekicigil.

These two magazines had an important role in people's lives. As mentioned before *Artist* and *Ses* magazines were published weekly, and every week there was always gossip about the stars. There were also pictures of the stars, their feature reports, their lifestyle, their loves and lovers, clothing, divorces, marriages and polemics among them.

As mentioned before, people had great interest about stars life, so these two magazines were a guide for society. They could easily learn everything about stars.

These two magazines (*Ses* and *Artist*) used star photos on the cover. They used female star photos more than males. The reason could be that female consumers of these magazines were more than males. These magazines especially used the photos of Türkan Şoray, Fatma Girik, Filiz Akın, Muhterem Nur, Hülya Koçyiğit, Belgin Doruk, (stars who were famous), because society was curious about them and wanted to see them in the news and in magazines, and learned more about them.

In *Artist* magazine, the news of the stars was featured in the front pages and continued at end of the magazine. Therefore, it was not so easy to read and focus on the subject. In this magazine, there was not a lot of criticism about the films themselves; rather, the criticism surrounded the female stars, gossip and the latest news about them.

Artist and Ses used big photos in the news. Even the photos covered a larger area than the news. This could be attributable to readers wanting to read about them, while also wanting to see star photos to identify with them. In society's world, everything was visual about stars, such as their clothes, hair, places they went, and people they spoke with. The magazines used this visual impact by using many and large photos of stars.

As mentioned in the "Magazines, Stars and Fans" part of this thesis, another characteristic of popular magazines was giving hope to teenagers. *Artist* and *Ses* created contests in those years (the 1960s) as well. These magazines gave contest advertisements about finding new stars annually. These contests led to teenagers having illusions about being a star. When they won these contests, they would be a star and they would earn money. One of the intensive points of these contests was the test shot of the finalists, and the big photos of these shots would be broadcast in the newspapers and magazines

(Kirel, 2005:75). For the competitors it was an easy way to be a star and to reach their dreams.

Therefore, popular magazines *Artist* and *Ses* had the function of finding new stars. This would also help the producers to find new faces and give hope to the teenagers to becoming stars.

CHAPTER 4

REPRESENTATIONS OF TURKISH FEMALE STARS IN POPULAR MAGAZINES IN THE 1960s: THE CASE OF TÜRKAN ŞORAY

In this part, I will divide Türkan Şoray's career as a star into three periods to examine how the changes in her life influenced her career and representation of her image as a star in popular magazines. These time periods are 1960 to 1962 when her stardom started to rise, second period is 1963 to 1964 when she met Rüçhan Adlı and started a relationship with him, and the last period is 1965 to 1967 when she started to establish her rules (with the help of Adlı). I am going to look at the coverage areas of her news, numerical analysis of her photographs and articles in *Ses* (1961-1967) and *Artist* (1960-1967), and then compare with other stars (Fatma Girik, Filiz Akın and Hülya Koçyiğit) in the these periods.

I argue that the differences and the changes in Şoray's private life effected her image as well as the news about her in the popular magazines *Ses* (1961-1967) and *Artist* (1960-1967). In other words, how the identity changes in Şoray's private life affect her star image in popular magazines. Also, I want to determine why she was the most popular star in those years and the reasons why she fits the typical concept of star and stardom in Turkey. Until her emergence as a star, no individual or personality had received such interest and public attention.

4.1 REPRESENTATIONS OF TURKISH FEMALE STARS

IN POPULAR MAGAZINES IN THE 1960s

Magazines, especially the popular and fan magazines were produced and written for a general audience in the 1960s. Magazines were one of the most important types of media in the 1960s in cultural and social life. With the help of the social movement, (as mentioned before) which occurred in the 1960s, people gained more freedom and censorship was abrogated so the writers and the publishers were free to express themselves.

In those days (in the 1960s), many new film stars were discovered and society wanted to know everything about them. The magazines *Artist* and *Ses* were popular magazines which featured news about stars such as how they lived, what they liked, where they went, the films they made those days, criticism about the films, interviews with them and gossip about them. Also in these magazines, there were reports about the advertising of their films, interviews with stars, photos of the stars in articles and posters of the stars.

As discussed earlier the 1960s were important years for Yeşilçam, because numbers of films were increased and new stars existed. Society was curious to know every specific detail about stars, and was helped to this end by popular magazines. Fatma Girik, Türkan Şoray, Filiz Akın and Hülya Koçyiğit were the stars about whom news was always written in popular magazines. As was pointed out in the introduction, Türkan Şoray had received significant interest and public attention in a short time. Therefore, she became an object of popular magazines. The number of articles, photographs and coverage areas

about her illustrate this, when compared with other stars through 1960 to 1967 (see table 2-3 and 4).

Table 2: Percentage of Şoray, Girik, Akın and Koçyiğit photos, 1960 - 1967

PHOTOS	TÜRKAN ŞORAY	FATMA GİRİK	FİLİZ AKIN	HÜLYA KOÇYİĞİT
ARTIST (1960-1967)	% 38	% 25	% 26	% 11
SES (1961-1967)	% 32	% 20	% 18	% 30

Table 3: Percentage of articles on Şoray, Girik, Akın and Koçyiğit, 1960 - 1967

ARTICLES	TÜRKAN ŞORAY	FATMA GİRİK	FİLİZ AKIN	HÜLYA KOÇYİĞİT
<i>ARTIST</i> (1960-1967)	% 45	% 26	% 20	% 9
SES (1961-1967)	% 35	% 21	% 19	% 25

<u>Table 4</u>: Percentage of pages about Şoray, Girik, Akın and Koçyiğit 1960 - 1967

PAGES	TÜRKAN ŞORAY	FATMA GİRİK	FİLİZ AKIN	HÜLYA KOÇYİĞİT
<i>ARTIST</i> (1960-1967)	% 42	% 25	% 23	% 10
SES (1961-1967)	% 35	% 22	% 16	% 27

As seen in the tables (2, 3 and 4), Türkan Şoray was the most popular star in popular magazines, and the number of articles and the number of photos about her were more than other stars. In addition, the table indicates that *Ses* used more photographs than *Artist. Ses* wrote more articles and used more photographs about Hülya Koçyiğit than *Artist* did. According to the table, the articles and photographs of Filiz Akın were less

than the others. The reason for this could be that she was married to İlker İnanoğlu and she decreased the number of films that she made. It seems her marriage made her private life less interesting for the audience.

According to Morin, the private life of a star should be public. The public wants to know the details. Gossip columns, photos, and gossip columnists increased the voyeurism of the fans. Spectators are voyeurs in theatres and subsequent to their theatre experiences as well (1960:58), because they watched the stars and stars did not know that they were being watched. So magazines like *Ses* and *Artist* helped these fans to continue their voyeurism through reading about stars' private lives and looking at photos. The word "voyeur" is used here as Morin used because as a spectator in cinema you watch the film and the star, you see her and make identification with the character that she plays, but she is uninformed that she is being watched by the spectator. Actually, this process continues in magazines as well.

These two magazines (*Ses* and *Artist*) have an important place in 1960s society. These magazines created beauty contests to discover new artists. Furthermore, the reason some women became famous and popular and ultimately stars was through the help of these magazines. For example, Filiz Akın's cinema career began the minute she won one of these contests in *Artist* magazine in 1962. On the other hand, Hülya Koçyiğit's cinema life began through a contest of *Ses* magazine in 1963, where she placed second.

Magazines also help society to know more about the artists, so that they can make decisions about these artists, put them in different places and accept some of them as stars. For example; Muhterem Nur became a star for the rural part of society, Belgin

Doruk as a "little lady", Neriman Köksal as femme fatale woman, Fatma Girik as a masculine woman, Türkan Şoray as the "Sultan" of Turkish cinema (but at the beginning she was a "dark girl" of cinema), Filiz Akın as the European girl with her long blond hair, and Hülya Koçyiğit as the pure and innocent girl. The type of characters that they played in films made this distinction too. Because while watching them, spectators created an idea about them and generally, they lived their lives like the characters they played. When society started to love one of them, it was not so easy to stop loving them. The reason of that could be, these stars become a part of their family, and any mistakes in their private lives could change this love.

Stars also needed the magazines in order to be in the public eye at all times, and magazines needed the stars for sales. Therefore, there was an interesting connection between stars and the publishers.

4.2 ANALYSIS OF TÜRKAN ŞORAY IN MAGAZINES

Türkan Şoray was born on the 28th June, 1945, in İstanbul. Her family was poor and her father and mother divorced because of the financial situation. She had a sister named Nazan, who was born in 1954. After divorcing, Meliha Şoray had to work in a factory, so Türkan Şoray both went to school and had to look after her sister Nazan. One day Emel Yıldız, who was known by the entire neighborhood, acted in movies, and took Şoray to Beyoğlu, to show her the film set. Yıldız played a leading role in *Köyde Bir Kız Sevdim* (Türker İnanoğlu, 1960). When İnanoğlu saw Şoray, he changed his mind about the leading role and asked Meliha Şoray for permission to cast Türkan. First Meliha Şoray did not want Türkan to be a star but at the end, she was convinced because of their

financial situations. *Köyde Bir Kız Sevdim* (Türker İnanoğlu, 1960) was her first step of fame to stardom.

