



LIFE-STYLE JOURNALISM

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Subsequent to certain societal changes that occurred after the 70s, the term, life-style, has become frequent in the literature of social studies. The life-style concept is perceived as the indication of consumer's sense of preference and style and individuality in terms of one's physique, clothing, way of conversing, recreating, foodstuff preferences, homes, automobiles, choice of vacation etc., and it also marks the beginning of consumers' perception of their and others' positions in society by means of such consumed images. The Post-Fordist era that took place in the West in mid 70s, also signifies a period in which the culture of consumption is absorbed by the society. The life philosophy of this social layer, which was "plumped up" in a global scale, found its grounds on hedonism; to that end, the luxurious consumption patterns of the West were "extravagantly" duplicated. The unconditional support of most press organizations – perhaps due to their lavish profits from doing so – played a significant role in consumption transforming into a visual event. In this study we considered in depth the relationship between the consumption culture and the weekend supplements of newspapers. Our hypothesis states that the lifestyle news contained in the weekend supplements of newspapers involve messages that encourage consumption. The Hürriyet and Sabah dailies have been selected as the research object. In our study, a total of 369 articles (news+columns) under the weekend supplements appearing between Oct 24-Nov 15, 2015 have been analyzed.

Keywords: Life-style, Journalism, Consumption.

Introduction

The translation of the concept "life-style" into Turkish is "yaşam tarzı". Despite the existence of a Turkish version, the English version is being used due to the varying conditions and especially because of the preference of the press. In view of that, the subject of this study is "life-style" articles and the content of these "life-style" pages in the existing newspapers of the Turkish press. The aim in this respect is to designate how and as a result of what the term emerged, different phases it has gone through under different names and appearances, and the transformation in terms of content. The basic problem of life-style pages that is worthy of consideration is that despite its short history, it is a genre used nearly by all newspapers and reflected in other pages of the newspaper as well. In this respect, we will try to reach a conclusion by keeping in mind the economic and political changes in Turkey after 1980 and the effects of the endeavors for integration into the West on the life-style of the Turkish people.

In this study, the principal facts of "life-style journalism" called "the face of consumer society in the press" will be analyzed in context of Turkish mass media. We are aiming to determine the way of life recommended by Hürriyet and Sabah newspapers and the main contents, through analyzing the life-style news of these newspapers that appeared in the weekend issues during a month. The theme of our study is

the investigation of the link between these news and the consumer society. The starting point of our study is the theory that the weekend supplements of newspapers convey messages of consumption. The first part includes the theoretical background of the concept of “life-style” whereas in the second part we will try to determine the relationship between the consumption culture and the “life-style journalism” in the Turkish press through analyzing the news of the weekend supplements of said newspapers in respect of mass media.

The Theoretical Dimension of the Concept of “Life-Style”

The concept of “life-style” has been widely used in the literature of social sciences, particularly after the social changes of 1970’s. Despite the absence of consensus, it has been expressed in various communication channels that the Western societies have left the production and consumption habits of the fordist era and shifted to the post-fordist era beginning from mid-1970’s and that the main argument of this era had been the concept of “life-style”.

The post-fordist era is characterized by structural changes in production and consumption models, at the end of the period of the decline of heavy industry, when men worked as groups in factories and women worked in relatively lighter jobs. Together with Taylorism, Fordism has highly accelerated capitalism with its ability to provide for standardized commodities cheaper and in mass amounts. However, the decline in the satisfaction of consumption demand for produced commodities, saturation of the home market and economic bottlenecks such as the 1970 Petrol Crisis resulted in the reconsideration of the production and consumption models of capitalism. Indeed many indicators, which were meaningless when considered individually, indicated that a change in mentality was inevitable. The first of these indicators was high inflation rates. Similarly, the profitability rate of leading industrialized countries in this period retreated. High costs of the electronic revolution and the expensive investments of information technology increased the need for supply of demand. The changing structures of world trade retreated some old industry products such as iron, steel and industry whereas it brought about the progress of others like electronics industry products. The consideration of all these signs reveals that these results would unavoidably end up with a serious economic crisis. Considered as a whole, these economic formations were the presages of the fact that the increase of fertility had reached its limits and that there was a need for new strategies. For this aim it was unavoidable to initiate some new socio-economic policies in order to activate the rigidity and the saturation of the system. First of all, the mission of the bureaucratic dirt creating state was put into question; and the activity of the state in the market was controlled by reducing its social roles by way of privatization. Furthermore, as a result of the imposition of multinational corporations -courageous to spread worldwide and transmit their commodities all over the world-, a new and flexible formation left its mark upon models of consumption and production. Multinationalization became a rule in this period and all production factors –capital, laborers, polity, terms of reference, etc- were redefined in accordance with global marketing strategies.

