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**POLITICAL ROLE OF THE POPULAR CULTURE :
THE DEBATE IN TURKEY AS ILLUSTRATED BY
AHMET OKTAY'S AND ÜNSAL OSKAY'S APPROACHES**

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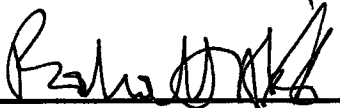
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DOKÜMANTASYON MERKEZİ**

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Approval of the Graduate School of Social Sciences


Prof. Dr. Bahattin AKŞİT
Director

I certify that this thesis satisfies all the requirements as a thesis
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Prof. Dr. Raşit KAYA
Chairman of the Department

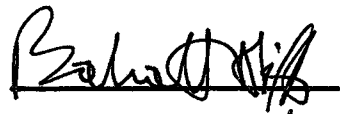
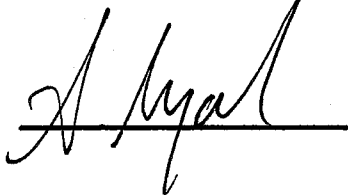
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degree of Master of Science.


Prof. Dr. Raşit KAYA
Supervisor

Examining Committee in Charge

Prof. Dr. Bahattin AKŞİT

Prof. Dr. Ayşe AYATA

ABSTRACT

THE POLITICAL ROLE OF THE POPULAR CULTURE : THE DEBATE IN TURKEY AS ILLUSTRATED BY AHMET OKTAY'S AND ÜNSAL OSKAY'S APPROACHES

Özdemir, İlker

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The aim of this study is to analyse the discussion on the socio-political role of the popular culture in modern societies as a legitimisation mechanism for the reproduction of the existing system through elaboration of the concept on behalf of Ahmet Oktay's and Ünsal Oskay's approaches. Conception of popular culture operates in the same manner in Oktay's and Oskay's approaches. They strikingly arrive at same or similar conclusions on the political role of the popular cultural forms in society even though their intellectuals origins are different. Therefore, they consider popular culture is to be a useful theoretical tool in understanding the mechanisms of the legitimisation and manipulation in society. The exclusive acceptance of the concept as an instrument of manipulation and legitimization leads to the way for a belief that all intellectuals share the same aims for the future of the society. This study suggests that the great consensus on the political role of the popular culture concept does not lead to adopt similar social and cultural projects. Because social and cultural projects differ in the conceptualization of the way the emancipation of society is established in Ahmet Oktay's and Ünsal Oskay's approaches, despite the full consensus on the social significance and pessimistic evaluation of the political role of the popular culture. They fail to provide a conceptual consensus for transcending alienation in society and maintaining the emancipation in future, despite the easily observable theoretical affinity between these two intellectuals. Other divergence points between them emerges at the level of their discourses on socialism discussions, and on the current political developments. Differences between social and cultural projects of them, and in their forms of discourse are derived from their

intellectual origins, and their political choices, or, in other words, political discourses of them.

Keywords: Popular Culture, Mass Culture, High Culture, Mass Society, Cultural Hegemony, Alienation, Manipulation, Legitimization, Emancipation



ÖZ

**POPÜLER KÜLTÜRÜN SİYASAL ROLÜ:
AHMET OKTAY VE ÜNSAL OSKAY'IN YAKLAŞIMLARINDA
TÜRKİYE'DE POPÜLER KÜLTÜR TARTIŞMASI**

Özdemir, İlker

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Bu çalışmanın amacı popüler kültürün modern toplumlarda var olan sistemin yeniden üretimi için bir meşrulaştırma aracı olarak oynadığı toplumsal ve siyasal rolü Ahmet Oktay'ın ve Ünsal Oskay'ın yaklaşımlarını ele alarak incelemektir. Popüler kültür kavramlaştırmasının Oktay ve Oskay'ın yaklaşımlarındaki işleyişi aynıdır. İki aydın, farklı entelektüel serüvenlerine rağmen, popüler kültürün siyasal rolüne ilişkin benzer yargılara ulaşmaktadırlar. Böylece, popüler kültürün toplumdaki meşrulaştırma ve güdüleme mekanizmalarının anlaşılması açısından uygun bir kuramsal araç olduğunu düşünmektedirler. Kavramın bir güdüleme aracı olarak herkes tarafından itirazsız kabul edilmesi, tüm aydınların toplumun geleceği için aynı amaçları paylaştıklarının düşünülmesine yol açmaktadır. Bu çalışmada popüler kültürün siyasal rolü üzerindeki büyük uzlaşmanın benzer toplumsal ve kültürel projeler üretilmesine yol açmadığı savunulmuştur. Çünkü, popüler kültürün toplumsal önemi ve siyasal rolü üzerindeki kötümser değerlendirmelerde ki tam uzlaşmaya rağmen Ahmet Oktay ve Ünsal Oskay'ın yaklaşımlarında toplumda özgürleşimin sağlanabilmesinin kavramlaştırılmasına ilişkin toplumsal ve kültürel projeler farklılaşmaktadır. Oktay ve Oskay, kolaylıkla gözlenebilecek kuramsal yakınlıklarına karşın, toplumdaki yabancılaşmayı aşmak ve özgürleşimi sağlamak konusunda kavramsal bir uzlaşma ortaya koyamamışlardır. Diğer farklılaşmalar özellikle iki aydının toplumculuk tartışmaları ve siyasal gelişmeler üzerindeki söylemlerinde ortaya çıkmaktadır. Oktay ve Oskay'ın toplumsal ve kültürel projelerindeki ve söylemlerindeki farklılıklar farklı entelektüel serüvenlerinden ve siyasal tercihlerinden, bir başka deyişle siyasal söylem biçimlerinden kaynaklanmaktadır.

**Anahtar Sözcükler: Popüler Kültür, Kitle Kültürü, Yüksek Kültür,
Kültürel Hegemonya, Kitle Toplumu, Yabancılaşma,
Güdüleme, Meşrulaştırma, Özgürleşim**



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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

In recent years, we are witnessing an ideological transformation and a political restructuring with the development of the growing importance of modern, mass, consumption society upon its developed technologies of communication, public forms of information and the variety of goods produced, and bulk of ideological and cultural products in Turkey. The coming of new forms of communication and new technologies (television, radio, video, photography, colour magazines, etc.) has increased the role of the mass communication in Turkish Society. A variety of new newspapers, periodicals, pocket-book series, detective and love stories have emerged in the publication world as well as long-term TV series, reality shows, talk-shows, magazine programmes, sports magazines, music box programs etc. have emerged in the world of the Turkish television and radio with the emergence of the commercial television and radio stations following the elimination of state monopoly over them. They have reached great numbers in circulation and more ratings unseen before. In recent years, we are witnessing the emergence and domination of the visual tools in cultural field of the society. With the advent of the commercial television stations, traditional public service values are abandoned and public service corporation began to supply information and culture

more compatible with the market structure and ideology. Transformation of media structures in Turkey holds out a promise of cultural diversity. But, this transformation also represents a threat of 'massification of culture'. The public in general was pleased to have new entertainment outlets. Consequently, diversity of content in different media is being seriously reduced. The long term effects of such developments represent a serious challenge for the future of the whole society. (Kaya: 1995)

These developments are new for Turkey while such developments were seen in Western societies as earlier as during 1930s. But a general interest in the exploration and conceptualization of these developments as mass culture, mass society, popular culture has shown itself up in 1950s and 1960s. There is a rich literature on the popular culture in World, and it seems that the concept of popular culture will keep its importance in the future because of its significant role in the society. There is a strong need to develop a literature on the concepts such as mass culture, popular culture, mass society and its relations with social behaviour and political life, and to some extent to assess its practical applicability.

My aim is not to criticize the main approaches on the concepts of popular culture and mass culture. However, my aim in this study is to pose the rising importance of the concepts in Turkey through a critical evaluation of the two Turkish intellectuals: Ahmet OKTAY and Ünsal OSKAY. In other words, I want to explore the political role of the popular culture in studies of OKTAY and OSKAY, and try to pose its significance for Turkey as a 'cultural form'. Studies of Ahmet

OKTAY and Ünsal OSKAY is going to be critically reviewed with the aim to indicate the differences and similarities of their views.

The literature on the concept of popular culture in Turkey is traditionally restricted. But, in recent years, an increase on the literature on popular culture is an observable phenomenon. The concepts of popular culture and mass culture are new concepts for Turkey. We have been witnessed the entrance of popular culture concept to Turkey with the discussions surrounding arabesc music in 1980s. Transformation of media structures in Turkey in 1990s played a significant role in the increase of the literature on popular culture. It seems that discussions about popular culture will create a fresh discussion atmosphere in Turkey. But, literature on these concepts and the level of the analyzes are still very restricted. It is not wrong to say that the discussions about these concepts have been seen only between academics and some intellectuals. These discussions, still, not reached to a satisfactory manner. It should not be surprising to find an increasing attention paid to the problems of popular culture, mass culture and mass communication in order to analyze, explain and understand the nature and the state of the present day. The current discourse on the popular culture in Turkey has been effected by the change of the political culture throughout the world, and thus, there is a certain level of interaction. There are some other factors that are peculiar to Turkey.

This study is going to be a literature survey. However, to understand and explore the analytical merits of the concepts of mass culture and popular culture, OKTAY and OSKAY is going to be analyzed to the extent that their studies

have exemplary value for these concepts. Both Oktay and Oskay are interested in the concept of popular culture in 1980s, and their studies seems to be a good starting point in discussing popular culture in Turkey. OSKAY is interested in the theoretical discussions on the popular culture in World, and he can be accepted as an authority in Turkey on the popular culture, as an academican, and a theorist. Similarly, OKTAY, as a journalist and a litterateur, generally, tries to analyze Turkish Press, popular literature and popular arts in Turkey in the context of the popular culture phenomenon. He is interested in the theoretical discussions on the popular culture, and tries to constitute a coherent theoretical framework for analyzing Turkish Popular Culture. Understanding discussions on the popular culture in Turkey, a comparative study between OSKAY and OKTAY is going to be useful. As stated earlier, in my opinion, it is a good starting point, but, only a starting point.

All published books of Ahmet OKTAY and Ünsal OSKAY will be analyzed in this study except the OKTAY'S poetry books, and his latest books that were published in 1996. Oktay, at present, is a columnist in daily Milliyet. He writes articles in culture-art page of Milliyet, weekly. He reprinted articles written in Milliyet and other periodicals in book form. It should be pointed out that Oktay began to imply popular culture and mass culture phenomena in his second book: 'Yazın, İletişim, İdeoloji' (1982: Literature, Communication, Ideology) in page 86. Oktay is also author of many books such as 'Toplumcu Gerçekçiliğin Kaynakları' (1986: Sources of Socialist Realism), 'Toplumsal Değişme ve Basın' (1987: Social Change and Press), 'Kültür ve İdeoloji' (1987: Culture and Ideology), 'Rafaellonun

DireniŖi' (1990: Raffaello's Resistance), 'Sanat ve Siyaset' (1992: Art and Politics) and 'Medya ve Hedonizm' (1995: Media and Hedonizm). Following his other books, he published 'Türkiye'de Popüler Kültür' (1992: Popular Culture in Turkey). This book is the main reference given to him in this thesis. Because, he systematically expresses his ideas on the popular culture in it. Oskay is an academician, a communication scientist. He is also author of many books such as 'Toplumsal GeliŖmede. Radyo ve Televizyon' (1972:Radio and Television in Social Development), '19.Yüzyıldan Günümüze Kitle İletişiminin Kültürel İşlevleri : Kuramsal Bir Çalışma' (1982: From 19th Century to Present Day, Cultural Functions of Mass Communication: A Theoretical Study), 'Müzik ve Yabancılaşma' (1982 : Music and Alienation), 'Çağdaş Fantazya: Popüler Kültür Açısından Bilim-Kurgu ve Korku Sineması (1988: Contemporary Fantasy: Science-Fiction and Horror Films from the point of Popular Culture) and 'İletişimin ABC'si' (1992: ABC of Communication). He is concerned with the concept of the popular culture in his all books and also most of his articles. Thus, the main references concerning Oskay's ideas about the concept of popular culture were given to his all books, but especially in his 'Kitle İletişiminin Kültürel İşlevleri'. Oskay's articles published in popular science periodicals also merit great importance in best understanding his views, and these articles will be included in this study. In order to capture all aspect of the writers their different studies will be concerned in my study. I will also concentrate on the notes put by Oskay in the books that he translated and edited. My aim is not a critical evaluation of all studies of them. We will analyze how Ahmet Oktay and Ünsal Oskay signify the concept of the popular culture and mass culture in the context of its political consequences, in other words the different and

similar connotations they attach to it. All materials related this study will tried to be analyzed in the context of popular culture under the following issues:

- 1- Conceptual framework of the popular culture
- 2- Political role of the popular culture in modern societies
- 3- Popular culture in Turkey and its political role
- 4- Oktay's and Oskay's premises to the present cultural problems.

In this study the literature on these issues is going to be critically reviewed with respect to the different intellectual backgrounds of Oktay and Oskay. Intellectual backgrounds of Oktay and Oskay are quite different. Oktay is a former socialist journalist and litteretaur. He is a clear advocate of revolutionary politics. Oskay, as an academician, does not express a clear political discourse in his studies. It should be underlined that Oktay and Oskay are not claimed to be representatives of the different schools of thought. Their theoretical affinity can easily be observed in their studies. But, they have some different connotations on the popular culture. Different connotations of Oktay and Oskay, in my opinion, come from their different intellectual origins. Finally, it is not hard to claim that, they evaluate the concept of popular culture within a common tradition. In our thesis, philosophical views and common points between these writers in the context of the concept of popular culture will tried to be throughly discussed.

It is going to be emphasized that culture has always been composed of fragmentary and particularized elements as well as has related to the practical and actual principles of life. The elements which make up culture (language, literature, art, music, cinema, photography, etc.) constitute different levels of reality of its own and has to be analyzed in its own terms. It can be said that, 'cultures' and 'economics' are no more than different abstractions from the same concrete reality of social action. The phenomenon of popular culture can no be conceived only as a matter of 'selling' or 'buying'. It is not only an economic phenomenon, but also, perhaps more importantly, a cultural and political phenomenon. Therefore, critics of the culture can not be made apart from its material base.

The basic point of this study is that popular culture is operative in modern societies. A structural analysis of popular culture is necessary for understanding social, cultural and political phenomena of the present day. A special attention will be paid, in this study, to the role of the popular culture signifying practises and popular texts of everyday life as sites of the political contestation. Various popular cultural forms, such as popular music, popular sports and folktales should be discussed within the context of discursive strategies of everyday life and social meaning making. We conduct our affairs, whether in social, political and economic matters under the impact of the popular culture. Popular culture plays a strategic role on the form of culture and communication as well as it plays a strategic role on the way of thinking concerning mode of behaviour, and to social problems. Popular culture has an important role in our ways of life. I will argue that, these cultural forms give an ideological support to the legitimization of the advanced

capitalist accumulation patterns and thus, the reproduction of the capitalist mode of production. In accordance with the power relations and struggles in society, popular culture has been used as an instrument for providing a cultural hegemony over the society. Popular culture should not be evaluated as a neutral term in the present stage of capitalism. It moves towards specific ends. It has an ideological role for the legitimization of the power. Popular cultural products play a strategic role in reinforcing dominant social norms and values that legitimize the social system. The ideological role of the popular culture is tried to be masked by the 'democratic' and 'neutral' character that attributed to it. The political role of the popular culture conception should be understood within this context. The development of capitalism and changing accumulation patterns in this process needs a dynamic legitimization process which is capable of adjusting itself. In other words, juridical-political ideology is transposed into a set of facts and decisions which can not be falsified because of its 'democratic' character.

Popular culture as a form of culture has significant effects over major institutions like religion, family, education, politics, etc. This kind of effectivity is not easily observable, but, it can not be excluded as a 'speculation'. The effectivity of popular culture can not be reduced to its immediate, short term effects over individuals behaviour (i.e. so called 'opinion changes'). The concept of 'effect' is very problematic. Because a particular definition of 'effect' refers changes in an individual's opinion and behaviour. For this reason, the term 'role of the popular

'culture' is preferred in this study. Rather than analysis of what popular culture's effects on individuals, an analysis of its political role in society will be reviewed.

The field of popular culture is closely connected with our everyday life activities. Popular newspapers, cinema, magazines, television and popular sports have changed our everyday experiences, our perceptual frameworks, our ways of speaking and thinking. There is a close relationship between the products of popular culture and actually existing life. The radio, the movies, the newspapers and the best sellers are, at the same time, models for the way of life of the masses, and an expression of their actual way of life. Political role of the popular culture should be analyzed from different perspectives. It can only be understood by analyzing the ideological content of popular cultural products. Empirical studies and content analysis will be useful for understanding the ideological content of the popular cultural products.

Although this study is interested in more on the question of the political role of the popular culture in society, it is necessary to start with an evaluation what 'popular culture' is. Thus, in the first part of the study, a background of the concept will be given so as to draw the conceptual framework. I will analyze the term popular culture by starting with indicating main critics about mass society, mass culture and popular culture. Indicating a general theoretical background of the concept of popular culture, and approaches of different schools of thought is necessary before introducing to discuss its political role and functions. We will try to

clarify conceptual framework and historical background of the popular culture phenomenon in order to discuss its political role and functions in the society.

In the light of such argumentation, in the chapter 3, theoretical-historical framework of popular culture will be tried to be analyze by reviewing the studies of Oskay and Oktay. Firstly, the definition of concepts, and then, the historical background of popular culture will be tried to be analyzed in their studies. Finally, basic sources of Oktay and Oskay in their critiques on the popular culture will be tried to be shown.

In chapter 4, Oktay's and Oskay's ideas about the development of popular culture in Turkey will be tried to be explored.

In chapter 5, main arguments and claims of Oktay and Oskay about the political role of the popular culture is going to be critically reviewed.

In chapter 6, their social and cultural projects for reaching to a desirable society will be tried to be reviewed.

Finally, significant results of this study will be tried to be shown.

CHAPTER 2

CONCEPTUAL-THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

In the discussion of the theories of the mass society, mass culture and popular culture, the concepts of 'mass', 'popular' and 'culture' should be clearly explained. Different attitudes towards these concepts and their conceptualizations determines different theoretical and political standpoints. Before examining mass culture and popular culture approaches it is necessary to start with an evaluation on the meaning of these terms. Mass concept generally refers the population. The concept of popular refers the widespread tendencies or where the general tendencies meet or 'of the people'. Culture involves all materials and their uses, habits, traditions, norms, value judgements and life styles. My first chapter opens with a brief examination of these concepts.

2.1 Concepts of Popular Culture and Mass Culture

Culture is generally seen as an autonomous creative power. But, in the context of this study, it is not possible to deny that culture is bound to human action, human practise, everyday life. We should emphasize the lived experience function of culture as the genesis of the consciousness. There are so many definitions of culture.

There is a widespread confusion on the several meanings and various implications of the term of culture. Without entering to discuss these definitions, we can say that, elitist definitions of culture depends on sublimation of culture when democratic definitions of culture depends on social practises. Culture ought not to be seen as the symbolic product of consciousness. Culture is a practise, and a process. Culture is the complex entire body of all elements of language, feelings, thought, beliefs, art and life style which have validity and continuity in society. Culture means that all human reality, humanization form of the nature, life styles and value patterns. All human products are the elements of the culture. We will use the term of culture as all human practises which effect the life style. Culture is related to practical activities and shared and lived principles of life. It consists of verbal, aural, audo-visual elements such as language, written materials, music, cinema, television, paintings, photographs, etc, which pose the question of the specific ways of representing.

Mass Concept: The concept of mass goes back to French Revolution.

In 19th Century, the process of urbanization and industrialization brought individuals together in the large-scale organizations in certain areas of society. The massing of individuals and their styles of life in urban and industrial areas can be considered as birth of mass society. Thus, the activities in leisure time, the patterns of consumption, the exposure of mass media and to the mass produced materials, in short the codes of mass behaviour of the mass have to come represent the objects of criticism in various approaches. That is, since the beginning of the process of massing, since the appearance of the phenomenon of mass in social life, the concept of the mass itself has undergone several transformations. 'Mass' in its simplest sense

means an aggregate of people without distinction of groups or individuals, similarly undifferentiated people. The term 'mass' can not be taken to refer to all attributes of a large group of people, otherwise, we should have to include culture, acculturation, cultural change, voting behaviour, population growth, and many other social and cultural attributes and processes under the title of mass phenomenon. Mass suggests an absence of social structure although not necessarily of group identity. 'Mass' term signifies that class of social event in which a large number of people at the same time behave in a way which constitutes a notable interruption of their routine, socially sanctioned role behaviour. In its classical usage the term mass implies that, the audience created by new mass media was socially undifferentiated, lacking any clear divisions along class, sex or race lines. Mass is considered 'heterogenous', in consisting of large numbers from all social strata and demographic groups, but homogeneous in its behaviour of choosing a particular object of interest, and in the perception of these who would like to 'manipulate' it. (McQuail, 1983: 22)

The concept of mass culture is often been used to describe the typical content produced and disseminated by the mass media. Mass culture, also, refers to cultural products manufactured for the mass market. Its associated characteristics are standardization of product and mass behaviour. Mass culture exists, and is determined in its content by the mass media of the communication. Mass culture depends on a vast apparatus of technical devices that is essentially an industry, the 'culture industry' as Horkheimer and Adorno called it. In advanced capitalist countries mass culture could not exist without its commerciality, and, mass culture is inherent to mass society. Mass culture is orientated toward a central aspect of

industrial society, the depersonalization of the individual. Mass culture is an urban product.

The concept of popular culture has two identifiable implications. First, it is 'of the people' - having authentic roots in popular practises and traditions. It refers to an existence that is specifically non-elite, not 'of the dominant ideology, high culture and defined in opposition to latter. First approach about popular culture is that popular culture is made by subordinated peoples in their own interests. Popular culture is made from within and below, not imposed from without or above. There is always an element of popular culture that lies outside social control, that escapes or opposes hegemonic forces. Popular culture is always a culture of conflict, it always involves the struggle to make social meanings that are in the interests of the subordinate, and that are not those referred by the dominant ideology. Second implication of popular culture is made in relation to structures of dominance. The people make popular culture at the interface between everyday life and consumption of the products of the cultural industries. Popular culture is the culture of subordinate men who resent their subordination is not concerned with finding consensual meanings or producing social rituals that harmonize social difference. However, it is not the culture of subordination that massifies or commodifies people into the victimized dupes of capitalism. (Fiske: 1973)

Through industrialization, popular culture replaces both high and folk culture. Industrialization has made the prevalence of popular culture unavoidable. Popular culture is quite distinct from folk culture. Because, the existence of a folk

culture implies direct personal participation in art forms such as music or the dance. There is a distinction, it should also be made between older and recent, traditional and modern popular culture as Lowenthal did. But, it must be said that, as society became industrialized, popular culture became the most universally shared type of culture.

High culture has been generally used as the antithesis of the popular culture and mass culture. We can talk about the decline of high cultural forms in modern societies and invasion by popular culture or corruption of past high culture by popular culture. With the development of industry, the elite as a group lost its power. The great mass of consumers began to determine what it is to be produced.

The assumptions that popular culture can be equated to mass culture and, mass culture is merely a form of deception, diversion and passification are widely accepted. A distinction should be made between popular culture and mass culture within this context. Differences between popular culture and mass culture are emphasized by several authors. But, some authors use these terms as changible to each other. Some authors prefer the term of mass culture to popular culture when others prefer the term of popular culture by their own perspectives.

Recent popular culture and mass culture belong to the mass society which emerged after the ends of 19th Century with development of capitalist countries and, with the emergence of production condition of masses. Mass Culture is closely related with mass society, and have not a long historical base when popular

culture have been existed throughout history. Finally, it can be said that popular culture is the culture of everyday life of individuals. But, mass culture is a product of mass society.

When we make a short historical survey, from the 19th century to present day, the extension of the written communication from minorities to majorities is clearly seen. One of the most important consequences of the printing technology was the democratization of written culture. The modern age has been witnessed development of new resources, techniques and technological devices in communication field, particularly for transmitting and receiving signals and messages. The new technologies entered directly into the industrialized era of mass communication and mass consumption in 20th century.

The growth of these technologies has coincided with broader political and economic changes, both within many countries and on a world scale. From this historical background, and in such a material base, a new conception of society, mass society has grown in the early years of 20th century. Offering stories, spectacles, music, drama humour, and the like for popular consumption transformed an older tradition of entertainment to a new means of distribution. It was partly a response to the 'invention' of leisure time out of the work- and answer to demand for respectable ways of enjoying free time for the whole society. (McQuail, 1983: 22) As can be easily seen from the above assertions, the advent of mass communications, development of new mass media have led to some important and radical- qualitative and quantitative changes in the nature and the state of the existing

social relations. Political democracy and popular education broke down the old upper-class monopoly of the culture. Business enterprises found a profitable market in the cultural demands of the newly awakened masses, and the advance of technology made possible the cheap production of books, periodicals, pictures, music and furniture. Modern technology also created a new media such as the movies and television which are specially well adapted to mass manufacture and distribution. A literature on popular culture has been developed under this material base. We shall try to summarize the findings of this body of writings in a few brief generalizations.

2.2 Theories of Popular Culture and Mass Culture

In our presentation to categorize the theoretical approaches on the popular culture and mass culture is unavoidable. There are several classifications on these concepts which reflect their own perspective such as optimists and pessimists or liberal and Marxist schools of thought vica versa. Some of these classifications as follows:

Tony Bennett, in his 'Theories of Media' talks about four traditions of media theory. First traditon is 'mass society traditon' The development of the mass media was pessimistically reviewed by mass society tradition as constituting threats to either the integrity of elite cultural values or the viability of the political institutions of democracy. The contrary assumptions of this approach is liberal-pluralist schools of thought. Next, 'The critical theory of the Frankfurt School' as an

instance of an attempt to incorporate the mass society critique. Finally, more recent attempts to develop a Marxist approach to the media as part of a more general 'Theory of ideology' concerned with the role played by ideological institutions in the process whereby existing relations of class domination are reproduced and perpetuated or, to the contrary, challenged and overthrown.

John Fiske, in his book 'Reading the Popular' (1973) divided main approaches about popular culture into two main categories: Liberal-pluralists and Mass Cultural theorists.

Dwight MacDonald (1957) also, classifies approaches about mass culture and popular culture as: Conservativists, Marxian Radicals and liberals.

J. Curran, M. Gurevitch and J. Woodcatt, in Study of Media, classifies these approaches as Liberal-Pluralist and Marxist approaches.

Kornhauser's categorization of the approaches to mass society are Aristocratic, Democratic and Pluralistic. He seems to be subsuming the critics of Frankfurt School under the democratic approach.

In Turkey, Korkmaz ALEMDAR and İrfan ERDOĞAN, in their collective study ' Popüler Kültür ve İletişim' (1994: Popular Culture and Communication) talks about the Conservativist-Liberal approaches and Radical-Marxist tendencies.

Liberal-pluralist and Marxist approaches, in my opinion, should be held vica versa. Conservatist-elitist approaches or aristocratic criticisms of mass society and mass culture seems quite different from liberal-pluralist approaches. Theoretical approaches on the mass society, mass culture and popular culture is going to be categorized in our presentation. The categorization is not an exclusive one, but refers to characteristics of the differential discursive formation of each approach.

Dwight McDonald's categorization of the approaches of mass culture as Conservatists, Marxian radicals and Liberals will be adopted here, but in a slightly altered form. Therefore, the categorization in this study is going to be as 'Conservatist-Elitist Approaches', 'Marxist Approaches' and 'Liberal-Pluralist Approaches'. Before surveying these approaches, it should be noted that, my main aim is not to critically evaluate these approaches. It must also be said that all approaches on the mass culture and popular culture will not be included in this study. For example, socialist realism approach and some semiological studies on the mass culture and popular culture are ignored in this study. My main aim in this chapter to project main theoretical standpoints of different approaches in the context of mass culture and popular culture. The priority of conservatist-elitist approaches comes from their influence on both Marxist cultural approaches and liberal approaches in 20th century. The mass society tradition could be accepted as early criticism of mass society and mass culture. All theoretical approaches on the mass culture and popular culture seems to be largely influenced by classical analysis that were formulated by 19th century theorists. And then, Marxist and liberal approaches, as stated earlier, should be held vica versa because of the very different

theoretical standpoints in these approaches. Oktay's and Oskay's conceptualizations about mass culture and popular culture generally depends on the critics of Frankfurt School theorists. They strictly criticize pluralist conceptions, post-industrial society conceptualizations and technology determinist approaches. For best understanding of their theoretical sources, basic arguments of Frankfurt School's critique of culture industry and, pluralist and post-modernist approaches should be shown in a satisfactory manner. In the latest chapters of this study, we hope to show the effect of some radical-liberals (i.e. C.Wright Mills) on the studies of Oskay and some contemporary writers (i.e. N. Postman, C. Lasch) on the studies of Oktay. However, in early studies of Oskay about mass communication, we can easily see the influence of modernization theorists. (i.e.- Wilbur Schramm- Oskay worked as assistant of Schramm in 1960's in U.S.A.) Therefore, radical liberals or democratic critics of mass society and modernization theories have importance for this study. The hegemony conception of Gramsci and Althusser's theory of ideology plays a central role, in my opinion, for all these conceptualizations related to the field of culture and ideology. Finally, it can be said that, Oktay's and Oskay's conceptualizations are generally inspired from the pessimist radical criticism of Frankfurt School's Critical Theory. Both they are particularly interested with the hegemonic power relations in the modern societies.

