

Critical Stance in Popular/Postmodern Literary Magazines: Mainstream or Alternative?

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Abstract

It is possible to say that a new era has begun in the field of literary journalism in the last ten years. Magazines in this new format, one of the products of popular culture produced for mass consumption; use left figures in their cover designs and left values in their content and define/introduce themselves as "left". In these magazines, the oppositional language of the youth subculture and the ironic, sarcastic, and humorous language that emerged after the Gezi resistance stand out. For this reason, the approach that the magazines are an alternative symbolic field of struggle is common, both in academic studies and in the cultural field. In another approach, attention is drawn to the fact that magazines are products of the culture industry and commodify literature/art. In this study, it is claimed that the critical stance put forward by the magazines deemed appropriate to be called popular/postmodern literary magazines reproduces the dominant ideology. It has been tried to reveal the philosophical framework of the current critical stance in the magazines with examples of idealism, the cultural framework of postmodernism, and the theoretical framework of postMarxism. The existence of these frameworks implies the reproduction of the dominant ideology. In this study, it is aimed to draw attention to the relationship between philosophy, culture and social conditions based on these frameworks. It is a common phenomenon that what is presented "critically" in academic studies and in the cultural field intersects with what is "sovereign" and even serves it. In this way, it produces a "criticality" suitable for its own interests by breaking the "sovereign" and "critical" out of its context. In this study, which uses the Marxist approach and its method, dialectic, the popular/postmodern literary magazines Ot, Kafa and Bavul were examined based on the concept of criticism.

Keywords: Criticism; Idealism; Left Melancholy; Popular/Postmodern Literary Magazines; Postmodernism; PostMarxism

INTRODUCTION

Popular/postmodern literary magazines have started to dominate the field of journalism after the first publication of Ot Magazine in 2013. It is possible to say that the cynical, sarcastic, and ironic language used in the Gezi resistance is the starting point of popular/postmodern literary magazines. After the Gezi resistance, magazines in the format of Ot Magazine (Kafa, Bavul, Kafkaokur, Fil, *Edebiyatist*, *Deve*, *Cins*, *Masa*, *Mikrop*, *Kafasına Göre*, *Pul Biber*, *Yumuşak g. Ayarsız*) quickly became widespread in this field. This language, which appeared in the humor magazines of the 1990s and was defined as the oppositional language of youth subculture by both academic studies and media professionals, is not a narrative and expression form that emerged out of nowhere. Popular/postmodern literary magazines, which inherited this ironic language from humor magazines, have been discussed at two different extremes in academic studies and by literary critics. Emphasis on the one extreme that these magazines are products of the culture industry that commodifies literature and on the other the potential of these magazines to create an alternative public space through an alternative political communication. The opposite discussion agrees that magazines constitute a discursive struggle against dominant/hegemonic narratives. Features such as pluralism, polyphony, freedom of thought and expression in magazines are among the reasons why they are defined as alternative media.¹

In addition, these magazines are considered "alternative" because they frequently use left values and historical left figures both on their covers and in their content. It is frequently emphasized by the founders or editorial directors that these magazines are "left-wing", "opposition" and "alternative" magazines. In fact, this situation is only a result of the approaches that deal with the concept of alternative media through qualities such as polyphony, oppositional content, names, and ideas that cannot find a place in the mainstream. However, when the concept of alternative media is considered in the light of philosophy and from a class perspective, it will be seen that these features alone will not be enough to define a medium as an alternative. On the other hand, to say that these magazines, which are the subject of the study, are products of the culture industry would leave the issue incomplete. Because these magazines are obviously differ from examples such as popular products like

¹ For example, in Efe İmamoğlu's (2017) master's thesis titled "New Zones of Coexistence in the Cultural Field: The Popular Literary Magazines in Turkey" It has been argued that popular literary magazines create an alternative public space and create a discursive struggle against the dominant narrative, with emphasis on Ot and Kafa magazines.

fashion magazines, women's/men's magazines etc. It is possible to say that idealism, which is the philosophy of the bourgeois dominant worldview, is also the philosophy of popular/postmodern literary magazines. Postmodernism, defined by Jameson (2011) as the "cultural logic of capitalism", constitutes the cultural framework of these magazines. These magazines, which are commodities in the field of culture, produced in accordance with the claim that the only reality is text and interpretation, with postmodernism declaring the "collapse of grand narratives". On the other hand, features such as the complete opposite of postmodernism, the fragmented narrative structure, the replacement of meaning by meaninglessness in literature are frequently encountered in these magazines. The theoretical equivalent of the political stance of the magazines corresponds to post-Marxism. These magazines, which are included in the alternative media due to their features such as pluralism and a discursive alternative struggle, coincide with the approach of post-Marxism that puts the "other" principle (identity politics) instead of class struggle. In this study, the philosophical, cultural and theoretical dimensions of the alleged "left" political stance in the magazines will be examined and the postmodern, idealist and postMarxist characters of the magazines will be tried to be explained and an answer will be sought to the question of whether popular/postmodern literary magazines are "mainstream" or "alternative" based on these three concepts.

RESULTS

Critical Stance in Popular/Postmodern Literary Magazines

Before moving on to the political stance of popular/postmodern literary magazines, it would be helpful to explain why these magazines are defined as "popular/postmodern" magazines. The definition of "popular" indicates that these magazines are both standardized, easy-to-read products produced for mass consumption and reach high circulation². In popular culture, which is an output of the capitalist mode of production, mass production and mass consumption of meanings and images are targeted. This culture is a "quick use and fast consumption" culture based on capitalist forms of production, marketing, distribution and consumption (Erdogan, 2004: 4-5). Considering the beginning of this new era in literary journalism, Ot Magazine's motto of "a magazine that is read with pleasure and speed" and its presentation to the readers as "a magazine of culture and literature" can be considered as a clear expression of "the culture of quick use and fast consumption". The definition of "postmodern" used for magazines was used based on the "cultural logic of late capitalism" approach of the concept. As will be explained later, many features of postmodernism appear in these magazines. Every position on postmodernism carries an implicit or explicit political stance on the nature of capitalism. In this attitude, rebellion and uprising draw attention (Jameson, 2011: 32). But the rebellion and the uprising, which gradually ceases to be purposeful, becomes the goal itself. Jameson (2011: 33) describes the relationship between the revolt of postmodernism and popular culture as follows:

As for the revolt of postmodernism against all this, it should be equally emphasized that all the aggressive features of the postmodern revolt—from the ambiguity and blatantly sexual material to psychic misery and forms of social and political defiance that go beyond what can be imagined in even the most extreme periods of advanced modernism—are no longer available to anyone today. It is not considered a scandal by the public, and while it is widely tolerated, it is institutionalized and integrated into the official or popular culture of Western society.

² According to the circulation report of the magazines for January 2016, from lowest to highest, Bavul: 12,201, OT: 36,970, Kafa: 40.344, <http://www.gazeteciler.com/haber/Kafa-dergisi-zirvedeki-yerini-koruygu/251748>

According to the sales figure of OT Magazine in December 2018, it is seen that the report shared in 2016 has almost doubled and its circulation has increased to 55 thousand. <https://twitter.com/Otdergi/status/108160067333022720>

As a result of postmodernism, a form of rebellion that has been institutionalized, turned into an object of consumption, and tolerated by the dominant ideology, becomes widespread. The reason why this rebellion and uprising is tolerated is due to its harmless content. The integration of postmodernism and popular culture, which Jameson draws attention to, explains why magazines are defined as popular/postmodern literary magazines in this study. There is also a state of rebellion in popular/postmodern literary magazines. This rebellion and uprising often takes place in the mind and is not expected to be reflected in practice. The rebellion turns into an individual delirium. Oskay (1998: 156) also draws attention to the revolt in popular culture and underlines that "popular culture binds us tightly to the system on the one hand, but on the other hand it seems like it wants to express our rebellion against it". However, this opposition is not a real opposition and is limited to the consumption moment of popular culture. For this reason, the rebellion and opposition of popular culture has been adjusted at a dose that will not threaten the current system (Oskay, 1998: 156). The critical political stance we see in popular/postmodern literary magazines points to just such a rebellion and opposition. For example, while a revolutionary leader (Deniz Gezmiş, Fidel Castro, etc.) is iconized on the cover, concepts and values belonging to the left such as "revolution, rebellion, struggle" in the content of the magazine are detached from their social and historical meanings and reconstructed on an individual basis, or they are transformed into narratives of the past to help the existing one attributed to be indestructible. But the evil of what is present is not hidden. In a pessimistic way, the alienation of human from human and human from nature is criticized. But here, instead of transcending alienation, there is alienation to alienation. In other words, the main factor causing alienation is technological isolation, working in disliked professions, long hours spent in traffic to get home from work, credit debts to be paid, etc., by leaving capitalism out of the subject. They are treated as things in themselves, as if they were individual problems, and a state of seclusion along with disgust with society is brought before us as a recipe for salvation³. While doing this, the values

³ See. Ot Magazine, March 2018 issue, Berrin Karakaş's article titled "*Borç*".