4.2.1 1960-1962 Period: Rising of Türkan Şoray to Stardom.

Stardom in Turkish popular culture shows that the stars are celebrities whose lives are the subjects of public curiosity. According to star studies, a star's image is not just made of on screen performances, but is also made up multimedia and inter-textual materials such as film reviews, fan magazines and gossip publications that depict the actors' life off screen (Morin 1960 and Dyer 1986). In Turkey, the 1960's popular magazines had an important place in society, because popular magazines were a guide for society to know every detail about stars' off-screen lives. Producers make an assessment regarding prospective reaction of society towards the new star candidate, and if a producer believes in the potential of a candidate, he may consider investing more time and energy in the candidate to create a new star. The period from 1960 to 1962 was the most important period of Türkan Şoray in terms of being accepted by society as a new star, and attracting the interest of producers, directors and audiences.

In order to understand how her stardom began to rise, it was important to look at the articles and photographs of her in popular magazines, and how the popular magazines displayed the image of Türkan Şoray through these years. First, I want to look at the numerical analysis of her photos (see table 5), articles (see table 6) and the coverage of articles in terms of length (see table 7) as compared with other stars, and then I will analyze the meaning of the photos and articles about Şoray.

<u>Table 5</u>: Percentage of Şoray, Girik and Akın photos, 1960 - 1962

PHOTOS	TÜRKAN ŞORAY	FATMA GİRİK	FİLİZ AKIN
<i>ARTIST</i> (1960-1962)	% 43	% 28	% 29
SES (1961-1962)	% 50	% 40	% 10

Table 6: Percentage of articles on Soray, Girik and Akın, 1960 - 1962

ARTICLES	TÜRKAN ŞORAY	FATMA GİRİK	FİLİZ AKIN
ARTIST (1960-1962)	% 48	% 30	% 22
SES (1961-1962)	% 57	% 29	% 14

<u>Table 7</u>: Percentage of pages about Şoray, Girik and Akın, 1960 - 1962

PAGES	TÜRKAN ŞORAY	FATMA GİRİK	FİLİZ AKIN
ARTIST (1960-1962)	% 46	% 26	% 28
SES (1961-1962)	% 47	% 46	% 7

As seen from the tables, *Artist* magazines wrote more articles about these stars than *Ses* magazine did. The reason for this could be that in those years *Ses* magazine generally wrote about Hollywood stars and their lifestyles more than the Turkish stars and their lives.

The articles and photos of Şoray were more than Girik's and Akın's in *Artist*. On the other hand, Filiz Akın's cinema life started in 1962 with the beauty contest of *Artist* magazine, but in a short time she became an object of *Artist* magazine with her films.

One of the reasons for that could be the characteristic of popular magazines of giving hope to teenagers. *Artist* and *Ses* created contests in those years (the 1960s). These magazines advertised contests about finding new stars annually. By winning these contests, the finalists had a chance to make a test shot, and big photos of these shots would be published in the newspapers and magazines.

Now I will analyze some articles in those years to see how popular magazines represent Soray's star image at the beginning of her career.

The first photographs of Şoray were published in *Artist* private edition about Ayhan Işık (10 November 1960). The edition is about Ayhan Işık's cinema life and there were 2 photographs of Şoray. One is a scene from *Otobüs Yolcuları* (Ertem Göreç, 1961) in which she was kissing Ayhan Işık (see figure 1) and other is the poster of *Sevimli Haydut* (Asaf Tengiz, 1961) where the name of Ayhan Işık was written first and larger than Türkan Şoray's (see figure 2).

In Artist (8 December 1960) Şoray was interviewed by Gündoğan Tuncer. The title of this interview is "Our Big Hope of Cinema: Türkan Şoray". In this interview, she talked about the criticism that he suggested about her makeup in her first film Köyde Bir Kız Sevdim (Türker İnanoğlu, 1960) and defended herself by saying, "You are right, but I have no idea about how to apply makeup, and no one told me"(p: 34). This coverage of Türkan Şoray presents her as a young but virtuous lady and underlines the fact that despite her young age (at that time she was just 16 years old) she had already played leading roles in four films [Köyde Bir Kız Sevdim by Türker İnanoglu (1960), Aşk Rüzgarı by Nevzat Pesen (1960), Kardeş Uğruna by Sami Ayanoğlu (1961) and

Utanmaz Adam by Abdurrahman Palay (1961)]. This interview is three pages, the first two pages started on pages 34-35, and the last part of the interview continued on page 38. At the end of the interview Tuncer wrote that; "Şoray, who said she could die for another artist (that she loved), has possibly created fans who would to die for her in the future. We left her in believing this". As seen from the interview, popular magazines started to believe her ability, and sustained Türkan Şoray.

There were four photos of her, and in these photos Soray looked like a teenage girl. Moreover, in the third photo she had a headscarf (see figure 3). She likely tried to reach every kind of person by suggesting, "I am not different from your daughters." Next to her headscarf photo, there is a picture showing her as a western-type girl who wears a mini skirt and stilettos (see also figure 3). These two opposite pictures stress her image of being a star for all social and cultural groups in society. Since she is wearing a headscarf, the photo addresses directly the lower-middle or lower classes that have a traditional way of life, whereas the next picture refers to western type of girls who adapt modern lifestyles.

In 1961, when Şoray's star status started to rise and her life attracted people's interest and attention, some magazines started to gossip about her. Among these magazines *Artist* had a different attitude towards Şoray. In the book entitled "Yeşilçam'da Bir Sultan", this altitude was expressed by these words; "Şoray frequently visited the magazine *Artist*" (Büker, Uluyağcı, 1993:33). *Artist* seemed to support Şoray by creating a positive image of her through coverage about her. For example, in *Artist*, there was an article entitled, "Teenager girl is still childish", in which subject of the article was Şoray's stardom. Ekicigil wrote that Şoray was a lucky actress in this year and that her

name would be at the top of the list of stars in a short time (2 February 1961). Another article title was, "Things happened to Şoray", and the context of the news was, one day she was returning to her home in Fatih at 8 o'clock by a taxi. She was alone in the taxi and taxi driver did not go to the direction of Fatih, at which point she said that he was going the wrong way. He smiled and Şoray understood his bad intentions. With the taxi in motion, she opened the door and jumped out of the taxi (14 June 1961). This coverage also strengthened her image as a star but still one of us. She is not different from any other honorable girl of Turkish Society. This coverage contributed to build her image among society. These are the early years of her stardom and it is crucial to build a positive image as her star status was rising (see figure 4).

Stars also have power upon society to allow people to consume, so that "stars become consumption for consumer society" (Dyer, 1986:45). As mentioned before, in the star system, the survival of the industry is possible if stars exercise power over the audience to allow them to pay money for the tickets. This works almost in the same manner in the popular media industry, in the sense that the huge sales numbers of popular magazines come along with the power of stars. In other words, popular magazines, the advertising industry, film industry and newspapers, use stars for increasing their sales. On 23 March 1961, there was a commercially-oriented advertisement in *Artist*. As mentioned before in other chapters, these kinds of magazines used stars as a commercial product. This news was a good example of that. *Artist* began a campaign to help "Kızılay" by selling handkerchiefs featuring signatures of the stars. However, in the advertisement it said, "Do you want to have a handkerchief that has a Türkan Şoray's signature on it? In our future editions, together with Türkan Şoray, we will announce the name of the artists

who will be featured on our handkerchiefs". This was a kind of advertisement with the intent to sell future issues of the magazine by using Türkan Şoray and this campaign. It suggests that if you want these handkerchiefs, you should buy the next issue.

By looking at the news about Şoray and the number of films that she made, it is appropriate to say that the public loved Şoray in a short time, and that she had a place in their hearts. In *Artist* (6 April 1961), there was an article that indicated, "Şoray entered 1961 with luck, she effects society with her beauty and youth. She has contracted to play in seven films". Another article reflecting the interest of society was in Ses (10 February 1962). The article indicates, "She went to Bursa to shoot *Zorlu Damat* (Hulki Saner, 1962) and the interest of the people was wonderful". She started to shoot lots of films, and her popularity grew day by day.

In the article which is about Türkan Şoray in *Artist* magazine, has a title "The one who is marked by remarkable events in 1961". According to that news, Şoray's star will shine more in 1962 (6 March 1962). This means there will be lots of news and gossip about her because the more you are featured in the news, the more popular you become.