2.2.1 Conservatist-Elitist Approach

The concept of mass society had its major intellectual origin in the 19th century criticism of the revolutionary changes in European society. Many thinkers believed that the decisive social tendency was the change from aristocratic to democratic society. An emotional response to mass culture could be detected from Tocqueville to Ortega, the fear of the dissolution of culture in modern situation became increasingly more prominent than the hopes for its creative possibilities. Conservatists emphasized the mission of pure high art for escaping from negative effects (agressions of modern mass culture) of urbanization, technological modernization. Among the more important figures here are Ortega Y. Gasset, Friedrich Nietzsche and Alexis Tocqueville. (More extended surveys can be found in Bramson 1961, Giner, 1976, Kornhauser, 1960 and Swingewood, 1979)

Conservatives argue that since 'the revolt of the masses' has led to the horrors of totalitarianism, the only hope is to rebuild the old class walls and bring the masses once more under aristocratic control. They think of the popular as synonymous with cheap and vulgar. The transformation of the old order of the society into a new one put forward equalitarian and democratic principles, and abolished the previous privileges and ranks. Nietzsche and Ortega were concerned, was that the 'natural' balance between elites and masses had been threatened by the advent of the democracy, the development of the press and of popular education and, by the dissolution of those traditional forms of social relationships which

allegedly had hitherto clearly defined for the masses their subordinate place within a hierarchically structured social order. Nietzsche, among many other 19th century romantic thinkers, sought to interpret changes in European Society as the erosion of culture. Ortega later formulated a highly popular version of this view. Ortega Y.Gasset puts forward his famous thesis that the central problem of our time concerns the rise to power of the 'mass man'. Pessimistic current of mass society outlook seeks to argue a connection between the social conditions of 'mass man', and the rise of totalitarian social and political movements. They have sought to explain them as the entry into politics of irrational forces which the age of the mass democracy. If the society is to be led to totalitarianism, the threat is not considered to be coming from above, but from below, from within the masses, from the conditions of equality in democracies. The conditions of equality strip the masses off several of the highest qualities of humanity and constructs their psychological appearances. In democracies the conditions of equality bring about the feeling 'just like everybody' thus, open the ways of totalization. (Gasset, 1972:42-43) Industrial development, in breaking up traditional social relationships, has thrown men and women into isolation and self-reliance, the promise of freedom having turned into the living nightmare of anomie and alienation. Democracy has turned into its opposite as new forms of tyranny, playing on the fears and isolation of a social atomized population, have established themselves. And culture has degenerated into moral and aesthetic barbarism. According to Conservatist-Elitist approaches, the situation of the masses are characterized by routine work and leisure, subjection to bureaucracies, isolation and family privatization, competitiveness and lower levels of solidarity and participation. So it is the unqualified, non-elite characteristics of the

mass which constitutes the main threat the society. The threat to modern society comes from below, from 'the mass man'. Both of them are against democracy and the forces that undermine the traditional positions, values and the inherent patterns of inequality.

2.2.2 Marxist Approach

Marxist view sees capitalist society as being one of class domination, the media are seen as part of an ideological arena in which various class views are fought out, although within the context of the dominance of certain classes. Ultimate control is increasingly concentrated in monopoly capital, media professionals while enjoying the illusion of autonomy, are socialized into and internalize the norms of the dominant culture.

It should be noted that, Marx and Engels did not provide any systematic exposition of this crucial concept. Marx and Engels wrote on questions of the media and ideology, but they did not offer an elaborated body of theory with which to deal with such questions. Marx argued in the Grundrisse that ideologies also have their relative autonomy, their own distinctive properties, so that their dependence on the 'base' must be viewed as a highly complex and mediated one. Second, the concept of ideology carries with it the implication of distortion. Marx emphasized the importance of information network as a mechanism for surveillance, and its capacity to undermine social movements threatening the status quo. It should

be stated here, Marx prefers to use ideology in substitution for culture. Ideology means norms, beliefs, values that represent a false consciousness about society. Marxist view sees the audience in a passive manner because of the dominant ideological hegemony in society. Control over the production and distribution of ideas is concentrated in the hands of capitalist owners of means of production, that as a result of this control their views and account of the world come to dominate the thinking of subordinate groups. This ideological domination plays a key role in maintaining class inequalities. Media's function is to reproduce the dominant ideology and dominant social relations. Marxist accounts of the media associated with the idea of ideology as a reflection of the economic basis of media industries and society. The media, they argued, were ideological agencies that played a central role in maintaining class domination. Media manipulates individuals in society in a certain way which is a kind of ideological dominance. Latent propaganda by means of cultural communication is linked with manipulation and actually leading people to false ends. Marxist activists and researchers tended to maintain an equally pessimistic view of popular culture as a sphere of life largely absorbed by capitalism's dominant ideology.

In the case of the Marxist analyzes of culture which developed in Western Europe after 1918, 'critical theory' tended to predominate over more sociological styles. This shift can largely be explained as a reaction to the Soviet version of Marxist sociology which reverted to a crudely deterministic view of base-superstructure relations in which cultural forms were reduced to more or less simple reflections of economic and class relations. Western Marxists outside the Soviet

sphere of influence responded by stressing both the complexity and relative autonomy of cultural forms by insisting on the centrality and importance of cultural criticism. In rejecting the 'economic determinism' of the Soviet line. They tended to evaluate any sustained analysis of the economic base. More recent developments in Marxist theory have opened up a different theoretical space within which questions pertaining to the ideological role of the media to a different formulation. Even by the 1960's - when questions about 'everyday life' and popular cultural practises filtered into socialist writing in a new and provocative way. This tendency to placing cultural criticism rather than economic analysis at the centre of Marxist cultural theory has taken a variety of forms. Marxist theorists vary in their accounts of the determination of the mass media and in their accounts of the nature and power of mass media ideologies. We will try to emphasize more general comments of recent Marxist approaches on the concept of mass culture, popular culture and ideology.

A. Frankfurt School's Critique of Culture Industry

The conservatist tradition, the mass society outlook also influenced the development of Marxist theories of the media. Nor is this surprising. Marx and Engels wrote, as noted before, suggestively on questions of the media and ideology, but they did not offer an elaborated body of theory with which to deal with such questions. Given this absence, early attempts to construct a Marxist critique of media were virtually obliged to submit to the 'field of force' exerted by the mass society outlook. Frankfurt School writers made serious researches about popular culture in the years of 1930's. Frankfurt School Critical Theory- most important was

a growing criticism of 'the emphasis on the way mass culture manipulates its consumers, imposing on them 'false needs' and 'false desires' and preventing them from coming to understand their own best interests. The critique of 'culture industry' constructed by Frankfurt School was undoubtedly the most interesting of the attempts to fuse Marxist and mass society categories in this way. Frankfurt theorists contended that, quite contrary to the optimism of such liberal-pluralists, the media made the world of serious culture widely accessible only at the price of depriving it of its critical substance. The members of School who become most extensively engaged in the analysis of popular culture was Leo Lowenthal. Lowenthal points out that popular culture can be studied as a social phenomenon by stressing on the significance of the problem of the relations of culture and leisure which has perplexed. He stressed on the popular culture's neuroticizing influence on people. The decline of the individual in a mechanized working process of modern civilization brings the emergence of popular culture, which replaces folk art or high art. For him, a product of popular culture has none of the features of genuine art, but in all its media popular culture proves to have its own genuine characteristics, conservatism, mendacity, standardization, homogenization, stereotypy, manipulated consumer goods, etc. (Lowenthal, 1957; 56-57)

Theodor W. Adorno and Max Horkheimer took the lead in arguing that capitalist culture could be understood as a 'mass culture' which created and reproduced 'false' needs and a 'false' consciousness. Against this one could only assert the negative power of 'autonomous art' and of 'critical theory' itself. From these perspective, people took on the character of passive mass of consumers

desperately in need of estrangement potentially offered by an artistic and philosophical avant-garde. They coined the phrase 'the culture industry' in referring to the collective operations of the media. Their aesthetic criteria of culture can be found in Adorno and Horkheimer's famous article 'The Culture Industry: Enlightenment as a Mass Deception'. (1979). This article is against more optimistic analysis of popular culture. Their insistence on the process of cultural domination has its roots in the economic dynamics of the 'culture industry' is an indispensable starting point for any Marxist analysis. That the capitalist base of 'the culture industry' necessarily results in the production of cultural forms which are consonant with the dominant ideology. (Adorno, 1967: 124) In the age of mechanical production and reproduction of the same or similar commodities, the individual becomes a mere illusion, even a commodity reproduced in the same fashion like the other commodities. (Adorno and Horkheimer, 1972 : 374) Their convictions about the nature of the culture industry are entirely based on the aesthetic evaluation of the commodities mechanically reproduced. These commodities are clumsy imitations, repetitions of the same thing, mere schematizations, stylized barbarity, stereotyped and barbaric meaninglessness. They do not exhibit any negativity, any point of resistance but reinforce the conformity, obedience to authority. They are consumed by workers and employees, farmers and lower middle class. Therefore, they transfer their aesthetic judgements about the mechanically reproduced commodities, and judge them by the same criteria about the 'rationale of system'. (Adorno and Horkheimer, 1979 : 361) However, Adorno, distinguished popular culture as older and recent popular culture. Popular culture in the 18th century was moving toward an

emancipation from the semifeudal tradition had a progressive meaning, but after then the popular culture lost these progressive functions. (Adorno, 1957)

Marcuse, the other influential theorist of School, argued that contemporary mass culture heralded the arrival of a fully-homogenized and 'one-dimensional' society. He insisted on negative moment and revolutionary potential of art against this. (Marcuse, 1968 : 83-85)

Walter Benjamin, who has an unofficial member, with Leo Lowenthal had different sources in aesthetics and literary criticism. He argued that the development of techniques permitting the reproduction of works of art on a limitless scale, depriving them of their 'aura', the uniqueness of their singular existence, had created the technical preconditions whereby art, in being freed from sacredness of its singular presence, was able to enter the domain of politics in a form in which it could be both produced and appropriated by the masses. Within the cultural and social fabric of monopoly capitalism, art have been deprived of its oppositional value. Art could fulfill its oppositional function only by refusing any compromise with reality. Benjamin was mostly interested in fantasies and myths. To Benjamin one of the primary aspect of the myth has its repetitive, uncreative sameness was one of the salient characteristic of that mythic sensibility created by alienated capitalist society. Repetition plays most decisive role in popular cultural products. He also emphasized the historical development of technology and its role in changing even our most basic experiences. (Benjamin, 1970)

Their critique of technology is closely related to the aesthetical critique of culture industry. Thus, every piece of development in the technology also means the expansion of the culture industry. Frankfurt School insists on the fact that the social institutions especially family- once mediating between the state and civil society have collapsed and lost their independent function in capitalism. Their mediating function has been undertaken by the culture industry. Thus, this notion of the weak civil society is a central one, because it introduces us into the problem of the nature of the society, and because it is said that in the absence of the civil society people become fully open to the effects of centralized organizations (state, culture industry, media) and are transformed into the helpless victims, irrational beings, that is, into masses. The mass media is the instrument of psychic management and manipulation. They think that the system must be changed and the change can be brought about by the critical and negative attitude of the masses. The culture industry provides escapism where it is necessary to criticise it, to resist it, to change it. If technology, radio, cinema, texts, contribute to the production of this escapism, then they are, because of their very nature, harmful and even destructive instruments in the hand of the 'manipulators'. For Frankfurt School theorists, the 'authoritarian state' is not only a political labelling, but is a stage at which the critical faculties of reason have been exhausted or 'advance capitalism' is negative development in which reason's critical attitude toward enlightenment has been converted into artificial opposition. Thus, Frankfurt School theorists consider the general tendencies of the capitalism as leading directly to totalitarianism/fascism. (Horkheimer, 1982:95-117, Marcuse, 1968: 105-138)

According to Frankfurt Theorists, the bourgeoisie culture of the 19th century had been an oppositional culture. Within the social and cultural fabric of monopoly capitalism, it deprived of its oppositional value. Against this, they refused to defend high culture unlike more conservatist critics by emphasizing the connection between the transcendent culture and physiological ascetism.

Frankfurt School theorists has acted as an influential theoretical ginger group in relation to the mainstream of Marxism. The centrality it accorded to the study of ideology has played an important role in undermining the economism which has always been a strong tendency within Marxism. It can be said that, utopia of Frankfurt Scholl theorists is a radical criticism of society, as it is totally against the existing social order. The demand for happiness was a fundamental element of critical theory against their pessimistic interpretations. They feared the closing of all possibilities for a transformed future. But, it is necessary to note that, even its moment of greatest pessimism about the elimination of negativity, a dialectical qualification usually appeared in their thought as Jay pointed out. (Jay's book is a seminal work about the history of Frankfurt School. More extended surveys can be found in it. Jay, Martin: *The Dialectical Imagination*: London, Heinemann, 1973)

B. Gramsci's Conception of Hegemony

Integration and consensus always call forth the work of hegemony, and are achieved through it. The concept of ideology, hegemony, consensus are going to be seen in Gramsci's works firstly. If the concept of 'hegemony' has a dominant influence today within the Marxist tradition, this influence mostly inspired by Gramsci. Gramsci emphasized the growing importance of civil society and of the hegemonic function in it, in the Western Countries. He emphasized the primacy of the ideological superstructures over the economic structure, and he emphasized, also, the primacy of civil society over political society or force. The Gramscian arguments emphasized that dominant social relations and alliances in capitalist liberal democracies are inherently unstable and contradictory. It is possible to say that Gramsci's understanding of 'civil society' comprises not only 'all material relationship', but all ideological-cultural relations.

For Gramsci, state is an apparatus, but, not only an apparatus. State legitimizes its activities by hegemonic process at the level of the society. Bourgeoisie might be dominant. But this domination not purely based on force, this is an ideological domination. Therefore, Gramsci takes that, not only state's coercive apparatus, but also relationship in society provides legitimization base for capitalism. This is hegemony.

Gramsci's hegemony has two principal meanings: First, it is a process in which society whereby a fraction of the dominant class exercises control through

its moral and intellectual leadership over other allied fractions. Second, it is a relation between the dominant and dominated classes. Hegemony involves the successful attempt of the dominant class to use its political, moral and intellectual leadership to establish its view of the world as all-inclusive and universal and to shape the interest and needs of subordinate groups. Hegemony is not a coercive force and consent relationships is not at all static. Hegemony is the ideological predominance of bourgeois values and norms over the subordinate classes, or, in other words, the ideological predominance of dominant class in civil society over the subordinate, according to Gramsci. (Gramsci, 1978: 181)

State produces and reproduces its legitimacy in social relations through a set of institutions, or institutionalized forms of relations like school, education, church, family, media, etc. Civil society represents the field of hegemonic relations at the cultural level. Therefore, civil society is an important field of socialist struggle. Socialist Revolution must be organized to provide an alternative hegemonic bloc, it can not be realized only by capturing state apparatus as Lenin did. For establishing such a hegemonic bloc, according to Gramsci, political party of workers and real socialists is an indispensable element for mediating relationship between society and state, not avant-garde socialist intellectuals. Gramsci clearly states the necessary conditions for a social group to gain the upper hand. To be able to establish hegemony, a social group must incorporate the interests of other social groups, must transform cultural, moral values and customs as to creating a new collective

consciousness. He indicates the necessity and the role of the ideology in creation of hegemony. (Gramsci, 1978 : 328, 377 and 421)

The problem posed by Gramsci is to understand how the ruling class has managed to win the consent of the subaltern classes as well as the reproduction of the capitalist relations in totality. For Gramsci, the answer lays in his conception of civil society which comprises not only 'all material relationship' but also all ideological-cultural relations, not the 'the whole of commercial and industrial life', but the whole of spiritual and intellectual life. For Gramsci, the dominant class gains consent to its social domination through hegemony in the society as whole, but exercises domination through the control of the state's coercive apparatuses. (Kiri,93:31)

C. Althusser's Conception of Ideology

In the following pages, the general thesis of Althusser on the theory of ideology will be tried to be summarized. Studies of Louis Althusser has been most influential in providing a framework within which this specific role and effectivity of the ideological can be theorized. Althusser played a strategic role by emphasizing the autonomy of social practice. Many post-Althusserians, following in his wake, rejected the notion of economic determinacy even in a weak, non-reductive form.

It should be noted that, Althusser's use of the term 'ideological state apparatuses' in relation to such institutions as the media, the family and religious

organizations has been severely criticized on the grounds that the concept of the state to such a degree that the ability to distinguish between state and non-state institutions is called into question. The repressive state apparatus contains government, army, police, court, prisons, administration, etc. functioning by violence. Ideological state apparatus are school, family, church, media, political parties, trade unions, etc. The basic difference between the repressive state apparatus and the ideological state apparatus are singularity of repressive state apparatus and plurality of ideological ones.

Following the lead of Gramsci, Althusser defines the institutions of civil society as necessarily ideological apparatuses. Every society has to reproduce itself, and ideology plays an important role in the reproduction of the existing social relations. It is the role of the ideology. It secures the reproduction of the conditions of existence of both domination and subordination. Ideology is central in Althusserian thinking. He made further elaboration for ideology. In classical view of ideology is the false consciousness of expressive reflection of a certain base. Ideology in Althusser is not a false consciousness. 'ideology represents the imaginary relations of individuals to the real conditions of existence'. (Althusser, 1978:61) It is an imaginary relationship at life experience. Thus, ideologies can not be judged according to the criterion of true or false, since their lived character precedes and excludes such evaluations. Ideology also is not only composed of system of ideas, ideals, spiritual beings, but also it is materialized in institutions. Every ideology has its own prescribed material practices governed by the material rituals. So, the imaginary relation has its basis in this materialized existence. (p.65) His last and

most important thesis is that, ideology is addressed to individuals. Therefore, 'no ideology exists except for and through subjects'. (p.71) 'The category of subject is the constitutive category of all ideology'. (p.72)

Ideology naturalizes, universalizes the (imaginary) relations of subjects with the real conditions of existence. Ideology makes possible for individuals to recognize themselves. Ideology provides both a subject position and a subjection to itself. Althusser approaches the concept of ideology mainly from the point of view of reproduction. Ideology secures the reproduction of the existing social relations by representing imaginary lived relations of an individual with the real conditions of existence. It legitimizes the existence and functioning of a class state. Althusser actually discusses the problem of ideology within the framework of dominant ideology. He often emphasizes that the dominancy of an ideological system is established through a complex struggle against other ideologies or other ideological elements. For Althusser, the issue of ideology is crucial to the reproduction of the relations of production. These are very brief and schematic accounts of Althusser's thesis on ideology.

Theories of ideology or hegemony stress the power of the dominant to construct the subjectivities of the subordinate and the common sense of society in their own interests. Their power is the power to have their meanings of self and of social relations accepted or consented by the people. Ideology operates here to interpellate individuals as subjects, 'hailing' individuals through the apparently

obvious and normal rituals of everyday living. Althusser agree with Gramsci that state apparatus without hegemony means a state without long-term power.

D. Cultural Studies

The 'Birmingham School of Cultural Theory' as a group of leftist analysts best known for studies of audience resistance to the homogenizing forces of mass culture. Marxists working in field of cultural studies in Britain -R. Williams and S. Hall, is a powerful revisionary movement in Marxist thought within a radical tradition. Their arguments in the process of ideological reproduction cannot be fully understood without an analysis of the economic context within which it takes place and of the pressures and determinations which this context exerts. Far from being 'incidental' questions of resources and of loss and profit play a central role in structuring both the processes and products of television production, including the output of news and current affairs. Economics is clearly not the only factor in play, but equally it cannot be ignored. Cultural studies of the media could be said to stand in an uneasy and ambiguous position in relation to the theoretical concern of structuralism and political economy. They have always been opposed to economic reductionism. The totalizing and systematic themes of Marxism have been rejected by them.

Hall's works is grounded much more fully in a Gramscian analysis highlighting ideological competition, although it still overstates the influence of dominant ideas and inflates, by implication, the power of the media. He talks about

the 'relative autonomy' of the moments of 'encoding' and 'decoding' in relation to communicative process. He stresses the polysemic nature of the meaning that is capable to signifying different values depending on how and with what it is articulated . There can be no law to ensure that the receiver will take preferred or dominant meaning. According to Hall, the reader re-produces, re-writes the text in the moment of reading and always in relation to her/his social, political, ideological positions. Subjectivities are constructed intertextuality. Stuart Hall has also drawn our attention to the dynamics of political protest and social control variously experienced by student radicals, feminists, youth sub-cultures and other groups.

2.2.3 Liberal-Pluralist Approach

According to Liberal-Pluralist approach, there is no logical or demonstrated reason that it must of necessity create a basis for mass manipulation, there is nothing inherently wrong or right about popular taste. Pluralists did not share in the alarm about mass culture, found weaker and more restricted audiences, as is often the case in the field of social criticism. The pluralists see society as a complex of competing groups and interests none of them predominant all of the time. Control of the media is said to be in the hands of an autonomous managerial elite who allow a considerable degree of flexibility to media professionals. Greater interest is now being shown by liberal researchers in the wider role of the media, its impact on the structures and functioning of the political system, its influence on socio-cultural integration, and, more broadly and crucially, the relationship between media and social change.

A. Pluralistic Conception of Mass Society

Edward Shills, one of the influential advocates of pluralist theory, criticizes the resultant image of mass society that is a society with a large population, highly urbanized and industrialized, in which the power is concentrated and takes the form of manipulation of the mass through the media of mass communication and people are helpless and alone, lost their individuality under the influence of this power. He says this is a distorted image of liberal-democratic societies of the West. He points out that mass society is an industrial society. Modern industrial technique through its creation of an elaborate network of communication has rendered it possible for the various parts of mass society. (1975:92) In the mass society the quantity of the culture consumed is increased for obvious reasons, as Shills (1972) writes, 'increased leisure time, the decreased physical demands of work, the greater affluence of the classes which once worked very hard for long hours for small income, increased literacy, enhanced individuality, and more unabashed hedonism'. (p.234) The consumption of culture is differentiated to be able to encounter the needs and interests of the largest possible but heterogeneous audience. Indeed the culture itself is stratified as 'superior' or 'refined' culture, 'mediocre' culture, and 'brutal' culture. Shills prefers the term 'brutal' and 'mediocre' culture to the term 'mass culture'. For him mass culture refers to inherent characteristics and social status of its consumers, and to the substantive and qualitative properties of the culture. It seems that, for Shills, the problem with mass culture is not in its consumption but in its production. Mass culture is produced by the institutions or by the professional personnels or the intellectuals. The extreme

specialization of the intellectuals has contributed to the specialized, narrow-minded production and consumption of the mass culture.

For Shills, mass society is a new phenomenon. It acquired visibility between the two world wars. Mass society is characterized by the integration of mass of population into the central institutional and value systems of the society. More and more people are participating in the exercises of power and in the acceptance of the tasks of the management of public affairs in collaboration with others and with regard to the interests, individual, sectional, and the collective, of the entire society. Thus the charismatic quality of authority, once belonged to a certain small group of elites, is diminished and dispersed. This extension of the centre, in turn, contributes to individuality, moral equalitarianism, in a word civility. Mass society is a highly integrated society, it is a consensual society. Furthermore, it is, for him, the most consensual society. A romantic view of the past ignores the fact that in the past most of the population was illiterate, read nothing, a small fraction of ruling elites participated in cultural activities. In mass society, the greater availability of cultural products like books, radio and television programmes, periodicals spread culture to the great number of individuals. Shills accepts, however, the existence of competitions and conflicts, inequalities and unorganized antagonisms in the mass society, but he declares that consensually legitimate institutions impose limits on and offset the effects of these conflicts. The problems with the concepts, such as 'feeling of unity' and 'consensus' are avoided to examine in his analyzes. (Shills, 1975: 93-99)

Kornhauser is, too, one of the advocates of the pluralist society in that, he claims that liberty and democracy tend to be the strongest. He differs in the conception of the mass society and social pluralism. Kornhauser asserts that to be able to formulate the general theory of mass society each conception requires the other. He agrees with some democratic critics on the atomized character of social relations and alienated character of the mass. He also agrees some aristocratic critics on that 'the protection of standards necessarily must be the primary work of a relatively few people who possess the requisite values and skills, elites are indispensable to democratic as well as non-democratic groups'.

Kornhauser argues, that the mass society or mass movements do not inevitably lead to totalitarianism. Hence, like Shills, he claims that integration in mass society occurs through the central organizations of the state. But he, like Shills, never explains how this integration comes about. Actually the conception of ideology plays no role in his analysis other than indicating the irrational, unrestrained, extremist character of the 'totalitarian' movements in times of crisis. The 'irrationality' and 'extremist' character of these movements reveals their very ideological character and the absence of the sense of reality. Only his pluralist understanding of society corresponds to rationality and the sense of reality. Thus only his pluralist society liberty and democracy can be realized. In a pluralist society there exist the multiplicity of affiliations between them, each of which restrains, limits the other's power in the system of checks and balances, and 'no association claims or receives hegemony'. Every movement which transcends the limits imposed by pluralist society tends to be detached from the sense of reality, and to become

irrational, extremist, anti-democratic, in short ideological. Kornhauser argues, as Shill does, that in pluralist society there exist no hegemony but perfect integration and consensus. (Kornhauser, 1965 : 39-52/81)

The pluralist theorists reject the class nature of the capitalist society, and the consequent removal of contradiction from the society. In their theory of mass society 'there is therefore no concept of a crisis of moral regulation, no problems on legitimation and authority. (Shills,1972 : 22)

B. Radical Liberals or Democratic Criticism of Mass Society

The defensive posture of aristocratic thinkers was adopted by democratic liberal thinkers. They see in the fragmentation of society the opportunity for new forms of domination based on the mobilization of larger masses. D.Riesman's well-known 'Lonely-Crowd' is one of the best illustrations of these views. According to Riesman, the form (mode) of communication and communication technics characterize the type of society in which they operate.(1971: 97)

MacDonald, one of the democratic critics, writes, 'Mass culture is imposed from above. It is fabricated by technicians hired by businessmen, its audiences are passive consumers, their participation limited to the choice between buying and not buying. The Lords of kitsch, in short, exploit the cultural needs of the masses in order to make profit and/ or to maintain their class rule. According to

him, mass culture variably 'manipulate the needs of the people' in order to sell their entertaining products. A non-commercial mass culture may exist without commerce only case in the Soviet Union. (Macdonald 1957 : 60/71) He prefers the term of mass culture instead of popular culture because of its strict connection with mass consumption. Modern technology created new media such as the movies and the television which are specially well adapted to mass manufacture and distribution. "mass culture breaks down old barriers of class, tradition and taste and dissolves all cultural distinctions. It mixes and scrambles everything together, producing what might be called 'homogenized culture'. (MacDonald, 1957: 69)

Therefore, it is generally accepted that the central aspects of industrialization are the depersonalization, alienation and isolation of individuals from each other, from reality and from their selves, the homogenization of taste, and finally of society for the purpose of higher productivity. Democratic critics strikingly arrive at a similar conclusion with aristocratic critics, even though their starting points are quite different: 'in so far as people are organized (disorganized) as masses, they lose their human identity and quality. The mass man is a solitary atom. Mass man unites with other atoms who go to make up ' the lonely crowd'. The existence of this atomized lonely crowd is often contrasted with an organic community of public which had been lost at the expense of the former. For example, in the chapter of 'The Mass Society' of Power Elite, C. W. Mills (1956) constructs two models of types of societies: the society of public opinion and the society of the mass. In his analysis, the gap, the hiatus between the so-called public of classic

democracy, and the mass of the modern society is used to declare the triumph of the power elite or totalitarianism (fascism) and the weakening of the civil society. For Mills, trend towards totalitarianism -what he called educated illiteracy- is the consequence of modern mass education and is common to all overdeveloped nations. (Mills, 1956: 303-304)

In this case, however, a problem arises a considerable importance for the analysis of mass society and mass culture. This problem is that whether the mass society and its culture are the products of a movement from within the masses, from below, or whether it is the product of a movement from above. This problem is explicitly posed by McDonald (1957) as 'The Lord of kitsch sells culture to the masses'. They force 'a narcotized acceptance of Mass Culture and of the commodities it sells'. (p.72) This is a process of selling culture to the new urban masses. The audience of the mass media expects to be sold goods, stereo-types and recipes for living. In such a context, the audience can not receive art as individual experience and perspective on experience. Art is not perceived in its own terms, but first reduced to, then accepted or rejected as, a series of rules on what to expect or do. Van den Haag (1957: 8) claims that popular culture presents 'an illusion in contrast to reality'. Popular art falls short of satisfaction. It distracts from life and from real gratification.