Ot Magazine, June 2018 issue, Nermin Yıldırım's article titled "*Sen Varsın*".

Ot Magazine, June 2018 issue, Angutyus's article titled "*Mutsuzluk*".

Kafa Magazine, February 2015 issue, Levent Erden's article titled "*İspanağın Kilosu*".

Kafa Magazine, February 2015 issue, Dilan Bozyel's article titled "*Ben Senin Annen Değilim Türkiye*".

Kafa Magazine, January 2015 issue, Melda Urhan's article titled "*Onlar Cesurdular, Âşık Oldular*".

Bavul Magazine, May 2019 issue, Özge Doğar's article titled "*Yaşa ve Sil*".

Bavul Magazine, November 2019 issue, Evrim Kuran's article titled "*Yeteneksizsiniz Türkiye*".

Bavul Magazine, November 2019 issue, Aydilge's article titled "*Ne fark eder ki*".

belonging to the left are reconstructed in accordance with postmodernism. For this reason, the political stance we encounter in the magazines and the criticism it contains is the kind of criticism that Rochill defines as "compensatory criticism", devoid of dialectical realism. In an article on Foucault, one of the important names of postmodernism, Rockhill (2020) calls his radicalism a compensatory radicalism and explains the contradiction of the "radical compensator" as follows: "These intellectuals seem radical in some circles, but their main social function is to bring real radical criticism into the system and thus patrolling the left-wing margins of criticism." The critical content that we encounter in popular/postmodern literary magazines contains such a compensatory contradiction and patrols the left-wing borders. For this very reason, it reproduces the dominant ideology despite its critical appearance. So, we can say that the main point in the concept of alternative media should be whether or not to reproduce the dominant ideology. Since "criticism drawn into the system" cannot be anti-system, it is remarkable how the concept is filled when a medium is called "alternative". Because postmodernist approaches can produce controlled alternatives that are not dangerous to the political and economic structures of capitalism. While producing non-dangerous alternatives, Marxism, which is seen as a danger, is tried to be tamed by purging it from class thought. Concepts such as struggle, resistance, and even revolution are taken from the Marxist language and their content is refilled and how the struggle is to be done is reconstructed. "For example, atomized individual pluralism [is] glorify[ied] and the struggle is defined as waging 'semiotic guerrilla warfare' through 'construct demolition and rebuild in front of television/media'. With such formulations, organized struggle and solidarity [are] remove[d] from circulation." (Erdogan, 2014: 387).

One of the most important elements that feed the alternative appearances of popular/postmodern literary magazines around a left political stance is the missions that the magazine staff impose on their magazines. In this sense, Metin Üstündağ, who is considered the pioneer of the field, emphasizes the ties of the Ot Magazine, of which he is the founder, with the Gezi resistance, and gives the magazine a share of the pre-resistance: "*Ot came out in February, its slogan was 'Just for no real reason'. In June of the same year, the country came together because of a handful of no real reason. So it was a magazine with a vision.*" (Çınar, 2015). Another name, Dundar Hızal, who is one of the founders of Ot Magazine, shows that

Ot Magazine "has a stance" as one of the features that distinguish it from other magazines. He defines this political stance as "pluralist, democrat, libertarian" (Sert, 2019).

Kafa Magazine, founded by Candaş Tolga Işık, a name from the mainstream, has reached the sales figures of fifty thousand and stands out among the popular/postmodern literary magazines. The magazine draws a political image, especially with the revolutionary and leftist figures it carries on the cover. One of the examples illustrating this situation is a section in the magazine's 12th issue dated August 2015, in the interview of the editor-in-chief Ayça Derin Karabulut with Ara Güler. At the end of the interview, in which Güler's thoughts on photography and love are included, it is stated with the following sentences that Kafa Magazine is a "left" magazine:

The interview was over, I gave him the magazines we brought with us. 11 copy of KAFA at once. We started to examine the covers one by one. "This is a leftist magazine," he said, "So, yes," I said. "Let it be," he said. "Everyone on this cover is my friend anyway." He put Kafa magazines I gave him in the cafe's library. "Put Yaşar [Yaşar Kemal] at the top," he said. I did so.

As can be seen, Kafa Magazine team defines their magazines based on a "left" political stance, just like Ot Magazine. The editor-in-chief of the magazine, Karabulut, says in an interview with him that "Kafa also has a backbone that deliberately and willfully shifts to political humor, but that also forms its political opinion", and states that this backbone comes from "social democratism at best rather than traditional authoritarianism". In the continuation of the conversation in which the concepts are flying in the air, the "dissident" identity of the magazine is highlighted: "*The sine qua non of a magazine that already has something to say is to oppose something. The place of those who are not opposed to anything and cannot remain in opposition to anything is not in literature or art, but other fields. We are aware of our place and weight, and we are aware of our responsibility*" (Hamidi, 2015).

Bavul Magazine, on the other hand, sets out with a political argument as a natural consequence of its organic bond with the Freedom and Solidarity Party (ÖDP) and its publication, BirGün newspaper. The editor-in-chief of the magazine, which started to be published in September 2015, is Önder Abay, a reporter for the newspaper BirGün. Abay draws attention to the fact that Bavul Magazine, which he defines as "the literature of the street", is "the place of expression of people who cannot find a place to express themselves and are talked about". It is possible to understand from the statement "We are the children of

the streets that are described as dangerous” (Güngör, 2015) that the street in the motto of “literature of the street” is the street of the radicalized. Abay reveals the side they stand as a magazine as follows: “*The street is in Bavul. However, we never accept the expression of being a bridge between the street and the reader. We are not bridges. If there is a bridge, we are on the opposite side of that bridge.*” (Güngör, 2015). As the editor-in-chief of the magazine, Abay explains that the other side of the bridge is the side of those who stand against the oppressors: “*Those who do not look at the events taking place in our country from the lens of conscience and who are on the side of oppressors for their own benefit are not among our target audience. But they will be the target of Bavul magazine.*” (Güngör, 2015). On the basis of the duality of "tyrants" and "those who stand against the oppressors", Bavul Magazine openly declares its side and puts forward a political stance.

DISCUSSION

Philosophical Basis of Popular/Postmodern Literary Magazines: Idealism

There are two main currents in the entire history of philosophy. The first of these is idealism and the other is materialism (Engels, 1992: 21-22). Idealism “connects everything that exists to 'thought' and derives from it; It is defined as the philosophy movement that denies the existence of an objective reality other than thought, in other words, that denial of an existence or matter (material reality) independent of thought (Güçlü, Uzun, Uzun & Yolsal, 2003: 713). This priority ascribed to the mental inevitably leads to individualism. What is important in idealism is the inner life of the soul, and instead of fighting for better conditions, the soul should be corrected first (Cornforth, 1998: 28). Because what matters is the inner world of the individual. In idealism, the structure of reality develops around oppositions such as substance-relationship, spirit-matter, mind-body. Substance versus relationship, spirit versus matter, mind versus body gain importance, and the winners are always tried to be explained by the second winners (Ekşigil, 2016: 337-338). Idealism, as a bourgeois philosophy, compares the crisis of capitalism with the crisis of "modern man", "the moral crisis of the age", "the crisis of technical civilization", etc. (Malinin, 1979b: 238). This situation emerges as an idealist element of popular/postmodern literary magazines. In the articles in the magazines, content suitable for "depression literature" is presented to the reader. The tides in the spirit world of the individual such as loneliness, seclusion and suicide are among the prominent themes⁴. On the other hand, a rebellion that starts in thought and ends in thought and is not reflected in practice is also noticeable in magazines as an idealist element. In a rebellion approach that is disconnected from social reality and historical consciousness, focused on the individual and

⁴ See. Ot Magazine, March 2018 issue, Nermin Yıldırım's article titled "Taş".

Ot Magazine, May 2018 issue, Gülşah Elikbank's article titled " *Unutmak da Sevdaya Dahildir*".

Kafa Magazine, August 2019 issue, Gökhan Dağıstanlı's article titled " *Temassız*".

Kafa Magazine, January 2015 issue, Başar Başaran's article titled " *Ayrılık*".