Magazines generally created good expressions about Şoray initially, such as how she was lucky, that she would be at the top in a short time, that she was helpful, hardworking, brilliant, beautiful and talented. In her photographs, she looked like a child and she was not represented as a sexual, attractive woman. As pointed out in the second chapter, initially female stars usually did not prefer to show their full naked body in the 1960s, because public saw some stars as part of their family, and in the 1960s nudity was not something that was accepted by the public. Soray's nude photos were published

in the magazine *Karnaval*, in its second edition. In these photos, Şoray was naked above the waist (see figure 5 and 6). Also in the film *Otobüs Yolcuları* (Ertem Göreç, 1961), Türkan Şoray opened her legs, Ayhan Işık kissed her lips, and neck (see figure 7). In the film *Sevimli Haydut* (Asaf Tengiz, 1961), Çulsuz (Hüseyin Baradan) was naked above the waist. She was tied to a pole and Çulsuz slashed her. In this scene, Şoray covered her breasts with her hair. This photograph is the same as the one in *Karnaval* (see figure 6). Also in this film, she had kissed Fikret Hakan and she had photos with a baby doll (see figure 8). *Sevimli Haydut* (Asaf Tengiz, 1961) was Şoray's first and last film in which she undressed in the 1960s. However, these photos or films never prevented her from being a star.

Magazines wrote positive things about Fatma Girik and Filiz Akın as well. For example, in *Artist* (2 December 1961), Girik was named as an actresses who gave hope for tomorrow and was loved a lot by society. In another *Artist* article (16 December 1961), she was named as one of the most beautiful stars with her face and body. She did not want to cut her hair for *Sokak Kızı* (Osman F. Seden, 1962) (Ses, 10 February 1962). Beauty is a precondition to take the first step to join that sector, as Derman said (2001:48). After that, she cut her hair for *Belalı Torun* (Memduh Ün, 1962) (Ses, 1 September 1962). The articles about Filiz Akın were all about the films that she made and the photographs of her were from the sets.

In those years, Meliha Şoray tried to protect Türkan Şoray, and she was her manager. Also Şoray was not allowed to sign anything because she was under 18 years old. The reason for Meliha Şoray signing contracts on her daughter's behalf was because Türkan Şoray's age.

As discussed in popular magazines chapter, society is very interested in stars' private lives and the most popular subject in popular magazines is the love life of the stars. Their lovers, divorces, marriages and conflicts were the main subjects. There was also gossip and news about Şoray and her private life. For example, in *Artist* there were articles entitled, "Will Orhan Günşiray and Türkan Şoray get married?" (19 September 1961), "Are they getting married or is it just an advertisement" (26 September 1961), and "Will Şoray get married with the son of the fabricant?" (19 December 1961). However in time, these articles and gossip came to an end, and Şoray's life started to change with the entrance of Rüçhan Adlı into her life in September 1962. Rüçhan Adlı was president of Galatasaray sports club, a businessman, and married to another woman. They met on the film set in Tarabya and their relationship started after that.

4.2.2 1963-1964 Period: Türkan Şoray's Relationship with Rüchan Adlı.

Stars are presented to society with their business life and private life in a way that society requires through mass communication tools. As mentioned before, love affairs of stars are the most important subject for popular magazines. Dyer said that "a central theme in all the fan magazines is love" (Dyer, 1986:51). This part of the analysis will be supportive of Dyer's argument. 1963 and 1964 were the years that Şoray and her new love Rüçhan Adlı were on the agenda almost every week. In these years Şoray was on the agenda with her private life and her conflicts with other stars, more than her business life.

The photographs, articles and coverage of Şoray was still more than other stars in 1963 and 1964 too, as in 1960 to 1962 in popular magazines *Artist* and *Ses*. This shows that

her popularity and her stardom continued to rise in these years as well. On the other hand, there were some changes in her star image and in her relationship with her family and other stars.

Table 8: Percentage of Şoray, Girik, Akın and Koçyiğit photos, 1963 - 1964

PHOTOS	TÜRKAN ŞORAY	FATMA GİRİK	FİLİZ AKIN	HÜLYA KOÇYİĞİT
ARTIST (1963-1964)	% 31	% 25	% 28	% 16
SES (1963-1964)	% 34	% 18	% 23	% 25

Table 9: Percentage of articles on Şoray, Girik, Akın and Koçyiğit, 1963 - 1964

ARTICLES	TÜRKAN ŞORAY	FATMA GİRİK	FİLİZ AKIN	HÜLYA KOÇYİĞİT
<i>ARTIST</i> (1963-1964)	% 40	% 24	% 22	% 14
SES (1963-1964)	% 36	% 16	% 26	% 22

Table 10: Percentage of pages about Şoray, Girik, Akın and Koçyiğit, 1963 - 1964

PAGES	TÜRKAN ŞORAY	FATMA GİRİK	FİLİZ AKIN	HÜLYA KOÇYİĞİT
<i>ARTIST</i> (1963-1964)	% 37	% 25	% 23	% 15
SES (1963-1964)	% 39	% 15	% 23	% 23

The content of these articles were generally about the relationship between Rüçhan Adlı and Türkan Şoray. The relationship between Türkan Şoray and Rüçhan Adlı started while Şoray was shooting *Zorlu Damat* (Hulki Saner, 1962) in Villa Zarif. He fell in love with Şoray. He found her address and sent flowers to her. Meanwhile, he was

married to another woman and he had a child. At the beginning, Meliha Şoray did not oppose that relationship, but in a time the conflicts between Meliha Şoray and Türkan Şoray started, and these conflicts became a subject for popular magazines.

First of all, I want to show how her star image was changed. In *Artist* magazine there was an article entitled, "Become Blonde" (16 July 1963). According to article, Melek Film made a deal with Şoray, and one of the items of this deal was that Ülkü Erakalın could control Şoray's private life during the film *Çalınan Aşk* (Ülkü Erakalın, 1963). This indicates to us that Şoray started to lose her reliability and her private life kept her away from her business life. In the photographs, Şoray had blonde hair and looked very sexy with her look, blonde hair and the poses that she gave to reporter (see figure 9). It would be true to say that her star image started to change from that of a child to that of a woman, as seen in figure 9. These photos were very different from the photos which were published in *Artist* (8 December 1960) (see figure 3).

Soray's popularity rose, so the gossip about Soray went on. She acted in *İki Kocalı Kadın* (Ülkü Erakalın, 1963), in leading role. In *Artist*, there was an advertisement introducing this film. The advertisement consisted of three pages. In first two pages, there were photos of Soray with Tanju Gürsu and Efgan Efekan. In the first photograph (see figure 10), these two male stars kissed Soray's hands, in the caption of the photo, Soray said "I can introduce my two husbands in this way. Look how they kiss my hand. Sad things like that happen, but in the end everybody gets better" (p: 20). In the second photo (see figure 11), Soray embraced Gürsu and Efekan turned his back to them, in the caption "Don't get angry my friend...It's your time to feel sorry and think" (p: 20). In the third photo (which was in the 21st page) both men turned their backs to Soray and

she looked as if she was trying to choose one of them (see figure 12). "What am I going to do now? I love both of them" was written in the caption. Moreover, the last photo (see figure 13) was the different type of the second one, now she embraced Efekan, and Gürsu turned his back and in the caption reporters wrote that "A woman with two husbands, and she loves both of them, but the two of them were married legally" (8 January 1963).

This film is nearly about Şoray's life because she is the star that everyone fell in love with. Moreover, the subject of this film was very close to her. According to magazines and newspapers, she had a blue bead that she gave to everybody. She was popular with her lovers in those days. In other words, the news was all about her and her lovers. These pictures directly address her real life and her relations with men -especially with Rüçhan Adlı. The image that this picture presents is complementary with her image as blue beard. Also when I compare these figures with the photograph which was published on 14 June 1961 (see figure 14), it can be said that Şoray's star image changed and she looked more like a star and a woman than a teenage girl.

There was coverage in *Ses* magazine which proved her star image and her stardom, too.

The title of that coverage was "Like Marilyn Monroe";

Şoray is going to play the Turkish version of **Some Like it Hot** (Billy Wilder, 1959) that Monroe played in. The rising Şoray's stardom is similar to Monroe's. Şoray started her star life by giving erotic photographs like Monroe, however [although] Şoray and Monroe had fame and fortune, they had not been happy (1 August 1964).

She played the role that Monroe played in a Turkish adaptation of "Some Like it Hot". According to the news, there were similarities between them, but Soray did not want to look like Monroe. She tried to be her own, and the photographer of the magazine wanted her to give a picture like Monroe. At first, she did not want it but ultimately, she allowed them to take photographs of her because she did not want to upset the photographer. As seen in the photographs in page 10, Şoray's posture was nearly the same as Monroe's (see figure 15). Actually, by looking at the placement of the photos, it seems like Soray is looking at Monroe, in the same way that Monroe looked at the camera. Moreover, Monroe's face turned to the camera but Soray's face turned to Monroe and she turned her back to the camera. It seemed like Soray tried to imitate Monroe. In those years, there was lots of news about Hollywood stars in popular magazines, especially in Ses. Therefore, Turkish female stars could easily be influenced by Hollywood stars. In other words, it can be said that these magazines also could establish international interaction between stars. Analyzing this coverage of Soray, we have to take into consideration the fact that Monroe at that time was the most famous and well known movie star of the era. Therefore, by putting Soray into the same frame with Monroe, this establishes a similarity between Monroe and Soray in the sense that Soray is a star just like Monroe. In terms of the content of the coverage, we might come to a point that the private lives of the stars are fictively built; the real life and fictive life blurred.