In this sense, two sociologists emphasizes the 'narcotizing function' of mass media. : Yet, quite apart from intent, increasing dosages of mass communications may be inadvertently transforming the energies of men from active

participation into passive knowledge according to Lazarsfeld and Merton. They emphasize the effects of advanced instruments of mass communication. They argue that there is a danger that these technically advanced instruments of mass communication constitute a major avenue for a deterioration of aesthetic tastes and popular cultural standards. According to them, with rise of popular education, there has occurred a seeming decline of popular taste. They observe that the decline of 'superior' or 'refined' culture by the growth of mass society. In their view mass society tends to embrace more of mediocre and vulgar (more reproductive, less original) and brutal (elementary) culture. Democratic critics scrutinize the effects of the rapid urbanization and industrialization of people, which led them to get involved in totalitarian movements. They claim that the logic of production, the rationales of industrialization determines what is to be consumed and how it is consumed by people. Thus, it determines the form of culture and the form of communication in the society. These, in turn, determine the way the people think, their mode of behaviour, their leisure time activities, their relation to social problems, in short, their mass identities. Democratic critics are in full agreement with the aristocratic critics on the acolaptic nature of the event, but they differ in one aspect. Where the aristocratic critics are inclined to think that the threat to society and culture is coming from below, the democratic critics assert that the threat is coming from above. They reach similar conclusions with aristocratic criticism, but differ in the conceptualization of the way the threat to society is established.

C. POST-INDUSTRIAL SOCIETY CONCEPTUALIZATIONS

The theory of mass society was given a new impetus in the 1960s. In late 1960s, early 1970s, a number of influential authors, some close to a Marxist standpoint, the majority very distant, have placed prime emphasis upon specific kind of technological changes as especially important in shaping the current trajectories of the capitalist societies. The most prominent conception is information technology. These writers speak, not just of a post-capitalist society, but of a post-industrial one. These scholars advance the idea that industrialism is in the process of being superseded by a new type of society promising higher levels of social integration. This is a 'post-industrial' order will look distinctively different from the contemporary societies. They claim that the part played by science in modern production, the widespread adoption computers and, most recently, of microchip technology, will have very profound consequences for the pre-existing social order. In this new stage of development, as a common argument in most of these approaches, the characteristics of 'former period's' of capitalistic relations are terminated. Toffler argues that this transformation of society is a revolution as significant as the industrial revolution. (1983: 59) According to Toffler, 'such developments should be held to be a revolution as important as the movement from agrarian to industrial and rural to urban'. In this new society, ideology and politics will disappear. The society should be organized around the knowledge. Technology becomes completely autonomous and technicians make decisions on purely rational grounds. In this new 'Post-Industrial Society', central significance is given to the development of science and technology, and its conceiving as a basic motor force of

the development of society. Cultural system, on the other hand, is said to be based on self-expression, equality, participation and general quality of life.

Alvin Toffler conceptualizes a three stage model of development . He makes distinction between agricultural, industrial and super-industrial stages of development. Toffler claims that society witness an accelerating pace of change in everyday life in the super-industrial stage of development. In this new civilization, according to him, (1983:24) there will be no bureaucracies, and nation states. There will be, in a post-imperialist world, semi-autonomous economies and alteration of mass democracy and beginning of mosaic democracy with advanced mediums. For Toffler, mass production terminates, and is displaced by a personal tailoring of every commodity at electronic houses. (1983:184) Finally, according to him, politics will become decentralized. (Toffler, 1983: 204)

Technological Determinism of McLuhan

McLuhan's central ideas is that modes of communication determine what kind of society we are going to have. Since the 'message is the medium' for McLuhan, the type of medium used in communications becomes the determining factor both in historical societal development and in the nature of social relations. McLuhan has very optimistic evaluations about the development of electronic means of mass communication for the future. He defends cold medium against the hot media by claiming that cold medium has a very democratic nature.

End Of The Ideology Thesis

The 'End of ideology' thesis, emerged in 1950s, supported this line of thought by organizing an attack to the Marxist understanding of history and society. In 1950s, writers such as D. Bell, S. M. Lipset and R. Aron had proclaimed the end of ideologies within the advanced capitalist countries. According to the theory of end of the ideology, political theory and practice which aims at radical transformation has ended. (Bell,1962)

Post-Industrial society theories emphasize fragmented character of capitalist consumer cultures and their reliance upon the images made available through the mass media. By the welfare that technological developments bring, it is claimed that the society becomes a 'leisure society'. It is claimed that, technological society is an era of mass leisure created by automation and marked by affluence for the developed nations. In this context, in advanced capitalist societies technological development itself is presented as leading productive force. It is also presented as a force constructing the 'new social order'. Consequently, in post industrial conceptions of society the basic importance of the role of the capital and class relations is replaced by science and technology in shaping the 'new' structure of society. As can be seen easily, the common theme in these frameworks is the 'changing nature of technology' and a belief in the 'emergence of a new civilisation' by the means of technological developments bring. In this sense, all the developments in human history is tried to be explained in accordance with the technological determinism. It can be said that technology determinist approaches

present a new type of society breaking all its ties with past. Accordingly, technological factors radically change the shape of the society and create a new civilisation. As can be seen, by the advent of recent 'communication revolution', 'post-industrial society' approach and similar approaches revived the belief in all powerful mass media in the late 1960s, early 1970s. These approaches are deriving from technological determinism. All the developments in human history are tried to be explained in accordance with technological advancement. History is reduced to a history of technology.

D. Modernization Theories

Modernization theorists wrote of communication models; traditional, transitional and modern. (Lerner 1958, Schramm 1964, etc.) Their stage theory classifies and describes societies at particular points in time as having a particular process of communication. Development through communication is evident in the evolution of societies from a traditional or transitional stage to a modern stage. The basic view is that media encourage and help to diffuse a personal value system which is favourable to innovation, mobility, achievement and consumption. Lerner (1958) for instance, held that media could help to break down the 'traditonalism' which is an obstacle to 'modernity', by raising expectations and aspirations, widening horizons, enabling people to imagine and want a better alternative for themselves and their families. Although media possession and existence of different mass communication channels are taken as an indicator of development and modernization.

2.3 REVIEW

Finally, a few words must be said about the status of the concept of the popular culture. To sum up so far, this theoretical sketch has shown that, the concept of popular culture has always been used as the opposite of the high culture. Secondly, the concept of popular culture can not be confined a single school of thought. Finally, the appereance of new popular culture has been associated and acquired visibilty with the development of capitalism in 19th century.

In this study, before introducing to survey Oktay's and Oskay's studies, we have presented a variety of theoretical issues, and their main theoretical approaches concerning mass culture and popular culture. We see that mass society theorists, some pessimistic, others optimistic, attributed to the mass culture or/and popular culture and also mass media, the power to manipulate (or to guide) the minds and actions of the masses. These theories seems to be largely influenced or inspired by the classical analysis that were formulated by the 19th century Grand theorists observing the growth of urban-industrial (capitalist) society. Indeed, these theoretical sources identify features of societies and their changing patterns that lead one logically to the assumption of broad patterns of media influence. All these approaches of growing societal complexity lay the theoretical foundation for concluding that as mass culture and popular culture develops and they will play a significant role in societal relations. Today, we would acknowledge that the technological characteristics of a mass medium may be one of many factors that

should be taken into account. This means that socializing and acculturating influence of the popular culture and mass culture (also the impact of mass media) should not be denied and ignored. These concepts refer to essentialized and homogenized characteristics. No one can deny that there are stereotypes in films, television programmes, novels, love stories, and in other popular cultural products. Mass culture and popular culture concepts can be still retained when they come to tell the hegemonic achievement of an ideology within a specific historical conjuncture. Mass culture and popular culture can only be a concept of a conjunctural mass adhesion to a specific ideology and social practice. As mentioned earlier, popular cultural products play a strategic role in our ways of life and also in social relations. All theoretical approaches about popular culture and mass culture has shown that these cultural forms will also play a significant role in future. Ideological and political content in these cultural products should be tried to be clearly explained and understood in a true sense for understanding and perceiving the actually existing world in a true sense, and change it.

CHAPTER 3

CONCEPTUALIZATIONS OF AHMET OKTAY AND ÜNSAL OSKAY

The objective of this chapter is the presentation of the elements of Oktay's and Oskay's conceptualizations on the popular culture and mass culture. It can be said that their conceptualizations are different from both liberal approaches and orthodox Marxist competitors. Special attention will be paid to their definitions on popular culture and their views on the development of popular culture. The chapter will end by showing basic sources of their critiques on the popular culture.

As a qualified man about literature and art critics, Ahmet Oktay is important with his studies aiming to let us see the problems of popular culture phenomenon in its relations with everyday life. He is also important as a man who worked many years in TRT and written press. Oktay is important for our study because of his efforts to evaluate and examine many subjects from sentimental literature to magazine, from journalism to television, from music to sex through the concept of the popular culture. He is particularly interested in aesthetic and cultural phenomena from 1960s, and he had written extensively in the philosophy of art.

Ünsal Oskay, as a gifted academician on communication, is important with his collections and translations and also, as being a man who firstly worked on

the subject of popular culture within the framework of his own academic studies. It should be noted that there are so much theoretical elements in his studies, but finding empirical studies in Oskay's works is very difficult. He tries to look at the problems not from the context of Turkey, but from a global context, and there are very few evaluations concerning Turkey in his books. His analysis is focused on the tendencies in the most highly developed contemporary societies.

Their studies have been guide for other researchers on the popular culture and mass culture in Turkey. Ü.Oskay's thesis 'Kitle İletişiminin Kültürel İşlevleri' (1982a) is a seminal work for all scholars interested this subject. However, in his famous book, 'Türkiye'de Popüler Kültür' Oktay remarks on the ideological functions of various forms of popular literature. We must clarify their more complete analyzes in aesthetic and cultural phenomenas. The difficulties of such a task are formadible. The antisystematic impulse of Oktay's cultural criticism creates some difficulties. We see much of his work his work about popular culture in fragmentary condition. Most of his books consisted from his collected essays that published in different periodicals. Oktay, in his own words, generally evaluates all problems within the context of literature. This situation makes an assesment of his contribution to popular culture critics especially difficult.

Oskay's criticism is reflected in form's of his criticism. Oskay's essays have a unique texture like Adorno and Benjamin. For that reason, every sentence of Oskay's studies must be mediated through the totality of text. For example, Murat Belge points out the difficulties of understanding Oskay for the average readers. To Kaya

and Alemdar, Ünsal Oskay presents a complex case about popular culture and their views are quite different from other commentators as Eco. (Kaya/Alemdar, 1983:17) If Oskay's style is different from other commentators about popular culture and mass culture, in my opinion, it is a product of his search for the most concrete mode of expression possible.

3.1. POPULAR CULTURE, MASS CULTURE AND ITS CONTENT

3.1.1 Ahmet OKTAY

Before introducing to survey Oktay's views about the conceptual framework of popular culture and mass culture, it should be emphasized that, he sees culture as ethics, family relationships, everyday behaviours, in sum, a life style or form of behaviour instead of literature, art and science products or usage of technology. (Oktay,1991a:94) He emphasizes that popular culture, folk culture and high culture should be distincted, should not be equated to other, in first chapter of his book 'Türkiye'de Popüler Kültür', and also in his other books. (Oktay, 1990b: 100) According to him, popular culture stands between high culture which is directed to understanding and explaining the world and folk culture which is directly produced by people depends on their real traditions.

"Popular culture stands between elitist culture (high culture) on the understanding and explaining the world, and the culture produced being loyal the self-custom of the people (Folk). Popular culture ensures reproducing most general habits of living, visually and verbally, It may be emphasized that the most evident characteristic of popular culture is its orientation towards amusement". (Oktay,1987a:21)

"It is especially important to differentiate between popular culture products which is commercialization of culture within the process of urbanization, and folk culture, which is produced by the dominated (subordinate) classes". (Oktay, 1993b: 15)

Oktay emphasizes that popular culture, in the final degree, belongs to the people by arguing that popular culture or mass culture are based on concrete phenomena in everyday life of people. As popular culture has existed in everyday life of people, it has obtained various elements from folk culture. The most evident characteristic of popular culture is its orientation towards amusement. (Oktay,1987b: 24/40 ; 1995: 179)

Oktay argues that in Turkey some Marxist originated writers still use bilateral schematic concepts like bourgeoisie culture/proletarian culture or progressive culture/regressive culture and they see these concepts as sufficient for understanding the capitalist formation, and they denied popular and mass culture phenomena. They see such approaches are distorted concepts. He disagrees with these comments. He insists on the necessity to accept the existence of these phenomena and conceptual aspects of these phenomena. For Oktay, the content of popular culture and mass culture should be understood for best understanding of the structure of contemporary capitalist societies. He claims that these commentators deny the function of mass communication over our form of consciousness. Such a tendency may create serious political and ideological problems. Because, the most latent, but, the most effective

forms of political propaganda are produced by these means. Stereotypes which confirm the dominant consensus are being spreaded by these means. (Oktay, 1990b: 99, 1987b: 45) He says:

"Most Marxian writers in Turkey still use outdated categories such as bourgeoisie culture/proleterian culture or progressive culture/ regressive culture. They think that class character of society is enough for the explanation of all social relations, and they reject anything like popular culture and mass culture. As a result of such an outlook, they consider that the studies on popular culture are distorted concepts from the point of discourse of class struggles. They are not aware of the need for an autonomous study of mass media".(Oktay, 1993b:30)

" The concept of mass could not be ruled out by arguing the concept of class. Mass is a concept that covers various classes and it does not have a meaning as definite as that of class. However, just like the concept of people, the concept of mass also covers largely the working classes".(Oktay,1993b:38)

As can be seen easily, Oktay points out social significance of the popular culture and mass culture phenomena for understanding today's modern societies. Now, we can turn our attention to his definitions about popular culture, mass culture and folk culture.

" Popular culture is the culture of everyday life. In its restricted meaning, the popular culture includes amusement as an input for reproduction of everyday labor. In its broader meaning it provides the preconditions for the reproduction of a certain way of life." (1)

" Folk Culture is a type of culture that is developed itself by the people whose live in the margins of the society against hegemonic culture. Their demands have been living in this type of culture. Folkloric materials reflect an oppositionary content. (2)

" Mass culture is a type of culture has been emerged with industrialization and the development of mass communication means. It degenerates and vulgarizes both folk and popular culture for integrating to amusement industry. Culture of amusement, culture of leisure and amusement. Absorption of leisure time. Spreading of consumer ideology by absorption of leisure time. Thus, people continue to work in their houses not only at work-places. However, all periods of people transform into the continuation of the process of labour". (3)

' Mass culture is produced for aiming to perform the creation of illusion of identification between the dominant and dominated, rich and poor, free and non-free, unhappy man and the reality that created his unhappiness. One is a customer of mass culture when there is a tendency to escape the true face of the reality which creates pain to us'. (4)

He argues that this type of culture is produced in accordance with the consumption standards of masses. He shares Oskay's thesis about mass culture: Mass culture, contrary to the popular culture, is produced with the function of creating illusion over the masses. According to Oktay, today, elements of both popular culture and folk culture are integrated to amusement industry by mass culture. He also points out that many products accepted today as folk culture have popular characteristics. For Oktay, folk culture can no more be produced systematically because of the urbanization. Today's popular culture is a culture that is assimilated by the means of mass communication. In his 'Toplumsal Değişme ve Basın' (Oktay; 1987a), he defines popular culture as follows:

" a culture produced and distributed by the means of mass communication: radio, television and written press". (P.21)

But, it should be pointed out that Oktay revized his definition of popular culture in his 'Türkiye'de Popüler Kültür'. It seems that Oktay equates mass culture with amusement industry and mass communication. In many parts of his book 'Medya ve Hedonizm' (1994), he uses mass culture as changible with amusement industry. In some of his writings, Oktay also emphasizes the strict connection between popular culture and urban life and urbanization phenomenon. In addition to all these explanations, he also argues that popular culture is a phenomenon that can be seen both in capitalist and socialist countries. He claims that popular culture is an important problem for socialist countries like capitalist ones and keeps its significance for socialist societies. He says,

" Even though we find the mass and popular culture concepts as inadequate, this conception ensures understanding some cultural formations both in socialist and also in capitalist countries and this kind of culture is produced and became widespread everywhere". (Oktay, 1987b: 45)

It seems that he equates mass communication and mass culture by emphasizing that the democratic elements in popular culture are being gradually assimilated by mass culture and are integrated to amusement industry. In his studies, mass culture phenomenon is evaluated as a type of culture that is produced by the means of mass media. He argues that popular culture and mass culture can not be equated, but they gradually joined to each other. In other words, today mass culture tries to absorb popular culture, and succeed it in a great extent. (Oktay, 1987b:39, 1982:27, 1990b:99) He says:

" It would be a mistake to equate these three distinct culture.(popular, folk and mass). However, one should know that the mass culture is increasingly dominates the other two. Because the popular culture has a (flexible) structure that is suitable for being absorbed by mass culture. Because popular culture connected with everyday life, just like mass culture. (Oktay, 1993b: 17)

We may argue that, for Oktay, popular culture is an urban oriented culture. It is the culture of larger urban masses. It stands between high culture and folk culture. Majority of these people live in the margins of big cities. Likewise, mass culture is evaluated as the culture of leisure time that is produced by means of mass communication and amusement industry by him. But, Oktay does not clarify the difference between mass culture and popular culture. It may be argued that, for Oktay, popular culture is also a mediocre culture. Elements of both high culture and folk culture can be found in it. Thus, popular culture carries oppositionary potentialities in spite of its integration with mass culture in today's societies. As stated above, mass culture is evaluated as a type of culture that is produced by means of mass communication and amusement industry for the aim of creating manipulation over masses

Finally, Oktay argues that popular culture could not be absorbed by dominant ideology totally and carries a potential that can reflect an oppositionary content. He shares the opinion that mass culture has been produced for the function of the legitimization and reproduction of the hold system. Oktay evaluates popular culture as a culture of conflict contrary to mass culture. There are always some elements of popular culture outside the social control that opposes hegemonic forces.

3.1.2 Ünsal OSKAY

Before introducing to survey Oskay's views about the conceptual framework of popular culture and mass culture, it should be noted that, Oskay, like Oktay, evaluates the culture as a life style or form of behaviour. For Oskay, culture is not an abstract phenomena. Culture is a field that brings together very different fields like means and materials of social life, beliefs and value systems. Therefore, cultural identity is not only determined by formal education. It is determined through a life style. (Oskay, 1992: 7-14)

We can say that Oskay does not make a clear definition about popular culture and mass culture. Oskay gives more detailed information about the social atmosphere and historical and theoretical background of the popular culture and mass culture, but, he does not prefer to define these concepts. He insists on the difficulties of defining popular culture. He mentions many definitions which have been used by different approaches, and he claims that most of these definitions are acceptable to some degree. Finally, He advises us to think more carefully about these cultural subjects instead of expecting easy made solutions. He does not have a clear definition about popular culture. But, in my opinion, he gives more detailed information to his readers for creating their own definitions in their minds.

He describes the concept of 'popular' as everything that is in a conformity with the pleasures and tastes of the people, and preferred by majority of the people. For Oskay, everyday life is a field where basic values of the society are being shared,

learned and legitimized by the people from different social categories. (5) Popular culture is the widespread culture of the society. It is a present culture of larger masses, and this culture does not have any class-base. According to Oskay, popular culture may be defined as a culture of larger populations in present day. This type of culture is the culture of the people who complain from order, and culture of hopeless people who are not as hopeless as to lose their hope from it totally. It can be said that Oskay describes popular culture as the culture of half-resentful and half-compliant masses of today. (Oskay,1982a:51 and 185)

For Oskay, the most significant characteristic of the popular culture is the existence of both elements of hegemonic ideology and emancipation expectations of humanity together in it. Popular culture does not have any tradition and continuity according to him. Unstable and contradictory elements are dominant in it. (6) Keeping in mind Oskay's description of popular as 'everything that it is preferred by people' and everyday life as 'a field where basic values of society are being shared by the people from different social categories', we can say that, he evaluates popular culture as a syntesian culture that it is preferred by people and related to the field of everyday life. The field of popular culture is the field of everyday life, of course.

However, he defines folk culture as the culture of material and moral life in rural areas. He argues that changes which occurred since 19th century destroyed the field of the folk culture. With 19th century, there was a transition to a new cultural structure instead of the elite culture/folk culture duality. The existence of the folk

culture depends on the direct participation of people to social and cultural life. For him, folk culture is no longer alive because the spontaneity of folk ended.

In this sense, following Oskay's way of writing, it is possible to say, to Oskay, popular culture is a culture of cities or/and culture of middle and lower classes of the cities. It has gained new aspects with transition to industrialization. While popular culture was a field between folk culture and elite culture in the past, today it is a culture standing against elite culture in an industrialized and urbanized world which folk life style is not remained. Today's popular culture has been forming under the influence of 'consciousness industry', and it is different from popular culture of the period before 19th century. The field of popular culture is a world of fantasy that has been formed according to the needs of the new age. Everyday cultural activity of the people of modern societies has been limited by the consumption of popular cultural products. He emphasizes that consciousness industry does not merely determine it, but it has an important role. The role of consciousness industry on the formation of the present popular culture should not be denied. Oskay does not equate popular culture and mass culture by emphasizing that popular culture should not be totally transformed to mass culture, but, he does not clarify, like Oktay, the differences between popular culture and mass culture in his studies. He declares that popular culture has elements which belongs to the people and he also emphasizes that mass culture is a culture which has been produced for the function of creating illusion. The difference between popular culture and mass culture can only be found within his arguments about the origins and the role of popular culture and mass culture.

3.1.3 REVIEW

It seems that there is a full consensus between the conceptualizations of Oktay and Oskay on the popular culture and mass culture.

1. Both of them evaluate culture as values and habits related to everyday life activities.

2. Both of them defend that it is necessary to clarify distinctions between popular/folk and high culture. These type of cultures should not be equated according to them.

3. They do not equate popular culture and mass culture. But, they can not clarify main differences between these two types of culture. They reject equation of popular culture and mass culture with the democracy like some contemporary liberal authors. According to Oktay and Oskay, popular culture and mass culture are not democratic as supposed.

4. They implicitly assert the significant role of urbanization and industrialization in the context of today's popular culture. Urbanization, industrialization, democratization of towns, democratization of consumption and culture and development of mass communication means are evaluated as the material base of the popular culture by Oktay and Oskay.

5. Popular culture is evaluated as an expression of our actual way of life, includes both elements belongs to the people and hegemonic ideology by Oktay and Oskay. Finally, popular culture is made by subordinated people and/or in a strict conformity with their actual values and habits. But, this type of culture is overdetermined by mass media or tried to be absorbed by mass culture in today's world. Following Oktay and Oskay, basic characteristics of present popular culture can be summarized as follows:

Its field : Everyday life

Social atmosphere : Cities (Margins of cities)

Producer : Mass Communication Means

Manipulator : Amusement and Consciouness Industries

Controller : Dominant stratas

Basic factors in its development: Industrialization and urbanization (Rapid population growth in cities)

Popular culture refers widespread tendencies of the people. But, its meaning in social researches is also different. It refers to cultural phenomena which existed throughout history, spreaded and actualized. As Kaya and Alemdar point out in 'Mitostan Gerçeğe' popular culture is a mediocre culture that stands between high and folk culture. (7) However, mass culture is a type of culture which developed with industrialization and strictly connected with the materialization of products and the development of mass communication means. Some approaches equate popular culture and mass culture, and they do not see any difference between these type of cultures. But we share the ideas of Oktay and Oskay, that it is saying these two types of culture

can not be equated. But, in present day popular culture and mass culture phenomena are highly confused under the impact of the mass media, or in other words, under the influence of the 'culture industry'. The concept of mass culture should not be evaluated apart from mass society and the development of mass communication means. It is inherent to mass society. Cultural and artificial products are transformed into productions of amusement industry for consumption of the larger masses in such an industrialized world.

Otherwise, historically, popularity phenomena is synonymous with urbanization phenomena. In this sense, it seems that the evolution of the concept of the popular culture is directly related with the development of the cities. In all periods that cities existed, popular culture has also existed outside of folk culture as a widespread culture. It can be said that popular cultural elements have existed in anywhere that urban proletariat existed and these elements have been seen in some forms of mass production. As Oktay points out, popular culture should be understood as an activity that live in urban fields. Urbanized relationships are determinant in the production of popular culture to a great extent. Popular culture, like mass culture, is an urban product. Popular culture is also the culture of everyday life which includes entertainment, in addition to its recreation of a certain way of life. (Oktay, 1993b: 195-197)

Similarities between popular culture and mass culture can be easily observed in definitions of these concepts. 'Popular culture is the culture of everyday life. It also includes amusement'. 'Mass culture produces cultural and artificial products as commercial commodities, and is formed that as amusement form for the mass consumption'. Popular culture and mass culture are closely related with entertainment and everyday life activities outside the labor. (leisure activities) Fields of popular and mass culture are the same: everyday life. As a result of comparison between the main characteristics of popular culture and mass culture, it can be said that mass culture concept, different from popular culture, exhibits a transformation to industrialized art and amusement forms, dissemination of phenomena that culture produced by the mass and/or for the masses. We can talk about a process of massification and materialization of culture. Mass communication means are determinant in this process . However, popular culture can be described as a popularized culture which can be observed in all production forms that cities were existed. Elements of popular culture, contrary to mass culture, have existed throughout history.

However, the only difference between Oktay and Oskay should be underlined here: According to Oktay, mass culture and popular culture are phenomena that were seen also in real socialist countries. Oskay never mentions it. He prefers to use the term of 'today's industrialized societies" instead of such a distinction. He tends to evaluate the problem of popular culture by its connections with the ideology problem of 'advanced capitalism.'

If a definition will be given by following the definitions and comments of Oktay and Oskay, in my opinion, popular culture can be defined as follows: Popular culture in today's modern life is a mediocre culture that is produced under the control of the consciouness and amusement industry. It is a culture adressing mostly to the middle and lower classes of cities. It is produced according to the level of their conscioness and knowledge. However, it is the cultural activity of their everyday life. It should be stressed that both Oktay and Oskay prefer the concept of popular culture rather than mass culture. Oskay, who sees mass culture as an instrument for creating illusion, and Oktay who follows him, stress also on the progressive potentialities of the popular culture. For Oktay and Oskay, there is always an element of popular culture that lies outside social control, that opposes hegemonic forces. They describe popular culture as a culture of conflict contrary to mass culture. They evaluate mass culture as more deceptive than popular culture.

3.2 HISTORICAL BACKGROUND OF THE POPULAR CULTURE

3.2.1 Ahmet OKTAY

Oktay is particularly interested in the development of popular culture in Turkey rather than searching popular culture's historical origin. He states that, in Tanzimat period and even before it, Karagöz, Meddah, Ortaoyunu, Kanto, etc., were products of popular culture. He also talks about the popular characteristic of village dramas in his 'Medya and Hedonizm'. (p.60) According to him, today's popular

culture is a culture whose origins can be found in ancient times, but has been changed today. Mass communication means have a significant great role in this development. Finally, he distinguishes the origins of popular culture and mass culture. (Oktay, 1987b: 76)

For Oktay, popular culture concept is a new concept. But, popular culture phenomenon can only be understood by learning some popular characteristics of folk culture in very ancient times. He claims that, as mentioned above, origins of popular culture can be found in very ancient times. But, industrialization, technological development and development of means of mass communication has made urban areas and cultural products social and democratic. Mass society phenomena occurred since the end of the 19th century, and a new process has begun with the industry revolution. These developments have provided transition to a new life with democratization of culture and extension of reproduction possibilities of artificial productions. With these developments popular cultural forms have also been changed, and, mass culture has been emerged with the industrialization, and with the development of mass communication means. (Oktay, 1987b:40, 1993b:15)

It can be said that, within the context of origins of popular culture and mass culture, Oktay argues that origins of popular culture can be found through history, but, mass culture phenomenon emerged after the industry revolution, and changes occurred in 19th century in a strict conformity with the development of mass society. As a result of these developments, popular cultural forms have also been changed. There is a new type of popular culture in today's world which is different

from older one. Popular culture can not be equated to mass culture because of its origins and structure, but, popular culture and folk culture have been absorbed by mass culture in present day. These cultural forms, according to him, are highly confused in today's world. Otherwise, dissolution of real socialism and the hegemony of the capitalism in a world scale after the end of the cold-war and bi-polarization period evaluated by him as important factors in the context of present popular culture.