This rampant mentality change which forced the national forms and perceived the world as a whole, succeeded in overcoming the economic crisis overtime and imposed its reality on all parts of the society and “life-styles”.

The most evident feature of the so-called Post-Fordist era was that a flexible insight was in the center of economy on the levels of both consumption and production. “Commodity production” that took place in production and which did not have to be in massive amounts and standardized unlike Fordism, was equally determinant for the laborers. The quality, limits and discipline of work acquired a more transitive character. The most basic features of post-fordism that settled down with an economy-based formation in the 70’s and 80’s were, the emergence of new production sectors, new markets and most important of all, the speeding up of the tempo of technological and organizational novelties. “Consumption” constitutes the origin of post-fordism. It is not wrong to claim that the aim of post-fordism is to provoke consumption rather than to increase it. “People are hungry for change,” the management guru James Champy argues, because “the market may be “consumer-driven” as never before in history. “The market, in this view, is

too dynamic to permit doing things the same way year after year, or doing the same thing (Sennett 2002). In this respect, especially the mass communication media has ambitiously stimulated the individuals especially through fashion and canalized their emotions towards capital. The “seduction” and “multiplication” of consumers has become the primary target. The main differences between the consumption and production models of the Fordist and post-fordist eras have been schematized and compared to each other many times in the literature. At this stage of our study it would be helpful to classify the differences between rigid fordism and flexible post-fordism for a clarification of the subject.

Table 1. Comparison of fordism and post-fordism

FORDISM	POST-FORDISM
Massive marketing and massive/standard production	Individual marketing, individual production
Organizing and controlling role of the social welfare state	State's abandoning its role in this field
Nation-state centered organizational formation	Corporation-centered formation in a global scale
Centralist and Taylorist understanding of management of production	Flexible organization, computer-assisted work
Office or factory-centered	Home-centered
Unskilled workers and full employment	Top-caliber and much less workers
Massive and family-centered consumption	Individual and even individualist consumption
High demand of durable consumer goods	Demand of luxury consumption models
Working class, average salary	Service class, high salary
Equalizing consumption	Differentiation of consumption
Solidarity and fellow-feeling	Individualist thinking and entrepreneurship
Direction by sources direct	Direction by demand
Workers with a unique assignment	Multiple assignments
Labor organizations, collective agreements	Companies and individual agreements

The Expectation of Differentiation by way of Consumption during the Post-Fordist Era

Consumption activities that were attributed a sophisticated identity surpassed production activities and “life-styles” that were presented as the reflection of individual characters constituted the basics of culture industry, nourishing and nourished by this field. In this culture which is being defined as life-style and spreading from the upper to the lower layers of the society, “one’s body, clothing, speech, use of leisure, food and drink preferences, house, automobile, vacation choices” are defined as the individual signs of the consumer’s taste styles (Featherstone 1996). Roughly, it is a whole consisting of refined tastes such as eating at good restaurants, care of dress, smoking the best cigars, a taste for good wine, collection of paintings, rare books, antiquities, pens, and classical cars in one’s leisure time. (Bali 2002). At this period, “individuals started to perceive their position and others’ in the social structure through consumed images (Slater 1997). David Chaney on the other hand defines life-style as “a series of expectations a kind of regularly inspecting the social ambiguities of mass society” (Chaney 1999), and calls attention to the parallel between the era and post-fordist ideology.

The Post-Fordist era also connotes a period of internalization of consumption culture by the society. It is possible to define consumer society as the explanation of objects in a different way and the crossing out of use value by the exchange value. In Benjamin's words, the covering of use value by exchange value brings about the "materialization of phantasmagorias" through these commodities (Benjamin 1993). In this context, the formation of post-fordism that provokes consumption softens individuals' resistance towards goods and promises them a peace of mind through identities obtainable only through commodities. According to the ideology of consumer culture, the individual living in consumption culture converts life-style into a kind of life-project and tries to constitute a "life-style" while "choosing" his products, clothing, practices, experiences, appearances according to his own "individual preferences". The most meaning-laden object of the post-fordist era is certainly the body. In Baudrillard's words, "After a period of Puritanism of a thousand years, "rediscovery of body" in terms of physically and sexually becoming free, its absolute presence in advertising, fashion and mass culture, obsession of health, diet, therapy, youth, elegance, masculinity and femininity, cares of body, diets, altruistic applications, discourse of Lust- all these are witnesses for the transformation of body into an object of salvation. Body has replaced soul in this ethical and ideological function" (Baudrillard 2004).