Bavul Magazine, June 2017 issue, Necati Günler's article titled " *Geçişli Günler*".

Bavul Magazine, October 2015 issue, Alev Karaduman's article titled " *Kombine*".

Bavul Magazine, October 2015 issue, Kader Büyük Bingöl's article titled " *Mustafa*".

far from grasping the social causes of what is happening in the inner world of the individual, it is doomed to remain unclear to whom and what the rebellion is aimed at.

In addition to this state of rebellion, the pleasure of defeats and the glorification of this pleasure are also one of the features of the magazines that are compatible with idealist philosophy. The state of enjoying defeats finds its conceptual equivalent in Nietzsche's "Dionysianism" approach. For Nietzsche, who is also called "the prophet of postmodernism" (Solomon, 1990: 268), "the poet of tragic heroism and the philosopher of radical individualism" (cited by Waren, Yilmaz, 1996: 116), the source of creative art is Dionysius. According to him, Dionysius and Apollo are in opposition. Apollo is the symbol of enlightened, stagnant, mortal power. He symbolizes the one who understands and comprehends light, nature, visible existence with the mind. Therefore, Apollon is plastic art. Dionysius is in stark contrast to Apollo. He is a symbol of creativity, extravagance and enthusiasm. He is a god created for man. He is the god of literature, theater and creative art (Erhat, 1996: 74). The idea of "eternal return", which has an important place in Nietzsche's philosophy, is also a thought related to Dionysianism. Nietzsche (2010b: 61) defines the eternal return as "the eternal rebirth of all things, without limits, in perpetuity". However, the cycle Nietzsche is talking about here is not a dialectical forward cycle. Because, according to him, people are in a cycle that will continue to suffer and alienate forever (Şaylan, 2009: 156-157). This cycle is the cycle of Dionysius, the god of wine. Dionysius not only brings joy to his worshipers, but also brings savage destruction to them. This is why, according to the Greeks, wine gives joy when consumed infrequently and intoxicates when consumed in large quantities. Also, Dionysius is a suffering immortal. He is shattered by the order of Hera, with the coming of the cold, and is revived after months; this revival is to be able to die again. For this reason, in theaters, as they celebrated his return to life, he would die again, and tragedies were performed for him (Erhat, 1996: 170).

Dionysius, who is both a god and a human being, is also the symbol of the passion for destruction and devastation in Nietzsche's philosophy: "I have come to the taste of destruction in proportion to my power to destroy; I am the first atheist: thus I am also the supreme destroyer" (Nietzsche, 2010b: 117). As it is seen, the existentialism line of the postmodern age coincides with Nietzsche's idea of the infinity of human suffering, no matter how much the conditions change. Pleasure from tragedy and defeat is an important element in Nietzsche's philosophy. This pleasure is at the forefront in popular/postmodern literary magazines. In many articles in magazines, there is a glorification of tragedy and its

transformation into pleasure⁵. For instance, in the *December 2016* issue of Kafa, in Başar Başaran's article titled "*Bleaky Brightness*", a postmodern beautification of defeat is made by glorifying a state of depression over Leonard Cohen's death. The article, which begins with a quote from Leonard Cohen, admits defeat and describes a grandiose depression. In accordance with postmodern criticism, the article expresses the discomfort felt about "people being held captive by the order". But in doing so, defeat is blessed and the ascent of the soul through art is praised.

Another example of articles that glorify defeats and are dominated by a pessimistic style is Selen Baranoğlu's article titled "*He may come back*" in the *May 2019* issue of Bavul Magazine. In this article, the state of taking pleasure from the pain of the woman who was abandoned by her lover is presented to the reader as "happiness". In these magazines, history is presented as tragedy, and there is no need to distinguish between right or left ideology in "tragedy heroism". For example, in the Hope-themed *June 2018* issue of Ot Magazine, the article titled "*Nazım Hikmet and Mehmet Akif: Homeland Anxiety*" by Sıddık Akbayır, the pluralist approach associated with the liberal left, "every identity coexists with the other and thus a balance will be established". It equates two different poets, although it is compatible with Nazım Hikmet, who wrote his poems with the understanding of socialist realism, was declared as the hero of tragedy together with Mehmet Akif Ersoy at the end of the article, in line with the philosophy of Nietzsche.

Every philosophy that defends the cycle of destruction by rejecting the progressive understanding of history, also rejects dialectical change and attributes invincibility to the existing. In popular/postmodern literary magazines, in writings focused on the inner world of the individual, instead of trying to change the painful situations, defeat is praised. In the *March 2018* issue of Ot Magazine, Murat Menteş's interview with the members of the Losers Club, entitled "*Oğuz Atay Made coffee for me*", is one of the clearest examples of this

⁵ See. Ot Magazine, March 2013 issue, Canavar Banavar's article titled "*Yalnız Mandallar Gibi Bir İpte Ben Yokkenki Evim*".

Ot Magazine, March 2018 issue, İlkay Yıldız's article titled "*Böyle Daha İyi*".

Ot Magazine, March 2018 issue, Murat Menteş's article titled "*Oğuz Atay Bana Kahve Yaptı*".

Kafa Magazine, January 2015 issue, Dilan Bozyel's article titled "*Maaşlı Aşk İzni Onaylandı*".

Kafa Magazine, February 2015 issue, Başar Başaran's article titled "*Seni Beklerken*".

Kafa Magazine, August 2019 issue, Başar Başaran's article titled "*Üvey Bir Aşkın Ardından*".

situation. In the subsection of the interview, "*Losers Are Not 'Loser'*", "*Loser is American, something like 'poor'. Our 'Losers' has a dignified meaning. Maybe it can be thought of as our generation version of the ones who can't hold on to.*" It is seen that defeats and being a loser are glorified with these sentences. While a Nietzschean cycle of destruction is idealized on the one hand in these magazines, it is possible to see the approach of "if you can't change the world, change your world", which also deals with change with an individual focus, on the other. This type of writing also includes a suggestion for action and action. However, since this proposal is detached from social reality, it is doomed to remain within idealism.

According to this approach, individuals can change their life practices with their own free will. However, this is a proposition that is not valid in class societies and consists of the deception of the ruling class. Because what determines the life practices of people is the social conditions they are in. Of course, a human has the power to change these conditions. As Marx put it, "human is the subject of history, he himself changes, he changes." However, class consciousness is necessary for a person to be a subject. The situation here, on the other hand, is about creating escape areas by going beyond the society, devoid of class consciousness, instead of transforming it. For example, popular/postmodern narratives such as a popular singer leaving Istanbul and settling in his farm, a popular journalist who has worked in the mainstream for years choosing to leave everything and travel in a trailer, or the "white-collar" couple resigning from their jobs and settling in a small town with the money they saved and returning to nature appear frequently in literary magazines⁶. Individuals escaping from the crowded and noisy life of the big city are presented to the reader as examples that change their own world, not the world. The fallacy in such examples is related to the roles attributed to the perception of reality. The understanding of Berkeley, one of the representatives of subjective idealism, which denies external reality and claims that the material principle does not exist in the world, and that truth and knowledge depend on the perception of the individual, has

⁶ See. Ot Magazine, March 2018 issue, Mucahit Bilici's article titled "*Özgürlük ve İrade*".

Kafa Magazine, September 2014 issue, Erhan Karadağ's article titled "*Ömür Dediğin 1 Gündür*".

Kafa Magazine, September 2014 issue, Can Durukan's article titled "*Bir Sabah Uyandık ve Şehri Terk Ettik*".

Kafa Magazine, August 2015 issue, Hayko Cepkin's article titled "*Varil Camping*".

Bavul Magazine, June 2017 issue, Fulsen Türker's article titled "*Veda Havası*".

Bavul Magazine, October 2015 issue, Fulsen Türker's article titled "*Tanrı En çok Kaçaklarla Kaçıkları Seviyor*".

prepared the philosophical ground for this error. Berkeley's example of warm water is a good resource for understanding subjective idealism.