Being a star created conflicts with other stars. The reason for this could be the jealousy of stars. Popular magazines always compared Türkan Şoray and Fatma Girik. There was an article about the arguments of Girik and Şoray in *Artist* (29 October 1963). Girik said that she would never act with Şoray in the same film, and Şoray replied to Girik's

comment by saying, "I only laughed at her jealousy". On the left side of the page there was a photograph of Şoray with a smiling face, and on the right side there was a photograph of Girik with an indisposed face (see figure 16). On the second page of the article, Girik said, "Türkan was afraid of me". Şoray said that she had never taken Girik seriously. The placement of the photographs was the same, but this time Şoray's face was neutral and Girik was looking to the left side with an anxious face (see figure 17). The image that the audience might receive from the photos was that Şoray is confident and has no fear, whereas Girik is anxious and looked Şoray. The photo might suggest that Şoray's status is composed, whereas Girik's is not. According to *Artist* magazine, it was funny that Girik said, "Türkan was afraid of me", because *Artist* magazine made a comparison between the two stars (Şoray and Girik) and according to the comparison, Şoray was more powerful than Girik (see table 11).

Table 11: Comparison Fatma Girik and Türkan Şoray

FATMA GİRİK		TÜRKAN ŞORAY
75	SEX APPEAL	90
70	BOX OFFICE	100
85	PHYSICS	90
80	GAME	100

*Artist 29th of October 1963 Year 3 / Volume 11 / 171. edition.

Şoray and her lovers were a subject for all magazines, but Rüçhan Adlı had a different place in Şoray's life. For example in *Artist* the articles were like a photo novel or serial named as "A Love Story" (13 January 1964). At the end, there was a footnote that indicated, "To be continued in our next issue: Hidden meetings and love letters". After

one week there was another footnote that said, "To be continued in our next issue: Through the marriage" (21 January 1964). On the other hand, there was lots of gossip and criticism about the relationship of Adlı and Şoray too, such as: Adlı will not divorce his wife. Türkan waited for him patiently (*Artist*, 19 May 1964). "Wake up Türkan" (*Artist*, 9 June 1964). By looking at the content of the magazines, publishers were angry with Adlı about the things that he changed in Şoray's life, and they tried to warn her. The publishers sometimes did not judge her with regard to her forbidden love, but they sometimes made harsh criticism about this relationship and Şoray's behaviors. For example *Artist* magazine called her unprincipled, said that despite the fact that she was so young, she behaved like a woman, and this figure did not suit her (28 January 1964).

In *Artist* (7 July 1964), there was an interview with Şoray entitled, "I beg mercy" where Şoray appealed to the reporter. There was a photograph of the reporters and Şoray, sitting on the grass. In the background, there was another man who was riding a horse (see figure 18). At the bottom of the photo the author wrote:

The certificates and the photos of her lovers...Türkan Şoray made undreamed of everything for advertising. Her name was a blue bead in the cinema community. Don't think that the reason of naming her blue bead is the cause of misfortune to her beauty; the reason was the ability of her for enamoring everybody by her smile and advertising herself by appearing as a friend. Once she gave the photos of a man to the newspapers and she claimed that proposed her. In addition, she gloated over by giving the letters of her lovers to the newspapers. It was peculiar that if these relationships created disadvantages, she made statements about she had nothing to do with her lover (*Artist*, 7 July 1964: 11).

As seen from the quote above, reporters made harsh criticism about her.

When she fell in love with Adlı, she moved into his house and she started to live her life as he wanted. Adlı became her new manager and the control of Meliha Şoray was destroyed. For this reason, the relationship between Şoray and her mother was damaged. *Ses* and *Artist* used these conflicts in their articles about them. According to Meliha Şoray, her daughter was threatened and Meliha Şoray said that she had never given her daughter to Adlı (25 June 1963). On the other hand Türkan Şoray gave an answer to her mother after three months, through *Artist* (24 September 1963) in which she said, "I am not a child".

The news in Ses on 26 October 1963 was, "Türkan Şoray and her mother came together". According to news, first, they had a discussion, and then they became calm and reached a happy ending. By looking at the photos in page 4, Soray entered the building of Ses with her bodyguard and Mr. Olcayto (who was the reporter of Ses). A man from Ses met them at the door. On the other hand, on the right side of the page, Meliha Şoray was alone at the door of Ses. However, at the bottom of the photo it was written that Meliha Şoray came to Ses with the reporter Erol Dernek who worked for Ses. On the right bottom of the page there were two photos, the subtitles read "First Meeting", and the second one was "Could not be patient". In the first photo, they were sitting on a coach and Türkan Şoray looked her mother Meliha Şoray with an unfriendly face. In the second photo, Soray stands on the right side of her mother with an angry posture (see figure 19). On the 5th page of Ses at the top, although Meliha Soray was crying, Türkan Şoray continued to sit with the same angry face. However, in an interview, Türkan Şoray approached her mother hurtfully and her mother cried, (see figure 20) while the magazine tried to reconcile them.

Popular magazines also esteemed a duty to reconcile the families, friends and the people who were angry with each other. For example, *Ses* magazine also reconciled Hülya Koçyiğit and Türkan Şoray (19 November 1966). Media intended to represent public opinion therefore; they had to write about Türkan Şoray's family affairs.

These family affairs became an issue for magazines. Türkan Şoray's relations with her family started a sort of media war between these two magazines of the era. On 5 November 1963 (Artist), there was a big title, "Are all of them lies?", and above the title was a photograph of Türkan Şoray (lying on a coach) seeming exhausted and restless, which underlined her sadness due to family affairs. In the same frame Meliha Şoray was standing in the court (see figure 21). Artist declared the news (made by some popular magazines), that mother Şoray and Türkan Şoray came together. The next week, there was another title about Türkan Soray and mother Şoray "Allowance trial against her daughter" (Artist, 12 November 1963). According to article, Türkan Şoray had never accepted terms to give money to her mother, and she would reconcile only if her mother accepted her requests (see figure 22). The photos that were used in the news were that of Türkan Şoray playing like a child with a smiling face in bed (see figure 23) and in the other one; she was eating an apple in an unconcerned manner (see also figure 23). The reasons for these conflicts were, mother Soray had never accepted the relation of Adlı and her daughter. Because Adlı was married to another woman, he had a child, he was older than Soray, and he started to control Soray's life and money.

Magazines generally tried to protect Şoray, because it is a general belief that stars belong to the public. Star has an image in the public mind and mostly this image has been accepted by the majority of society. They put Şoray in the place of their own daughters

and sisters so they react negatively to these accusations. The reason for this is that society loved Şoray and wanted to protect her, but the relationship between star and society was unilateral, so magazines tried to be the voice of the society. On the other hand, magazines knew that they were to cooperate well with stars because if stars became angry at magazines, they could stop granting interviews to editors. As discussed before in the popular magazines chapter, magazines need stars, and stars need magazines to be on the agenda.

In a short time, Şoray created her rules with the help of Rüçhan Adlı. As mentioned before, Şoray's new manager was Mr. Adlı and Şoray did the things that Adlı wanted. Creating rules is a perfect example of star power in the sector to the extent that Yeşilçam is based on stardom. According to *Artist* magazine "Şoray said that she will make only three films in a year and she will increase her fee to 35-40 thousand liras" (26 November 1963). Mr. Adlı wrote letters to Şoray which started with "Peri Sultan". These letters (see figure 24) were published in *Artist* (13 January 1964). One of the reasons Şoray became a "Sultan" and created "Şoray's Rules" was these letters. In this period, these rules did not affect her career so much, but in 1965 to 1967 these rules affected her career and image much more than in the beginning, as seen in the next part of this chapter.

4.2.3 1965 - 1967 Period: Establishment of "Şoray Rules"

Film producers create stars; spectators give the power to a star and accept this star. If the audience ignores a starlet or star-candidate, there is no possibility to promote his/her as a star. In Soray's case, society accepted her as a star and she was empowered over society.

Society wanted to see the films that Şoray was involved in. Producers and directors need stars to sell more and earn more money. Şoray knew that society loved her, so she and Mr. Adlı created some rules to protect her star image. At the same time, Mr. Adlı was a jealous man and he did not want to see Şoray undressed in her films and kissing other actors in films she made. Although the reason for creating rules was to protect her star image, it caused some disadvantages for her too. In this part, first I will look at the numerical analysis of her photos, articles and coverage about Şoray and other stars, then I will look at the contents of some articles about her and how these rules influenced her star image and the content of the articles.