In a post-fordist world, high income earners show tendency towards intensive consumption models that contain a series of differentiated production and service activities. Boutiques that offer a wide variety of food and clothing, special restaurants, charcuteries, selective residences that require special care and attention, specially ordered furniture, baby-sitters, teachers, personal services such as body guarding, leisure and entertainment activities. Employment in these fields and consumption habits emerge from the existence of a new social layer that strikingly differs from the old middle class of the fordist developing era (Keyder 2000). The distinction is in terms of leisure time activities besides a new "social layer" work styles attached to the service sector that rapidly prospered all over the world especially since mid-70's. The life philosophy of this new class is to "enjoy life". For this reason consumption models anticipated by culture industry are conspicuously imitated. "Fashion" created by this class gets into the other social layers by time and brings about the affirmation of consumption-centered life by masses. Great differentiation in workplace brings about a greater differentiation in the society. In this way commodities of mass production lose attention whereas products special to persons, ordered goods, especially high quality products draw attention. People hesitate to use products similar to each other, and prefer distinctive and conspicuous ones. Hence the production industry comes into the orbit of culture industry and leisure time activities gain a selectivity determining character.

At this point, it would be useful to recall the Norwegian American economist Thorstein Veblen's work "The Theory of the Leisure Class (1899), and his "conspicuous consumption model". In his study of the newly-rich class of Northern America, Veblen analyses the conspicuous life-style of this idle class as a Norwegian emigrant withstanding Americanization. Leisure time activities of this class were imitated by the other parts of society by time. In this way a money centered culture based on imitation found a place for itself in the society from upper to lower layers. Leisure class's exhibition of leisure and consumption practices in a conspicuous way is another reflection of hedonism which is a waste of wealth. Veblen designates the consumption habits and leisure time activities of the idle class as follows: "The peace-loving appearing gentlemen... food, drink, drugs, shelter, service, ornaments, clothing, guns and military equipments, entertainment, amulets, idols, gods consume the best of everything ... However these gentlemen also have the obligation to consume the best of everything generously. Leisure must be spent as it should be ... their noble attitudes and life-styles are elements in accordance with their conspicuous idleness and consumption standards." (Bocock 1997, quoting from Veblen 1912). According to Veblen, lower and middle classes imitate the consumption habits and leisure time activities of high classes and try to "be like them" when there is a relative increase of income. Exhibited preferences of the high class spread from up to down and become determinant in the preference of lower the class. These emulation and imitation activities bring about the sanctification of an object centered life-style by every layer of society. The potential of laborer class for revolution is lost in the magic of status promising commodities. Veblen's theory of "conspicuous consumption" offers an excellent point of view on models consumption and leisure time activities.

The General View of Post-Fordism Under Conditions of Turkey

The process that took place in the West during mid 1970s has commenced in Turkey when Turgut Özal took office as prime minister in mid 1980s. During this period, along with the ensuing dominance of free market economy, consumption became the prime factor in defining individuals' identities and daily life quickly globalized and become colorful with imported "merchandise." "In the course of this transformation, the companies that kept their distance from Turkey through out its national development era, persuaded by the liberal rhetoric of the government, were inclined to invest and open branch offices in Turkey (Keyder, 2000)." Such internationalization, which commenced initially within the finance sector, quickly increased its influence. The branch offices of foreign banks, private exchange bureaus, leasing and insurance companies, fund managers and stock exchange market became operational in quick succession. Such process of globalization, which spread in a wide spectrum from garments to fast-food industry and from thereon to press activities, inevitably brought along with it its peculiar social attributes. The rising service class, which thrived at global level, promptly demanded "the life style that they deserve," and "post-fordism, Turkish style" spread across the society with a Istanbul based structuring and made its effects felt in waves across all layers of the society.