According to the warm water example, when one of our hands is cold and the other is hot, the water will feel cold to the hot hand and hot to the cold hand. In this case, it is nonsense to say that the water is both cold and hot. Water itself cannot exist materially and independently of us, that is the name we give to our sensations. Water exists only in our perception. In this case, according to Berkeley, matter is an idea and contradiction exists only in the mind, not in objective reality (Politzer, 1996: 194). However, water exists in objective reality independent of our sensations and its temperature is at a temperature determined by degrees. The temperature or coldness of the water does not change according to the senses and perceptions of the individual. Just like in the example of hot water, the conditions of the objective world do not change according to the senses and perceptions of the individual. The relativity of truth is an illusion of idealism. The perception of "change your world if you cannot change the world", which we frequently encounter in popular/postmodern literary magazines, coincides with the role attributed to the perception of reality from Berkeley to this time. In particular, content that glorifies individual escapes with the idea of "stay in the moment, live the moment and be free" comes to the fore in these magazines. The emphatic articles that anyone with the courage can change their own life by leaving the city can be explained by the judgment of "solipsism", which is devoid of material reality and whose foundations were laid with Berkeley. The philosophy of "man can choose himself" is based on an understanding that we are free from the material world in our choices.

This meaning, which idealism ascribes to the individual and to relativity, has gradually developed with postmodernism, and interpretation has taken the place of objective reality. There is no longer reality, instead there are interpretations. The world is a text and everyone can interpret this text differently. For Nietzsche, for example, the world is like a text. Therefore, the interpretation of the world read will also be different: "There is no correct interpretation at all, or a proposition like this; 'There is only one interpretation that is right' seems to me practically wrong. (...) In countless cases, what is investigated may not be true, and what is true is not always certain. (...) there is no single interpretation that makes everyone happy" (Nietzsche, 1969: 80). In this knowledge approach, which breaks the link between knowledge and accuracy, "knowledge based on perspective is always honored" (Sarup, 2010: 129). This "honoring perspective-based knowledge", which is also mentioned in popular/postmodern literary magazines, has been adopted as a principle. Where this principle

will take us will ultimately be subjective idealism. Subjective idealism absolutizes the individual consciousness of the subject. It thinks that the sum of the subject's sensations, feelings and actions constitute the world in which the subject lives and acts, or at least it believes that these are the holistic, essential side of the world (Frolov, 1991: 230)

Subjective idealism, which accepts that reality changes according to the consciousness of the subject and makes the consciousness of the subject absolute, constitutes the philosophy of popular/postmodern literary magazines, while the "cultural logic" of these magazines appears as postmodernism that adopts idealist philosophy.

“Cultural Logic”⁷ of Popular/Postmodern Literary Magazines: Postmodernism

As with all concepts in social sciences, the concept of postmodernism, which is the product of certain historical-social conditions, is an expression of the reflection of these conditions in the world of culture. In the 1970s, capitalism has been in various quests to overcome the crisis it has fallen into throughout the world. It was realized that this crisis could only be overcome with a comprehensive restructuring, and new discourses were applied both in the political economy and in the cultural field. Postmodern discourse can also be counted among the outputs of the crisis and the restructuring process that followed it (Şaylan, 2009: 25).

Any explanation without establishing the relationship between postmodernism and capitalism, and hence the mode of production, will blur the point of focus. This blurring is a very useful area for postmodernism, which proclaims the death of "grand narratives." According to Erdoğan (2014: 387), it is inevitable for postmodernist approaches to focus on culture and ideology; because only by emphasizing culture and ideology and focusing on “culture, ideology and reception” instead of macro-analysis can non-dangerous controlled alternatives to capitalist political and economic structures be produced. Popular/postmodern literary magazines are also examples of the "controlled alternatives" mentioned. These magazines, which emphasize subcultures and identity politics instead of class, and commodify left values (revolution, struggle, resistance, etc.) and confine them to the field of discourse, contribute to the reproduction of the dominant ideology as "controlled alternatives" within the system.

When postmodernism is considered from a political economy perspective, it emerges as a stage compatible with the postfordist production model of capitalism. Something that is

⁷ It is used to refer to the title of F. Jameson's book "Postmodernism or the Cultural Logic of Late Capitalism".

compatible with capitalism cannot be expected to be a real "alternative" to it. For example, according to Jameson, who approaches postmodernism from a Marxist perspective and defines postmodernism as "the cultural logic of late capitalism" (2011: 13, 22-23); postmodernism is the culture of a particular stage of capitalism - the "late capitalism" stage. Contrary to the defenders of postmodernism, Jameson argues that a new culture can only be realized through a collective struggle aimed at the creation of a new social system. Postmodernism is not the cultural dominance of a new social order, but the reflection of another internal change of capitalism itself. Jameson underlines the fact that the new order does not constitute a break, rupture or transformation from the previous one, but only a reflection of another systematic modification of capitalism and a process that emerged with it.

It would not be wrong to say that postmodernism and its leading thinkers, who follow the traces of idealism that ignores objective reality or compresses it into the individual's sense and perception, always prefer the latter in reality/interpretation, whole/part, meaning/pleasure dualities. For example, Lyotard, in his article titled "Answer to the Question of What is Postmodern" (1994: 57-58), states, "Answer: Let's fight the whole, witness the unrepresentable, exacerbate the conflicts, save the honor of the name". As can be understood from this answer, opposition to the whole (totality), non-presentability and rejection are the prominent emphases in postmodernism. The "ambiguity" of postmodernism is also evident in Giddens' (1994: 47) definition of postmodernity: "We have discovered that nothing can be known with complete certainty, because all previous foundations of epistemology have been proven to be unreliable; There is no place for theology in history," Giddens equates progress and theology, claiming that antagonism has been replaced by a new social and political agenda: "Therefore, no version of progress can be accepted as acceptable; With the growing importance of ecological concerns and perhaps new social movements, a new social and political agenda has emerged." Giddens (1994: 48) states that the main author who distinguishes modernity from postmodernity is Nietzsche, and he makes this distinction only by revealing the assumptions hidden within the Enlightenment. And from this point of view, he underlines that it is necessary to see the periodical distinction as "the beginning of self-understanding of modernity" rather than the overcoming of modernity.

Nietzsche is seen as the source of postmodern pessimism. This type of postmodernism, called the "postmodernism of despair", is "a postmodernism responsible for the death of the subject, the appreciation of the text above the author, the end of the notions of the sublime and truth, the death of modern myths." (Rosenau, 1998: 39). One of the things that postmodernism,

which reduces everything to text, sees as a modern myth is Marxism and the class struggle, and therefore the working class as a historical subject is now nothing more than a "dead". Plural and fluid identities and discursive "practices" have taken its place. For example, Foucault's declaring the death of man as a knowing subject, replacing the deceased with the victory of language and discourse, realizing all kinds of power and resistance areas in the body in which multiple selves live, and putting the concept of postmodern micropolitics against political economy are the defining features of postmodernism. Foucault, like Nietzsche, finds the idea of power within a political system restrictive, instead of the concept of power that Marx explains on the basis of production relations (Sarup, 2010: 112). According to Foucault (1980: 98), power should not be seen as the consolidated and homogeneous domination of the individual over others or one class over another. Power for Foucault; property is not what makes the difference between those who dominate and those who do not. Power should be defined as a circulating phenomenon. As it is seen, Foucault, who detaches power from the relations of production, excludes and renders meaningless the power struggle between the ruling and the ruled class. Thus, power, which has no basis and foundation, turns into a symbolic game.

In contrast to Foucault's emphasis on discourse instead of "the knowing subject" and class, Derrida also highlights the text and interprets the world as a text. The traces of Derrida can be found in the magazines, which are dominated by articles that do not have integrity in terms of aesthetics and meaning, rough, lacking in depth and referring to language games. According to Harvey (2014: 67), with the "deconstructionism" technique, which started with Heidegger's interpretation, Derrida "enters into the work in a way that gives a strong impetus to postmodernist thought styles." In deconstruction there is nothing but interpretation. There is a constant proliferation of interpretations of the text, and no interpretation can claim to be the last and most correct one. Therefore, meaning is always undecidable (Sarup, 2010: 81-85). The undecidability of meaning is one of the key features of postmodernism. This quality brings with it epistemological problems both in the field of culture and in the field of politics. The "undecidability of meaning" obliterates the notions of truth and reality. In the world of plural meanings, anything can be "true". In other words, there is no need for such a concept of "truth". Because the only thing that matters is the "comment". In this case, two opposite interpretations or facts can both be accepted as correct. This feature of postmodern thought leads to the adoption of an understanding that "everything is possible", "why not", "there is room for you here", and "all impossibles can come together (ie grotesque)" (Sağlık, 2018: 51).