Table 12: Percentage of Şoray, Girik, Akın and Koçyiğit photos, 1965-1967

PHOTOS	TÜRKAN ŞORAY	FATMA GİRİK	FİLİZ AKIN	HÜLYA KOÇYİĞİT
<i>ARTIST</i> (1965-1967)	% 38	% 19	% 15	% 28
SES (1965-1967)	% 29	% 18	% 16	% 37

<u>Table 13</u>: Percentage of articles on Şoray, Girik, Akın and Koçyiğit, 1965-1967

ARTICLES	TÜRKAN	FATMA	FİLİZ	HÜLYA
THETTELLS	ŞORAY	GİRİK	AKIN	KOÇYİĞİT
<i>ARTIST</i> (1965-1967)	% 42	% 23	% 12	% 23
SES (1965-1967)	% 31	% 25	% 15	% 29

Table 14: Percentage of pages about Şoray, Girik, Akın and Koçyiğit, 1965-1967

PAGES	TÜRKAN ŞORAY	FATMA GİRİK	FİLİZ AKIN	HÜLYA KOÇYİĞİT
<i>ARTIST</i> (1965-1967)	% 44	% 24	% 11	% 21
SES (1965-1967)	% 32	% 21	% 13	% 34

As seen from the tables, the number of photos, articles and coverage about Şoray is more than other stars in *Artist*. On the other hand, in *Ses*, Hülya Koçyiğit had more photos and coverage than Şoray had. The reason for this could be that Hülya Koçyiğit won the contest which *Ses* held, so *Ses* could give more importance to Hülya Koçyiğit. Türkan Şoray was on the agenda with her private life and the conflicts with other stars, bur Koçyiğit was on the agenda with her business and family life more than her love life.

Now I want to look the contents of the articles about Şoray. As mentioned at the beginning, the rules that Şoray and Adlı started to make created some disadvantages in Şoray's career. Also she shot a lot of films and she could not spend a lot of time on all of them. A good example of this is reflected in an article in *Ses*;

The relationship with Adlı matured Şoray but Adlı's "Türkan policy" made producers angry. She did not do anything without asking him, he read her fan letters, he read her film invitations, he put rules to her and he never let her go to a set without him (17 July 1965).

Another from *Ses* magazine was the headline, "Türkan Şoray and Ediz Hun got married in front of Rüçhan Adlı's eyes" (27 March 1965). She married Ediz Hun according to *Vahşi Gelin*'s (Nejat Saydam, 1965) script. Although Adlı's mother died, he did not leave Şoray alone with Ediz Hun.

Şoray started to lose her reliability. Se was not getting to the film sets on time. Her behavior put the directors and producers in difficult positions. Şoray started to lose her persuasiveness. For the first time in a daily newspaper, Milliyet, there was a declaration to Şoray and they invited her to the film *Senede Bir Gün* (Ertem Eğilmez, 1965) in which she would play the leading role, but she did not come. She also did not reply to

the invitation (see figure 25). This news was in both *Ses* and *Artist*. According to *Artist*, this may have been an advertisement of the production company. *Artist* could not talk with Şoray about this news because they first had to pass Adlı, so they decided to talk with the director Eğilmez, and they entitled that interview "Ertem Eğilmez accused Türkan Şoray". The reason for not answering these invitations could be the jealousy of Adlı (16 November 1965).

At the end they shot this film with Selda Alkor and the news indicated, "Falling down as easy as climbing" (*Artist*, 21 December 1965). In *Ses* magazine there was the same interview and its title was, "The new conflict that Türkan Şoray created" (20 November 1965). In addition, according to the article, Ertem Eğilmez said that "he got tired of that girl's caprices, she came from Karagümrük and he did not believe her illness which was in her eyes, and he would sue her because she terminated the agreement". There was a photograph in *Ses* which was captioned, "they are looking at their watches for the court record". In the photograph, everyone is looking at their watches (see figure 26).

The articles about Şoray and her new behavior went on for a long time. Some directors refused to work with Şoray. For example, as written in *Artist*, "the owner of the Erman Film removed Şoray from his film list because of termination of agreements. On the other hand, Osman Seden and Hulki Saner were not that brave, because Şoray was the star whom the public wanted to see" (9 July 1965). According to the article, Şoray who believed in her power and ability, made a mistake by losing her honesty and persuasiveness in the cinema industry. Therefore, many started to lose their faith in her. In this article, Şoray's photos were on the right part of the page and she looked very upset in them. Şoray's behavior also caused a wedge to develop in the good relationship

between her and the magazines. The news was all about her new personality. She started to lose some roles and the magazines wrote all of them, however this time, they did not support her. Adlı coerced Şoray into signing agreements for films, and he controlled what she could or could not do. Although he tried to protect her, Adlı's behavior was not good for Şoray. His behavior caused losses of good relationships with producers and directors. Adlı made the decisions for Şoray and he talked with producers and directors.

There was an article in *Ses* magazine about Şoray and the title was "Where?" This article was about Şoray's five years in Turkish cinema (31 July 1965). Her graphic of making films and her popularity rose for four years. However, in the fifth year it decreased. She implemented some unwritten rules such as; "I will play only in a film which scripts are written for me". There were boundaries and rules that Adlı made. One of these boundaries was that she could not kiss and could not make love. For example, in the film *Komşunun Tavuğu* (Zafer Davutoğlu, 1965), Adlı only let Tunç Okan to chuck her. While director was shooting that scene, Şoray got angry and shouted at the reporter who tried to take a photograph of her (*Ses*, 31 July 1965).

As stated in *Ses*, in addition, she became a star and the proof of that was that she started to behave capriciously to the reporters, she worried about her photographs and she brought her coiffeur from İstanbul. These were all proof of Şoray's power of being a star. According to *Artist*, "Şoray was the dictator on film sets, directors and actors depended on her, she had sovereignty, and she was the star who used actors and actresses" (7 December 1965).

Her new behavior also caused conflicts with other stars. Magazines and producers (especially producers and directors) got angry with Şoray for her behavior, so they used Girik instead of Şoray, and this would be a chance for Girik. For example, Orhan Aksoy started to work in *Kumarbaz* (Orhan Aksoy, 1965) with Girik, and in an article in *Ses* magazine (31 July 1965) Girik said that she had read the script which Şoray did not accept. Moreover, Girik loved the scripts but she also wondered why Şoray did not accept them. If the role was bad, Girik would also not accept, because she earned the same salary. She never accepted being Şoray's shadow. According to Girik, Şoray ruined herself and gambled by not starring in *Kumarbaz* (Orhan Aksoy, 1965).

Another important article about the conflicts between Şoray and Girik was written about the leading role in the films such as *İki Kocalı Kadın* (Ülkü Erakalın, 1963). Many problems occurred while shooting *İki Kocalı Kadın* (Ülkü Erakalın, 1963). Şoray did not come to the set, so they offered the role to Girik. Initially, Ülkü Erakalın who was the director of that film, did not accept Girik but ultimately Erakalın accepted. Magazines used a photo in which Efekan and Gürsu put cognac in Şoary's glass (*Artist*, 16 August 1965). After one week, Şoray apologized and took the role again. "Fatma Girik wanted to act, instead of Şoray", "Türkan had no idea about the decisions", "Ülkü said that Fatma really wanted to act in that film". The article that was written by Ekicigil, was about how they shot the film *İki Kocalı Kadın* (Ülkü Erakalın, 1963). However, in the first article he said that he would use Girik instead of Şoray because he got angry with Şoray. On the other hand, in the second article he indicated that he made erred towards Şoray, and that she could have a legitimate excuse, as she brought her suitcase so that she would act in that film. On the first page of this article, Girik's photos

were published (see figure 27) and in that photo, she looked very sad (*Artist*, 23 August 1965).

As discussed before there were some conflicts between Girik and Soray dating back to 1964. During that time, Hülya Koçyiğit had polemics with Şoray as well. "I am not afraid of Türkan", "Türkan did not accept acting with Hülya" were titles that appeared in Artist magazine articles written by Hülya Koçyiğit. The article was directly written to Şoray from Koçyiğit and Koçyiğit wanted to answer Şoray's statement, where she said, "Hülya is afraid of acting with me" (22 February 1966). After one week there was a big title in Artist, "Türkan gave an answer" (1 March 1966). However, she gave all the answers through Erakalın and the reporter did not satisfy the answers and preferred to talk to Soray alone. In the article that was written by Koçyiğit, there were no photos of Şoray and in Şoray's interview there were no photos of Koçyiğit. However, they fought with each other and through this; they advertised themselves and did not want to use any photos of each other due to publicity reasons. "Ses reconciled Türkan and Hülya" and said "you two are in the same business, you should stop this and be friends" (19 November 1966). According to Ses, this issue was dragging on because of gossip from the people surrounding them. Photographs of the two artists together were used in that article to show the close relationship between them (see figures 28-29-30).