3.2.2 Ünsal OSKAY

In his brilliant essay, 'Popüler Kültürün Toplumsal Ortamı ve İdeolojik İşlevleri Üzerine', (8) Oskay tries to explain historical development of popular culture and its significance of historical context. In his essay, Oskay argues that origins of popular culture can be found in the political worlds of Egypt, Sumeria, Asuria and Rome after the city state period. These countries was in a need to a great labor force for the great public works in big cities, and this need was being provided by the people were coming from rural areas. This labor force was consisted from various sub-culture communities. Dominant class could not establish a full control over these labourers. They had established control over them through a culture spreaded by the contribution of administrators that came from the same origin in order to prevent their threat to the existing order. However, socialization of these masses in the margins of cities had been realized by this way. Local administrators who have adopted the norms and values of dominant culture had a significant role in this socialization process. A new cultural atmosphere had been formed by dominant class for these

workers or these type of sub-cultures in order to perform such a function. Transition of sub-cultures to an organic opposition which could threaten the order and dominant class was prevented by this way. People were prevented from having a rich fantasy world that was necessary for changing social order by creating a suitable cultural atmosphere. (9) (Kaya/Alemdar, 1983: 172-175)

He emphasizes that the older popular culture is a mediocre culture for the masses. Because, they could not be identified with the center, and these type of culture submitted to the new city people who had broken off their own origin, through by administrators that came from the same origin. It was a type of culture that protected the order from being threatened by the masses. As have been seen, the older popular culture was standing between folk culture and dominant culture. Popular culture was the culture of middle and lower classes. They were living in margins of cities. It was a cultural structure produced partly by these people and partly for them. The main aim was reproducing the system or to protect the order from threats of losers in creating such a cultural structure. According to Oskay, this situation had continued also in the middle age. There was also a world of popular culture that lived in the margins of cities in the middle age. He mentions that the older popular culture was transmitted by the wondering traders in the middle age. In his seminal work 'Kitle İletişiminin Kültürel İşlevleri', Oskay repeats his idea that popular culture has existed before the contemporary periods from the point of some basic characteristics of it. (Oskay, 1982a: 173)

He says,

" Of course, popular culture exists today, but, it is also very different from older one".(Kaya/Alemdar: 1983: 173-175)

This type of culture had been replaced by a new type of popular culture in 19th century. Therefore, origins of today's popular culture can be found in industrial societies which appeared as a mass society in 19th century. According to Oskay,

"Popular culture is a culture, from the point of some basic characteristics, which existed in pre-modern times like folk culture and elite culture. But, popular culture acquired most important and new functions and characteristics with 19th century when the mass society becomes a part of social reality. Popular culture lived in Ancient civilizations (Asurian, Greco-Roman, Medieval) before the rise of 'mass culture' or 'industrial society'. (Oskay; 1982a: 172-173)

He points out 19th century as the beginning of the mass communication world.

He implicitly asserts that the origins of the current developments which exist in today's world are closely connected with social and economic changes and developments in the 19th century by emphasizing the changes in our cultural life from the 19th century until today in his all studies. We may argue that Oskay evaluates this process in connection with capitalist development and industrialization.

" 19th century is an historical period witnessing deep transformations compared with earlier ages, this is an age of a rapid change by any standard." (Oskay, 1982a: 7)

He also points out that these developments acquired new aspects with the development of the means of mass communication. He also stresses on the alienation of the individuals from their works with the industrialization process. As a result of all these developments, an industrialized popular culture has come into existence for great masses. For Oskay, in transition to this process modern capitalism has developed while folk life has come to end, and popular culture differentiated from the older one. Application of new techniques to the arts since 19th century brought out radical changes in the field of the popular culture. Less educated and poorer sections of the society became consumer of these popular arts within this process. For example, according to Oskay, novel became the most important medium of the new popular culture especially for the lower sections of middle class. Perception forms of ordinary man are radically changed as a result of developments from 19th century until today. Popular cultural products depend on this differentiated perception form of reality. (Oskay, 1982a: 154-155, 1994: 107-110)

He repeats these ideas also in his 'Çağdaş Fantazy'a' (1988). According to Oskay, today's popular culture has began to be established from the beginning of the 19th century. This period witnessed very rapid developments and changes that can not be compared to the ancient eras even before it. The most clear difference between old society and today's society is that: in the past there was a society, people were kept out of social life and dominant classes seized their products directly. With the

transition to industrial society, cities and cultural life have become democratic. This period was a period of transition from absolute povertization to relative deprivation. Migration to towns had been the material base of popular culture. Consumption had also been made democratic. (10) (Oskay, 1988: 225, 1982a: 93)

" Migration from rural to urban areas in the process of modernization produced a heterogeneous (and a lumpen) population. These now inhabitants of the cities were the force behind the creation of the new popular culture. They were resorting to the popular culture because of their objective situation which produces dispair both for the new and for the old way of life. They were not satisfied with the status quo but have no alternative to offer". (Oskay,1982a:51)

Following Marx's '18th Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte' , Oskay points out Marx's stress on the role of the peasant emigration to the cities in the creation of new popular culture. This situation was the beginning of transition lo a new cultural structure instead of relationships between elit culture and folk culture which had a material base before the 19th century. This process changed the nature of traditional relations between rural folk culture and urban elite culture. The old distinction of high and low culture had been diminished. Now, there is a new cultural structure depends on the relationships between popular culture and elite culture in urban fields instead of traditional cultural structure of the past. And consequently he claims that a heterogonized cultural structure emerged and a hierarhical structure established between different cultural structures as a result of the increase in the distribution of work and specialization after the 19th century. Regressive changes in Enlightenment tradition in 19th century has important consequences in current social developments. Regressive attitude changes of bourgeoisie in thee mid of the 19th century after

establishing its social formation had a great role in this regressive developments. Science and technology also transformed to a science of one class as a result of transformation of bourgeoisie from a progressive class to a conservative or regressive one. Bourgeoisie of the 19th century had been an oppositional culture. But, it deprived its oppositional value, and lost its progressive function. Public or larger masses were desired to be kept out from politics by them. (Oskay, 1982a:175, 1988: 225)

However, transition to mass communication, man who perceives the world through the information submitted by consciousness industry, changed his way of perceiving the world. Especially after 1850s, people have began to be isolated from political life and additionally, their fantasies have been attacked by a new type of popular culture. Especially, with the developments took place after 1870, a period of pseudo-communication began. Dating from 20th century mass communication became dominant, homogenization increased and fantasises of people had been exhausted. Today these fantasies are mostly being formed under the impact of the amusement and consciousness industries. Such an industrialized cultural structure plays an important role in all developments. Finally, Oskay argues that development of popular culture is closely connected with the development of industrial capitalism from 19th century until today. Changes after the 19th century created a very different atmosphere in cultural fields of the modern societies. However, it may be argued that, according to Oskay, social atmosphere of both older and recent popular culture should be examined in the context of the cities. Migration to cities is the material base of its development. (Oskay, 1988: 184/244)

In the line of such an argumentation, basic factors on the development of popular culture in Oskay's thought can be summarized as follows:

- 1) Capitalist Development and Industrialization.
- 2) Democratization of urban life and migration to towns.
- 3) Democratization of Consumption.
- 4) Development of Mass Communication Means.

3.2.3 REVIEW

We may argue that Oskay pays a more detailed attention to the origin and development of popular culture problem, before discussing their views. But, Oktay is particularly interested on the development of popular culture in Turkey. We may also argue that Oskay is not interested on the development of popular culture in Turkey. Oskay's studies seem more explanatory in the context of origin and development of popular culture. Both Oktay and Oskay emphasize that the origin of the development of recent popular culture is in 19th century, and it differs from the older popular culture. Important factors in the development and change in popular culture are the same in their studies. These factors are capitalist development and industrialization, democratization of urban life and migration to towns, democratization of consumption and the development of mass communication means. It should be emphasized that, Oktay never mentions the problems such as transformation of bourgeoisie class from progressive to a regressive one or natural development of science and technology

which Oktay oftenly stress on. It should be claimed that material base of the older and recent popular culture is different. But, elements of popular culture have been existed throughout history. Otherwise, mass culture is inherent to mass society that emerged after the industrial revolution in 19th century.

3.3 BASIC SOURCES OF THEIR CRITIQUE ABOUT POPULAR CULTURE

3.3.1 Ahmet OKTAY

For best understanding his theoretical sources and delienate his position on the critics of popular culture and mass culture, it should be known that, his interest about popular culture and mass culture began with his critiques about Orthodox Marxist approaches in Turkey in the context of his literary and art criticism. Oktay, in his 'Sanat ve Politika' (1992c), defines himself as a Socialist-Marxist in the preface. But, he sharply criticizes Stalinist and Jdanovist art approaches following Nietzsche, Benjamin and Marcuse. He shares the idea of Marcuse that 'Marxism remained its power in 20th century as a more progressive philosophy and Marxism's horizon is not transcended'. But, it should be noted that, Oktay maintained a distance from orthodox Marksist approaches in Turkey in spite of his origin in Turkish Communist Party. Oktay's book 'Toplumcu Gerçekçiliğin Kaynakları' (1986) is a seminal work about the Orthodox Marxist art and culture approaches. He refuses to defend 'Vulgar' Marxism's sociological reductionism, and attacks the promotion of healthy art by advocates of socialist realism. To Oktay,

"The fundamental of socialist realism had been formed under the influence of economic interpretation of Marxism and this economist approach has negative effects on socialist literature". (Oktay, 1986: 112)

Ahmet Oktay sharply criticizes the view of 'vulgar' Marxist approaches to see all culture as a bourgeoisie swindle. For Oktay, all art is not simply ideology and false consciousness. Oktay, in this context, truly freed himself from the Marxist-Leninist strategies. Orthodox Marxist aesthetic criticism, according to him, depends on a clear partisanship and partizan literature ultimately culminated to the steril orthodoxy of socialist realism. For Oktay, socialist realism approach on popular culture and mass culture is defensive under the influence of two camp theory.

His theoretical standpoints can be found in Critical Theory of Frankfurt School and their critique of 'culture industry'. Marcuse's 'Great Refusal' theory which insists on the negative moment and revolutionary potential of art has a significant place in his studies. However, Oktay sharply criticizes post-industrial society theories and technology determinist approaches which insist on the democratic nature of the popular culture. These liberal approaches, according to him Oktay, serve to the ideological dominance of the capitalism in the last instance.

Okday's studies, as stated earlier, include his surveys and observations about Turkey rather than searching general theoretical problems. It should be stressed that, Oktay refers in studies that books translated to Turkish and generally pursuits Oskay's studies in the context of popular culture. But, contrary to Oskay, Oktay is also particularly interested in the problems of real socialism and Marxist aesthetics. In his definitions about popular culture and mass culture, he directly follows Veysel BATMAZ and Ünsal OSKAY. In his explanations about economic developments, he follows Korkut BORATAV's studies. 'Popular Culture in Turkey' which is the more concentrated book of Oktay about popular culture, has more detailed information for his theoretical standpoints about his critique of popular culture. He is inspired from Frankfurt School writers, especially from Marcuse. However, he carefully follows all Turkish writers in the context of the popular culture. He also utilizes studies of some contemporary writers like C. Lasch, E. Laclau, N. Postman, Dallas Smythe and others.

3.3.2 Ünsal OSKAY

Before beginning to survey Ünsal Oskay's theoretical standpoints on popular culture, it should be stressed that, Oskay's sources in his critique on popular culture are very complex. But, Oskay, like Oktay, generally pursuits the theoretical line of the Frankfurt School's Critical Theory, especially studies of Adorno and Benjamin. In order to delineate his position in the critique of popular culture and mass culture, in my opinion, firstly, we should understand Oskay's approach to Marx and Marxism.

According to Oskay, Marx and Engels have a significant place in history of thought with their social theory. He emphasizes the significance of Marx and Engels in the classical political thought for understanding today. In his 'Kitle İletişiminin Kültürel İşlevleri', Oskay claims that the reason of more effective discourse of Melville than Baudelaire and Rousseau is the existence of social theory in Melville's time. This social theory, of course, is Marxist theory. For Oskay, the most prominent philosopher contributing to communication is Marx. Marxism remains its situation that is a more developed theory for understanding basic characteristics of modern societies, and Marxism also remains its situation that is a good starting point for understanding and examining of social communication problems of today. He says,

" Contribution of Marx's explanation that people do not live real events but just images of so-called 'events' (psuedo-events); and replacement of fantasy over reality with imaginations in today's world, still continues its characteristics as a starting point in theoretical analyzes for understanding social communication problems of today'. (Oskay, 1982a: 328)

Oskay, following Sartre and Marcuse, confirms their views about Marxism in a latent form by mentioning their views about Marxism. For him, Marxism is not transcended in our age from the points of its basic arguments. But, Marxism should be taken into consideration with its methodological approach. Philosophical explanations of Marxism need several amendments, but, basic arguments and methodology of Marxism are still valid.

He emphasizes the significance of the studies of Adorno, Horkheimer and Benjamin for understanding today's societies. And then he evaluates Marx's explanations about technology and science in the last chapter of his seminal work. (1982A) According to him, class analyzes are not satisfactory for explaining all problems of today. Therefore, class analyzes should be supported and extended by other contemporary analyzes, for example, studies of Frankfurt School writers, for best understanding of today's problems. A new and rich theoretical approach should emerge instead of economic reductionism of class analyzes. Oskay is also inspired from the studies of some contemporary American political scientists and writers like as C.Wright Mills, Douglass Kellner, Alvin Gouldner, Paul Piccone, Tim Luke, John Fekete, Darko Suvin and others. Spencer C.Benneth's popular iconology studies, Pekka Pektola's communication studies and Paul Huizinga's Play theory and studies of some liberals like as Paul Lazarsfeld, Robert K.Merton, Wilbur Schramm, Ann Douglas and Dallas W.Symthe may be added to above mentioned writers. Veblen's 'The Theory of Leisure Class' is a classic on popular culture for understanding some cultural problems in contemporary societies according to Oskay. For best understanding of Oskay's theoretical standpoints bibliography of his İletişimin ABC'si' (1992) are very explanatory. We can find his evaluations about these books and articles in it. Only 10 Turkish writers and researchers, except his own studies, are mentioned in it. He praises only four of them. These books are KAYA/ALEMDAR's; GÖKTÜRK's; OKTAY's and ÖZKÖK's studies. He argues that Lowenthal's studies concerning popular culture have a great importance for understanding popular culture phenomenon. He accepts Le Bon's book as a classic on mass society. He evaluates H.M. Erzensberger's 'Consciousness Industry' as an optimist approach about the

emancipatory potentialities of mass communication. In addition to that, according to him, R. Williams's studies are very important for understanding of developments in cultural fields of the society related other fields.(11) As can be easily seen, Oskay, as a most gifted academician, is interested in all developments at the field of communication researches. It should be stressed that, he appropriated writers and researchers who opposed to capitalist development process. But, it should be noted here, Gramsci's and Althusser's studies are not mentioned in his studies. But, he often uses some basic conceptualizations of them. He sharply criticizes cultural pluralism approaches, structuralist approaches, Mc Luhan's technological determinism and Daniel Bell's thesis by stressing on the hegemonic forces in modern societies. For best understanding of Oskay's theoretical line the titles of chapters of his 'Kitle İletişiminin Kültürel İşlevleri' should be a good starting point. Finally, we can talk about his affinity to Marxist thought and also, to revisionary movements in Marxist thought in 20th century like Frankfurt School writers. However, we can observe the influence of some radical liberals and modernization theorists on his thought in the context of his communication studies. (i.e.W.Schramm, C.W.Mills and others) But, Oskay, finally, is inspired by Frankfurt School's Critical Theory. Studies of Adorno and Benjamin have a more significant place in his studies. Therefore, according to Murat Belge, Oskay, certainly a most gifted academician, sought to bridge the gap between optimist evaluations of W. Benjamin and pessimist views of T. W.Adorno.(Oskay,1982b: 8)

Finally, Oktay and Oskay are basically inspired from Frankfurt School's Critical Theory's critique of the 'culture industry' or their manipulation theory in the context of criticism of popular culture. Their affinity to revisionary movements in Marxist thought within a radical tradition can easily be observed.



NOTES

- (1) Oktay uses the definition of Batmaz in his book. (See; Oktay, 1993b: 17)
(BATMAZ, Veysel 'Popüler Kültür Üzerine Değişik Kuramsal Yaklaşımlar' İletişim Sayı: 1 AİTİA Yayını)
- (2) TRT 2 Gündemde Sanat Var 01.02.1994 20:30
- (3) TRT 2 Gündemde Sanat Var 01.02.1994 20:30
- (4) He follows the definition of Ünsal Oskay about mass culture. But, in my opinion, it is not a definition of mass culture, but stresses about its function.(see; Oktay, 1993b: 18)
(OSKAY, Ünsal 'Kitle Kültürü Popüler Kültürü Kuşatırken Gösteri P.42)
- (5) See, Preface of 'Günlük Hayatın Eleştirisi'
(Marx, Freud and the Critique of Everyday Life)
BROWN, Bruce, Ayrıntı Yayınları, 1989
Translated by: Yavuz ALOĞAN
- (6) 'Popüler Kültür Açısından İdeoloji Kavramına İlişkin Yeni Yaklaşımlar'
OSKAY, Ünsal, AÜ SBF. Dergisi, 1981 Cilt.35 pp.151

- (7) 'Mitostan Gerçeęe' (From Mythos to Reality)
KAYA, Rařit , ALEMDAR, Korkmaz
in ' Kitle İletişiminde Temel Yaklaşımlar'
KAYA, Rařit, ALEMDAR, Korkmaz (Eds)
Savaş Yayınları, Ankara, 1983, pp.1-19
- (8) 'Popüler Kùltürün Toplumsal Ortamı ve İdeolojik İşlevleri Üzerine'
(On the Social Atmosphere and Ideological Functions of the Popular
Culture)
OSKAY, Ünsal
in 'Kitle İletişiminde Temel Yaklaşımlar'
KAYA, Rařit, ALEMDAR, Korkmaz (Eds)
Savaş Yayınları, Ankara, 1983, pp.163-201
- (9) Oskay argues that intellectual efforts which could have a more
potential to threaten the order, was employed directly in the centers of
cities by various ways. For example; Enderun in Ottoman State or
Mandarins in China.

(10) Oskay argues that democraticization of the consumption and culture leads to manipulation as it was made without an economical, cultural and political democratization.

(11) For more detailed information, please see,

İletişimin ABC'si' (1992: ABC of Communication)

OSKAY, Ünsal pp. 115-135



CHAPTER 4

POLITICAL ROLE OF THE POPULAR CULTURE

Before surveying Oktay's and Oskay's views about the sociopolitical role of the popular culture and mass culture, it is necessary to say that, we will not deal with such a discussion which includes methods, ways and strategies used by popular culture and mass culture for performing their functions or playing their roles in the society. It would be interesting to investigate how these cultural products perform their functions in the society. But, this is the out of the scope of this study. Oktay's and Oskay's studies have more detailed analysis on these subjects. More detailed information can be found in their articles and books. Oktay's 'Türkiye'de Popüler Kültür' has a more detailed analysis on the role of the popular literature and popular press, and their ways of performing social and political functions. We can find more detailed explanations on the role of the cinema in Oskay's 'Çağdaş Fantazya', and we can find how music performs its sociopolitical role in his 'Müzik ve Yabancılaşma'. We will try to explore only the political role of the popular culture, and political outcomes which are to serve by popular culture rather than interesting with the methods, ways and strategies of these cultural forms in modern societies.

As stated earlier, both of them are in a consensus about the social significance of popular culture and mass culture in present societies. They believe that popular culture and mass culture have important functions and roles in today's world, and will play a significant role in societal relations in future. The sociopolitical role of the popular culture and mass culture should be taken into consideration for understanding and changing our social life. But, it must be noted that both Oktay and Oskay refuse all powerfull media approaches. However, it should be remembered that, popular culture and mass culture concepts are not equated by them, but, both they do not clarify basic differences between these two types of culture. As was mentioned before, the term of mass culture usually described as 'consciousness industry', 'amusement industry' or a type of culture which is directly produced by the means of mass communication. As discussed in chapter 3, both Oktay and Oskay point out, popular culture have been absorbed by mass culture and integrated to amusement industry in today's societies. Both they evaluate mass culture more deceptive than popular culture. Now, we can turn our attention to the criticisms of Oktay and Oskay, and see how they criticize the sociopolitical role of popular culture which is absorbed by mass culture and integrated to amusement industry in today's world.

4.1 Ahmet OKTAY

Oktay, in his 'Türkiye'de Popüler Kültür', devotes his time to searching development of popular culture in Turkey. He tries to remark ideological functions of the various forms of popular literature and popular press in his book. In evaluating the sociopolitical role of the popular culture from a social perspective, Ahmet Oktay uses

a Marxist conceptual framework: Leisure time- free time dichotomy. For Oktay, popular culture and mass culture makes leisure time as the continuation of labor, spreads consumption ideology, and in Stanley Aronowitz's words 'colonizes leisure time'. Leisure can not be accepted as free time because of the manipulation over it. He follows Marx's term of 'free time' in this context. For Oktay, leisure time is unfree because it is administrated by business and politics in today's societies. He says,

"Marx implies on the context of artificial production in a free time (not leisure time; Because leisure time is a time out of the work which can be manipulated by hegemonic classes) (1992c: 15)

"I do not understand leisure as a time which exploited and subordinated man may develop their abilities. Because they are conditioned to the logic and ethics of existed relationships and work. Thus, it is exploited by hegemonic classes. Therefore, man can develop its capability under the free time. Of course, free time is a time peculiar to a social establishment to be changed existing conditions, and all alienation/reification forms can be transcended". (1992a: 178 Note:2)

"Leisure time is perceived as the time spending for amusement. I expressed in my writings as a free time question. Actually, the (our) leisure is the continuation of work time in existing system. TV films constantly treats the principles of the logic and ethics of the work around the concept of success. Therefore, leisure becomes a time of work. Unfortunately, there is not any possibility to use free time under the conditions of today. We can only use and live free time when the formation of society is totally free". (1991b: 129)

For Oktay, leisure have an ideological and political nature. It has been integrated to amusement industry within a form that it can not create possibilities for

criticizing the rationale of the work. (1) To Oktay, popular cultural products create difficulties to understand real causes of social contradictions. These products mask the strong connection between the leisure time and the logic of the work. (Oktay, 1993b: 247-248) In this sense, popular cultural products's point of view is the point of view of the hegemonic class. Problems are presented as easily solvable problems within the system itself by improving human relationships by these cultural forms. Leisure time is not transformed to a free time because of the mistification of work ethic and the logic of the work. Today, popular cultural products are totally transformed to entertainment as an input of everyday production. System have been processing as exploitation of leisure time. Cultural consciousness of labourers have been turning to a cultural poverty as a result of the gap that is created between art/culture and masses. Therefore, labour masses are believed to 'happiness can not be maintained by money', 'science is not sufficient to explain world' or 'the world can not be changed'. (Oktay, 1982: 41, 1981: 53) According to Oktay,

" Propoganda has already got out from being only a term belonging to the political level. Propoganda is valid in everywhere from fashion industry to literature, now. Novels effect as political writings. It can manipulate people's ideological choices. Series are not only help to spent a pleasent time, but, also invite them to adopt definite conventional opininon and principles. Like 'The bad is not the system, but uncapable managers', 'You will gain if you work', 'Love is more significant than everything'. Advertisement films do not only provide the adaptation of some certain products, of course. Main function of advertisement is realized by reproduction of basic rationality of the system which are consumption, competition and individualism. In short, propoganda is in everywhere, now". (Oktay, 1987a: 115)

Ideological manipulation of hegemonic classes is realized on fields that subordinated classes and masses do not have a special attention on these fields which accepted neutral areas of life like as entertainment, cultural production, tourism, sports, etc. These fields are invaded by popular cultural products and mass communication means. This is the colonization of leisure time. Irrational phenomenas are perceived as rational ones by the influence of routine of the everyday life. He argues that popular cultural products serve consensus around the continuation and reproduction of the system. (Oktay; 1995:177)

"Popular culture aims to legitimization of people's everyday life. Moreover, the rationalization of this life, and also integration of individuals around a common sense... Shortly, popular culture produces ideology in negative meaning in every field of life and places this ideological content to the sub-consciousness of the masses. (Oktay; 1987a:23)

Oktay argues that popular culture destroy critical point of view or critical consciousness, and leads to lost of memory in addition to the function of extending the logic of work and system to all fields of life. But, popular culture needs a suitable atmosphere in social formation. He stresses on the integrative, pressive, alienative, shortly, dominated impacts of popular cultural products. He argues that system is directly marketed by these cultural products and this situation creates handicaps for emancipation. For Oktay, popular culture has an illusionary/deceptive character. This type of culture has been producing in the context of the hegemonic culture. It creates handicaps for clash of social contradictions, and damages oppositionary and protest elements in society by presenting an affirmative form. Popular culture reproduces

artificial happiness for escaping from negative aspects of reality. Following his arguments, it is possible to say that popular culture has an 'affirmative culture' character and serves to mask clash of social conflicts and contradictions, and also oppositionary contents. But, popular culture, according to him, does not express merely false consciousness. There are some oppositionary elements against hegemonic culture in some of the popular cultural products from Beatles to Genesis, from David Bowie to Elton John. But, according to Oktay, these oppositionary potentialities have been absorbed by mass culture. Oppositionary discourse which existed in popular cultural products have been integrated to rationale of the system. Utopian dimension broken by them, and permanent liberation hopes are domesticated. 'Labour classes and other lower sections of the society are tried to be integrated with the system through the myth of consensus' by illusionary/deceptive discourse of the popular cultural products. Popular cultural products may have emancipatory potentialities. But, he insists on the 'popular reception' of these cultural products. (Oktay, 1995: 39, 1992b: 57, 1993b:13/21, 1991a: 140)

"Sub-cultural products's oppositionary character against the existing order becoming uneffected by transforming into popular culture by the pressure of media's in a short time". (1991b: 164)

"Opposition is deducted to a commercial problem, not political. Some daily things are also necessary for sale. Like opposition to war, social and natural crusion, etc. Thus, popular culture destroys (real) criticism and spontenaity". (1987b: 23)

As can be easily seen, Oktay frequently emphasizes popular culture's role on the reproduction of the system as an affirmative form of culture. We may argue that, he perceives popular culture as a legitimization mechanism.

However, according to Oktay,

"Finally, it is possible to say, mass communication tools propogandize dominant points of wiew, ethics and economical system. Because these means are dependent to grand capital or governments. It should be emphasized that a suitable atmosphere should have in cultural, traditional and intellectual fields of social formation in order to realize such a function by mass communication tools. Only by this way mass culture may carries its oppressive and integrative function %100 percent. Because there always some elements which have oppositionary character which can not be totally destroyable by political powers of society. These elements continue to live in folkloric heritage in one hand, and in the popular cultural productions under the integrated or harmonized appearance on the other. These oppositionary elements can gain a transformative function in a suitable atmosphere and they can play democraticised/emancipatory role".

(1987a: 117, Oktay, 1993b:32) (2)

As already mentioned above, popular culture's images can perform transformative functions in a suitable social atmosphere. But, according to him, the hypothesis of that these oppositionary images can perform a transformative function in society, is only a potentiality in existing conjuncture. Popular culture serves to spreading of hegemonic ideology in the last instance. (Oktay,1993b:23) The function of popular literature, for him, is affirming the common values and value judgements. Such trends prevent the masses from to have a critical outlook about social realities. Oktay also argues that magazins lead to to atrophy of class consciouness by the visualization of the culture.

According to him,

"Magazines, sentimental books and detective novels, all these products bear the viewpoint of dominant class. They point out some problems, but search a solution within the system. In other words, these products usually use stereotypes and force the reader to approach the reality... These kinds of commercial products realize a dual function in the last instance. First an idea is brought on the insufficiency of the science, the impossibility of social development is emphasized after then. Therefore, it may be said that dependency of man to the supernatural alterations weakens the hopes of emancipation. The negative character of utopia which is concentrated in novels and films is clear. The criticisms remain restricted in individual interest. Thus, the individual who is administrated and dominated administrated in his everyday life is met the fictional motives to his subconsciousness... Individuals believe that they can not effect the events, get used to satisfy momentary reliefs and can not achieved its criticisms direct towards social formation. Presentation of this ideological conditioning within most of violence and sexuality elements is prevented to understand these". (Okday, 1987b: 11-14)

According to Okday, it is hard to claim affinity of popular culture to popular democratic elements in the context of Turkey. He stresses on the dominancy of the affirmative elements in popular cultural products in dependency policy of the hegemonic class, and he also emphasizes that popular culture is a force-field between different political views by stressing on its flexibility because of its formation in the context of the hegemonic relations. Finally he repeats Okday's negative judgement: 'Popular cultural products create a refined illusion'. Okday repeats words of Okday as an agreeable judgement about the social role of the popular culture:

"Popular culture creates difficulties to way of thinking a vision of other society that can be realized instead of existing life, it lightens these hurts, and also lightens the pains and shames based on acceptance existing reality".
(Okday, 1993b:27, Kaya/Alemdar, 1983:190)

Before discussing Oktay's views on the political role of the mass culture, we should remember, Oktay uses mass culture and popular culture concepts interchangeably in most of his writings. But, he tries to distinct these two types of culture in his latest studies. He argues that,

"Popular culture bears to inspirit of dominated sections of society even when it is most amenable to the manipulation of dominant ideology whereas the mass culture creates an illusion of identification". (Oktay, 1993b: 18-19)

It should also be pointed out, Oktay uses mass culture concept equal to amusement industry and means of the mass communication tools in most of his writings. According to Oktay, mass culture tries to absorb elements of the folk culture and popular culture which can be transformed to the political language and succeeds it in a great extent.