-52). This understanding is also valid in popular/postmodern literary magazines. In one issue, both the authors and the content of the text appear as an environment where all "impossibles can coexist". For example, in the *October 2018* issue of *Bavul Magazine*; Although it is a magazine that includes feminist names and articles, Yılmaz Aslantürk's "*Otis Abi*" cartoon, which is known for its sexist style in accordance with the postmodern coexistence, appears before us. The extremely sexist cartoon "Otis Abi" was used instead of the page presented to the reader as the "*Feminist Closing*" page in the first issues of *Bavul Magazine*. A similar situation exists in *Ot Magazine*. In the *May 2018* issue, which also includes a page titled "*Feminist Library Proposal*", Vedat Özdemiroğlu's article titled "*I get obsessed and leave*" shows that the relationship between men and women is written in a masculine language. There is no harm in portraying women as if they turn into a "constant complainer" at the time of separation, with a generalized point of view. Because in postmodernism, "everything can come together with everything", even though they are the opposite of each other.

As tried to be explained above, Derrida's concept of deconstruction has an important function in postmodern literature and postmodern criticism reduced to text. Derrida disassembles previously written texts by discussing how each word can have other and connotations other than the meaning in which it is used in the text. He pursues multiple meanings in parts of the text, not a holistic meaning. Postmodern thinkers, including Derrida, argue that it is a vain hope to expect a holistic representation of the world. Because the world is made up of parts that are constantly displaced. The consistent and holistic representation is either oppressive or imaginary (Harvey, 2014: 67-68). For this reason, the instability of meaning and interpretation are essential in postmodernism. For example, this attitude appears in the most concrete form in Emrah Serbes's column titled "*Exploding Pieces*" in *Kafa Magazine*. In this column, Serbes's articles, which are composed of disconnected pieces and far from the whole, are presented to the reader. These writings also serve as an example of the superiority of words rather than meaning and the importance given to the moment of interpretation. In his column in the *July 2015* issue of *Kafa Magazine*, Serbes said, "(...) *including nonsense that has nothing to do with literature, such as discussions of substance and form, these have never interested me. The only thing that concerned me was the misery of words.*" he puts words before meaning, essence and form. "The effect created by miserable words when they come together", that is, "the effect of misery", is more important to him than anything else, and the act of writing is "the rebellion of the self" together with the "acceptance of misery". This attitude of postmodernism against all causes the postmodern individual to be imprisoned in

his own mental/physical universe, replacing universal concepts such as equality, justice and freedom with subjective concepts such as desire, multiplicity and creativity.

The ideas of Deleuze and Guattari, who advocate the "revolution of desire", are seen both in the understanding of art and in the political approach of postmodernism. In their thinking, desire is a "sexuality" that extends beyond gender relations because it includes wholly heterogeneous relationships and land-territorials, a multiplicity of the sexes. For Deleuze and Guattari the only immanent type of relationship is a spontaneous attraction between heterogeneous relationships that results in incorporating each other into their mode of existence. Because such relationships are paradigmatically exemplified by sexual attraction, Deleuze calls it desire. However, desire is a deterritorialized concept since it does not derive all its meaning from the place-dorm where it was first placed, that is, from sexual relations (Goodchild, 2005: 77). Deleuze and Guattari are not concerned with creating a truly universal theory of society. The revolution of desire aims not to create a society based on equality, justice and freedom, but instead a society of multiplicity, desire and creativity. "So the social theory of Deleuze and Guattari is about a knowledge of desire through and for desire." (Goodchild, 2005: 78). As can be seen, a left/socialist concept such as "revolution" is brought together with "desire", detached from its political context and reconstructed in accordance with postmodernism. Themes such as desire, multiple selves and sexuality are frequently encountered in the texts in popular/postmodern literary magazines⁸. For example, in the *November 2019* issue of *Bavul Magazine*, Sedef Orman's article titled "*A Manifesto for the Women Inside Me*" tells about the women within the author, based on a sentence by Frida Kahlo. This narrative coincides with Foucault's "constituted multiple personalities" approach, which also contributed to the shaping of the subject approach of PostMarxism. The plural personalities of Foucault's philosophy, such as the experiences that are the subjects, the truth games that establish these experiences, and the identities established by these truths, dominate the writing. This and similar articles appear frequently in all three magazines.

The emphasis of postmodernism on the concept of multiple self, fragmentation and the other, and its understanding that puts desire and pleasure in contrast to the principles and values of modernism such as reason and science have deeply affected culture and its sub-field,

⁸ See. *Ot Magazine*, May 2018 issue, Fatma Aydemir's article titled "*Dirsekler*".

Head Magazine, September 2014 issue, article titled "*Aşktan daha iyi kafa yapan bir şey yoktur*".

Bavul Magazine, October 2018 issue, Sedef Orman's article titled "*Varlıkta aşk, hep aşk olsun*".

literature. This profound effect has resulted in the "deepening" of literature. Because "lack of depth" is an important feature of postmodern literature. Postmodernism refuses to attach any special value to literary texts and asserts that everything is text. According to Lucy (2003: 15), if it is true that postmodernism understands everything like text and that it is indeed the *Zeitgeist* of our time, then literature cannot be the only thing that is understood as lacking in depth. Politics, like literature, must be baseless. "Forget the depth, think on the surface!" approach is like the summary of postmodernism. "The loss of temporality and the search for immediate effect" has led to the loss of depth in postmodern culture (Harvey, 2014: 74). A baseless policy and a baseless culture are exempt from a principled and stable stance. It is possible to see this groundlessness in popular/postmodern literary magazines as well. The political stances of these magazines, as publications with the motto "There is a place for everyone here" and where the search for instant effect is dominant, have been shaped with the same baselessness. Magazines that adopt the understanding of "forget the depth, think on the surface" of postmodernism do not include in-depth files on revolutionary leaders or left/socialist figures (poets, literary figures, musicians, etc.) and their struggles. They only appear on the surface as iconized figures. For example, while Deniz Gezmiş is used on the cover, the lines of a mafia series (*Çukur*) can be included on the inside pages, and in the numbers in which political figures (Che, Fidel, etc.) are transformed into images and carried to the cover, depressed stories and texts that give the message of liberation by suicide can be presented to the reader. Or, as in the *December 2016* issue of *Kafa Magazine*, while Fidel Castro, the leader of the Cuban Revolution, is on the cover, only three pages can be devoted to Fidel Castro in the content of the magazine. Two of these pages are pages consisting of photographs. As there is no informative text about the Cuban Revolution or Fidel Castro, Fidel Castro has been transformed into a poster icon. In the *October 2018* issue of *Bavul Magazine*, where Che Guevara was featured, Ayşen Şahin Aksakal's article titled "*Çare Alfa*", the concept of "alphaness", which is widely used in social media as a concept belonging to popular culture, and revolutionary leaders Mahir Çayan and Deniz Gezmiş integrates. Feminist writer Ursula K. LE Guin, Neşet Ertaş or Mahir, Deniz... All of these names are "alpha" and what we have to do is to choose an alpha for ourselves. Although the emphasis is on freedom and peace at the end of the article, the readers are not given any information about these symbolic names other than that they are "alpha".

Postmodern groundlessness brings with it decentralization. Decentralization has an important place in postmodern literature. Deleuze and Guattari's "rhizome" approach has been

a leading concept for this decentralization. According to Deleuze and Guattari (2000: 7) a work does not have a single entry. "How to introduce Kafka's work?" Their answer to the question is that the book has "plural introductions". The artwork is a rhizome, a nest. "In a rhizome; there are no points or positions of the kind found in a structure, a tree, or a root. It has only lines." Thus, for Deleuze and Guattari, the rhizome is a representation of what has been described as "decentralized systems." This situation can also be seen as another expression of the postmodern notion of "structureless" structure. "Trees are structured and hierarchical; rhizome, on the other hand, is non-hierarchical, unstructured, open, wandering, and consists only of 'many entry and exit routes and its own lines of escape' (Lucy, 2003: 264). Decentralization and multiple entries, namely the rhizome metaphor, are indispensable in postmodern literature. This concept is also important in terms of alternative media studies. Because it has been included in the discussion of alternative media by Bailey, Cammaerts and Carpentier (2008) under the title of "alternative media as rhizome". Thus, the way for the evaluation of many media such as popular/postmodern literary magazines within alternative media is cleared. It is not possible to be categorized as "alternative" when the concept of alternative is approached with the dialectical method, due to its non-hierarchical organizational structure, its intersecting branches like the branches of the rhizome, being open to random articulations, being suitable for a nomadic and anarchic network model. Because these features are not enough to be positioned against the mainstream and therefore the dominant ideology. Despite this, they can be positioned as "alternative" with a deceptive appearance. This deceptive appearance can be explained by the concept of "phantasmagoria".