The fundamental problem with the "Turkish style post-fordism" was the serious lack of substructure, and the ever-widening gap between "those on top" and "those below;" while one part of the society was purchasing "new identities," the overwhelming majority of the populace was hardly putting food in their mouths, let alone purchasing new identities. In this process, the service sector augmented its influence over the society and the developing service class centered "appreciation" and "consumption alternatives" astonishingly varied in kind. Such economic policies ultimately resulted in a gradually dissolving middle-class, which somewhat existed to speak of "pre 1980," and also accumulation of a serious amount of capital at the top classes. During this period, the income of mid and senior level managers, particularly in banking, finance, media, communication and foreign trade sectors, increased immensely at the cost of impoverishment within the major part of society, the most striking example of which was evident in Istanbul. According to the State Statistics Institute's income distribution by percentile research that was published in Milliyet newspaper on October 5, 2000, there was 322 times income difference between the poorest and wealthiest household in Istanbul. Whereas across the nation the wealthiest 1 percent received 16.6 percent of the popular income, such figure reaches 29 percent in Istanbul.

By the end of 1980s, as a result of implemented economic and social policies, Istanbul was transformed into a global city, which "deserved" to be a "global metropolis" at least based on some objective criteria. The fundamental characteristic of global cities is their ability to generate a specific employment structure that reflect the priority of consumer services sectors. The structure of employment is determined not only by the existence of high paid jobs that are sophisticated only on consumer services, but also by the secondary effects of such primary employment: In a Post-Fordist world, high income earners incline to consumption patterns that involve a series of differentiated labor intensive production and service activities. The support of many major press organizations to such occurrence, from which they generated considerable revenues, played a significant role in consumption becoming a notable activity. The "hedonistic ethics" and "extravagant consumption" that arose from the media quickly took under its influence the higher classes along with the mid and lower classes. The press positioned itself as both the institutor and pursuer of such system, and started to draw up its pages in pursuit of such social formations and in a manner, which satisfies the expectations of the rising service sector.

The Rise of Life-Style Journalism

The most significant change that took place in press in post-1980 era, other than technological developments and renovation, had been the increase in the number of newspapers, which varied in terms of their contents, qualities and the target audiences. With the 1980s, the newspapers varied in kind, become lively and took up the role of conveyor of "life style" and "rising values" in order to respond to readers' changed points of view in parallel to prevailing social changes. Also in this period,

many new newspapers emerged, others downsized or closed, and the press organizations that were able to grab such “rising values” had thrived. It may be fair to say that the true functionality of the term “Rising Values,” which as a whole is made of images, had been a marketing strategy that was used to increase identity sale, by means of which such clients, who were fond of their social status, were able to appear as they wish with such obtained fake identities. In this process, journalists, some columnists in particular, was made into some sort of elite “prophets of gusto,” who were believed to have the mission of instructing the society as to what was right, fine and beautiful. The journalists of the past, who selflessly did their jobs in small offices under numerous hardships, were replaced by those with luxurious consumptions habits, who enjoyed the services of their chauffeurs to go to work. Such writers, who become more and more elite by the day and make “good money” in the global scale, frequently invited their readers to “enjoy life” and “live better.” The relevant development of Turkish capitalism and internalization of consumption ideology have no doubt changed the life expectations and practices in this direction. By mid 1990s, such view, which in brief was “enjoying life,” had transformed into a wide spread life philosophy.

Thanks to the continuous increase that took place as of mid 1980s in income levels of certain classes, the luxurious life style was longer the privilege of the super wealthy, and become also the style of the new elite. Recognizing such change, Sabah newspaper launched its “Gusto-Style” page. This page, which time and again included such headings as “the best restaurant in Paris,” “the newest model of BMW,” was introduced to the readers by the editor-in-chief Zafer Mutlu with these words: “Ten years ago, if we would have published these things, they would have laughed at us. Now, people read it. Because, they long for it... Even if they would never it at such a restaurant, they still would like to be aware of the existence of such a place.” This new page of Sabah called “gusto,” was applauded by the elite who complained about “rustication of society” and was presented as essential for urbanization (Bali 2004).