"The problem of mass culture and mass communication means are basically political problems. Because mass culture tries to reinforce political/cultural discourse of the power, and tries to produce the voluntarily consent of poorer classes and sects through appropriation of this discourse. In the final analysis, mass culture and mass communication means perform an ideological function. Mass culture directly aims to reinforce the discourse of the political power and aims to make masses as supporter or collaberator of hegemonic class by producing the voluntarily consent of the subordinated classes or masses. Mass culture performs an ideological function within this context in the last instance.(1995:169)

Okday declares that, he has not optimist views about the democratic nature of the mass culture. (1995: 172) As stated above, he stresses on the negative functions of the mass communication means by arguing that these means 'colonize our leisure time'. Sometimes, democratic and emancipatory content can be presented by the mass media. But, this is an illusionary situation. Because, for him, messages of these products are distorted by manipulation of the transmission of knowledge. (3) (Okday, 1993b:23)

Okday, in his 'Türkiye'de Popüler Kültür', shares Oskay's ideas about the transformation of our dreams and fantasies to an anti-cognitive and mythic perception by entering of our dreams under the control of information and consciousness institutions of mass society. For him, such a situation leads to closing in ethics of existing society. He argues that,

"In cinema, magazines and cultural products of television, there is a strong anti-cognitive element which may be called as 'mythic perception'. This element goes back the beginning of the industrialization and urbanization in Europe". (Okday, 1993b; 40)

Instead of his negative judgements on the political role of the mass culture, he also mentions progressive potentialities of mass culture as progressive aspects of consumer culture. He claims that mass communication means may create an extension in individual's horizon, and lead to increase the demands to an improved life.

"The positive aspect of consumerism is weakening traditional attitudes and creating demands for a better or improved life. One may expect that the labour class will evolve from being customer of material products to a customer of cultural products as well". (Oktay, 1993b: 22)

Democratization and massification of culture have also progressive aspects. But, today, mass communication make propaganda of dominant ethic, dominant economic system and hegemonic point of view instead of its progressive content and potential according to Oktay. (4)

As can be easily seen, Oktay implicitly asserts the dominancy of negative content in popular culture and mass culture in present societies. He disagrees with optimistic evaluations on the political role of popular culture and mass culture. He believes that pessimistic evaluations of theorists like Marcuse, Adorno and others are seemed to remain its power contrary to optimistic futurologists like A. Toffler. He argues that neo-liberals or/and neo-conservatists give basic importance to free market system, absolutely refuse equality principle and regulator function of the state, or in other words, they refuse the social state approach. They regard democracy and freedom as an automatic outcome of economic freedom. These approaches claim that popular culture has a potential power for a higher level of consciousness and resistance. For Oktay, liberal theorists perceive this problem only at the cultural level and they deny economic aspects of this problem. (Oktay, 1995: 58/94/159/182)

"Some thinkers and writers talk about democratic nature of mass culture against Marcuse, Adorno. They believe to the capitalistic development and progress mythes. They claim that some concepts like national income, social justice are outdated. They share the discourse of optimist futurologs and post-industrial theorists, and talks about the end of ideology, even end of history". (Oktay, 1995: 22)

"Existing futurology is the cultural mechanism of appropriating the rationalization of the present, and the system to the masses". (Oktay, 1995: 146)

Oktay emphasizes the control over the production and distribution of ideas in the hands of the capitalist owners of production in Marxian terms. He stresses on the inequal and non-democratic distribution of knowledge in most of his writings. This situation creates cultural inequalities in society in addition to economic ones, and there is a close relationship between the knowledge and emancipation according to Oktay. But, today there is an important distance between the elite and other groups in cultural field like other fields.

Finally, both popular cultural products and mass culture serve to create an integration around a common sense according to Oktay. These products provides a social consensus with hegemonic ideology, and lead to political conformism. He calls these cultural products as 'cultural narcotics'. (Oktay, 1992a:156) Following his essays, we should underline the sociopolitical role of the popular culture as follows:

1) To prevent clash of class antagonisms in a pure sense by masking realities and creating illusions. To provide perception of class antagonisms as temporary crisis, or prevent the perception of social status changes as a political problem. Moreover, social conflicts tend to be presented as relatively complex and particularly intense. For preventing masses from coming to understand their own best interests. Members of the proletariat are alienated from themselves, everything becomes an alienated activity for the worker. In this sense, popular cultural products play a strategic role to integrate alienated individuals, sub-cultures and communities around the stereotypes of the hegemonic ideology and the actually existing system by pseudo-identities and pseudo-status of popular icons, relatively democratic ways, or recognition of familiar.

2) Destroying oppositionary discourse and leading to loss of class and solidarity feelings among workers. Leading to support system parties as a result of upward social mobility desires. To lead strengthening of individualism or rising of individualistic and narcissistic trends in the society. According to Oktay, feelings of solidarity, help to another and sacrificing have been weakening. There is a mechanical solidarity in society instead of organical one that is necessary for an emancipatory social change. In this sense, mass cultural products support competitive instincts and profit maximization desires.

"The negative effect of consumption is that the individual lose their sense of belonging to a class when they start to pass private property. Labour Aristocracy, which has been discussed so extensively for the West, is a serious problem in Turkey, also. Consumption and mass culture support and strengthen the feelings of upward mobility in their process and weakens solidarity in the ranks of labour class". (Oktay; 1993b: 22-23)

3) To provide strengthening of the dark fantasies for escaping the negative sides of the real life. (heroizm, violence, individual rebellion, etc.) To exhibit the invalidity of enlightened knowledges as a result of the manipulation of transmission of knowledge. Destroying the sensitization function of the culture. For example, destroying the sensibility against violence as a result of presentation form of it. To provide desensitization by destroying the sensitization function of the culture prevents to maintain a real political consciousness. In this sense, popular culture leads to cultural poverty and political atrophy. He argues that,

"As middle class, labour class also tends to the productions, generally, ratified become opponent joint emotions and opinions. Cultural productions which show the difficulties and negative sides of the real life for to bring a critical outlook about the real life can not reach to the larger masses because of the same reason. The masses resist on ignoring the reality. It can be said that, masses generally prefers to make fun with dreams instead of fantasies that implies happy future, proposing social struggle and critics. Of course, it is more difficult to resist against difficulties of the conditions which they are in, and to understand the real causes of the events than the consolation with dreams of wealth. The acquisition of a real consciousness about reality can only possible by understanding of the real truth of images which are submitted by cultural means. This is not a question which can be solved from today to tomorrow as it is supposed. Because labour class and also great majority of population is enslaved by communication means".
(1987b: 148-151)

4) To provide approval of reality as a result of the mistification of actual and real life, and to create difficulties for acquiring historical consciouness to masses which is necessary for transforming society. Lost of memory, lost of historical consciousness lead as W.Benjamin and K.Marx stressed on. In this sense, popular cultural products lead

to social amnesia as a result of mistifying momentary and actual events. (Oktaý, 1992b:10)

5) To manipulate individuals for expecting healings from super-natural ways and methods or from a messianistic time by affirming heroizm and individual rebellion. To provide pacified existence of the masses, and to destroy emancipation expectations of the masses by presenting the irrational, mythic, and anti-cognitive approaches. Oktaý is interested on the spreading of the anti-cognitive and mythic perceptions (shortly irrational perceptions) by popular cultural products following Oskay's explanations about popular iconology.

6) To prevent direction of oppositionary critics to the totality of the system by presenting momentary reliefs. To ensure habits be satisfied with momentary reliefs by the way of craeating happiness images, systemic desires and expectations. Reduction of opposition from political level to a commercial level by illustrating politics as a professional work. Preventing masses from subject of politics. Reduce the opposition to the discussion and promotion of alternative policies within the status quo by absorbing all oppositionary elements or distorting and visualizing them. To prevent development of the level of political consciousness of the masses, and neutralizing their political effectiveness. Popular culture precludes the emergence of an effective opposition as a whole.

In this sense, popular culture leads to cultural and political conformism. Cultural conformism leads to provide a little basis for a critical appraisal of the society, and popular cultural products, indirectly but effectively restrain the advance of a genuinely critical outlook that is necessary for transforming real society. Popular cultural products serve to relay and reinforce dominant definitions of the situations, and to exclude alternatives. Political effectiveness of oppositionary groups is tried to be neutralized by these cultural regulations.

7) To prevent transformation of leisure time to a free time by manipulating leisure. Popular cultural products invades our leisure time. Therefore, hegemonic ethics, hegemonic ideology and systemic approaches invades our sub-consciouness in every field of life by promoting of the work ethics, family, increase of production, etc. Popular culture and mass culture serve to the aim of absorbing and colonization of leisure time of masses. Therefore, our everyday life is mistified by popular cultural products. Capitalist values and norms are tried to be legitimized in our everyday life activities.

Finally, according to Oktay, popular culture lead to evasion from real life, and provides the conditions of escape from ourselves. It provides escapism from our bad conditions. There is a dominant reformist and conformist discourse in popular stories, films, serials, etc. These cultural products serve to the aim of integration of proletariat with the system. Oktay also mentions the progressive potentialities of the popular culture. He claims that consumption demands can create a desire for a more

better life, and masses can be tended to moral and aesthetic values as a result of their increasing demands. He claims that culture which is spreaded by means of mass communication leads to extension in the horizons of the individuals. This approach may be accepted as the more optimist tendency of him. But, he mentions the negative effects of the consumption over class consciouness and solidarity feelings. He argues that knowledge which is submitted by these means is manipulative in the last instance.

For Oktay, popular music, popular sports, fashion, tourism and other popular cultural elements express the ideology of today in a great extent. He also dislikes ascetism. As can be easily seen, Oktay insists on the negative ideological content in popular culture and mass culture. But, according to him, mass communication means do not have only sleeping effects over masses. His views on the progressive potentialities of the popular culture and mass culture can be summarized as follows:

- 1) To provide transcending of the ascetist ideology that reflects a conservatist content, and rising the level of expectations of masses for a better life as a result of the democratization of consumption and diversification of the consumption patterns.

- 2) To provide extension of cultural horizon of masses as a result of cultural democratization.

Oktay implicitly remarks on the progressive content of democratization in these fields. For Oktay, the greater availability of cultural products like books, television, radio and periodicals spread culture to the great number of individuals.

But, progressive potential of consumption and cultural democratization is critical because of the manipulation of needs. He keeps a critical distance to optimistic evaluations on the progressive potentialities and the democratic nature of the popular culture.

Oktay evaluates popular culture phenomenon in the context of alienation and hegemonic ideology in the last instance. His views based on the 'free time' opinion of Karl Marx and Manipulation theory of Frankfurt School writers. He also uses some contemporary analyses. Oktay argues that existence of the relative welfare, relatively democratic atmosphere and efficiency of economic system are the real causes of effectiveness of these refined methods. Popular culture and mass culture serve to the aim of rationalization of power and manipulation of oppositionary thought in the last instance. These functions are valid also in real socialist countries like capitalist ones. In real socialist countries, state administration and administrative relationships, in capitalist countries ownership of means of production ensure performing of these functions.

Oktay sharply criticizes liberal-optimist approaches. But, we can not say that Oktay lost all hopes for the vision of other society. He also criticizes pessimistic critiques. He believes that total manipulation over the masses is not possible in any social formation. He says,

" It may be argued that, I repositioned in a pessimistic and conservatist discourse. It is possible. But, ultra-optimism and happiness discourse may be more dangerous than pessimism". (Oktay, 1995: 143)

But, he also argues that,

" It would be a mistake to accept popular culture solely as a false consciousness in a class society cultural phenomenas are over-determined by dominant class. But, this does not mean that the lower classes not introduce their own hopes and angers into the popular culture as well as high culture. But, in a periphery country like Turkey, it is clear that culture directly produces by exploited classes is manipulated by ideology of hegemonic classes and oppositionary elements that naturally live in sub-cultures are passivitazed by hegemonic ideology, of course." (Oktay, 1993b; 20-21)

Finally, we may argue that Oktay indicates a pessimist outlook. He believes that the ultimate goal of dominant culture is the reproduction of existing system based on exploitation of labour. Therefore, popular culture serve as the instrument of legitimization and reproduction of existing system. Capitalist values and norms are tried to be mistified, legitimized, reproduced or reinforced through popular cultural products in our everyday life. Such a consideration is not surprising. Because Oktay is a Marxist-socialist writer. He is against the capitalist system. His hostility to the capitalist system appears in his critiques on the popular culture. Finally, according to Oktay, popular culture provides atrophy of political consciousness and integration of alienated individuals in society around a common sense. It leads to political and social conformism. Because, production, consumption and distribution of the popular culture are controlled by the amusement industry in present day. (Oktay, 1993b: 23/39)

4.2 Ünsal OSKAY

For best understanding of Oskay's views on political role of the popular culture in society, his views on the development of today's societies from 19th century should be known. According to Oskay, today's social system is a social system based on competitive ethics, inequality and alienation. Hegemony in society has been survived by the way of cultural hegemony in contemporary societies which needs to great participation of the masses. Oskay tries to evaluate the development of mass communication and establishment of the 20th century's political systems in his 'Kitle İletişiminin Kültürel İşlevleri'. He argues that we are faced to a problem of refined illusion and/or a problem of irrational false perception of the World by arguing that our fantasies and dreams have been tried to be controlled by consciousness industry. We have lost our abilities to dream. He also argues that, following Paul Huizinga, play lost its ritual in contemporary societies.

Just like Ahmet OKTAY, his analysis on popular culture problem based on emancipation and alienation phenomena. For Oskay, human beings are no longer an integral part of a whole production process. They are isolated from the totality of the production process in modern industrial societies, and forced to be passive towards it. This new individual-citizen re-integrates into the society through illusions of popular culture in his/her attempts to solve the clashes between his personality and his environment. Popular culture provides the conditions of escape from their own realities. Depersonalization, alienation and isolation of the individuals from reality and from their selves are the central aspects of the modern societies, because of the

homogenization of taste, and finally of the society for the purpose of the higher productivity. The connection between cultural effects of the culture industry and social totality should also be evaluated in the context of the role of market. (Oskay, 1988: 194)

Oskay, following Benjamin, stresses on the work of art in the era of mechanical reproduction and its effects on popularisation of works of art and problems which is resulted from this popularization over the masses like as regression of individual taste. Oskay argues that the regression of individual taste is not confined to only one class. The greatest threat comes from the cultural tendencies that implies premature reconciliation of the contradiction of all level of popular consciousness.

In his brilliant essay, 'Popüler Kültürün Toplumsal Ortamı ve İdeolojik İşlevleri Üzerine', (5) Oskay argues that popular culture enslaves men in far as more subtle and effective ways than the crude methods of domination in earlier eras. These new methods and ways decreases the difficulties of old rigid regulations. Such a cultural regulation or hegemony project create difficulties for understanding the real face of the dominant/subordinated relations. Relations between dominant and subordinated men still continues in present day, but with more refined ways and strategies rather than rigid and coercive ways and methods of the earlier eras. According to Oskay, the efficiency of these refined cultural strategies based on the continuation of the efficiency of economic system. In other words, economic system's efficiency provides the efficiency of these refined methods. The masses have been reduced to material of the politics from subject of the politics as a result of

developments that occurred from 19th century to present day. These changes fundamentally changed the perception of ordinary man about life. These changes, from 19th century to present day, reduced masses into a pacified existence against life in their understanding of life. According to him, there was an integrated cultural structure before the 19th century. But, a fragmented cultural structure is dominant in today's societies. However, recent popular culture differentiated from older popular culture before the 19th century. He stresses on transformation of bourgeoisie from a progressive class to a regressive one by arguing that bourgeoisie tried to dominate all oppositionary culture possibilities.

For Oskay, dominant/subordinated relations are carried by cultural regulations in modern societies for providing the efficient performance of the existing social system. Administration of masses by dominant sects are tried to maintain by cultural regulations, and perception of these cultural regulations is very difficult. It may be called as 'perception crisis' or as 'difficulties to understand of our own realities'. As a result of such an illusionary perception, approval of hegemonic ideology is maintained. (Oskay, 1982b: 9-14) According to Oskay, the ideological and political function of popular culture is here:

"Popular culture creates difficulties to way of thinking a vision of other society that can be realized instead of existing life. It lightens these hurts and also lightens the pains and shames based on acceptance of existing reality".(Oktay, 1993b:27; Kaya/Alemdar, 1983:190)

Oskay, following Spencer C. Benneth, also argues that,

"The popular culture reveals anti-cognitive attitude and substitutes cognitive with mythic elements. That function of popular culture is called as 'dissolution of the spirit within the system'. Instead of changing the social reality, which is the real problem, the popular culture changes the perception of that reality and presents a false solution. In this sense, the popular culture represents a dual reality. But, it is just a false consciousness that substitutes fictional solutions instead of the real solutions. Iconology is basically a false consciousness based on alienation." (Oskay, 1982a: 192 and 201)

Products of popular culture creates possibilities for rising of the hegemony of existing social system over the masses, and serve to establish an easy control over them. Advance in contemporary communication technology has a significant place in control mechanisms of the society which is maintained by cultural regulations.

(Oskay, 1982b:64, 1988:56, 1982a:171)

For Oskay, inequality can not be accepted as the minor problem of society. Raison D'Etire of the modern society is inequality. Inequality of participation to social life and right of speech participation to life is increasingly becoming the first among other types of inequalities. He tries to show the paralness between the homogenization of social life and establishment of a new popular culture in the mid of the 19th century. (Oskay,1982a:328/ 414-415) Therefore, according to Oskay, popular culture problem should be evaluated in the context of alienated modern society, or alienation. Perception crisis of men is the result of reproduction of hegemonic relationship by the way of cultural regulations. Oskay, following Marx's interpretation of alienation concept in production and at work, asserts that labourers

become detached from its own product. That process weakens the cultural, spiritual and creative capabilities of the labourers. Relative freedom in traditional production leads to decrease in the degree of alienation towards production process. But, in modern production, labourers are reduced to the material of work rather than object of it. Oskay asserts that alienation in cultural sphere is not quite different from Marx's alienation form in production of materials. (Oskay, 1982a:202, 1992:107-110)

The role of the popular culture in this process is mistifying dominant/subordinated relations and to ensure acceptance of life style which is promoted by hegemonic classes. Ethos of life style is accepted by subordinated masses, and this serve more benefits to dominant sects. Therefore, subordinated masses voluntarily participate to the reproduction of the existing system.

In this sense, the political role of the new popular culture is reinforcing hegemonic ideology. A cultural atmosphere under the hegemony of popular culture provides flexibility to system contrary to the cruder methods of the earlier eras by creating difficulties to understand the real face of the dominant/subordinated relations. Men's state tries to regulate all details by cultural regulations according to Oskay. Monopolistic, corporate political interests supports creation of the hegemonic culture, it produces an ideological consensus around the hegemonic culture. That picture leaves democracy out for the accountability and stability of the system according to Oskay. (6) (Oskay, 1982a: 245/250/261)

In his *İletişimin ABC'si* (1992) Oskay argues that developments which had been occurred from 19th century to present day (industrialization, development of mass communication means, democratization of towns and other social and political developments) totally changed the form of perception of reality of modern men. Today's life is the 'aesthetized replic of life' (7) under the hegemony of the system. Under the hegemony of the social system, we can talk about a pseudo-communication that established for the purpose of reproduction of the hold system instead of a genuine one. (Oskay, 1992: 107-113) According to Oskay,

"Play are always a part of life throughout history. As Veblen argues in his "Theory of Leisure Class" rulers have always used games to legitimize their dominance and to emphasize their undefeatable power to the masses. In the industrial society, the relations between the world of economic activities and leisure time became more systematic and rational. Leisure was transformed into recreation in that process". (Oskay, 1982a: 167)

Following his arguments, it should be claimed that, historical/political role of the popular culture did not change throughout history. Only instruments and methods had changed contrary to his views about social life that totally changed from 19th century. All these cultural regulations, according to Oskay, are 'hegemonic cultural regulations'. Our dreams and fantasies have been entering in the control of amusement and consciousness industries, and our dreams are closed in ethics of the real society. Today's individuals look at the reality in an empirical perception form, and they see existing life as a life that has no alternative. Pacified existence of the modern men against life creates such developments. Therefore, hegemonic relations are

reproduced with participation of the subordinated masses under the guide of the hegemonic ideology. Oskay argues that more destructive effect of popular culture is to force us to accept real society and to integrate real life. It should be claimed that, Oskay tries to explain popular culture problem in the context of the reinforcing hegemonic ideology, dominant culture or existing system, and to provide the participation of the masses to this process by the way of the cultural regulations. (Oskay, 1982a:191; Oskay, 1992 107-110)

But, according to Oskay, hegemonic ideology does not have a rigid or homogenized structure. Hegemonic ideology has a flexible structure. Dominant social relations in society are inherently unstable and contradictory. Therefore, hegemonic ideology not performs all functions in a totally efficient form. In crisis periods pressive methods are preferred by system, but in normal periods domestication of the differences tried to be maintained. System tries to preserve threats of these differences as organic oppositionary movements. Just like Gramsci, Oskay argues that dominant class provides its social domination by cultural regulations, but exercises domination through the control of coercive state apparatus. Following his arguments, it can be said that, the role of the popular cultural products in stable periods is to provide the nakedness of individuals against hegemonic ideology by depriving them from their own life style approaches, characteristics and qualities which is rejected by the hegemonic ideology- or also depriving them from resisted identities. This may be called as a process of nakedness against system. However, we conform system's dress which is prepared for us. (Oskay, 1988:247, 1982a: 202)

Modern men perceives reality just superficially and develops untable emotions. He needs simple, easy and superficial representations. Popular culture creates difficulties to perceive realities of present day for the purpose of the reproduction and legitimization of hegemonic ideology.

According to Oskay, leisure time regulations also changed in 19th century with other changes. Criteria and values of leisure time are tried to be dominated by the values and criteria of the logic of the work by popular cultural products which invades our leisure time. Modern men who participates to social life by the way of the new cultural regulations within the highly complex social relationships, does not understand his/her real situation when he/she consumed popular cultural products in their leisure time. They are closed in the ethics of the logic of the work life. Leisure time is invaded by the logic of the work. This function is performed by culture industry in modern societies. Integration between leisure and work is made more rational and organized with transition to industrial society. Leisure transformed to a recreation time, and integrated with the social system. Therefore, emancipation is not maintained and the acceptance of life style which is promoted by social system is maintained. Differences in society and different views are tried to be domesticated. (Oskay, 1982a: 168/324)

He argues that,

"Aristo sees the 'free time' as the basic source of free and higher thinking. Today this free time is transformed to a recreation time via the recreation industry. This process integrates the individual into the established social relations and reduces the pressures for change". (Oskay, 1982a; 339)

Finally, according to Oskay, popular culture includes both elements of hegemonic ideology and emancipatory elements. But, popular culture problem of the present day should be evaluated in the context of its negative roles. Because, control over its production and consumption are in the hands of the hegemonic powers. Market plays a mediator role in this processing. (Oskay,1982a:347)

Following Oskay's main arguments, the political role of the deceptive fantasies which are the productions of the consciousness and amusement industry that is served to creating illusions for continuation of the hegemonic ideology and reproduction of the system can be summarized as follows:

1- Creating pacified and entertained effects by the way of presentation of momentary reliefs against symptoms of alienation. (Oskay,1972 :12) Healings that is presented by popular cultural products provides devoting to easy and hopeful expectations. It does not represent a healthy solution from social perspective despite the individual reliefs. Forgetting is provided by submitting temporary sensations, and this phenomenon leads to lost of memory. These cultural products create difficulties to have a powerfull memory that can provide to understand the real circumstances of social events. A part of social reality can be presented by popular cultural products. But, this presentation does not lead to understand real causes of social events. These cultural products repeat perceptions of values and norms that legitimize real-lives of the people instead of providing a healthy memory. Popular culture damages our social memory, and also historical consciousness. Popular cultural products lead to social amnesia, and drag individuals to a passivization against social life. As a result of this passivization, it is

the real cause of the political apathy, we are deprived from the possibility of changing history. We are also deprived from the luck of witnessing history and life according to Oskay. Therefore, mistifying escapism leads to establish an easy control mechanism over individuals because of the preference of the pleasure by individuals rather than to seek meaningful things in life. Mistifying escapism leads to passivization and mollification of masses in order to provide easy manipulation over them. Evasionary fantasies provide voluntarily participation of the larger masses to the process of manipulation over us. Therefore, cultural regulations that serve to the purpose of continuation of domination of hegemonic classes in society are reproduced by participation of subordinates. Popular culture is one of these instruments that realizes such a participation.

2- Opposition of sub-cultural groups are transformed to a domesticated and pacified opposition. Their opposition remain a challenge, does not transform to an organic oppositionary movement. Public and larger masses are tried to be kept out from politics by the way of the cultural regulations. (Oskay, 1982a:175, 1982b: 67) Oskay following some writers like Paul PICCONE, Tim LUKE, John FEKETE claims that system tries to constitute artificial negativities instead of homogenization for accountability of the system. Artificial negativities are produced for overcoming political apathy that comes from ultra-homogenization. Because political apathy can create a strong threat for the system. Oskay, following Douglas Kellner, claims that, in modern societies, presentation of dominant ideology in a homogenized structure becomes impossible. However, values of the existing system are defended in a heterogen structure. Basic value judgements of system (i.e. free market, competitive

ethics) have never been questioned in these cultural productions. But, in television series some contradictory norms, values or views (such as family and free sex) are defended, or seems to be defended. For defending and promoting the basic values of system, a homogenized structure tried to be established and for accountability of these structure, a structure which seems contradictory and heterogen is tried to be presented in other subjects. Ethos of competitive society is spreaded by cultural regulations for preventing to constitute a solidarity and unity among individuals. In this sense, popular culture detends unification of opposites. He says,

"Competitive society is an ethos which works for dominant classes of the society in its efforts to dissolve solidarity among the members of subordinated masses. In order to uphold this ethos, a limited number of members of the subordinated have been integrating in the higher echelons of the society. (Oskay, 1982a: 247-248)

Finally, today, people's private space (leisure) and cultural arenas has been invaded by capitalist ethos. Oskay argues that, there is a trend in advanced industrial societies to create smaller and dispersed way of life (artificial negativities) instead of an over-homogeneous society of alike individuals. (Oskay, 1994: 71-73)

3- Our level of consciouness and our dreams and fantasies are tried to be closed in mythological understandings. Our level of consciouness is tried to be kept in a restricted level. Today's popular cultural products have a mistifying character to real life by trying to explain our world with super-natural explanations. A distopian, mythic and anti-cognitive structure is dominant in these fantasies instead of

emancipatory and utopian ones. In his 'Çağdaş Fantazy' (1988), Oskay stresses on the role of anti-cognitive, mythic, anti-scientific and shallow content of these cultural products that creates a tendency to regressive radical movements for the masses. He tries to explain the connection between the frightened fantasies of horror films and popular science-fiction and crisis periods. As a result of such an anti-cognitive and mythic understanding and sensibility, solution of problems is expected from radical and irrational methods. Masses are manipulated to become clientele of anti-democratic, pressive or shortly a regressive political discourse as a result of anti-cognitive and irrational content of the popular cultural products. Messianistic expectations of masses have been increasing instead of expectations from an organic time. For example, popular science-fictions impose us to believe irrational powers instead of rational ones. Distopian and submissive fantasies lead to escape from reality, on one hand, and to mistify reality on the other. Evasionary trends, finally, leads to political apathy and alienation. (Oskay, 1988: 35) These cultural fantasies manipulates individuals into individualistic and narcistic tendencies by proposing individual rebellion and heroism, and also strenghten alienation of the individuals. (Oskay, 1994: 82-84) Distopian and submissive fantasies lead to captiving to hopeless, negative and unrealistic dreams by trying to discipline our sub-consciousness. Our fantasies have been loosing its emancipatory character under the influence of consciousness industry. Evasionary fantasies of popular culture destroys the rituel of art and culture. Such a situation leads to the more unimaginable the means and ways by which the administrated individuals might break their servitude and sense of their own emancipation. (Oskay,1988: 198) Effectiviness of the distopian and submissive fantasies that produced by the consciousness industry eradicates or damages utopian

fantasies and alternatives by presenting them as invalid that have a critical perspective about social and political life. Dystopian and submissive fantasies of popular cultural products lead to anti-intellectualism and conformism. (Oskay, 1988: 279) We have been detoured from to learn that a real social transformation is only possible by emancipatory knowledge, organizational movements and active participation to political life by democratic ways. Popular cultural products prevent to see real life in totality by presenting life as a combination of the myths. Masses voluntarily participate to the process of externalization from their own social realities under the influence of dystopian and submissive fantasies of mass communication means and culture industry. We can easily talk about a fragmented, atomized life, and a fragmented character of personality and a distorted individualism in today's societies. Such a fragmentation serve to the reproduction of the system and maintaining ideological pre-dominance over the subordinated individuals.(Oskay, 1988: 35)

4- Contemporary men is reduced to the material of the politics (political clientele) instead of being an efficient subject of the politics. Political campaigns are arranged for these political clientiles. Political discourse with suppressed rational dimension and exaggerated emotional dimension based on visual channels rather than audio channels began to more efficient in the formation of political culture of today. Audio-visual communication channels and products of popular culture and mass culture play a significant role in this momentary and imaginative political discourse. This political discourse uses the language of everyday life and the language of the streets. Such a political discourse creates a suitable atmosphere for authoritarian tendencies. However, popular cultural products play a significant role to create a suitable atmosphere for

increasing the effectiveness of regressive radical political movements with actual usage of the language.