Taking the term "Phantasmagoria" from Marx, Benjamin uses this concept based on Marx's definition. Phantasmagoria corresponds to a deceptive appearance (Morss, 2010: 100-101). Dialectical thinking is needed to make sense of the phantasmagoria or fantasies that Marx uses to describe the fetishized image of commodities in the market. "Phantasmagoria, the deceptive image, is now the commodity itself; the exchange value or form of value in this commodity obscures its use value; phantasmagoria is entirely synonymous with the capitalist production process, and this process confronts the people who realize it like a force of nature." (Tiedemann, 1993: 22). According to Benjamin, there is a connection between the emergence of images of desire and fantasies in the collective unconscious and the interpretation of social/historical changes. Objects, cultural images, works of art, in which these desire-images materialize, can enable these changes to be realized with the utopian possibilities they contain" (cited in Avci, 2015: 25-26). Fantasy, which means "not real", is a

style of activity that does not require the subject to solve problems and perform purposeful actions. Fantasy directs aggression towards a substitute target instead of the real target. It brings out animosity and resentment harmlessly. It does this by making some computational arrangements just before the behavioral expression of hostility. Thus, the expression of hostility is alleviated or completely avoided. Thanks to fantasy, individuals exposed to fantasy are prevented from burdening them with social costs while expressing their enmity. In some cases, violence provides entertainment while being watched in fantasy fiction. With this fun state, mental tensions are reduced. This effect of fantasy is called the catharsis effect (Oskay, 2017: 465). The most obvious fiction of the fantasy encountered in the popular/postmodern literary magazines, which is the subject of the study, is that it creates the illusion that it has socialist left values (that is, resistance, struggle, revolution, socialist realist criticism, etc.) In particular, thanks to the purification feature of fantasy, the tension and anger felt against the existing system are discharged in an expressive way. By leading to such a purification, thanks to the fantasy in the magazines, the response given to the stimuli of the magazines is accepted as a response that replaces the action in real life (Oskay, 2017: 466).

These magazines through fantasy, distract the left's goal of "another world is possible" from action. The reader is mistaken that he contributes to making "another world" possible only as a consumer of the magazines, through pre-designed fantasies that affect the cognitive level in the magazine. The aim of "another world" satisfies the readers at the intellectual level without going to the behavioral level with the fantasy design. For example, in the *October 2019* issue of Ot Magazine, the movie Joker was chosen as the subject of the file and Joker's photograph was placed on the cover. The title of the magazine on the cover was chosen as "*Nobody is Laughing*". Esin Küçüktepepınar's article titled "*If I'm Bad There's a Reason*" coincides with the deceptive image of phantasmagoria. Küçüktepepınar uses the following sentences for the film: "*(...) the film first translates our rightful reaction against injustice into our lack of mental health. Then, by turning these violent and destructive reactions into a revolutionary uprising, it puts itself in a difficult situation.*" However, it is not possible to talk about a revolutionary uprising in the movie Joker. The claim that there is a "revolutionary rebellion" in the movie Joker causes the illusion that the movie has left-wing values (resistance, struggle, revolution, socialist realist criticism, etc.). The revolution referred to here is not a proletarian revolution. When the "revolution" is mentioned, it is important what the magazines that position themselves on the left and that use the pioneers of the proletarian revolution (Fidel

Castro, Che Guevara, etc.) point to the reader. When the concept of revolution is used in this way, an ambiguous meaning emerges by breaking the bond with the class.

As a result, fantasy is part of the reality of the commodity world creating “an all-encompassing re-enchanted world with a magic that promises earthly pleasure.” In a world where things become “commodities” through fantasies, man becomes alienated from the things he produces and from other people. In fact, the possibility of pleasure/delight is this state of alienation” (cited by Benjamin, Erkek, 2019: 38). Left ideals/values, which are phantasmagorical in popular/postmodern literary magazines and become imaginary by moving away from praxis, knowingly or unknowingly contribute to the fact that the consumer mass of the magazines "read with pleasure and speed" creates a false consciousness by breaking their ties with reality.

Theoretical Framework of Political/Critical Stance in Popular/Postmodern Literary Magazines: PostMarxism

It is not possible to talk about a single definition for the postMarxist theory, which is becoming increasingly widespread in academia and politics. While the definition of theory is different for those who express themselves as post-Marxists, the definition changes critically for those who adopt the dialectical materialist method, which is the method of this study. However, to define it briefly, post-Marxism is the questioning and rejection of the basic assumptions of the Marxist theory, such as the leadership of the working class, the determinant of the mode of production and relations, the dictatorship of the proletariat, and the attainment of socialism through a political revolution from within the left (Kaygalak, 2001: 34). Marxism for PostMarxist theorists may be a sufficient paradigm to grasp and explain the industrial capitalism of the 19th century. However, the society of the 20th century has very different characteristics from the society in which Marxism emerged. For this reason, it is a futile effort to try to understand and explain this age we live in with Marxist pioneers. According to Wood, “PostMarxism is only a short stop on the road to anti-Marxism” (2006: 14).

A Marxism free from the concept of class, which is the basis of Marxism, is not a "revised version of Marxism for contemporary", but supporting the ideology of capitalism under the name of Marxism since society is still divided into classes. Private ownership of the means of production continues. The fundamental contradiction of Marxism - the contradiction between labor and capital - is still up to date. However, in order to explain political processes in terms

of post-Marxist theory, Marxism, which is now old-fashioned, must be overcome in the field of politics, and for this reason, the basic concepts of Marxism such as "social class", "surplus value", "exploitation" no longer have any explanatory value (Şaylan, 2009: 39). It is possible to encounter the reconstruction of these concepts in accordance with postmodernism in popular/postmodern literary magazines. For example, Başar Başaran wrote an article on the La Casa Del Papel series in the *August 2019* issue of Kafa Magazine. "*This Is Not A Robbery, It's Revenge!*" According to Başaran in his article named "Different slaves of the same machine", we have a common anger with the anger of the characters in the series. In the article, it is told through the series that "ideologies" are left behind and the spirit of the time requires another struggle. In this respect, while the article is compatible with postmodernism, which declared the death of ideologies, it is also compatible with postMarxism, as a natural outcome of this, with the need for new forms of struggle that do not take ideology and class conflict as a basis. According to Başaran, left values and revolutionary symbols act again to get a share from the world of interests in accordance with the spirit of the time. The aim of the revolution is no longer to seize the means of production. Because the working class no longer exists. Revolution is no longer a means of production but of consumption, the spirit of the time demands this: "*The song of the oppressed world has gone beyond the desires of living in fraternity and dividing fairly. Our common ideal is unlimited wealth. That's why the new revolution wants wealth unlike the old one. This is how the spirit of the time appears in this work (...).*" As can be seen, the concept of revolution has been reconstructed and moved beyond its Marxist meaning.

For PostMarxism, "to understand the extent to which Marxist categories are valid today will only be possible if all epistemological privileges based on the ontologically privileged position of a universal class are abandoned" (Laclau & Mouffe, 2017: 29). Laclau and Mouffe (1992: 23), one of the leading theorists of PostMarxism, put forward that they replaced dialectical materialism with idealism and psychoanalysis:

Psychoanalysis has revealed that the actions of unconscious things obscure any meaning; that advances in structural linguistics allow you to better understand the functions of pure differential identities; in an age where the transformation of thought, from Nietzsche to Heidegger, from pragmatism to Wittgenstein, has absolutely refuted philosophical essentialism, we can reformulate the materialist program far more radically than Marx could in the conditions of his own time.

As can be seen, post-Marxist theorists Laclau and Mouffe set out to reformulate Marxism in the light of idealism. In this new formulation, they express the vital importance of Derrida's deconstruction technique as follows: "(...) The main source of our theoretical reflection is the ground of poststructuralism; In the poststructuralist field, deconstruction and Lacanian theory are of decisive importance in forming our approach to hegemony." (Laclau & Mouffe, 2017: 13). However, with this decisive importance, reconstructing the concepts in new meanings by tearing them apart from their essence will at the end of the day serve the current dominant ideology, as Eagleton points out (2013: 213):

Many of the lame new themes of deconstructionism do not go far beyond reproducing some of the most pressing issues of bourgeois liberalism. Noiseless rejection of theory, method and system; hatred of the dominating, totalizing, and strictly literal; privilege plurality and heterogeneity; hesitation and uncertainty as repetitive acts; adherence to gliding and movement; dislike of the identifier; It is not surprising that such a phrase was so quickly absorbed by the Anglo-Saxon academies.