These two actresses had an important place in Turkish cinema and they were competitors, like Şoray and Girik. These kinds of discussions were normal in a star's life but the important thing was that *Artist* and *Ses* magazines- especially *Ses*- were neutral to that discussion and never took sides. On the other hand, *Artist* was angry at Şoray and wrote news such as, "Until now, Türkan Şoray had been our mascot, but now Hülya

Koçyiğit will become our new mascot" (29 September 1964). In *Artist*, there was a photograph of Erol Taş and Hülya Koçyiğit in Mexico and beneath that photo the statement, "this photo was sent by our magazine's two mascots" was printed (2 December 1964) (see figure 31). The article was written to prove this.

According to Büker and Uluyağcı, in Şoray's life there was turmoil and *Artist* magazine started to praise Koçyiğit. Şoray lost the support of the magazine but she did not lose the support of the public. Magazines felt this relationship between the public and Şoray, so they had to start to write about Şoray again (1993: 34).

As mentioned earlier, although the producers and directors got angry at Şoray, they did not prefer turning their backs to her because the public wanted her. As a conclusion, these polemics were encouraged by popular magazines to increase their sales and to set the agenda in popular culture.

In 1960 to 1962 Türkan Şoray was on the agenda with her business life and popular magazines supported her. The pictures of Şoray looked sincere and childish. From 1963 to 1964, her star image started to change and she looked more like a 'real' woman (in the sense of sexuality) in popular magazines. Her career as star started to rise more and the popular magazines started to create articles about her beauty and her lovers. In these years she was more on the agenda with her lovers, especially with Rüçhan Adlı. The relationship of Şoray and Adlı caused problems with Meliha Şoray and Türkan Şoray. In these years Şoray was overconfident and this could easily be understood from the photographs in popular magazines and the polemics that she had with other stars. From 1965 to 1967, Şoray and Adlı started to create rules. This policy had some disadvantages

upon Şoray's star image and her relationship with directors and producers. She lost her reliability in film industry, but she did not lose her fame in film industry.

The changes in Şoray's career could also be seen in the number of films that she made from 1960 to 1967 (see table 15).

Table 15: The number of films that Şoray, Girik, Akın, Koçyiğit made, 1960 - 1967

NUMBER OF	TÜRKAN	FATMA	FİLİZ	HÜLYA
FILMS	ŞORAY	GİRİK	AKIN	KOÇYİĞİT
1960–1962	28	27	5	
1963–1964	27	29	27	16
1965–1967	37	43	31	32

As seen from the table, the number of Şoray films decreased from 1963 to 1967 and Girik made more films than Şoray in these years. This shows us that Şoray's private life, the rules that she made with Rüçhan Adlı and the conflicts with producers, directors and other stars, had an impact in the decreased number of films that Şoray made in these years. However the reason of that decreasing could be Şoray's will, because she said that she would make only three films in a year and she would increase her fee to 35-40 thousand liras (*Artist*, 26 November 1963). As seen from the table 15, she made more than three films in a year

CONCLUSION

In this thesis, I have analyzed the approach of popular magazines during the 1960s to see the changes in the representation of star image by concentration on Türkan Şoray. I examined the changes in stars' private life influence the image and representation of a star in the popular magazines *Ses* (1961-1967) and *Artist* (1960-1967).

Content analyses of my study show that Türkan Şoray is the most popular character and most of the popular magazines' articles and the coverage of her. Şoray is the most dominant character in *Ses* (1961-1967) and *Artist* (1960-1967). Türkan Şoray provides an interesting case study about the perceptions of the status of woman in the society, woman sexual identity, stardom, political economy of popular culture and film and media industries. The importance of Türkan Şoray case study is it provides that popular Yeşilçam depends on the stardom and the stars are major players in popular Yeşilçam. There is no Yeşilçam without stars and Şoray is the perfect example of that.

One of the findings of my study suggests that there is a strong relation between stars and popular magazines. Popular magazines need star to increase their sales and stars need popular magazines to be popular among the audience. Popular magazines are the best and the easiest communication mediums to reach the public. Obviously the private life of a star is influences his/her career, his/her star image and representation of his/her image in popular magazines.

This study also shows that stars have the power to make rules. This is a perfect display of the star power in the film sector. Türkan Şoray fits into all the aspects of star and stardom. For example, Şoray set rules called "*Şoray Rules*".

First of all, I examined the meanings of star and stardom which culturally and socially affected by the popular culture and mass communication tools. In star system, stars are the most powerful players, because it is the star, who makes the film popular; magazines and programs attractive to the audience. In star system, the survival of the film industry mainly depends on stars, who have power over the audience to allow them to pay money for the tickets. This system works in the same way in popular media industry in the sense that the huge sales numbers of popular magazines come along.

Secondly, I examined popular Yeşilçam cinema industry (in the 1960s) and star system in Yeşilçam. Stars could be a mirror of the society; stars are what society is, and what society wants to believe. Stars are seen as a god or goddess by society. They have money, charisma, generally beautiful and live their lives as a fairy tale. Society wants to see star on the screen to identify with her/him and escape the real life for a while.

Between 1960 and 1970 was the period of the four great stars. These female actresses were Fatma Girik, Türkan Şoray, Filiz Akın and Hülya Koçyiğit. Each star depicts a different image and has a different place for the society: Fatma Girik seems dynamic, self-starter, masculine then the others, and represented the low classes. Filiz Akın looked more modern than the others with her long blonde hair. She was always elite and seemed like a college girl. Hülya Koçyiğit's cinema career was started when she won the beauty contests after that producers and directors discovered her. She generally acted a pure and innocent girl in her films.

As shown in chapter four, Türkan Şoray was the most expensive star of her era. She has own rules. Although other stars had their own rules, Türkan Şoray's were more rigid and

strong. These rules also played a very significant role to change her star image in popular magazines.

The great majority of the coverage of Türkan Şoray was about her love especially with Adlı. Her love affair with Adlı was one of the turning points in her life. In Şoray's life before Adlı she was the sweet hearth of the society and bellowed one of the industry, after she started to live with Adlı she lived in boundaries and her private life influenced her relationship with directors negatively.

Considering how magazines represented these four female stars, we see that magazines showed us stars' life style, interviews, lovers, gossips, fights, conflicts, and the award that they got. Koçyiğit and Akın did not prefer to make love on the screen. The reason for that could be, society perceived these female stars as a part of their family and they did not want to see them naked. However society watched Hollywood films and the actresses who was loved by society, had a naked scene, and did not respond to these scenes. In other words, society did not accept the nudity of their own stars. Girik did not have these types of concerns before Memduh Ün and also Şoray before Adlı did not concern either. At the very beginning both Şoray and Girik had naked scenes or gave naked photos, but when their stardom was on the rise, they put some boundaries.

Şoray, Girik, Akın and Koçyiğit had their own managers, both for controlling the relations with actors and organizing their businesses. Their managers were their mothers, lovers and husbands. Türkan Şoray's manager was her mother at the beginning and she tried to protect her from any harmful effects of the industry. The first ban was given naked scenes which started with the film *Sevimli Haydut* (Asaf Tengiz, 1961). After

Adlı entered Soray's life, mother Şoray lost her effects and controls on Şoray. On the other hand, Fatma Girik was protected by Memduh Ün. Hülya Koçyiğit was controlled by her mother. The good example of that was the article in *Ses* magazine "Hülya accepted being undressed but when her mother interfered frightful row occurred" (25 February 1967). Koçyiğit would get undressed and make love in *Seni Seviyorum* (Ertem Eğilmez,1966) but her mother set a bar to these scenes, at the end these scenes wasn't put in the film by director.

My analysis of female star images in popular magazines in the 1960s shows that there are three periods in Türkan Şoray star life. In accordance with the developments in different time periods of Türkan Şoray's life, I analyzed repercussions of these developments on her coverage in *Ses* and *Artist*.

These periods show significant changes in Şoray's star image in popular magazines. In the first period (1960 to 1962) Türkan Şoray was on the agenda with the quantity of her acting and popular magazines supported her. In the visual analysis of Şoray's representations in popular magazines, she looked naive and childish. Yet she had naked photographs in magazines, had naked scenes in films and had kissed actor in the films. The percentage of her photos, articles and coverage was more than the other stars in this period. The second period started when she involved in a relationship with Adlı (1963 to 1964). In this period Şoray's star image started to change and she looked more like a 'real' woman in the sense of depiction of her femininity and sexuality. In her visual representations in popular magazines in this period, she looked more feminine than before. Her carrier as star started to raise more and the popular magazines started to

publish articles about her beauty and her lovers. In those years she quite often appeared on popular magazines with her lovers especially with Rüchan Adlı.