5- Oskay is particularly interested with the phenomenon of psychological regression. He claims that popular cultural products lead to regression of sensibility and regression of individual taste. (A seeming decline of popular taste as conservatist thinkers argued) Regression of sensibility, in the final analysis, can be spreaded to all social activities. All events can be seen as a game, by the influence of visual tools instead of real ones. Oskay argues that violence in films or television serials rationalizes the violence, does not lead to catharsis. He rejects catharsis approach about violence and sex. He argues that violence in television and films normalized and legitimized violence to the subconsciousness of the individuals, and decreases the sensibility against the violence instead of providing a catharsis. Pornographic films and programmes also decreases the real sensibility of individuals to sexual relations. Pornography leads to sexual and emotional apathy. It does not provide any sexual emancipation because of its content. There is an illusory sexual emancipation and the reduction of erotic and sexual experience and satisfaction in it. (Oskay,1982:397-398)

Oskay is impressed more by its pseudo-liberating aspects than its by genuine ones. Finally, popular cultural products provides an insensitive mass mind. These products destroy the sensitization function of the culture, and provide desensitization of individuals. Popular cultural products also serve to the aim of decreasing sensibility against pains by mistifying escapism from our own realities, and by mistifying social

contradictions. Brutalization, shallow perception and regression in level of tastes prevent us acquiring a real political consciousness that can help us to understanding and transformation of society. Such a cultural atmosphere weakens our beliefs about the power of our actions. Oskay points out that regression of aesthetics come into agenda with the domination of popular culture and mass culture.

He says:

" The problems within the present popular culture effects the whole culture and society. Brute, irrational, pathological contents of popular culture threatens the whole life". (1982a: 414-415)

6- These cultural products serve to provide dominancy of logic of work (or work ethics) in our leisure time (or free time), and leisure time transforms to a recreation time by the way of cultural regulations. Leisure time is transformed to continuation of labor by cultural means in today's modern society. Capitalist ethos invades leisure.

This function is performed by popular cultural products according to Oskay.

"The degree of socialization of labor is even higher today than at the time of Marx. The labor is disciplined not only at the work places, but also outside it. (In his/her holidays, recreations, consumptions of mass culture, entertainments, TV series, magazines, etc.) Rationalization has been maintained by social controlling systems in every field of society that is determined and limited by the system". (Oskay, 1982a: 278)

Finally, popular cultural products lead to alienation, and remain in false consciousness. Oskay asserts that individuals alienated from their own social realities. There is not a coercive force over thinking forms of the people. But, cultural regulations play a strategic role on thinking forms of people.

Oskay points out increasing of the possibilities to reach knowledge with technological advance in the mass communication means. But, according to Oskay, masses do not have financial, cultural and leisure opportunities that protect them from negative impacts of amusement and consciousness industry. Masses do not utilize leisure opportunities as a result of the cultural incompetence of them. Oskay, following Habermas, claims that ideological consensus around the system have been establishing within a distorted communication. (Oskay; 1982a: 26) He also claims that masses have been losing their effectiveness in political life as a result of the depolitization of public by mentioning Habermas's arguments about the communication blockages. (Oskay, 1972: 16) He claims that increasing dosages of the mass communication serves to the formation of an anti-democratic political culture, anti-democratic and authoritarian personality. Efficiency of communication does not create an emancipatory cultural and social atmosphere for free thought and expression in today's world. Still, a partial information about social realities is submitted to the masses inspite of greatest developments in technology of the mass communication.(Oskay; 1994: 41)

We may argue that, Oskay does not see masses as really deceived. There are economic, cultural and political pressures over them. But, according to Oskay, manipulation can not realized only by hegemonic classes. Masses also participate this process voluntarily. But, their tendency is not freely established. This trend comes from their pacified existence in social life. Oskay insists on the significance of audio-visual means of mass communication, and amusement and consciousness industries over our fantasies and our level of consciousness in his all studies. As a result of the cultural hegemony of the popular culture and mass culture, inequalities in society are not remained as economic inequalities. Inequality covers inequalities in cultural, social and political fields of the society. (Oskay, 1988:188, 1982a:414)

And consequently he claims that, popular culture, that is produced and consumed in our everyday life, aims to provide approval of actually existing life by mistifying and legitimizing it. (Oskay, 1992: 7-14) Everyday life is shown as only one social life that is possible, that have no alternative. The present is tried to reproduce. This phenomenon leads to an exact cultural conformity or a sterilized conformism. According to him, the field of the popular culture covers new socialization institutions and replaces classic socialization institutions like family, school, etc. Popular culture is transformed into a strong ally for the new hegemonic ideology in our age. Finally, regulations of the relations between the dominant man and subordinated man at all levels are tried to reproduce in a cultural life that all social classes and stratas can participate in. Administration of the dominated sects by dominant ones is maintained

in reified relations of real life of society by the way of cultural regulations that perception of such cultural regulations is made very difficult.

Now, we can turn our attention to the role of mass culture in Oskay's thought: According to Oskay,

"Mass culture produces for aiming to perform for creation an illusion of identification between the dominant and dominated, rich and poor, free and non-free, unhappy man and the reality that created his unhappiness. One is a consumer of mass culture when there is tendency to escape from the true face of reality. This times are the times to escape reality against the social reality which creates pain to us". (Oskay, 1993b: 18)

Oskay, following Horkheimer, claims that mass culture tries to provide a consensus between individuals and the status quo. Mass culture, according to Oskay:

- Leads to lost of personality and identity.
- Restricts the freedom of individuals, especially freedom of thought and expression.
- Passivizes individuals
- Promotes consumption and serve domination of commodity character of society by exchange rather than use of value.
- Degenerates values and beliefs

-Provides to captive of pleasure (amusement) and entertainment.

-Leads to restriction of real knowledge about social realities.

Finally, Oskay like radical liberals, argues that mass culture variably manipulates and exploits the needs of the people in order to sell their entertaining products. (8)

For Oskay, popular culture has also progressive aspects or potentialities for emancipation of society. But, negative functions of popular culture should be examined in today's world. This negative function or role of the popular culture in society is an automatic outcome of today's alienated and inequality orientated social system. Its processing should not be evaluated separated from other social, political and economic factors. The most important factor is economic one, according to him, that idealist thinkers denied. (Oskay, 1982a: 280) Finally, Oskay, like Oktay, reaches to pessimistic judgements on the political role of the popular culture and mass culture. he clearly states that,

" The primary function of mass communication in his historical process has been to shift the basis of legitimacy for the prevailing power relations. This shifts is from crude force toward cultural control. That is, the power relations are legitimized less by force and more by cultural domination in the process of socialization of communication.... Modern power struggles takes place more and more in the field of the civil society. The dominant power relations... reproduce the status quo in increasingly complex ways". (1982a: 24-27)

Oskay is not totally hopeless, but he is a pessimist. But, we can not talk about a celebrated pessimism of him. His pessimism has a realist base. Oskay, following the lead of the Adorno, emphasizes the existence of the revolutionary forces and tendencies in all societies. Oppositionary views lived, lives and will live. He believes that full manipulation of individuals could not be maintained in any period of history. But, according to him, today, nothing indicates that will be a good end.

4.3 REVIEW

Modern culture produces conformity in almost every fields, even the seemingly most neutral means of the communication. In order to analyze the nature of this process which produces conformity one needs to redefine culture in a broader context encompassing material as well as ideological representations and instruments. We can use the concept of latent propoganda for all latent functions of popular culture and mass culture. Propoganda is linked with manipulation and eventually leading people to false ends. Very different propoganda technics have been used in mass communication such as glittering reality, multiple content, stocking and repetition. Their effects over individuals can be categorized as cognitive, affective and behavioural.

It should be claimed that, both Oktay and Oskay evaluate sociopolitical role of the popular culture and mass culture in the context of manipulation theory of the critical theory of Frankfurt School. Popular culture is evaluated as the source of illusion, deception, political apathy, depolitization, desensitization, alienation, i.e. all

the negative connotations. The political role of the popular culture pessimistically reviewed by Oktay and Oskay. They refuse to defend optimist analysis on it. But, they do not see hegemony of popular culture and mass culture as a total manipulation. Both of them stress on the existence of oppositionary and emancipatory elements or potentialities of popular cultural forms. In addition to that, Oskay also insists on the contradictory and unstable structure of the hegemonic ideology. According to him, because of its contradictory structure, the field of hegemonic ideology may and should be an important field of political struggle.

They sharply criticize technological optimism or the optimist futurology. It should be stated that, Oskay also criticizes the technological pessimism and technological optimism as two sides of the technological determinism. Both Oktay and Oskay are against technological optimism of post-modernist thought of today. But, their critical distance to technology is not accompanied by a desire for a nostalgic return to the past. Therefore, it is hard to say the hostility of them to modern technology like some conservatist thinkers. But, they also refuse the recent celebration of communication revolution, post- industrial society and similar approaches that revived the belief in all powerful mass media in late 1960s, early 1970s. Both Oktay and Oskay reject popular culture claims to express liberation and emancipation. The liberal notion of the individual taste, so Oskay, following Adorno and Lowenthal, frequently pointed out, had been fully undermined by the gradual liquidation of the autonomous subject in modern society. The implications of this

development are crucial for an understanding of today's popular culture and mass culture in which the manipulation of preferences is almost complete.

Otherwise, both Oktay and Oskay are fully disagreed with aristocratic critical claims the threat is not considered to be coming from above, but from below, from within the masses, from the conditions of equality in democracies. Both of them agree that the threat of society and culture coming from above in parallel with Marxists thought and some radical liberal thinkers.

Their studies indicate a pessimistic outlook, but this pessimistic outlook is not a celebrated pessimism. They stress on the conformist characteristics of the popular culture. As discussed in the first chapter of this study, in accordance with the power relations and struggles in society, popular culture have been used as an instrument for providing a dominance or hegemony over the society by creating difficulties and illusions for perception of the existing antagonisms in cultural and social life. Popular culture plays an ideological role for domination and legitimization. Ideology of the existing system creates a form of consciousness in order to legitimize and reproduce the present reality. Popular cultural products play a strategic role in reinforcing social norms and values that legitimize social system. When this manipulation is successful, alternative social arrangements remain unconsidered as Oskay argued. Finally, popular cultural forms preclude the emergence of an effective

opposition as a whole, and support moderate oppositionary movements within the system itself as Oktay and Oskay argued in different terms.

In this sense, it seems that, there is a full or great consensus between them on the deceptive characteristic of these cultural forms. Some basic functions of the popular culture can be summarized as status-conferral function, (legitimizing their status), the reinforcement of the dominant social norms, the narcotizing dysfunction and leading to social conformism, etc. But, in my opinion, essential functions of popular culture are alienation, manipulation and legitimization of the system. Instead of their different starting points, both Oktay and Oskay share the judgement that today's popular culture and mass culture and their processing in today's world serve the aim of the reinforcement of hegemonic ideology. Such a cultural atmosphere or cultural climate, according to Ahmet Oktay leads to apathy of class consciousness or leads to social conformism according to Oskay.

Oktay follows Marxist terminology in his critiques. But, Oskay uses the concepts like as dominant culture, hegemonic ideology, conceal of dominant/subordinated relations from notice or covering up, etc. It should be argued that, his position in university creates handicaps to him for expression of his views. In addition to that, it should be remembered that, according to Oskay, class approach merely is not enough to explain today's cultural phenomena. Oskay does not prefer a clear political choice against Oktay. His affinity to Marxist thought can easily be observed, but, he refuses to defend class terms of the Marxism.

Oktaý argues that mass communication tools and popular culture play the role of rationalization of power and manipulation of oppositionary thought in socialist countries like other countries. The same goes even more strongly for Soviet Communism and there is a special kind of mass culture in real socialist countries according to Oktaý. But, Oskay did not talk about real socialism or real socialist countries in his studies as was mentioned before. (Oktaý, 1993b: 33)

Finally, both Oktaý and Oskay emphasize that popular culture and mass culture serve to the aim of prevention of political consciousness of great masses or development of political consciousness, which helps us to emancipation and settlement of them as active partners or autonomous subjects in political life. As Oktaý argued, following Marcuse, popular culture precludes the emergence of an opposition as a whole. Popular cultural forms create forms of life and of power, which appear to reconcile the forces opposing to system to defeat and refute all protest. A cultural climate under the hegemony of popular culture and mass culture creates a consensus around the existing system or around a common sense. Popular cultural products based on need to conform. There is an economic, technical and cultural coordination which operates through the manipulation of needs.

Low quality in cultural content is therefore a direct outcome of the very structure of the technological means of cultural communication, in spite of their greater influence. But, this greater influence should not be understood as all mighty power over individuals. The role of the media here is that, the legitimization through the production of false consciousness, in the interests of a class which owns and

controls the media. Finally, popular cultural forms serve to institute new, more effective and more pleasant forms of social control and social cohesion. It's productivity is destructive on the free development of human needs and faculties. In fact, they serve as an instrument of domination, exploitation and social control. It serves to reconcile man to his fate. It does not transcend alienation, but strengthens it in accordance with the dominant interests.



NOTES

- (1) 'Mosco-Herman' 'Radikal İletişim Kuramı' in 'Kitle İletişiminde Temel Yaklaşımlar' Translated by Yılmaz ÜSTÜNER
ALEMDAR, Korkmaz, KAYA, Raşit (eds)
Savaş Yayınları, Ankara, 1983
- (2) Oktay argues that popular culture can only perform its pressive and conformitive function in a suitable atmosphere in social formation.
Only by this way popular culture can play its manipulative role .
- (3) For best understanding of these views, Lowenthal's argument of 'Popular reception of high Culture' and Habermas's argument 'Manipulation of transmission of knowledge' should be known.
- (4) Oktay share the views of Frankfurt School that hedonist discourse has a progressive potential for society and ascetism has a regressive/negative potential. But, Oktay points out hedonist self- satisfaction feelings may create inadvisable results. (See, Oktay, 1995:203)

(5) 'Popüler Kùltürün Toplumsal Ortamı ve İdeolojik İşlevleri Üzerine' (On the Social Atmosphere and Ideological Functions of Popular culture)
OSKAY, Ünsal in 'Kitle İletişiminde Temel Yaklaşımlar' ALEMDAR,
Korkmaz, KAYA, Raşit (eds) Savaş Yayınları, Ankara, 1983, pp.163-206

(6) He says ' As Habermas pointed out'.

(7) Oskay is inspired from Walter Benjamin within this context.

He uses conceptualizations of Benjamin.

(See, 'Estetize Edilmiş Yaşam')

Dost Kitabevi Yayınları, Ankara, 1982

Translated and Edited by: Ünsal OSKAY)

8) TRT 2 "Gündemde Sanat Var" 01.02.1994 20:30

CHAPTER 5

ON THE POPULAR CULTURE IN TURKEY

Before entering to discuss Oktay's and Oskay's views on the development of popular culture in Turkey, it is necessary to repeat a point mentioned before. Contrary to the extensive studies, analysis and evaluations of Oktay on the material of popular culture in Turkey, Oskay, in his books, mentions Turkey with his footnotes outside the general theoretical framework. This situation creates difficulties to compare their ideas about the development of popular culture in Turkey. Therefore, we will try to examine main arguments of Oskay concerning popular culture in Turkey by following his way of writing.

As have been stated earlier, there was an ideological renewal and political restructuring in 1980s. There was a leading to liberalization, deregulation and privatization. The restructuring of hegemony and politics were tried to be legitimized through a new ideological discourse. This new ideological discourse seems to be partly successful in translating the economic doctrine into the language of experience, moral imperative and common sense, and thus providing a philosophy centered around market values. A market based and outward oriented strategy for economic modernization adopted in 1980s. This new ideological discourse seems to be successful in translating also moral values and cultural tastes. (Kırlı, 1993:58) This process can not be understood only by explaining economic strategies and policies.

For best understanding of transformations after 1980, ideological and cultural transformations should be tried to be examined with economical and political developments. Perhaps it is not wrong to say, a new popular culture emerged in 1980s, and a new cultural climate became dominant. Turkey has witnessed a cultural transformation by coming of new electronic communication means. This new cultural climate under the hegemony of the cold medium leads to the emergence of a new type of popular culture, and also mass culture. The constitutive elements of new cultural climate in Turkey have many similarities with the ideological/political discourse of the 1980s. Therefore, popular cultural forms, in my opinion, played an important role in ideological renewal and political restructuring of 1980s with other political and economic developments. The political role of the popular culture is reinforcing new ideological trends in society. In this sense, it should be noted that popular culture in Turkey can only be explained with social and economic factors behind it. The objective of this chapter is showing basic factors on the development of popular culture in Turkey, and also political outcomes of such developments.

5.1 Ahmet OKTAY

Before surveying Oktay's views on the development of popular culture in Turkey, it is necessary to mention his descriptions about Turkey. In most of his articles, Oktay uses the 'periphery' concept for describing Turkey or the countries like Turkey. This concept which was produced by writers like S. Amin and I. Wallerstein,

is used for the countries in semi-circle of the capitalist world order. Oktay claims that the term 'periphery' is an applicable term for describing Turkey. He says,

" The process of rapid development of capitalism on one hand, and the spreading of mass communication tools, on the other hand, produces new and complex social/cultural problems in Turkey which located on the periphery of the capitalism". (1990b:71)

For Oktay, basic factors on the development of popular culture in Turkey are industrialization, urbanization and spreading of the mass communication means. He points out that rapid industrialization and urbanization phenomenas have brought the popularity phenomena through massified and visualized press. (Oktay, 1987a: 37-54, 1991a: 162)

" Main concept to understand economic and cultural problems of Turkey is the industrialization. Another point is the rapid population growth in cities".(Oktay, 1987a; 82)

In his *Toplumsal Değişme ve Basın'* (1987A), Oktay claims that the Turkish Republic opened with the lost of memory and rejection of inheritance. A progressive and populist discourse was dominant in the first period of Turkish Republic. In the early 25 years of the Turkish Republic literature and art compromise a significant place in the popular press. He evaluates 1950s as a period of transition to populism, development of the capitalism and the democracy exercise. Trends to massification in Press began 1950s. Turkish Society was surrounded by consumption ideology and cultural products were mostly visualized. There was a strong American

impact upon the popular press transmitting values of American style of life in 1950s. He evaluates 1950s in the context of spreading of the popular culture. For Oktay, years between 1960-1980 was a period of crisis. He also evaluates 1960s as the beginning of the pluralist period in Turkey. However, the main transformation in Turkish Society is realized after 1980. Export-oriented economic policies and integration to world economy was a dominant tendency of 1980s instead of import-substitution policies in the years between 1950-1980. Newspapers and the other mass communication means rapidly magazinated because of the pressive depolitization policies of 1980s. However, the content of political news were emptied and vulgarized in a great extent in 1980s. Turkish society is also faced to the means of the electronic communication today, and this means the beginning of the new age with social, cultural, political and economic transformations. (Oktay,1987a: 37-54)

Oktay tries to explore the development of popular culture in Turkey beginning from the magazine press of the first part of Republican Era. In his other book 'Türkiye'de Popüler Kültür', Oktay tries to study on history of magazine in Turkey under the following titles. (1993b: 45-68) :

The first period : 1923-1950

The second period : 1950-1970

The third period : 1970-1990

He emphasizes that the major development of today's popular culture in Turkey accelerated with the transition to democracy in 1950s and, after 1980, these cultural forms acquired a new and great importance. For Oktay, 1980 is a birthday for

significant changes in Turkey. With the end of cold war and bi-polarization period by dissolution of real-socialism, hegemony of capitalism leads to developments that are difficult to guess. He also argues that the spreading of the mass communication means especially of television leads to developments that have political outcomes by stressing on the importance of the development of communication technology and entering of new electronic mass communication means into Turkey.

According to Oktay, magazin press in Turkey shows a parallelism with socio-economic and socio-cultural changes. External factors have also important effects upon the popular press. In journals of the statist period (1923-1950) the official point of view was reflected. Educative functions had a great importance in this statist period. But, magazination in press increased in 1950s, and integrated with the hegemonic ideology by the visualization and dramatization of culture. The most important characteristic of 1950s was strenghtening of individualism by transcending ascetist ideology contrary to the statist period of Turkish Republic. (1) However, for Oktay, the period of 1970-90 is the period of acquittal of capitalism (89-114) and is a period of dependency to capitalist world order. He claims that television culture in Turkey became dominant in 1970s. According to him, there was not any development in the cultural expenses of lower income groups in the years between 1970-1990. These groups tended to buy tools which accepted as they need these tools for surviving their life. Their needs are largely manipulated by dominant classes. Written culture was increasingly dominated by visual culture, particularly by television. Television culture spreaded even to the rumote rural areas, and changed the attitudes of peasant population. Hence, labourers and lower sections of petty bourgeoisie have

been spending most of their time with television in their leisure time. Entertainment is usually preferred to the intellectual efforts. The content of the programmes creates a conformity among the watchers and prevents a serious opposition to the status quo. Oppositionary discourses are tried to be integrated with the system. According to Oktay, popularization and vulgarization of the high-cultural products came into agenda in 1950s and, this tendency institutionalized in 1980s. He claims that proletarian masses or labour class are traditionally the subject of popular and folk culture. Because they have not any possibility to deal with high cultural products. Popular cultural forms and folk cultural products became to integrate with amusement industry by the spreading of television and video culture. As a result, the distance between the masses and the writers/artists opened even further. Alienation between the larger masses and artists rationalized both for masses and artists. Rationalization of alienation created important results, increased the alienation between masses and cultural and artificial products. (Oktay, 1993b: 90-92) He argues that,

"Mass media succeeded to absorb and passivize every kind of oppositionary movement in 1970-90, and transforms negative moments into mass culture in a way to ensure the stability of the existing order. Failure of real socialism was exploited in order to prove merits of the capitalism". (1993b:92)

"Turkey has gradually entered the organization in accordance with the standards of consumption society, in spite of all economical, social, political and cultural contradictions. Feodal relations are dissolved in a great extent and capitalist relations became determinant on (our) life style". (1987a: 34)

Oktay argues that mass media succeeded to adopt all kinds of oppositionary elements in popular culture and folk culture and to turn them into mass culture. Today, labour classes and other lower sections of the society are tried to be integrate with the system through the myth of consensus. Capitalism was tried to be acquitted. Dissolution of real socialism created a suitable climate for the legitimization of capitalism. (Oktay, 1993b: 13)

Oktay, in his 2 books, emphasizes that the first period closed in 1950 and a new period began. For Oktay, the most significant turning points were 1950 and 1980 in the history of Turkish Republic. After 1980, the big capital entered into culture market and magazines and periodicals of 1980s shows an outward-dependent character in parallel with economical and political developments. Dominacy of the consumption ideology has been established in 1980s. State television has also been commercialized in a great extent, and integrated with the amusement industry in 1980s. Oktay stresses on changes in cultural atmosphere as a period of the emergence of the mass society. New electronic mass communication means extended to rural areas of the society, and made popular culture dominant. (2) (Oktay, 1993b:231, 1992b: 75) He argues that,

"After the 24 January decisions had been carried out, and 12 September coup had been realized, Turkey began to adopt very rapidly value judgements and life style of the consumer society. This is unpredictable in those days".(Oktay, 1993b: 12-13)

According to Oktay, Özal-ANAP governments's new right policies succeeded to adopt a new ideological tendency to the society. 12 September military intervention created a suitable atmosphere such a task. Turkish society has gone into a process of de-politicization as a whole after the 12 September military intervention. He stresses on the role of dissolution of real socialism for establishing a new cultural and ideological atmosphere. Turkey has began rapidly to adopt the values and life style of consumption society after 1980. Anxiety for individual welfare and security became dominant in 1980's. Mass communication means, in a great extent, integrated with amusement industry and these means directly provoked consumption ideology. (Oktay, 1993b:247-249; 1995: 50/60/239)

As stated earlier, for Oktay, a new cultural climate became dominant in 1980s. He describes 1980-90 period as an extremely developed period of alienation. For him, alienation of intellegentsia and labour class are very different. Alienation leads to establish hegemony over individuals. This function is carried by the mass media. Individuals in Turkey are largely manipulated today by the mass media in terms of their cultural expectations and requirements. The close interaction between knowledge and capital or in other words, economic structure of the information channels plays an important role in such cultural development of the society. (Oktay,1992b:27)

But, according to Oskay, the main cause of our problems is the same: Capitalist system. He argues that cultural problems of Turkey are stemming from class antagonisms and Turkish capitalism's outward-dependent character. These cultural problems can not be evaluated separated from that factors. (Oktay, 1991a:47)

"12 September military intervention, like others,taken the society back, created problems which is hard to be compensated and caused "metastaz" in political, ethical and cultural fields... Turkish society has been living a transformation process and still carrying the marks of the schocks of 12th September... On the other hand, society is transformed into a society of consumption by mass communication means". (Oktay, 1992c: 26/44)

Oktay stresses on the trends towards monopoly in all sectors of society including communication after 1980.

"Monopolitization trends in Turkish press, and entering into the control of grand capital creates serious problems. Relatively free identity of journalist and freedom of news becoming critical. Circulation have been becoming main aim and income expected from advertisements rather than sales. This creates a threat: poverty of content in it. This tendency creates popularization of content, lightening of most serious problems, and as a result of them information presented to masses manipulated itself. All things are formed within the context of everyday habits and tendencies. Newspapers have been depoliticized after the 12. September military intervention because of the maganization tendency, and also legal regulations over them. Political news are submitted, but presentation form of these news are vulgarized. Neutrality and objectivity concepts transformed to a gap and insensibility. Finally, Turkish society is faced to electronic communication means, now. Due to the fact that culture has been visualized by these means and this creates also serious problems. ... Electronic communication means make culture massified and visualized, at first. (1987a:153-156)

It should be stressed that Oskay tries to evaluate these processes not only through political developments, but, he also stresses on the importance of economical

developments. For Oktay, Turkey has been also showing characteristics of a transitional society since 1950s. (Oktay, 1986:11)

In the line of his arguments, it can be said that real causes of the rise of the popular culture and its integration to mass culture or to the amusement industry as follows:

1. Depolitization and pressive regime which created by 12 September military intervention.
2. Integration of Turkey with the world capitalist system, and some basic changes in the politics of the Turkish Republic.
3. Dissolution of the Soviet Republic and Real Socialism and hegemony of the capitalism.
4. Spreading of mass communication means like television, video and commercial radio stations even in rural areas of society.
5. Rapid urbanization and gecekondu phenomena in cities, rapid migration to towns, rapid population growth and new social tendencies and aspirations.

12 September period damaged the urban working class culture which was newly began to be existed. The great dominancy of the capitalism with the dissolution of real socialism destroyed class consciousness and solidarity, and provoked individualistic tendencies in society. (3) The people tended to support the system

parties by their individualistic expectations. For Oktay, terms like as 'labour aristocracy' and 'white collars' are applicable terms for Turkey. People lost their expectations for a good future or their beliefs for a transformed future by their active participation to social and political life. Democratic and emancipatory elements which exist in popular cultural products also began to be absorbed by mass culture and these elements integrated to the mass culture and amusement industry. These developments have led to developments that have also political outcomes with the spreading of mass communication means. Oktay emphasizes that these developments should be investigated seriously rather than to deal with the political outcomes of these developments. (Oktay; 1993b: 13/20-29)

"Development of television also is a manipulative cultural event. Television which came into the position that may be watched in whole society snatches the audience of radio in rural areas and shakes them with its own special power and content. (Oktay, 1982:77)

"TV expresses a certain phrase of capitalism in Turkey like Tanzimat and both aimed to rationalization of order or have such a function". (Oktay, 1987b:161)

According to Oktay, Ortaoyunu, Karagöz, Meddah, Kanto etc. were the products of popular culture in Tanzimat period and even before it. Their ways of presentation in today are arrangements, arabesc and television serials. He stresses on the improvement of the means of mass communication, especially of television to social change.