According to postmodern political philosophy, which takes Derrida's deconstruction technique as its guide, the political order is contingent. Contingency, one of the features of idealism, appears in post-Marxism as the rejection of objective/historical necessity. However, according to dialectical materialism, which is the method of Marxism, the concept of necessity is extremely important: "There is no force in the world that can stop the movement of matter. For this reason, the movement of matter is an inevitable necessity. It is also a historical inevitability that lower socio-economic institutions will be erased from the stage of history by those at higher levels. This inevitable necessity derives from the essence of social development" (Malinin, 1979a: 150). Post-Marxist theory, on the other hand, rejects the essence of social development and as such attribute's invincibility to capitalism, just like liberalism. In PostMarxism, politics is no longer a field to be explained by classes. Different identities (race, gender, ethnic belonging, sexual preference) are dominant. In the postmodern period, the "other" takes the place of the class. It is thought that "postmodern political philosophy deconstructs every whole, every system or every order, revealing their dominative character" and thus "enables us to acknowledge the other that this domination has suppressed" (as cited in Küçükalp, 2017: 27) is suggested. Thus, the political starting point is drawn to the cultural field. Although there will be talk of a fight now, this fight is the fight of "cultural classes". This approach is also seen in popular/postmodern literary magazines. For example,

in the *July 2015* issue of *Kafa Magazine*, İlber Ortaylı, in his article titled "*We Haven't Ride A Ferrari Yet*", in which he describes the importance of the coalition government for Turkey, claims that the real fight is a clash between cultural classes. Saying "*The biggest problem in Turkey is the fight between cultural classes*", Ortaylı draws attention to the fight between two different "groups" through the comparison of Süleyman Demirel and Tansu Çiller.

Although there will be a resistance in the post-Marxist theory, this resistance is not the resistance of the working class, but the resistance of identities or individuals. For example, according to Foucault, instead of the struggle between the two classes that is valid in Marxism, a pluralist and complex resistance or struggle should be started. "The struggle and resistance against the power processes is not unique to the working people. This struggle or resistance to power is taking place at a micro level in every part of society, but especially in institutions such as prisons, asylums, hospitals and schools." (as cited in Şaylan, 2009: 334-335).

After the working class has been demoted from the position of political subject by PostMarxism, new subject positions are constructed. PostMarxists also follow a poststructuralist approach in their approach to social reality and the subject. With a Foucaultian approach, they see the subject as dispersed and unmanageable discourses. If there is no absolute, mechanical, linear, non-contradictory determination, there can be no certainty, no relationship, no causality. There are no historical conditions, connections and boundaries. All that exists are arbitrary agglutination, "conjunctions" and "coincidences". Reality is only in discourse (Bank, 2019: 385-386). Starting from the concept of postmodern hegemony, all subject positions are decentralized and redefined on the relational plane. The only constancy that exists in this new approach is the fixity of different decentralized subject positions that are subject to overdetermination (Laclau & Mouffe, 2017: 148). In PostMarxism, there is no necessary relationship between the relations of production and socialist goals. This feature of PostMarxism is similar to Deleuze's rhizome design. Because, as in the rhizome/rhizome metaphor, decentralization and intersections are important here: "Many other ruptures and democratic antagonisms can be articulated into a socialist 'collective will' on equal footing with workers' demands. The 'privileged subjects' of the anti-capitalist struggle have definitely been transcended—not practically but ontologically' (Laclau & Mouffe, 2017: 147). With this "transcendence", new subject positions within the practice of hegemonic articulation are set against class interests. It is argued that the structure of society is constituted by these new subject positions. Today, there are many new subject positions that frequently find expression

in popular/postmodern literary magazines. Gays, feminists, animal lovers, environmentalists, ethnic minorities, etc. However, post-Marxism does not make any suggestions about how these complex collective wills can be brought together in the same political project (Kaygalak, 2001: 43). In fact, as Petras puts it, “identity politics isolates the groups that defend the poor, the workers, the peasants as competing groups, far from transforming the political-economic universe. Class politics, confronting “identity politics”; It is the field where institutions that protect classes and other inequalities are transformed” (<https://umutsen.org/index.php/post-marksizm-elistirisi-james-petras>). According to Wood (2016: 306), the distinctive social identity of anti-racism and anti-sex discrimination and its power to create some social forces cannot be denied. However, there are no clear indications that racial, or gender equality is hostile to capitalism. Both these non-power spheres have their own unique relationship with capitalism. At this point, it should be remembered once again that capitalism is not concerned with the social identities of the people it exploits.

PostMarxism, in which the articulated collective will is the subject instead of class, defends new social movements on behalf of the left. However, it is not possible to establish a link between this left and the Marxist left, because the new social movements are not designed to "defy power structures, but to bypass these structures by creating "counter-cultures" (Cited by Hellman, Çoban, 2008: 24). Such an understanding of politics reveals political pacifism instead of opposition and challenge to capital (Manni, 2004: 36). This political pacifism also causes class conflict to give way to reconciliation. The political pacifism of the PostMarxist theory and the politics of reconciliation are also reproduced through popular/postmodern literary magazines. For example, in the *November 2019* issue of *Ot*, Ali Mert Alan conducted an interview with Rapper Fuat Ergin. The title of the article is “*We Need Humanity, Not Politics*”. The words in the title belong to Rapper Fuat Ergin. Ergin used the following sentences while conveying his views on the song “Susamam (I can’t hold my tongue)”: “*This song is proof that the expected enlightenment in the world will happen sooner or later. This song is proof that it is possible for everyone living within the borders of Turkey to live together in a civilized manner by reconciliation and to live together without hatred. We need humanity, not politics.*” As it is seen, it is thought that "enlightenment" will come by itself, over an abstract definition of humanity instead of political struggle.

A similar example appears in an article in the *June 2017* issue of *Bavul Magazine*, about academician Nuriye Gülmen and teacher Semih Özakça, who were fired by the Statutory Decree and went on hunger strike demanding reinstatement. Meltem Yılmazkaya's article

titled "*The one who leaves is not from you, but from us, my beautiful sister*" is an article that appeals to the conscience in the face of the risk of Nuriye and Semih losing their lives due to the hunger strike. In the first paragraph, the author's individual sadness about this situation is conveyed to the reader, and it is believed that "*the world will be a better place when we understand that it is a virtue to feed the hungry, not the hunger.*" It is clear that the article is a well-intentioned article. However, the author, stating that he does not want to be involved in something or something in the face of the current polarization, ends her article with the argument that if we can feel the same things even if we do not think the same, we can share our bread. Again, instead of political struggle, an abstract consciousness of virtue is considered sufficient and thus political pacifism comes into play.

As Manni, who criticizes political pacifism, expresses (2004: 58), the fact that the class struggle is the main determinant does not necessitate the disappearance of other social movements. Rather, "this in no way means that the women's movement, blacks, peace activists, ecologists, homosexuals and others are insignificant, have no influence, or should abandon their separate identities, (...) it means capitalism's major (not the only) 'gravedigger' is 'class struggle'. However, a pluralist and radical understanding of democracy, in which everyone can talk together, is sufficient for the post-Marxist theory, which has no problem with capitalism and reduces the problem only to the problem of identity. In this sense, identity politics is frequently encountered in popular/postmodern literary magazines as well as both the compromise of left liberalism and the narrative of the "other"⁹. For instance, in the *July 2015* issue of Kafa Magazine, Rıdvan Akar's article titled "*Sameness of the Unidentified*" explains that coalitions and the reconciliation of those who differ are one of the most important remedies for democracy, and the current situation is criticized with the example of yesterday's coalition governments. The article, which glorifies the reconciliation that will be formed by the coming together of different worldviews, contains elements of both post-Marxism and left liberalism. Again, in the *November 2016* issue of Bavul Magazine, Cengiz Bozkurt's article titled "*Life, Death, Will*" is in line with the understanding of post-Marxism, which makes politics over different identities instead of class politics and advocates the

⁹ See. Ot Magazine, March 2013 issue, Hayko Bağdat's article titled "*Ne Mutlu Galapagosluyum Diyene*". Kafa Magazine, February 2015 issue, Rıdvan Akar's article titled "*Ölümler Ülkesinin Unutulmayanı*". Kafa Magazine, February 2015 issue, Tayibe Önel's article titled "*Kendine İhanet*". Bavul Magazine, October 2015 issue, article by Masal Koltuk's titled "*Osmanbey Gecelerinin Kanatsız Melekleri*". Bavul Magazine, May 2019 issue, the article titled Virginia Woolf's biography, "*Kendine Ait Bir Oda*".

coexistence of these identities. In Bozkurt's article, the respectful marches of Muhsin Yazıcıoğlu and Alperenler (a youth group of a fascist organization), who uttered takbir at Cem Karaca's funeral, and "loyal leftists", are given as an exemplary togetherness. The article, which continues with the criticism of the voices of applause that rose at Tarık Akan's funeral, ends with the lines of the author's testament for his own funeral. Defining himself as a "leftist, socialist", Bozkurt emphasizes the coexistence of different identities, just like post-Marxism, while describing the unity of funerals by saying, "*Let the nationalists come to my funeral, the Islamists, the Kemalists, the socialists, the Kurdish movement, and the Turkish nationalists*". This liberal "consensus" and the approach of each thought with "respect" are values that must be defended for postMarxism.