The appearance of the process as reflected on the newspapers is the addition of unprecedented pages into newspapers and opening for discussion of new concepts. In this context, changes were made to the contents of newspapers and, as dictated by the era’s politics, magazine and economy news, rather than political ones, dominated pages. The life style that was shaped with respect to the Western consumption patterns that penetrated into the country also reflected on or was reflected by newspapers. The existence of a young populace mostly in the service sector that can afford to consume in particular provided the newspaper managers with the beacon they sought, and the ways by which new trends could be followed were conveyed to the people on these pages by means of open or concealed advertising. The prime goal therein was to satisfy the expectations of the masses, which desired to consume – and to consume in quality at that – along with generating new consumers. The spree, enlivened with the “find your own style” slogan, charged newspapers with a different mission and the profits generated therefrom caused an increase in the number of life-style pages. The life style journalism, which in the beginning started with a few headlines, during the course of the process started to publish its own newspapers and magazines, particularly on weekends. The close ties of life style journalism with the advertising industry resulted in such advertorials occupying ever-increasing space in newspapers. Still in our times, particularly, newspapers of masses, place significant importance on life style journalism and “revering consumption” remains to be the dominant rhetoric in those pages.

The Research Objective

The objective of the research is to consider in depth the relationship between the consumption culture and the weekend supplements of newspapers, which are supported with life-style news and have a significant impact in motivating action, i.e. consumption. As stated under the introduction section of our study, our hypothesis state that the “lifestyle news” contained in the weekend supplements of newspapers involve messages that encourage consumption.

The Object and Method of Research

The Hürriyet and Sabah dailies from the nationwide, mainstream media have been selected as the research object. Selection of these two newspapers with similar target audiences arises from the fact that our study aims to disclose the situation, rather than making a comparison.

Hürriyet has been published since 1948. With daily circulation of 344 thousand issues, delivers to its readers a daily supplement named Kelebek, as well as an additional one on weekends. Hürriyet's weekend circulation is 367 thousand issues. Sabah, however, has commenced its operations in 1985. With a daily circulation of 305 thousand issues, the newspaper comes with its daily supplement called Günaydın. The weekend circulation with the weekend supplement is 307 thousand issues.

The daily nationwide publication and circulation of the newspapers, as well as their influence across the nations had been decisive in selecting research objects.

In our study, a total of 369 articles (news + columns) under the weekend supplements appearing between October 24 – November 15, 2015 (1 month / 4 weekends) have been analyzed. Qualitative analysis based on content analysis was applied to the supplements of newspapers that were selected as research objects. In our research, qualitative analysis was adopted as the most suitable method.

The content analysis method involves the quantitative and qualitative analysis process of popular rhetoric, in other words, the statements and announcements that are made to public through the media, and scans, assembles and construes the data that is significant in terms of the research objective from current and scattered data masses. (Gökçe 2001)

Findings and the Analysis Thereof

The weekend supplements of Hürriyet and Sabah newspapers have been subjected to qualitative analysis.

The Qualitative Analysis of Article Types in Newspaper Supplements

Table 2. The total proportion of article types, which contain messages that encourage consumption to the total article types

Number of newspaper article types that encourage consumption	Total number of newspaper article types	Percentage (%)
339	369	91.8

As can be seen under the Table 2, the total number of article types (news + column) that were published under the weekend supplements of Hürriyet and Sabah newspapers between – October 24 – November 15, 2015 had been 369, whereas the number of article types that contain messages that encourage consumption had been 339. The proportion of article types that contain messages that encourage consumption to the total article types was 91.8%. On grounds of the obtained numerical data, it may be stated that newspapers clearly support the consumption culture.

Table 3. The proportion of news with consumption driving messages to total number of news

Number of news that encourage consumption	Total number of news	Percentage (%)
279	304	91.7%

When we consider the proportion of article types among themselves (Table 3-4), we can see that the total number of news is 304, the number of news with consumption driving messages is 279, and that the proportion is 91.7%. The proportion of news and promotional articles in the weekend supplements being at such high level as 91.7%, discloses the purpose of publishing such supplements.

Table 4. The proportion of columns with consumption driving messages to total number of columns.

Number of columns that encourage consumption	Total number of columns	Percentage (%)
60	65	92.3%

In terms of columns; the total number of columns had been 65 whereas the number of columns with consumption driving messages had been 60, the proportion of which is 92.3%. The comparison discloses that news contain more consumption driving messages than columns.