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problem of our history of culture is seeking a synthesis between the traditional and modern, East and West.

" Main problem of our cultural history is seeking of synthesis between West and East, religionness and secularism, tradition and innovation".(Oktay, 1991a: 160)

According to Oktay, cosmopolitan cultural structure of Ottoman State had been fallen down in a process which began with Tanzimat, and the dissolution of cosmopolitan cultural structure rapidly increased in the Republican Era. Oktay sharply criticizes rejectionary tendency of Turkish Republic. He argues that such a trend leads to infertility in cultural field, and this also turns to a degeneration and populism. The dissolution of the older cosmopolitan structure and failures in efforts to create a new national culture and other sythesis, in my opinion, leads to strengthening of regressive tendencies in one hand, and to infertility and degeneration in cultural field on the other as Oktay not pointed out. Following his way of writing, it should be claimed that rejection of cultural heritage approach of Turkish Republic can be evaluated as a fact that effected cultural problems of today. Historical moment should be understood for understanding and transforming society, but, according to him, not only in capitalist countries, but also in Turkey nothing is gathered in human memory. Such a trend has important role on the development of popular culture in Turkey. These facts and the developments after Tanzimat are not mentioned in his studies on

the development of popular culture. But, such developments, in my opinion, have important role on the development of today's popular culture in Turkey.

5.2 Ünsal OSKAY

As was mentioned before, it is very difficult to find Oskay's observations and evaluations on the development of Popular Culture in Turkey in his books. Oskay has more detailed analysis on the development and the history of the popular culture in the World. But, in his studies there is not so much told about the development of the popular culture in Turkey. He is particularly interested with theoretical problems and cultural and ideological problems in advanced capitalist countries. He implies that these developments will be exercised in our country as an inevitable process by arguing that general and common characteristics of developments should be learned in order to understand present day. (4)

Oskay calls Turkey as a 'semi-feudal, semi-colonized country', and also as an 'underdeveloped country'. For Oskay, it should not be claimed that, we reached to the level that reached by Western people in science and art after 19th century when bourgeoisie revolution was realized. He claims that fantasies which are generally imported from the developed countries have important functions in developing countries. This situation seems to lead more dangerous results in developing countries. Transition to modern mass communication means leads to increase of more serious and complex problems in these countries than developed countries because of

the lack of the book civilisation. In other words, negative impacts of popular culture will be more effective in our society. Because, Turkey is a country which is deprived from the enlightenment period and book civilization.(1988: 7-11/225/277)

According to Oskay, some elements of the older popular culture in Turkey are the activities like Çadır Theatres, Karagöz, Saz, etc. which addresses to the people that came from different sub-cultures in cities and towns in the traditional structure of the society. But, now, there is a transition to a new popular culture as a result of the changes in leisure time, in technology and development of means of mass communication. These changes are closely connected with decrease of the efficiency of state in ideological fields of the society and increase in the activities of the civil society in this cultural and ideological fields. We may argue that Oskay sees a link between underdevelopment and the weakness of the civil society. (Kaya/Alemdar, 1983: 188)

In an interview made him about arabesc music in Turkey, Oskay argues that Turkey tried to Westernize in the statist period of the Turkish Republic, but, these efforts could not be successful. In 1950s returning to 'alaturka' ritual came into agenda as a result of failure in the modernization efforts. Oskay implies that Turkish Republic's failure on modernization projects leads to return to the alaturka ritual. This turning point played a significant role in the development of arabesc music, and also popular culture. Turkey went through important stages in modernization, but a complete modernization was never realized. The reason for this is the lack of the

political participation, organizational society and a pluralistic understanding in the political culture of the Turkey with lack of cultural competence of the masses. (5)

Oskay argues that cultural atmosphere of Turkey began to change in 1940s. But, official ideology of Turkish Republic was dominant until 1950s. Traditional structure of the society began to change in 1950s and 1960s. These changes contain progressive developments and help us to recognize the world outside us, our world and our changes more rapidly and truly. (Kaya/Alemdar, 168-169) It is possible to argue that, following his essays, Turkey is a country which follows the way of West in modernization and capitalist development. Just like Ahmet Oktay, Oskay describes Turkey as a transitional society as a result of the failure in modernization efforts. For Oskay, the problems of Turkey should be evaluated as problems of an underdeveloped country. This is obviously fetishization of history of the West. Oskay implicitly asserts that its history has provided the material conditions for economic and political development, and this history in no sense resemble to that of Turkey. Failure in modernization efforts and cultural and economic dependency of Turkey seems to have an important role in the development of today's popular culture. But, he does not mention 12th September military coup, and changes after then or new right policies that exercised by Özal governments. He never mentions terms like 'culture of labor classes' and 'dissolution of real socialism'. Oskay evaluates the problems in the context of modernization and civilisation within a more general theoretical framework.

Contradiction in Oskay's evaluations is that: He evaluates the period after 1950 as a turning point to 'alaturka rituel' and also a period of change in the traditional structure of society. It should be noted, it is not possible to understand Oskay's observations on the popular culture in Turkey through limited arguments of him about these developments. Oskay does not give a detailed information on the development of the popular culture in Turkey. His tendency is to evaluate Turkey as an underdeveloped or a developing country which tries to progress or develop under the leading of the capitalist world order rather than to study Turkey within the framework of its own peculiarities. But, on a television programme, he argues that mass culture and consumption society's characteristics became dominant in our country.

He stressed on the decreasing in differences in society and increase in horizontal transitions between different sub-cultures in the age of serial images. He says,

"Images destroys the essence, and even in political advertisements images comes first, and this images create lack of content or empties the content of political discourse". (6)

Oskay stresses on the cultural incompetence of Turkey by using different terms. It should be claimed that, such a cultural climate provides a suitable material

base for the development of popular culture in Turkey under the influence of audio-visual mass communication means.

5.3 REVIEW

The most interesting point of agreement between Oktay and Oskay on the past and present popular culture in Turkey is their stresses on the form of the existence of the older popular culture (Karagöz, Ortaoyunu, etc.) and differentiated form of the recent popular culture. Both Oktay and Oskay evaluate the year 1950 as an important turning point in the development of the popular culture in Turkey. Turkey has entered into a rapid modernization process after 1950. Both of them describe this period as a transitional period. Oktay tries to analyze Turkish society within a Marxist tradition. But, Oskay's analysis on Turkey depends on the concepts like 'to reach higher stage of civilisation' or 'modernization in a true sense'. It should be noted that Oskay prefers to use more neutral terms. Paradoxically, both Oktay and Oskay stress on transitional society characteristics of Turkey under the great impact of stage theory of modernization theory. But, contrary to Oskay, Oktay's analysis on the history of Turkish Republic depends on the conceptual couples such as east-west and center-periphery.

Oktay's studies on the development of popular culture in Turkey are more extensive than Oskay. He tries to explain the development of popular culture in Turkey in connection with the phases of capitalist development. He stresses on the significant changes that occurred after 1980. For Oktay, 1950s is a process of

transition to individualistic capitalism from corporatist one and, the period after 1980 is a process of rising of new right. As mentioned above, both Oktay and Oskay claim that the year 1950 was a turning point for Turkey. Both Oktay and Oskay claim that progressive changes occurred in 1960s.

Following their studies and ways of writing, basic factors on the development of popular culture in Turkey ca be summarized as follows:

- 1- Industrialization (Both Oktay and Oskay stress on.)
- 2- Growth in urban population (While Oktay stresses on its significance, Oskay claims that urbanization explanations are not sufficient for understanding our present problems.)
- 3- Advancement in the mass communication (Oktay) or industrialized popular culture (Oskay)
- 4- Capitalist development process and dependency to capitalist system (Both Oktay and Oskay stress on.)
- 5- Failures in our modernization efforts (Oskay) or failure in seekings for a healthy synthesis (Oktay)

6- Dominacy of the characteristics of a transitional society.

7- Dissolution of real-socialism and hegemony of world capitalism. (Oskay never mentions the dissolution of real socialism problems in his books)

8- 12 September military intervention and pressive regime (Oskay never mentions the 12 September military intervention in his books)

Finally, capitalist development process, failure or success on the industrialization and modernization efforts, other internal and external factors (external factors are the dissolution of real-socialism and technological developments, internal factors are the spreading of the means of mass communication, military interventions, internal migration and rapid urbanization) should be evaluated as important factors that effected development of today's popular culture in Turkey. Turkey seems to be in a cultural climate that is suitable for such a development. Resisted elements against such a change are not strong economically/politically/socially and culturally. Therefore, cultural problems of today are very important problems and more difficult to solve.

Both of them mention the role of the means of mass communication or in other words, of amusement and consciousness industries. But, Oktay's sensivity on economic and political factors on the development of the popular culture in Turkey should be emphasized contrary to Oskay's limited interest to Turkey. Oktay emphasizes the trends toward monopoly in all sectors of the society, including

communication. He also stresses on the export oriented capitalist accumulation model' instead of 'the import substitution' strategy in 1980s. As mentioned earlier, Oktay's analysis on popular culture in Turkey contains political and economical developments behind it. He argues that crisis of Turkey should be evaluated within the framework of success or attack of hegemony of capitalism all over the world. He talks about destruction of the emancipatory and equitarian (socialist) utopia, and weakening of radical mass demands in Turkey. However, Oskay argues that spread of technology serves to culture industry's effectiveness today under the influence of the hegemonic class, or masses are transformed to amorf communities by using more general statements. He also talks about 'alienation from social production, society of consumption, destruction of everyting especially nature, manipulative power of the system over us, etc. Finally, he argues that we are the material of politics, not subject of it. He also stresses on the regression of sensibility in today's life by trying to underline that lost of individuality and externalization of masses from politics. (7) We may argue that Oskay's evaluations on the development of the popular culture in Turkey are appeared in the context of general humanity ideals. It seems that, Oskay does not want to enter discussions on the current political developments. He prefers to use a more latent discourse on current politiuical developments, and discussions on socialism and Marxism. But, contrary to Oskay, as mentioned earlier, Oktay evaluates cultural problems of Turkey in the context of Marxist thought or socialist political point of wiew. We may argue that Oktay's critics on the popular culture in Turkey have more political overtones than Oskay.

Finally, we may argue that, there is a cosmopolitian cultural structure in Turkey from the point of both Turkey's strategic structure and different origins of

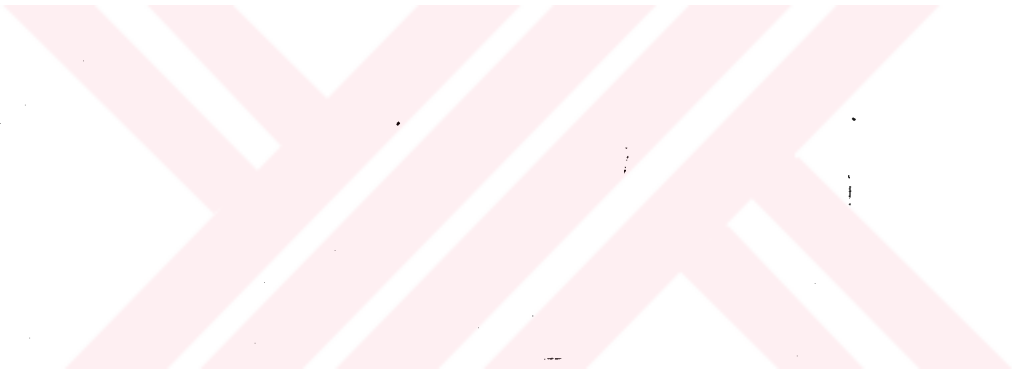
social structure of Turkey. But, Turkey has been entered into transaction with mass communication means. Their visualized character is dominant on our cultural life. As Kongar pointed out, like Oskay, a real written culture tradition had never been existed in our country that Western societies had witnessed after the industrial revolution. Transition to written culture from verbal culture is not realized until today. (Kongar, 1983: 26) Transition to visual culture from verbal culture without transition from written culture creates distortions with it. (Özkök, 1982) Turkey entered into the age of the electronic communication without transition from a written culture. This situation leads to greatest social, cultural and social problems than other countries. We can say that Turkey returned to verbal culture with recent transformation of media structures. As Kongar points out, production of a lower level mass culture by audio-visual mass communications tools is inevitable in addition to its great impacts. (Kongar, 1983: 26) We may argue that, in Turkey, there is not highly participation to cultural activities. Such a situation leads to decline of popular taste, and an insensitive mass mind. Therefore, cultural climate of Turkey is suitable for the hegemony of popular culture over us because of the lack of the real written culture. Dominacy of audio-visual tools in cultural field of the society leads to increasing of entertainment values instead of serious ones. This cultural deprivation will or may cause negative attitude changes that prevents to reach a free and democratic society in real sense.

We shall claim that popular culture and mass culture in Turkey does not represent an entirely new factors in the socialization and acculturation process for the time being, and also popular culture and mass culture does not represent a democratic, emancipatory approach. Otherwise, in Turkey, despite the much-

publicized democratization promises, both legal and cultural regulations are very restrictive in the context of freedom of thought and expression. It should be claimed that the masses have never been permitted to carry out political activities in real sense. Education in Turkey was also planned in such a framework that prevented the new generations from thinking and arguing. In fact, Turkish people has never been avid readers. Favourable demographic factors such as high population growth, higher literacy and urbanization did not change this situation. (Kaya: 1995) This picture leaves the democracy out. It should be claimed that the problem of freedom of thought and expression remains its situation as the main problem of our society. Increasing the ideological role of the popular cultural forms is an easily observable phenomenon. But, hegemony in Turkey is still carried out by coercive ways or cruder methods. This picture shows that we need firstly a democratic and free atmosphere in society for a complete freedom of thought and expression. But, increasing in the role of the popular cultural forms on our ways of life should be taken into account for best understanding, and changing the actually existing system. In such a context, cultural and political discourse of the popular culture in Turkey does not represent a radical discourse. Popular cultural products only reinforces the existing tendencies and actually given system or reality. It does not lead to the diffusion of innovations in the society. Transformation of media structures in Turkey has also led the Turkish press into a process of ownership concentration, and a sensationalist type of content. A sensational press, and also 'culture industry' controls the cultural fields of the society.

Today, from politicians to academics, from workers and students to businessmen, everyone agree that, Turkey needs to radical social changes. But, a real

radical change in the society can only be maintained by acquiring a critical outlook about social life and a higher level of consciousness. But, popular cultural products in Turkey affirms and legitimizes the existing values and system and leads to depolitization and obedience to authority. These cultural products do not serve to higher level of consciousness or a critical outlook about social life that is necessary for such a radical transformation of the society. Finally, this picture also shows the need of to product and develop coherent emancipatory cultural and social policies for the future of the whole society.



NOTES

- (1) Oktay does not merely affirm the transcendation of ascetist ideology. He asserts that transcending of ascetism has progressive functions, and may lead to social/political mobility. But, Oktay also insists on the negative functions of the ultra-hedonism on our ways of behave.
- (2) In an interview made between Ahmet Oktay and Selim İleri in the daily Cumhuriyet, Oktay mentions the year 1980 as a turning point for cultural degeneration. He also implies that major developments began in 1950's.
- (3) Oktay sees a link between the dissolution of the real-socialism and decreasing of the efficiency of the equality and emancipation (socialist) utopia.
- (4) See, Preface of 'Günlük Hayatın Eleştirisi'
(Marx, Freud and the Critique of Everyday Life)
Bruce Brown, Ayrıntı Yayınları, 1989
Translated by: Yavuz ALOĞAN
- (5) Türkiye Günlüğü Ağustos 1989, pp. 53-57
- (6) TRT2 Gündemde Sanat Var 01.02.1994 20.30
- (7) TRT2 Gündemde Sanat Var 01.02.1994 20.30

CHAPTER 6

FROM CULTURE TO EMANCIPATION

As discussed in earlier chapters of this study, there is a full consensus between Oktay and Oskay on the social significance and political role of the popular culture. Therefore, they consider popular culture to be an useful theoretical tool for understanding the manipulation over us. Social significance and political role of the popular culture are pessimistically evaluated by these writers as an instrument of manipulation and legitimization. They believe that cultural life remains very poor under the hegemony of the popular culture. Therefore, under the hegemony of popular culture and mass culture reaching to the most equalitarian and free society is more difficult because of the manipulation through popular culture and mass culture. Transcending alienation and maintaining a free and good society level requires a higher level of consciousness, and for such a development, level of the popular culture must be transcended. If cultural life, our everyday life experiences and climate of opinion do not change, then there will be no reason to hopes for future. If good changes are expected in the future, these changes should begin from today.

Before discussing the premises of Oktay and Oskay on the sociocultural problems of present situation under the hegemony of the popular culture and mass culture, it is necessary to start with an evaluation about the problems that Oktay and

Oskay believe warn us and which have to be solved, and which goals have to be openly decided to be followed. In this chapter, we will try to show social and cultural projects of these two Turkish intellectuals for overcoming alienation, and for reaching to a desirable society or most advanced society. We will try to explore which practical tools can protect us from the domination and manipulation over us according to Oktay and Oskay. In addition to their beliefs about social and cultural problems and their objectives for a desirable future, it also should be known that, which approaches are evaluated as false, illusionary, deceptive or insufficient by them for reaching such a desirable society. We should survey their premises about social and cultural problems in a satisfactory manner by following such a way in order to delianate their views about the possibilities of an optimal development and desirable changes in society.

It is necessary to note that, they think system must be changed, and they believe the change can be brought by the critical and negative attitude of the masses just like Frankfurt School writers. Therefore, we will try to find which project offers the greatest chance for an optimal development among the various rational and actual possibilities, and which models are presented as a solution to overcome social and cultural crisis of today. We will discuss their main arguments on the constitutive elements of an alternative society. It should be claimed that their common objective is the emancipation of the humanity.

6.1 Ahmet OKTAY

First of all, it could be observed the main argument that Oktay puts forward is transcending of all alienation and reification forms in society. He generally points out this problem in his writings. According to Oktay, the main problem under the titles of popular culture and mass culture should be the emancipation of humanity. For Oktay, main objectives that should be reached are EMANCIPATION, FREE IDENTITY and establishment of a DEMOCRATIC, FREE and EQUALITARIAN SOCIETY in order to establish a desirable future. He mentions his utopia as follows:

"To establish a democratic and free society by abolishing class inequalities which 'Man D'Totale' can exist in". (Oktay, 1991a: 68)

Transformation of society in an emancipatory way is necessary for such a desirable society. All reification and forms of alienation in society must be transcended to establish a really free and democratic society. We may argue that Oktay's utopia is to reach a classless society or a desirable socialism. Class conflicts and antagonisms are remained the sole motor of the history despite the dissolution of real socialism. He clearly defends the socialist utopia:

"Despite the dissolution of real socialism, I am still Marxist and socialist, and class conflicts are still the base of our problems for me". (Oktay, 1991a: 110)

As discussed in chapter 3, Oktay's critique about popular culture and mass culture firstly began with his cultural and aesthetic criticism on the

aesthetic approach of Orthodox Marxism and socialist realism approaches. Oktay claims that emancipation can not be maintained by only political and economic discourses and struggles around the labour process in today's world. The field of fantasies should not be denied in emancipation problematic because of their significance in present societies on social and cultural activities of the masses. (Oktay, 1993b: 248)

Following Marx, Oktay argues that the abolishment of the family and the private property is necessary for transcending alienation. For a sustainable development for human beings, the reduction of the working time to a minimum must also be realized. But, the developments in real socialist countries did not maintain a desirable society. Ethic of work is mystified in real socialist countries like capitalist states, and as a result of the rigid state and party (CP) organization, labourers of the real socialist countries fell down different alienation processes. Socialism was marginalized in these countries, because civil society did not come into existence in real socialist countries. Yet, in these countries socialism has failed. The 'actually existing socialism' could not achieve 'Man D'Totale'. Because, these societies are the societies in which masses are passive and political power regulates and controls the different spheres of life as a whole. Dissolution of real socialism shows that solution of alienation problem is not possible only by controlling political power or state or by re-regulation of labor and private property relations. Establishment of socialism does not only depend on transcending the conditions of alienation in the labor process. It is closely connected with transcending of all alienation and reification forms in society according to Oktay.

According to Oktay, today, unfortunately, there is an important distance between cultural level of labour class and a developed culture. Promoting populist discourses by denying cultural gap between labourers and high culture is not a true tendency for maintaining a genuine cultural development and social transformation. An emancipatory social transformation can not be maintained without cultural development of the masses. Therefore, cultural development of the masses should not be delayed to future like development of political consciousness as he holdly states:

" Problems have a totality. Cultural development must not delayed to future like political consciouness. Individuals should be ready for tomorrow in today, if they really desire to form this future". (Oktay, 1992b: 92)

In his 'Kültür ve İdeoloji' (1987b) Oktay criticizes defensive and ultra-nationalist approaches by arguing that to defend the terms like 'national culture' and 'culture imperialism' leads to theoretical etatism and gets frozen. For him, fearing from knowledge and thinking is a common tendency in Turkey. This situation leads to cultural and theoretical gaps in the production of the knowledge. In other words, as a result of such a situation, knowledge production and emancipatory forms of thinking have not been developed in a satisfactory manner. According to Oktay these nationalist tendencies are regressive in nature. (Oktay, 1987b: 143)

Oktay also does not agree with idea that sub-cultures will organize their oppositionary movements by their own medias. Following E.Laclau, Oktay asserts that optimist evaluations about the ownership of medias by sub-cultural groups or to expect more democracy from such developments denies economical aspects of this

problem. Semiotic idea of democracy of post-modernist commentators neglects the economic factors. (Oktay, 1995: 158-159) He states,

" Approaches claimed that popular culture has a potential power for consciousness and resistance perceive the problems only at the cultural level, and neglects economic aspects of this problem." (Oktay, 1995: 58)

We can observe that, Oktay confidently criticizes the theorists who find more democratized elements in popular culture like futurologs, post-modernists, McLuhan, etc. He never agreed with these optimist views. But, for him to defend tradition and traditional ways of communication against new information technologies will no longer be possible. We should use new information technologies if we really want to reach a free society by altering the existing medias. He argues that,

" Radio, TV, cinema and tabloid press, novels of adventure and sex, photo-stories, industry of discs and cassette enlarge cultural level of masses despite of negative impacts, provides the spreading of the knowledge despite the form scrutinized. The real question is to prevent absorption of oppositionary content, integrated to the system through dominant ideology by using the same communication/information channels and forms". (Oktay,1982: 92)

In his 'Türkiye'de Popüler Kültür' (1993b), Oktay criticizes views of Oskay about high culture and elitism. He claims that Oskay equates high culture and elitism. He says, " I fear from Oskay's views about the cultural accumulation of humanity from Ancient Greece to today". He criticizes Oskay's view implies that high culture is the culture of dominant classes throughout history. For Oktay, high culture and elitism can not be equated. Oktay claims that cultural elitism's approach inevitably

leads to political elitism, and political elitism , also, leads to repressive regimes. But, he also claims that " against mass culture, I always defend and support high cultural values, but at the same time, I never believe in an elitist approach". (Oktay, 1990b :91/111) For Oktay, high culture is the common production of humanity, not only dominant classes. He claims that evolution and transformation of popular culture is only possible by adjustment of values of high culture to society. Oktay clearly defends the popularization of high culture, but, he tries to make a distinction between high culture and elitism.

He claims that abolition of private ownership did not ensure a rich and a most advanced society. He continues to argue that, in cultural sphere, there is a critical distance between cultural level of the masses and a developed culture. Therefore, promoting of a populist discourse by neglecting cultural gaps creates serious practical and theoretical problems.

Oktay insists on the negative moment of art, following Marcuse and other commentators. He firmly believes that the high cultural products reflect a democratic, and an emancipatory content in the last instance. This negative moment of art contains a revolutionary potential for the transformation of existing society into a developed one. For Oktay, genuine art acts as a last preserve of human yearnings for that 'the other society' beyond the present one. Following Herbert Marcuse, he argues that art in its advanced position contains the rationality of negation, it is the Great Refusal- the protest against that which is. He believes the idea of highest forms of art as means

of transforming society through developing a critical consciousness and pessimistic dismissal of working class. (Oktay, 1993b:19, Marcuse, 1964: 63)

As can be seen, Oktay believes that maintaining of total human capacity by abolishing all reification and forms of alienation which includes establishment of the free time, and maintaining of emancipated, the democratic and equalitarian society. All these ideals and utopias should be evaluated apart from vulgar Marxist approaches, populist social democrat tendencies of the Turkish left, optimist futurology and their great expectations from communication technology, and also from the conservative approaches that reject new information technologies, and other regressive approaches. According to him, all these approaches are not able to produce a reasonable solution for our problems. Reaching to a most advanced society by abolishing the older one is not possible by following these approaches. These approaches, according to Oktay, do not serve to emancipation of humanity and abolishment of class inequalities in society.

Therefore, the question arises that what is the true approach for solution of our problems? Which ways and methods should be followed to obtain these objectives? Which theoretical and practical premises are indicated by Oktay ? Which methods and ways are suggested by him to his avid readers for understanding real causes of events and transforming society ? Which practical tools are suggested by him to protect us from manipulation over us.

According to Oktay, culture lost its emancipatory characteristic in today's world. This argument of Oktay shows his belief or disbelief about the emancipatory

potentialities of the cultural and artificial products. For him, emancipation is not possible as long as the horizon of expectations consist of individual wealthy and security rather than justice, freedom and democracy. Therefore, horizon of individuals should begin to change. He argues that,

" anything can be changed unless the masses would be directly makers and producers of the politics. Neither past nor fiction give us freedom. Emancipation is only possible by understanding then transforming it. (politics). Certainly, emotion of past should be combined with the hopes to future. Consciousness of history helps us for understanding today". (Oktay, 1991a: 59)

"... the acquisition of a genuine consciouness aboutsocial reality is only possible by understanding of real truth of images which are submitted to us by cultural means. This is not a problem which may be solved from today to tomorrow as it is supposed." (Oktay, 1987b: 149)

As mentioned earlier, Oktay stresses on the negative moment of art or revolutionary potential of art on one hand, and, he stresses on the significance of class conflicts as a sole motor of the history inspite of the dissolution of real socialism, on the other. Following Herbert Marcuse, he implies the true subjectivity of thought and art. He claims that high cultural products reflect a democratic content. These cultural products defend the right of life and happiness of the masses in the last instance according to him. But, he defends the necessity of autonomy of art against political pressures in order to preserve it from the destructive impacts of the political partisanships. (Oktay, 1993b: 19) He argues that,

"Literature and writing remain oppositionary in their theoretical content as a communication form against mass communication means . In advanced countries also, oppositionary content is generally expressed by writings. Because, it is clear that radio and television stations are administrated and controlled by state or private enterprises in spite of all bourgeoise democratic institutions".(Oktay,1982: 93)

Contrary to Oskay, he claims that transformation and evolution of the popular culture is only possible by the appropriation of values of high culture. He defends high cultural forms instead of evolution and transformation of popular cultural forms in itself. According to Oktay, the point that denied is the GREAT REFUSAL of the art. Art is closely connected with the social project/revolution. Aesthetic level is an important content of revolutionary thought and, thus it participates to the revolutionary process by provoking imagination and sub-consciouness. (Oktay, 1995: 176-177)

It should be claimed that, Oktay follows a new left approach. He refuses to defend social democrat tendencies and their moderate and restorative opposition in one hand, and he refuses to defend solely a class discourse, on the other. For transcending deception or illusion, a political discourse that shows the real face of social relations and destroys the ethic of work should be created. According to him, establishment of a more good, more humanistic World and ensuring the continuation of such an emancipated World or reproduction of this World needs to a critical outlook and imagination that care its newness in everyday for transcending real society.

Continuous re-evaluation of our life should be made as heterogeneous as possible and basic principle of this re-evaluation should be emancipation. For such a re-interpretation, realities, changing realities, changing world and new phenomena should be taken into consideration. The strategy of new socialism must be constructed on a politics based on diversity and differences, and on social movements in civil society such as green, feminist, anti-racist, anti-militarist movements, etc. As can be seen, Oktay's societal projects based on the formation of a democratic, equalitarian and free society also constitutes the basis for a desirable socialism. And this understanding of socialism grounds for the emancipation of the society. Oktay clearly argues that class struggles is essential to any viable socialist project. But, he also emphasizes importance of the other types of struggles such as ecological, feminist, etc. For Oktay, a dialectical interaction between these struggles should be created.