The love affair of Şoray and Adlı negatively affected the relationship with Meliha Şoray and Türkan Şoray. In those years Şoray was overconfident by herself and this could easily understood from the photographs in popular magazines and the polemics that she made with other stars. The third period of Şoray started when she created her rules with Adlı (1965 to 1967). In this period Şoray and Adlı started to create "Şoray Rules". But this policy had some disadvantages on Şoray's star image and the relationship with directors and producers. She lost her reliability in film sector however she remained as the most popular star of Turkish cinema. Adlı called her as "Sultan". This became a nick name for Şoray and this strengthen her star image in the public. According to popular magazines this unreliability was the result of Adlı's jealousy towards her.

The changes in Şoray's star image could be seen in the films that were produced between 1960 and 1970. The number of Şoray films decreased from 1963 to 1967. The reason of that could be the behaviors and rules of Adlı. One of the reasons also could be the overload of Şoray in the beginning of her carrier. Once she gave an interview to *Artist* magazine, she said that she would shot a three or four films in a year (26 November 1963).

In spite of all the negative coverage by popular magazines it is interesting to see that Türkan Şoray's image as a star still existed. People continued to see her films and accepted her as the most well known movie star, and today she keeps her status as the most well known and adorable movie star in the Turkish cinema.

In Türkan Şoray's case popular magazines played a significant role in either building (as in 1960 to 1962) or constructing star image negatively (as in 1965 to 1967). One of the examples of the popular magazines reaction to Şoray could be seen in the article in *Artist*. According to this article, Şoray was their mascot until she stopped giving interviews. Then the magazine named Koçyiğit as their new mascot (29 September 1964). Although magazines have the power to construct a star image, the power of the society should not be forgotten. When societies accept one as a star and put her in a special place, it is not easy to change it. In Şoray case however her representation and image were generally negative in popular magazines, society accepts her as a 'Sultan'.

The coverage of Şoray's family affairs and love affairs are typical examples of stars relation with media. They clearly show that stars should live their lives in front of the public and stars family affairs as well as their love affairs are the subject of public interest.

This study analyzed a certain period of Türkan Şoray's stardom. Particular attention was given to the changes in Şoray's private life which influences the image and representation of her in the popular magazines in the 1960s. A further study might analyze the linkage between the changes in her private life the films she acted during the same period. Another study could focus on changes in Şoray's star image and her representation in the media after she married Cihan Ünal and had a child from him.

I think such studies will provide a ground to study a star's career in a historical context and also will provide a better understanding about the relationship of the star, film industry, the media and stardom in general.

FIGURES

FIGURE -1-ARTIST - 10 NOVEMBER 1960

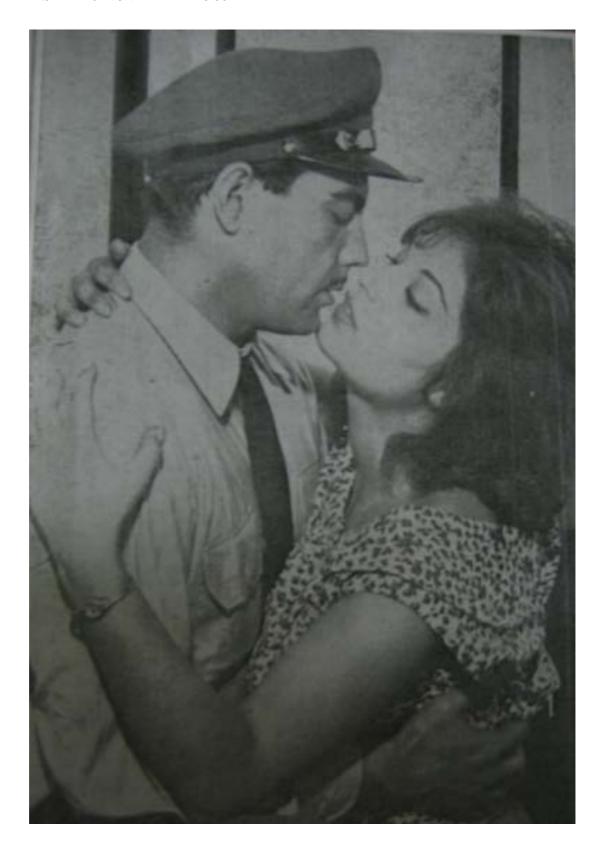


FIGURE -2-ARTIST - 10 NOVEMBER 1960



FIGURE -3-ARTIST - 8 DECEMBER 1960



FIGURE -4-ARTIST - 14 JUNE 1961



FIGURE -5-KARNAVAL 1962

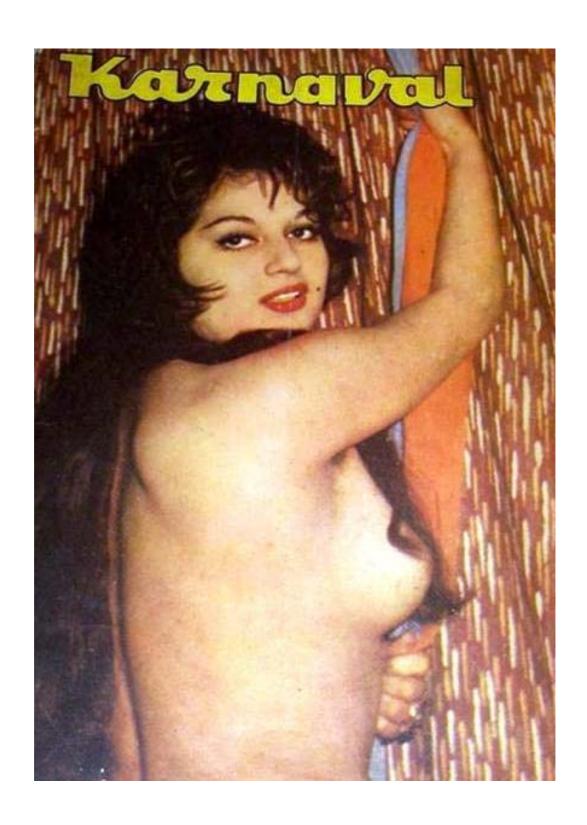


FIGURE -6-KARNAVAL 1962



FIGURE -7-ARTIST - 12 SEPTEMBER 1961



FIGURE -8-ARTIST - 1 AUGUST 1961



FIGURE -9-ARTIST - 16 JULY 1963







FIGURE -10-ARTIST - 8 JANUARY 1963



FIGURE -11-ARTIST - 8 JANUARY 1963



FIGURE -12-ARTIST - 8 JANUARY 1963

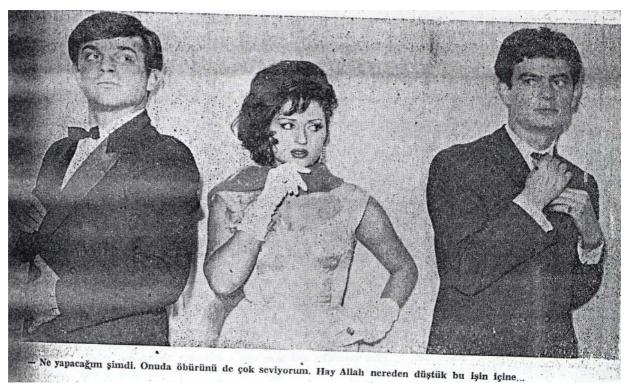
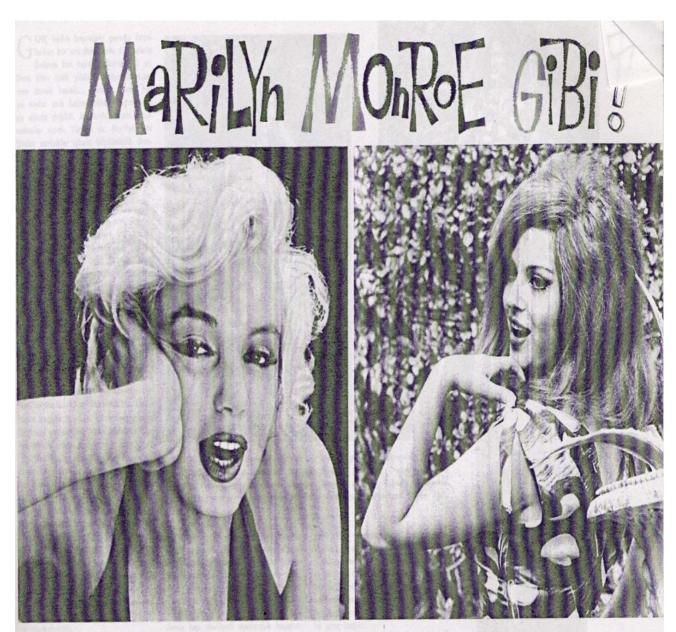


FIGURE -13-ARTIST - 8 JANUARY 1963



FIGURE -14-ARTIST - 14 JUNE 1961





«Bazıları Sıcak Sever» filminin yerli adaptasyonunda Marilyn'in oynadığı role Türkân Şoray çıkıyor. Bu yüzden de genç artistimizi bir düşüncedir almış... Türkân Şoray'ın film piyasasındaki yükselişi M. M.'ninkine pek benziyordu. O da, bu işe açık saçık resimler çektirerek başlamıştı. Servet ve şöhretine rağmen hiçbir zaman tam mânasiyle mutlu olamamıştı. Ve şimdi Türkân, Marilyn'in son filmlerindeki rollerinden birinde oynuyordu.