Far from rejecting the liberal left, the postMarxist left strives to expand and deepen it in the direction of a radical and plural democracy (Dinler, 1998: 46). For example, according to Mouffe (as cited in Benhabib, 1996: 245) there is a distinction between economic liberalism and political liberalism. Mouffe argues that advocating political liberalism does not necessitate advocating economic liberalism. Therefore, he believes that some political liberal values may contribute to democracy. Mouffe (1992: 20), "what the theory of radical democracy emphasizes is a kind of 'radical liberal democracy'. We do not think of it as a rejection of the liberal democratic regime or as an institution of a new political form of society", declaring that post-Marxism is not a separate political form from liberalism. Thus, it takes its place in the existing system and as an "alternative" that feeds it. The media that adopts PostMarxist politics also proceeds in the same way. In that case, it is possible to say that such media, which are included in the "alternative" media, just like popular/postmodern literary magazines, are positioned as an "alternative" within the criteria of liberalism and not falling outside of it. Such an alternative to the mainstream is actually nothing but the mainstream itself.

While left liberal features and emphasis on identity stand out in popular/postmodern literary magazines, if class is to be mentioned, it is seen that a cynical middleclass critique is presented to the reader, again in accordance with the class approach of postMarxism. For example, in the *March 2018* issue of Ot Magazine, Onur Ünlü's article titled "*The More Risk You Take, the Closer You Get to the Truth*" states, "*The lower class emulates the middle class. The person you call 'upper class' does not exist anyway*" and explains that the upper class is actually the chosen middle class. A Foucaultian subject construction is presented as a solution proposal in the article, in which a middleclass critique is made through film festivals. Saying

that the I problem is the subject and the construction process, Ünlü argues that the middle class does not think of it that way. *“He takes a middle-class position and is about his 'me'; Then he doesn't think too much about it. However, we have to come up with a new definition of 'me' out of the problem of 'me' and we have to establish a new dramaturgy built by this new definition of 'me'”*, and it is argued that cinema also needs a dramaturgy based on new subject constructions. With this example, we once again come across the intertwining of postmodernism and postMarxism.

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CONCLUSION

As can be seen, the founders or editor-in-chiefs of all three magazines position their magazines on the “left” and clearly state their political stances. However, the philosophical framework of this political stance is idealism, the cultural framework is postmodernism, and the theoretical framework is postMarxism. The place where any one or all three of these frameworks will take us will not be alternative media, but the mainstream media. It would not be wrong to say that popular/postmodern literary magazines, which use left figures in their cover design and left values in their content, define and introduce themselves as “left”, are mainstream due to these three frameworks.

It is possible to say that with the exclusion of the concept of class from the political and cultural framework, approaches to the concept of “alternative” have also undergone a transformation in line with this exclusion. Another point that should not be forgotten when considering alternative media approaches is what the “absence of alternatives” indicates. The slogan “There is no alternative (TINA)”, uttered by Margaret Thatcher in 1979, according to Başkaya (2011: 308), “The institutions that are the policy instruments of the global oligarchy are the International Monetary Fund (IMF), World Bank (WB), the World Trade Organization (WTO), bourgeois politicians, the media, and the academy, especially economists, have turned into a creed. However, as Başkaya stated, saying that there is no alternative is equivalent to saying that there is no policy. The situation should be considered in the same way in terms of media studies. The idea of no alternative to the mainstream is a reflection of the idea that ascribes invincibility to the dominant ideology. On the other hand, considering the concept of “alternative” independently of the dominant ideology and the concept of class will also serve the dominant ideology at the end of the day, and it will mean the same as saying “there is no policy” outside the mainstream - albeit in different ways. Such is the situation encountered in popular/postmodern literary magazines.

In accordance with the “spirit” of the postmodern era/time, these magazines contain stories and essays that turn all kinds of defeats into pleasure, glorify meaninglessness as the only meaning, find freedom in suicide, reveal the solution as insanity, and thus belittle reason, in a way that will serve the dominant ideology in a way that reinforces it. And with this approach, it absorbs the power of the society to take action and causes individuals to seek refuge in a state of out-of-society seclusion or mental escape. In these magazines, non-dangerous “alternatives” are constructed by assigning new meanings to the concepts -as the

poststructuralist approach advocates. The individual-oriented explanation of concepts such as resistance and struggle, by removing their social meanings, leads to ignoring the real causes of the phenomena. For example, it is presented to the reader as "fearless warrior" for a woman who is bent over her debts to tear the envelopes from the bank without opening them, to turn off the phones with her son so that the creditors will not call, and to think that she is liberated by relaxing in this way¹⁰. In the writings that do not mention the sources of the economic distress experienced by the people and the conditions necessary for the end of these troubles, the cynical sentences heard from the characters' mouths and the rebellion against the "livelihood distress" is pressed into the mind. On the other hand, as a political project, consensus-based unity, where everyone can express their opinion, is defended in the name of the "left".

“The idealization of the historical role of non-proletarian strata and the downplaying of even the sharpest class contradiction between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie” (Timofeyev, 2021, p. 556) is used as a common tool today as it was in the past. In this sense, it is possible to say that an unnamed post-Marxism is as old as the history of Marxism. "Socialism, abstract ideas of 'justice', 'equality', 'humanism' etc. From Bernstein (USSR Academy of Sciences, 2021, p. 279), who theorized post-Marxism, to Laclau and Mouffe, who theorized post-Marxism, it seems that the class approach is opposed to Marxism in all of these names.

As in magazines, the denial of the social and historical role of the concept of class does not begin with postmodernism. Timofeyev (2021: 558-559) states that the foundations of this tradition were laid in the 19th century by Comte, Spencer and later Weber and notables of bourgeois sociology. In the crisis periods of capitalism, he draws attention to the existence of left revisionists who "show off with Marxist words" as well as those who follow the path of this tradition. Timofeyev, revisionist approaches to class; Those who “oppose a non-economic conception of social class to the Marxist doctrine of classes”, “those who argue that the main class contradiction has shifted from the economic base to the realm of the superstructure”, “certain New Left ideologues who treat the concept of class as a psychological phenomenon”, “a clearly defined working class and those who argue that the concept of scientific class, even if it once existed, no longer exists”. It is possible to see these approaches today. Especially postMarxist and poststructuralist theses have been developed following these historical themes. “Although this kind of philosophical revisionism becomes more and more refined at

¹⁰ See. Ot Magazine, March 2018 issue, Berrin Karakaş's article titled “Borç”

each new stage of social development, its ideological and social roots remain essentially the same as in previous historical periods.” (Timoyev, 2021: 566)

The current system, which tries to spread the idea that capitalism has no alternative, and that even though it has some crises, that the highest democracy will be achieved by correcting these problems within itself, tries to create a sense of deadlock in the society. At the same time, it reinforces individualism and creates a "giveaway" mass. The dominant ideology in an age that claims that classes are dead and that belief in revolution is tried to be turned into a melancholy of the past; it says give up, give up and get lonely! Stop fighting to change the world, turn your defeat into an individually experienced pleasure. Cursing is freedom. You are free to admit defeat, retreat, and even commit suicide... Free to go crazy! There is nothing meaningful in this life because there is no such thing as meaning. There are only “words and things”... It is important for us to say that popular/postmodern literary magazines are a part of the same ideological reproduction with an “alternative” view, in historical-social conditions in which these ideas are tried to be placed and propagated through the media. Because these magazines not only commodify literature/culture, but also reinforce the "no alternative" and no way out, as it is claimed, in the face of being an alternative. In these magazines, whose target audience is predominantly young, the readers are advised to change their own world instead of "changing the world", while on the other hand, the pessimistic mood is glorified. The real danger here is the use of left values and social concepts as phenomena to reproduce the dominant ideology. In doing so, an oppositional structure is revealed in these magazines as an immanent result of youth subculture and identity politics. Considering all these, it is possible to say that popular/postmodern literary magazines, with their oppositional positions, are in the mainstream in a criticism that is free from class thought and does not pose a danger to capitalism as a "controlled alternative".

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