Table 5. Number and proportions of newspaper article types with consumption driving messages in basis of days

Days on which the newspaper article types are examined	Hürriyet Sabah	
	Number of article types that encourage consumption	Number of article types that encourage consumption
October 24, 2015	30	28
October 25, 2015	17	20
October 31, 2015	24	29
November1, 2015	14	21
November7, 2015	21	17
November8, 2015	15	20
November14, 2015	23	28
November15, 2015	12	20
Total	156	183

As can be seen under Table 5, Hürriyet has published, during the period in which the research was conducted, 156 newspaper article types that encourage consumption. The proportion of said number to the total number of article types, 173, is 90.1%, which means that 90.1% of the newspaper article types that Hürriyet published contains messages that encourage consumption. Sabah has published 183 newspaper article types with content that encourage consumption. The total number of newspaper article types was 196, and the proportion of newspaper article types that contain consumption-driving messages is 93.3%. As can be seen, more than half of the articles published by both newspapers contained messages that encouraged consumption. We have classified the newspaper article types with consumption-driving

messages that were published by Hürriyet and Sabah, into 7 categories; namely, garments, culture-arts, localities, pets, gastronomy, decoration and sports.

Table 6. The classification and number of newspaper article types thereunder with consumption-driving messages that were published by Hürriyet and Sabah

Category	Hürriyet	Sabah
Garments	8	10
Culture-Arts	68	61
Localities	21	23
Technology	9	18
Gastronomy	10	26
Decoration	1	12
Sports	4	10

The news about garments could directly be about a particular garments manufacturer, a certain fashion, or a designer. As can be seen under Table 6, culture and arts news, comprising promotion of plays, movies, concerts, books, musicals etc. come up as the subjects with the highest number of consumption encouraging content in both newspapers. The news about localities could be about any place to eat, drink, entertainment and vacation destinations. As depicted under Table 6, the localities subject ranks second in terms of consumption driving content in both newspapers. Gastronomy comprises promotion, description, and benefits of a particular meal or drink, whereas decoration news contain information about essential materials needed for decorating a particular place, or promotion of furniture and accessory companies. Again, Table 6 discloses that sports news come up as the subject with the least number of messages that encourage consumption.

The examination has taken into consideration such factors as the use of actors/experts, product frequency, presence of praise or recommendation and the number thereof, brand frequency, whether product price and address are directly provided, the presence of product story, mention of product range, and whether target market and similar products are mentioned.

Table 7. The number of “consumption messages” within news by Hürriyet and Sabah that encourage consumption

Consumption messages	Hürriyet	Sabah	Total
Actors/Experts	72	98	170
Product frequency	299	349	648
Praise and recommendation	336	171	507
Brand frequency	285	212	497
Price	96	33	129
Address	175	157	332
Product/brand story	79	39	118
Product range	77	15	92
Target market	19	9	28
Product within the product	177	360	537

Whereas use of experts in the articles support product/brand reliability and credibility, using actors makes the article more effective. As it can be seen under the Table 7, out of 279 news articles published by examined newspapers that contain messages that encourage consumption, 170 used actors/experts.

Frequent mention of the product within the news article makes it stick to consumers' mind and makes it easier to remember the product. In 279 news articles with consumption messages that were published by *Hürriyet* and *Sabah*, there had been 648 product reiterations. Using words of praise and recommendation in the news article creates a positive image about the product, and leaves the impression that the product was tested, and after being satisfied, it is recommended. It directly encourages consumption. In 279 news articles with consumption messages that were published by these two newspapers, there had been 507 occasions in which the product was praised or recommended.

Clearly stating the price within the news article defines the target market, whereas indicating the address directly drives consumption. In 279 news articles with consumption messages that were published by these two newspapers, the price of the product was given 129 times, and in 332 occasions, the address at which the product can be purchased was published.

In view that something bad will not last, publishing the brand/product story in the news article proves to the reader that such product/brand had been in demand for years thanks to its quality and reliability. It is further effective in terms of establishing an emotional bond between the reader and the product. In 279 news articles with consumption messages that were published by these two newspapers, there had been 118 occasions in which the product/brand story was told.

Mentioning the product range conveys a message in terms of widening the target audience of the brand, whereas mentioning the target audience is a direct invitation to such indirectly targeted audience. Mentioning the target market further contains an element, which drives the reader toward consumption. The message, "the consumption group in which you [desire to] exist uses this brand/product" is conveyed. In 279 news articles with consumption messages that were published by these two newspapers, the product ranges were promoted 92 times, and in 28 occasions, the target market of the product was identified in no uncertain terms.

In cases where two or more products/brands are introduced alongside the product/brand, such additional brands/products with lesser brand value benefits from the higher brand value of the latter. In 279 news articles with consumption messages that were published by *Hürriyet* and *Sabah*, there had been 537 occasions in which different brands/products were promoted alongside the original brand/product.