FIGURE -16-ARTIST - 28 OCTOBER 1963



FIGURE -17-ARTIST - 28 OCTOBER 1963



FIGURE -18-ARTIST - 7 JULY 1964



SEVGILİLERİNİN RESİMLERİ VE VEŞİKALARI... Tü kân Şoray sinemamızda reklâmını yaptırmak için akla, hayâle gelmez yollara başvurur. Onun ismi Türk sinema camiası içinde Mavi Boncuk'tur. Sakın bu Mavi Boncuk sözünden, onun güzelliğine nazar değer düşüncesiyle söylenmiş bir söz anlaşılmasın. O her dost göründüğü kimseye reklâmını yaptırabilmek ve her güldüğü kimseyi kendine âşık edebilmek için tuttuğu yol dolayısiyle «Mavi Boncuk» ismine hak kazanmıştır. Meselâ vaktiyle kendine evlenme teklif ettiğini iddia ettiği gencin neşredilmesi için gazetecilere fotoğraflarını verdiği gibi, sevgililerinin aşk mektuplarını da gazetecilere vermekten büyük bir zevk duymuştur. Fakat ne kadar gariptir ki, bu sevimli yıldızımız, bu
aşk maceralarının, aleyhine neticeler doğurduğunu görünce, sevgilisiyle hiç bir alâkası kalmadığı yolunda beyanatlar da vermekten kaçınmamıştır...



FIGURE -20-

SES - 26 OCTOBER 1963



FIGURE -21-ARTIST - 5 NOVEMBER 1963



FIGURE -22-ARTIST - 12 NOVEMBER 1963



FIGURE -23-ARTIST - 12 NOVEMBER 1963



FIGURE -24-ARTIST - 13 JANUARY 1964



FIGURE -25-

ARTIST - 16 NOVEMBER 1965



FIGURE -26-SES - 20 NOVEMBER 1965



ZABIT İÇİN SAATLERİNE BAKIYORLAR ARZU FİLM yazıhanesinde, adı Türkân Şoray'la dedikodulara karışan prodüktör ve rejisör Ertem Eğilmez ile «Senede Bir Gün» ün yazarı İhsan İpekçi, artistler ve teknisyenler arasında Türkân Şoray'ı «ihtarname» mucibince bekliyorlar. 11 kasım 1965 perşembe günü saat 12'de çekilen yukardaki bu fotoğrafta «Senede Bir Gün» isimli filmin oyuncularından Hüseyin Baradan, Reha Yurdakul, Münir Özkul, N. Güler ve Ali Şen görülüyor.

ARTIST - 23 AUGUST 1965



FIGURE -28-

SES - 19 NOVEMBER 1966

Üç yıl önce «Genç Kızlar» filminde Hülya Koçyiğit ile Türkân Şoray yan yana oynamıştı.

→ 0 günden sonra aralarına giren dedikoducular iki artistin önce birbirine kızmasına, sonra darılmasına sebep oldular.

Geçen hafta onları aynı stüdyoda fakat ayrı iki filimde çalışırlarken gördük ve «Siz aynı mesleğin içindeki arkadaşlarsınız, dargınlığı bırakıp barışın» dedik...

RÖPORTAJ : E. R. OLCAYTO FOTOĞRAFLAR: KUTLU ERTUNA

TÜRK sinemasının «tarihi» anlarından biri geçen hafta içinde, Şişli Camii yanında, Sohban Koloğlu'nun stüdyosunda yaşandı Yerli filimlerin iki «zirve-oyuncusu, Hülya Koçyiğit ile Türkân Soray, üç yıl süren dargınlıktan sonra el sıkışıp barıştılar ve bu kadarla da yetinmeyip sarılıp öpliştüler.

Böylece, «düşmanların» bulandırdığı bulanık sular dağıldı ve köprülerin altından billur gibi berrak sular akmaya başladı.

başladı.

başladı.

Daha önceki yıllarda *barışseverliğimizir göstermiş ve SES mecmuası idarehanesinde Ayhan İşik'la Göksel Arsoy'u, Türkân Şoray'la, mahkemelere düşen annesi Meliha Şoray'ı barıştırmıştık. Hülya Koçyiğit ile Türkân Şoray dargınlığı de (İıpkı Ayhan İşik - Türkân Şoray dargınlığı gibi) fazlasıyle üzüyordu. Yerli sinema ailesi dediğimiz topluluk, bugün Anadolu'da yaşayan bazı aileler kadar kalabalık değildir. Oyuncuların sayısı iki elin parmaklarından fazladır. Fakat bu sayıya iki ayağın parmaklarını da eklediniz mi sinema oyuncusu sayısı geride kalır.

kat bu sayıya iki ayağın parmakiarını esklediniz mi sinema oyuncusu sayısı geride kalır.

«Biz kirk kişiyiz, birbirimizi bilirizidenir ya? Biz 20 kişi bile olmadığımız için birbirimizi daha iyi biliriz. Onun için, Hülya Koçyiği ile Türkah Soray'ın barışma teklifimize karşı koyamayacaklarını da tahmin ediyorduk.

«Dargmik kelimesi de nereden çıktı?diyenler var. Onun için üç yıl geriye, 1963 yılına kadar gitimemiz gerekir. O sıralarda Hülya Koçyiğit SES mecmuasi Kapak Yıldızı Yarışmasında finalist olmuş ve ilk filmi «Susu Yaz»ı çevirdikten sonra o zamana kadar yerli sinemada görülmemiş bir söhret kazanmıştı. Hülya'nın ikinci filmi «Genç Kızlar» oldu. Burada rejisör Nevzat Pesen Hülya'yı Ediz Hun ve Türkân Soray ile yan yana oynattı.

yana oynattı.

Filim çekildi, bitti ve sinemalarda gösterildi. Kötü niyetli kişilerde dekikodu
ve çirkin süylentiler başladı:

— «Türkân hasedinden çatladı. Hiç
onun gibi öğrenci olur mu? Saçlarını
berbere kovan biçimi yaptırmış!»

— «Türkân 'Susuz Yaz' da oynayamadiği için Hülya'ya düşman oldu. Ondan
intikam almak için elinden ne gelirse yapacak!» O filimde bir araya gelen iki sinema oyuncusu 1963'ten bugünlere gelene kadar gittikçe yükselen bir grafik
çizdiler.

çızdiler. Bir artistin ücreti ne kadar artarsa düşmanı da o kadar artar. Bu «düşman» toplu - tüfekli düşman değildir, ama pek az prodüktör cebinden bir anda 40.000



TÜRKÂN ile HÜLYA'YI

FIGURE -29-

SES - 19 NOVEMBER 1966

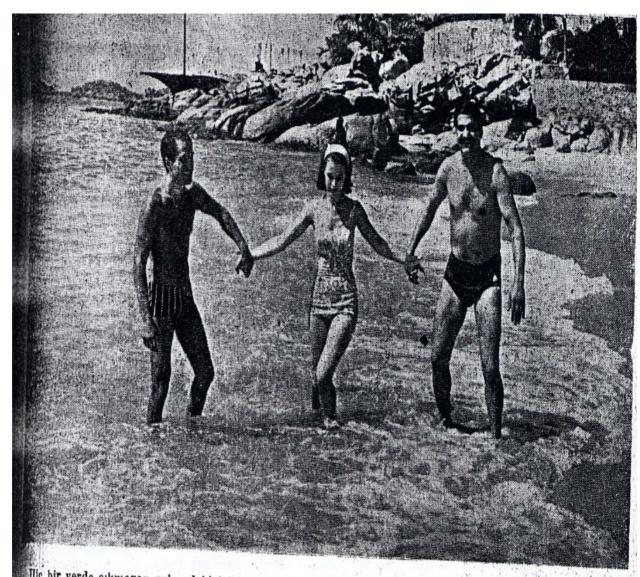


FIGURE -30-SES - 19 NOVEMBER 1966



BIR KAHVENIN KIRK YIL HATIRI VAR — Hülya Koçyiğit ile Türkân Şoray barıştıktan sonra tenha bir köşeye çekilip uzun uzun sohbet ettiler. Geride kalan ve ayrı yeçen üç yıl için: «Yazık oldu, dargınlık için önemli bir sebep yokmuş» dediler.

FIGURE -31-ARTIST - 2 DECEMBER 1964



İliç bir yerde çıkmayan yukarıdaki fotoğrafları mecmuamızın iki maskotu Mexico'dan yollamışlarrı... Bu resimleri gördükten sonra uçaktan iner inmez «Burası Amma so ğukmuş..» diyen Koçyiğit'e hak vermek lâzım... Koçyiğit ve Erol Taş Ulvi Doğan la her gün denize girmişler..

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