Table 8. Number of consumption messages contained under *Hürriyet* and *Sabah* columns that encourage consumption

Consumption message	<i>Hürriyet</i>	<i>Sabah</i>	Total
Frequency of use of the promoted brand/product	218	117	335
Product/brand story	44	9	53
Product within the product	114	44	158
Address	56	11	67
Praise	129	23	152

The consumption messages that columnists' convey in their columns take the form of recommendations on culture, entertainment and shopping, based on their personal life experiences. Such recommendations function by praising the columnists' life styles and motivating the reader to pursue a similar lifestyle by means of consuming the same items as the columnist does. In 60 columns with consumption messages that were published by examined newspapers, as it can be seen under the Table 8, the brand/product use frequency was 335. Whereas the number of columns in which product/brand story was mentioned is 53, 158 different products were promoted in a total of 60 columns. In 60 columns,

product/brand address was mentioned 67 times, whereas in 152 occasions words of praise and recommendation were noted.

Conclusion

In this study, we have tried to analyze by means of qualitative content analysis the leading concepts in Lifestyle Journalism and how these pages encouraged the individual for consuming, in the context of a sample population comprising *Hürriyet* and *Sabah* newspapers. The discovery of the relationship between the news and articles that are published in weekend supplements and the culture of consumption had been the main pursuit of our study.

In the first part of our study, we have tried to touch on the theoretical background of the lifestyle concept in a universal scale, and we have discussed in depth the post-fordist era, which presumably commenced in the West during the 1970s. The most striking aspect of the post-fordist era for purposes of this study had been the “life style” concept, which it brought forward, and the accelerating effect thereof with regard to consumption. Lifestyle concept created a desire for emulation among social classes, and downward “image purchasing” brought all social layers under its influence. The advertising sector, which thrived in this era, conveyed the culture and means of consumption to wide masses via irresistible effectiveness of mass communication means, and helped its penetration. In this context, internalized consumption culture and “lifestyle,” which is its reflection on daily life, proceeded beyond its limits and started to penetrate irreturnably, and by 1980s, they have established firmly within the social structure, enhanced with the effect of new world order of globalization.

In 1980s, Turkey accelerated its efforts for integrating into the world, the new service class, which quickly become richer/elite, hugged the arguments of lifestyle to appear better within the social structure, at which point press organizations took up the mission of satisfying individuals who pursued better lives. Other newspapers quickly positioned themselves by means of the way lead, particularly, by *Sabah*, and in the process, almost every news paper started to devote all of their weekend supplements to lifestyle news, majority of which, as depicted by our content analysis, served to encourage individuals for consuming more. In regard to *Hürriyet* and *Sabah*, the proportion of article types with messages that encourage consumption to total number of article types was 91.8 percent, whereas the proportion of the number of news with messages that encourage consumption to the total number of news was 91.7 percent. This truly high percentage, discloses the true function of such weekend supplements.

The messages that are contained within weekend supplements are not limited solely to news and promotion articles. Columnists, who seem to have a new mission now, have actively participated in this process, and some writers defined themselves as lifestyle writers, and considered themselves in a position to lead people’s lives by means of living, before the public does, such things as they consider what the public should, and by promoting the same under their columns. When we consider that the proportion of columns with content that encourages consumption over the total number of columns is 92.3 percent, it should not be unfair to state that this writing style is developing by the day. Nevertheless, news and columns, when considered together, proves our presumption that “the weekend supplements of newspapers contain messages that encourage consumption.”

Within the scope of this study, and in the context of the data that we have obtained by theorizing and research, it may be stated that lifestyle journalism, and encouraging individuals to consume comprise the prime function of weekend supplements of newspapers. The news and even columnists appear to have a mission of encouraging the masses, who seek a “better living,” for consumption. In the context of current economic realities, such progression of lifestyle journalism, which did not appear much in the press in 1980s, is significant. The fact that the newspapers have become, particularly after 1980s, profit oriented commercial entities caused the rise of certain content, while invalidating the function of others. It would be safe to state that lifestyle pages, which “make good money” to press organizations by way of concealed or plain advertising, gained much prestige and the amount of space they take within newspapers increased considerably. In this context, it is our view that lifestyle journalism, which we

consider to be the consumption society's face in the press, shall continue to thrive, so long as the fast interaction process toward becoming and consumption society continues.

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