For Oktay, as stated earlier, to resist mass culture is only possible by using new information technologies, but by a more emancipated imagination. A genuine critical outlook and knowledge about the reality is only possible by understanding real face of imagination that presented to the masses. Critical consciousness and imagination of happiness and freedom should be defended continuously by any means necessary. He also argues that understanding today and transform it is only possible by acquiring a consciousness of history which integrates feelings of past and ideals of the future. (Oktay, 1992c:142, 1992b:93-96, 1987b: 151-153, 1991a:59)

For Ahmet Oktay, liberating from all types of pressures (economic, political, ideological, aesthetical, ethical) needs to devotion to the idea of a free,

democratic and equalitarian society and struggle for these aims in all levels. Such a struggle is inevitably connected with an ideological, political and economic struggle against the existing system. But, it should be accepted that, these struggles will continue in a long-term period. For Oktay, revolutionism which reflect easy made solutions are only meaningless slogans. The function of such desires are the reliefs, and these reliefs lead to catharsis. Democratic, free and toleranced social atmosphere is a prerequisite of an emancipatory social struggle. He defines democracy as the acceptance of right of life of the minorities in the context of freedom of thought, not will of majority. He stresses on restriction of the rights in the existing democracies. Such a democratic structure would appear to be most efficient system of domination according to him. Therefore, a real democracy have to be existed instead of psuedo-one. (Oktay, 1995: 175/213, 1991a: 56) He states that,

" Democracy is not only will of majority; more than that it is the recognition of right and existence of minorities". (Oktay,1995: 137)

" A democratization based on human rights can be maintained only by rebellion of public".(Oktay,1995:33)

Oktay, following Marx, argues that for maintaining the free time, division of labour and compulsory working must be abolished. Such a social transformation is closely connected with changing of existing conditions. Because, free time means living in a social formation that all reification and alienation forms transcended. Free time can only be maintained and lived in a society that social formation is totally free

of social domination. We may rescue leisure from continuation of work by humanization of this time. (Oktay, 1992a: 178, 1991b: 130)

For Oktay, the problem posed by popular culture is an emancipation problem of the humanity like other social problems. He insists on the advance in political and cultural consciousness of the masses in transformation of social process by arguing that literature/art or high culture can play a significant role in this social transformation. For acquiring of such a cultural and political consciousness, existing levels of popular taste should be transcended. Cultural competence of the masses should be maintained for their active participation to social, cultural and political life. We should struggle in every fields of life, but, for Oktay, main field of political struggle is language. For transforming society, to establish a new language in all levels is necessary. (Oktay, 1987a: 146) He states that,

" Life and, also, society have been formed by human or human actions. I do not believe that, anything can not be changed unless individuals believe that or appropriate equalitarian and free society idea, or struggle for maintaining this society. However, communication channels can manipulate us to being voluntarily servitude or slavery if these channels do not tested and criticized by us continuously".(Oktay, 1993b: 252)

It seems that, evolution of popular culture in itself and contribution of the popular culture to emancipatory social transformation process is not very attractive idea for Oktay. He stresses on the revolutionary potential of art, and he defends high culture against popular culture. He also stresses on the distribution of the knowledge

and cultural/artificial product to the masses by emphasizing control over mass communication. But, according to him,

" Mass culture is generally taken into consideration with its negative aspects due to the fact that most of the communication/information means are owned and controlled by hegemonic classes in the last instance. Intellectuals stress on the reality that systems of communication like television, radio, press, disc, etc., are produced only for dominant ideology and exploit the leisure time of labour class. But, the problem of the cultural distribution to the masses can not be solved entirely if the ownership of the communication means which provides reproduction of the order, and the administration is not exchanged. However, this reality should not prevent us to see another one. Technological development has presented unbelievable opportunities to the larger masses as to communication/information. Labour classes have come into the position to be watched, read and hearth the realities even though it has been scrutinized. The whole reality can not be concealed. (1981: 51-53)

It should be stated that, Oktay's premises are more abstract premises around the concepts like emancipation, democratization, alienation, etc. Cultural consciousness or cultural development of the masses is very important for Oktay. He suggests being critical against life or feeling of sadness, melancholy- but, we can say, Oktay did not offer practical ways and methods connected with the field of everyday life of individuals. It should be claimed that, Oktay's premises have important gaps in the context of everyday life experiences of people. He fail to provide a reference to tell which practical tools can protect us from the manipulation over us. But, however, we should say, Oktay emphasizes the importance of economic factors and organized political struggles against the system for reaching to a democratic, equalitarian and free society ideal in most of his writings. Cultural consciousness of the masses and ideological struggle always come first for ensuring an emancipatory transformation in

his analysis. As can be seen, for Oktay, a genuine culture is the main source of creativity, emancipation, democratization and economic and social development, i.e., all the positive connotations. In this sense, to Oktay, culture is both the agent of transformation and its result. But, at the same time, Oktay suggest the reduction of working time to a minimum, a universal education and autonomous civil society organizations in society as prerequisites for a rational social development. He claims that growing satisfaction of needs to a growing number of people can create new needs and faculties by stressing on the progressive aspects of consumerism following Marcuse.

"Critique of all fields of everyday life, from economic level to sexuality, is necessary for understanding social problems of present day. To transcend standardization of actually existing society is not very easy as it is supposed, in a society that individualistic and narcistic trends have been rapidly increasing". (1991a: 136)

"Critical consciouness, happiness and freedom images should be defended in everywhere and by every means up to the end".(1987b: 163)

As stressed earlier, Ahmet Oktay's societal projects based on the formation of a democratic society which also constitutes the basis of desirable socialism. He looks at cultural problems from a working class perspective. And this understanding of socialism provides the grounds for the emancipation and democratization of society. Critical outlook and negation to present with cultural development of the masses, freedom of expression and thought and the existence of real democracy, and an organized society are preconditions of emancipatory social

transformations for Oktay. Appropriation of high cultural forms may provide important contributions to emancipatory social changes, and a new and pluralist socialist thinking and struggles can transform society in an healthy way. In this sense, existing level of consciousness has to be transcended for maintaining the most emancipated society in future.

6.2 Ünsal OSKAY

First of all, it is necessary to say that the problem posed by Oskay that has to be solved is the emancipation problem of humanity. In other words, abolishment of the alienation problem, abolishment of all reification forms, to transcend dominant man-subordinated man relationships. Real society has to be transcended for establishing more free and humanistic world according to Oskay. The utopia that indicated in Oskay's studies are establishing a most emancipated and humanistic World, transition to a higher stage of a universal civilization. It can be announced as social transformation, social change or in Oskay's word: 'the aim of transition to a most advanced social life' or, in other words, 'most emancipated social formation'. (1) He tries to sought emancipation/alienation problems of the humanity. He tries to answer how we can create a suitable cultural and political climate for transcending our actual social problems. He implies that, we must transcend and change the reality which we are live in. Because, actual problems of today that we are facing in our everyday life, can not be solved without changing existing realities. Oskay prefers a classless discourse by mentioning 'transition to a most advanced and most emancipated social

life or social formation'. Appearance of a critical distance with classical Marxist political thought in his studies can easily be observed. His ideas about the class discourse of classical Marxist political thought should be remembered. He prefers to use concepts like contemporary civilisation level, modernization in real sense, etc., apart from class analysis.

Now, I try to show which solutions have significant gaps according to Oskay. Firstly, Oskay strongly criticizes cultural populism, cultural pluralism and cultural democratization approaches (liberal-pluralist approaches), and he refuses to defend their very optimistic evaluations on the development of information technology. Oskay suggests the critical thought in all platforms. He argues that some ideas are still remains its attractivity for some intellectuals of underdeveloped countries, but, suggestions of them like as 'education of the people by spreading television' can not maintain a modernization in real sense. Such projects, according to him, have static and regressive elements. (Oskay, 1982a:230, 1972:50)

According to Oskay, mass communication means have progressive potentialities in nature, but, our problems can not be solved within the communication technology itself by regulating the relations between the masses and mass communication. The real problem is the existence of the free social life that people can participate. Mass communication can only be efficient in providing the sensitization to the individuals about their alienated situation in their everyday life. The real solution can only be possible by the way of efficient participation of the masses to political processing. To claim that advance in communication technology in

modern societies presents a serious emancipation opportunity to individuals, for Oskay, is a deceptive, and an anti-modernist optimism. He claims that, following W.Schramm, mass communication means are not independent variables for maintaining the desirable changes in society. Oskay's point of view about modern communication technology or functions of science and technology can be found in his main argument on the effects of mass communication on social change. We see repetition of his main argument about mass communication means in his all books. He argues that contribution of mass communication means to the solution of emancipation problem of society is closely connected with the other elements of social and political life. His views about technology and technological determinism should be kept in mind for best understanding of Oskay's pessimism about modern communication and communication technology. For Oktay, technology has to be considered as a dependent variable in social development, instead of independent one. In order to provide contribution of technology and science for the solution of emancipation problem, science and technology should be freed from its present situation 'under the hegemony of one class' (Bourgeoise). In this sense, Oskay refuses to defend post-industrial society conceptualizations that present advancement of technology and science as a significant turning point in history as a revolution. For Oktay, their liberating discourse has an illusionary character. However, he also refuses to defend pessimistic outlook of conservative approaches that comes from the technological determinism. He sharply criticizes 'science and technology without ideology' approaches that announced the end of ideology, and also McLuhan and other commentators whose defense the cold medium against hot media by arguing that hot media is more democratic than the cold medium. Oskay, contrary to 'End of the

Ideology' approach, suggest that ideological criticism should be replaced in science following the lead of the Habermas. (2) Parallel to his views about the science and technology, and their role on social change and development, Oskay argues that the role of popular culture in social change or transformation that which becomes a problem that can not be solved within the popular culture itself.

In this sense, for Oskay, contrary to Oktay, to judge popular culture by seeking pure or high art or pure or high ethics in contemporary life is a false approach, and bears some conservative elements as pointed out by Adorno (Oskay, 1982a : 185) For Oskay, inclinations towards the national culture and cultural imperialism are regressive and conservative tendencies. However, ultra-progressivism and Westernization ideas are also false tendencies that comes from the same origin of conservatist tendencies. He argues that the solution will not come just from a rise in the quality of art or from 'democratization of culture.' (Oskay, 1982a: 337)

For Oktay, some explanations about popular culture such as popular iconology explanations, Paul Huizinga's theory of play (Homo Ludens) and McLuhan's optimist evaluations are insufficient approaches. Because, these perspectives try to explain popular culture problematic in the context of individual/society conflict. For Oskay, perception of external reality problem can not be studied as a problem of individual capacity, or as a conflict between society and individual. Perception crisis of humanity should be studied as a social problem. Such

explanations are useful for understanding some cultural and social phenomena of present day. But, these approaches have also significant gaps. (Oskay, 1982a: 202)

In his 'Kitle İletişimin Kültürel İşlevleri' (1982a), Oskay also criticizes Frankfurt School thinkers who argue that to reach a more developed society is only possible by development of the level of individual consciousness. He continues to criticize Frankfurt School thinkers by arguing that they did not see contradictions of/in the hegemonic ideology. Therefore, he argues that Frankfurt School thinkers approved that there is no contradiction in hegemonic ideology, hegemonic ideology has a coherent structure. For Oskay, Frankfurt School thinkers, like Althusser, have a more pessimistic outlook about the hegemony in society as a result of such a consideration.

Oskay, also criticizes such tendencies like as escaping to nature, migration from towns to rural life, escaping to sub-culture islands, or tending to a resentful and compliant discourse of radical tendencies by using a derisive language. Sub-cultural products may be against the mode of production of the system, may criticize the existing mode of production. But, such critiques do not lead to transformative protest movements because of their integration with system according to Oskay. Sub-cultural products remain only as a challenge against the system. Opposition of sub-cultural groups can not threat the actually existing system. Because, 'every sub-cultural groups need to transform into an enterprise to a some degree in a capitalist society'. The recent celebration of 'semiotic democracy' in which people drawn from a vast shifting of sub-cultures and groups construct their own meanings within an autonomous

cultural economy, as argued by post-modernist thinkers, is an illusionary, and a very optimist idea, according to Oskay. (1988:190, 1982a:337)

Oskay describes folk culture as a non-material and material culture of rural section by/with its negative and positive elements. But, he argues that field of folk life has not been exist in the contemporary World. Folk cultural products have been integrated with the popular culture in a great extent in present day. Because, the spontenaity of folk ended. Therefore, folk culture can not be produced in present day because of the changes in the material base of it. For Oskay, promotion of basic human values in folk cultural products is a positive approach. But, presentation of myth of rebellious hero as a valid method for a revolutionary politics is a false tendency that could be seen in folk cultural products. He criticizes mythic fictions and content of folk cultural products. In addition to his evaluations on sub-cultural groups and folk cultural products, Oskay also argues that counter-culture concept does not represent a more serious alternative against the existing system. For him, critics and comments around the concept of counter-culture are very optimist approaches. (Oskay,1982a:341-342, 1982b:97)

Oskay firmly believes that our problems can not be transcended by remaining within the popular culture and communication technology. These problems represent highly confused social cases. Transformation and evolution of popular culture in itself can provide contributions to social change. But, overcoming of these problems should not be expected from developments in the field of the communication. Maintaining the most advanced society, instead of existing one, can

only be possible by active and efficient participation of the masses to political processing. Popular culture and mass communication means may support an emancipatory social transformation after completing their internal transformation. But, it should not be denied that, contribution of popular culture and mass communication means to emancipation problem will always remain as a limited contribution. For Oskay, great expectations from popular culture and mass communication technology represent a false and a deceptive optimism. A dialectical interaction between the field of everyday life and social theory is necessary in order to maintain the most advanced social life. Studies on the field of everyday life should not be served to fetishization of individual taste and individual creativity. Such studies, for Oskay, should also not be served to the aim of making masses as the clientele of political parties of the existing system. Effectiveness of negative functions of popular culture should be tried to eliminate. Finally, according to Oskay,

" Studies on the popular culture shows that the transition to most advanced social formation instead of existing one can only be maintained by the conscious actions of classes and by political struggle of these classes, not by development of individual consciousness". (Oskay, 1982a: 261)

He also argues that:

"If we desire to have a different life in future or differentiating of our life in future, our life in today's world and our behaviours in today's life should begin to differentiate by beginning from today. We should inspire and devise (envise) a plan or project for more humanistic life in future when we are trying to continue our life in today and we should learn to organize movements (step by step) with all social classes and sections that have to transform existing life". (3)

Oskay, in his essay 'Popüler Kültür Açısından İdeoloji Kavramına İlişkin Yeni Yaklaşımlar' (4), argues that hegemonic ideology has a contradictory structure, and it is the force-field between different political views that should not be denied by subordinated sections of the society. Hegemonic ideology carries contradictions in itself, and the structure of hegemonic ideology is not homogenized and rigid one. Hegemonic ideology has a flexible structure. However, hegemonic ideology can renew and reproduce itself because of the same reason: because of its flexible, contradictory, and unstable structure. But, for Oskay, it should be pointed out hegemonic ideology does not perform its functions within a total efficiency. This picture shows that ideological struggle can be made in all spheres of social life, including the field of the hegemonic ideology. He argues that ideological struggle should have a goal that have a capacity for reaching to different life fields of different social sections. For maintaining a desirable society by the participation of the masses, a larger and flexible ideological discourse should be produced and reproduced. Democratic elements of this ideology should be developed for transcending of homogenized and rigid class discourses. For Oskay, such a new ideology requires a genuine knowledge on the popular culture and popular cultural life. Therefore, everyday life of individuals should be taken into consideration in order to maintain efficient performance of this new ideological discourse. Because, like hegemonic culture, popular culture is also a force-field between different political views. Ideological struggle should be made in the field of everyday life. This field of struggle should not be denied by subordinated masses. Because, popular culture can provide

important contributions to the emancipation of society under the certain conditions such as rising of political struggles, a weakening status quo, a more organized and a better informed social opposition, etc. But, popular cultural products do not have a capacity that can transform the development of history in itself. The real problem posed by popular culture in Oskay's thought can be formulated as : social transformation can only be maintained outside the field of popular culture, not in the field of the popular culture, itself. The real problem is level of the contribution of popular cultural products in providing to support such a transformation. To sum up, contribution of popular culture to social transformation (which levels, which ways and tools) is the real problem for Oskay in the context of the popular culture. (Oskay, 1982b:12) Oskay claims that, following Lowenthal, alienation can only be studied as a social phenomenon. Therefore, alienation problem can not be transcended by change and development of the popular cultural products. Alienation problem should be evaluated in the context of totality of the social system and, this problem can only be abolished by changing the totality of the system. The problem of alienation should not be read in the context of popular culture and mass communication itself. But, in emancipatory transformation of society, popular cultural products may, and also should perform significant social functions. Popular cultural products like social theory can perform significant functions in changing the nature of the social process. Oskay states,

" Re-organization or re-regulation of social life is a necessity for all societies and for all sections of societies. Actually existing social system has to be analyzed and criticized in an efficient and free communication atmosphere. Then, social system must be reconstructed also. (Or, re-construction of

existing social system is urgently necessary.) This re-construction of society should not be delayed to future. Because existing social system and social life creates vital problems for all societies and for all sections and classes of societies, not only for workers, labourers and other poorer sections of society. Existing level of the problem is valid in all political regimes in spite of its differences (Similar problems lives in everywhere or all over the world) For maintaining such a plan, project or programme and also understanding this is the only way for transforming actually existing society, an ideological enlightenment programme (emancipatory, democratic, humanistic) has to be constructed and processed". (5)

For Oskay, efficient performance of the emancipatory potentialities of popular culture is closely connected with other relevant factors that interacted dialectically with popular cultural elements: decreasing the efficiency of the system, advance in the level of the consciousness of basic social powers whose support new social life and better organization of them, increase in the level of the participation to political activities, etc. Emancipation problem can never be evaluated in a true sense without an advanced theoretical methodology. (Oskay,1982a: 97/192)

Finally, according to Oskay,

" There is no such alternative as returning back to the folk culture of an outdated social formation. Likewise, elite culture is not a good instrument either. Elite culture reflects largely the tastes of dominant classes throughout history. The only real alternative, then, is to improve on and evolutionize the popular culture towards an oppositionary or critical position. The internal tensions and conflicts within the hegemonic ideology will be a very important target of such a strategy. For exercising or experiencing, testing of advocates of newness or changist art and thought. Firstly, popular culture that dominant in today's societies should be evolutionized within itself. Such an evolution have important limits, of course, but have some opportunities, also. When we think hegemonic ideology not have a total coherence in itself, and did not have a total efficiency throughout history, important evolutions can be maintained by following contradictions and conflicts in hegemonic ideology or struggling within the field of hegemonic ideology, too. For example, critiques of domestic appearance of freedom, individuality and

health (soundness) that supports to hegemonic ideology, defending basic humanistic values within a more developed form by supporting of expectations of sub-cultural groups requirements, can be made within a more efficient communication. Only by realizing this, popular culture may be caused to gain expectation to look at real life by a different perspective, ability and habit for the masses. These developments seems to be necessary for beginning and continuation of two sides communication, organization, being consciousness and efficient participation to political life within a real communication that is necessary for reaching masses for radical transformations, and detending degeneration of transformation process within the hands of small groups or minorities." (Oskay, 1982a: 341-342)

Oskay suggests a radical change in the affirmative form of the popular culture. Transformation and evolution of popular culture in itself, according to Oskay, is a prerequisite for providing strong contribution of popular culture to an emancipatory social transformation. Social development may/should be accelerated (not determined) by popular cultural products. (Oskay, 1982a: 329)

Therefore, for providing contribution of popular culture to an emancipatory social transformation, popular culture parallel with social theory and practice, should perform a dialectical and cognitive function. It should permit the existence of elements that aimed to eliminate class hegemony in its structure within a strict confirmity with its immanent structure. Popular culture should provide sensitization of individuals about their false behaviours and judgements. Popular culture should provide the hear for the feelings of individuals pains that caused from their situation in society instead of lightening of these pains or detending clash of social contradictions. It should provide clash of contradictions in society and represent these contradictions. Its development should not be seen as direct expression of social events. Because art and culture are not only the expression and

reflection of social tendencies. Art is a product of social artifice. Finally, popular culture should try to transcend the level of consciousness of the existing society. Art and culture should be aware of its social function, and it should be functional for providing a contribution to emancipation. According to Oskay, music, like theory, must go beyond the prevailing consciousness of the masses. There must be a harmonious reconciliation of form and content in function and expression, and subjective and objective elements of a musical product, like theory, and like other popular cultural products. As can be easily seen, Oskay points out the necessity of transformation of popular culture in itself. He claims that field of popular culture should be transformed into a field of ideological for supporting to emancipation of humanity and transition to a most advanced social life. He implies that struggles in this field can provide significant contributions for reaching to a desirable society in future. But, Oskay implicitly asserts that the main field of struggle is the field of political life. Contribution of popular culture to maintaining of emancipation will always remain a limited contribution, as mentioned earlier.

Popular culture, science and technology should be transformed in itself in order to perform emancipatory functions and/or for being functional. Communication processes of today should open to a serious critiques by democratic debates with participation of larger sections of society within a radical form. All elements of the communication in society should be tried to reconstruct within an emancipatory and democratic form for overcoming and transcending alienation parallel with other radical regulations in other fields of the society. There is a growing need for a serious re-evaluation of communication processes and to make structural reforms alongside

with necessary changes in other social spheres in order to create a democratic and emancipatory culture to overcome alienation. (Oskay, 1982a: 414-415)

For providing the contribution of modern communication technologies to the emancipation process, for creating a genuine communication atmosphere or climate instead of pseudo-communication of today, life style of present day that accepted and approved by us normal and ordinary has to be evaluated, analyzed and investigated by serious critiques. For providing the contribution of technology, science, modern mass communication means and also popular culture for emancipation, according to Oskay:

1) Science should be returned to its natural mechanisms. Positivist and neutral science approach should be abandoned. Ideological critique should be revived in the field of science. Because, according to Oskay,

" Science is isolated from its larger social context. It is illusory to think science is independent process that liberated itself from ideology and social criticism. Science and technology need a serious re-examination with respect to their ideological aspects". (Oskay, 1982a: 255-256)

2) Technology should be planned for the service of all humanity

3) Field of science should be protected from manipulation of political effects. This realm should be autonomous.

4) Control of hegemonic classes over mass communication means should be eliminated. Control of larger sections of society over mass communication should be tried to be maintained. (This approach is different from processing of mass communication by feedbacks)

5) He defends hot media instead of cold medium like television. For him, book leads to increasing our level of consciousness, and is more democratic than modern mass communication means like television. (6)

6) 'A return to the spirit of enlightenment with a larger humanistic/universal perspective would be a right starting point'. The largest horizon of enlightenment may be a good response for collective expectations or aspirations of humanity. (Oskay, 1982a: 417 and 406)

7) A universal education that clarifies and enlightens basic human needs and problems is significant for social change. Education and knowledge processes should perform enlightening function for the basic problems of humanity with utilizing developments in science and technology.

Finally, according to Oskay, to create a democratic life atmosphere that all pressure forms, ignorance and fears are eliminated, is a prerequisite for providing the contribution of modern communication technologies to the emancipation process. Radical message may reach to great masses by a broadcasting policy which depends

on revival of the contradictions in hegemonic ideology instead of present affirmative form of mass communication means. He suggests transition to a new broadcasting policy that utilizes from emancipatory potentialities of popular culture which presents more humanistic alternatives against existing society, life style and hegemonic ideology in order to resist to hegemonic ideology.

Oskay, in his all studies, points out the importance of the role of fantasy in modern societies under the lead of the Walter Benjamin. According to him, having a dream is an important ability of us that should be protected. We should protect emancipation of our fantasies and dreams. Because our fantasies and dreams have been forming under the influence and control of the amusement and consciousness industries. Therefore, our fantasies lost its emancipatory functions and elements. To provide emancipation of our fantasies is directly connected with protection of emancipation of our fantasies against the negative effects of the amusement and consciousness industries. (Oskay, 1982a:191) He states that,

"Solution of emancipation problem in the modern era depends more urgent than former eras on the sustaining freedom of individual's emancipatory fantasies against the effects of amusement and consciousness industry." (7)

Now, how can realize emancipation of our fantasies and dreams? The answer of this question can be summarized as follows by evaluating Oskay's critiques:

- 1) Finding and protecting emancipatory elements of our fantasies
- 2) Presenting real face of dark fantasies that is formed and presented by bourgeoisie.
- 3) Enlightening and understanding of the real face of our fantasies.
- 4) Defending the fantasies that reflect emancipation expectations of humanity and, to defend the belief that healing can only be possible with conscious human actions against irrational, mythic and anti-cognitive fantasies. In other words, to defend and present emancipatory fantasies against submissive ones. (Oskay, 1988: 212-213)

It should be claimed here, following his arguments, increasing of cultural capacity of the masses closely connected with increasing their financial and leisure opportunities as a prerequisite for opposing to pacified existence that comes from the effectiveness of amusement and consciousness industry with its different and complex aspects. (8) For Oskay, cognitively developed literatural forms for creating of emancipatory fantasies and dreams are useful tools. To create a suitable atmosphere for a developed art and science is a prerequisite for a revived cultural life. (Oskay, 1988: 7-11) (9)

For Oskay, increasing the efficiency of cultural forms that have negativity and non-identity, interesting with everyday life activities or increasing our efforts and surveys or investigations about everyday life has to be aimed to follow in the field of popular culture. (10) As stated earlier, Oskay insists on the fact that popular culture and mass communication means can play progressive roles in social development. But, it should be underlined here, for Oskay, the main field of struggle is the field of

political struggle in broader sense. However, such a political struggle needs a multi-dimensional political and ideological fightening.

In his 'İletişimin ABC'si' (1992), Oskay claims that masses seized possibility of being of the subject of the politics during the 1789 Revolution process in France. Democratic social life had been established by activities of masses and their collective efforts in Western Countries. But, in today's world, according to him, as a result of developments in 20th century, we reached to pacified and amorf masses. Therefore,

1) Masses should be efficient and productive from their work-places to their leisure. They should have the right of speech in all fields of life. They should be the subject of the production, not the material of it.

2) Masses are reduced to the situation of material of the politics. Masses should be subject of the politics by active participation to social and political life. Active participation of individuals to all fields of life is significant for the meaning to life by their own life experiences. Such an active participation detends the political apathy.

(11)

3) Leisure time is the continuation of the work-time under the influence of work ethics. Leisure time should leave from influence of work-ethics. Leisure should be returned to individual's own time.

4) All these processings can not be considered seperated from an acknowledgement and enlightenment process. Because, actual level of consciouness is not enough for understanding real causes of social contradictions and change it. (12)

Oskay points out that our actual problems can be solved by a conscious acknowledgement process, active participation to political life and establishment of an organized society by democratic ways by emphasizing detective role of the popular culture in the society. An enlightenment process is a prerequisite of such an emancipatory development. The other prereqisites are organizational soviety, political education and conscious and active participation of larger masses to political life by democratic ways. Oskay also suggests that reviving of face to face communication fields by political parties and trade unions for protecting political democracy against the political campaigns that rational dimension is excluded, and emotional dimension is rapidly increased. These political campaigns and popular cultural forms support regressive political movements, or, in other words, rightist radical movements in society by its images. Within this context, political meetings are also important. (Oskay, 1992: 85)

In his 'Çağdaş Fantazya' (1988), Oskay emphasizes the importance of the existence of an organized society indirectly by arguing that lack of an organized society leads to a radicalization of the non-equalitarian and regressive political movements. Such an organized society should be constructed in a coherent structure between economic, political and cultural fields. The solution of our problems closely connected with an organized society and active political participation within a

democratic and pluralistic society. But, according to Oskay, all democratization forms not automatically lead to the emancipation. In order to follow an emancipatory way in these struggles,

"the real problem is how to create and maintain the necessary organizational structure, consciousness and political struggles in an emancipatory way". (Oskay, 1982a: 337)

Oskay claims that, our hopes, expectations and aspirations are closely connected with perceiving of the world as individuals and different ways. Such a perspective will revive our cultural and political life. He also claims that solution of our problems depends to class consciousness and political struggles of classes, not by individual consciousness by criticizing FrankfurtSchool thinkers. Therefore, his point of view on concept of individuality, in my opinion, should be evaluated apart from the individualistic perspectives. Because, he strongly criticizes some approaches on popular culture (i.e. popular iconology) as immature because of their individualistic perspectives and their evaluations of communication problems in the context of contradiction between individual and society. Oskay refuses to defend these approaches by arguing that communication problems of society can only be studied as a social phenomenon, following Lowenthal. However, Oskay's opinion about the individuality different from individualistic thought. But, at the same time, we can observe a critical distance of him to class discourse in his thought. Oskay has been trying to formulate an ideological discourse for valid all sections/stratas and classes of society apart from hegemonic classes and/or bourgeoisie.

In his 'Kitle İletişiminin Kültürel İşlevleri' (1982a) Oskay claims that alienation could not be overcome simply by abolishing private property (he says 'as Marx stressed earlier') He argues that studies of the Frankfurt School thinkers have been completing incomplete approaches in classical Marxist thought. Oskay, at that point, could bridge the gap between classical Marxist thought and critical thought of the Frankfurt School.

Finally, Oskay stresses on the maintenance of the social transformation by active participation of the individuals to social and political life by democratic ways, and increasing ways and methods of the political participation and civil society organizations. Existence of a radical democratic atmosphere, free thought and free speech, and such a cultural and political atmosphere is sine qua non for maintaining social transformation in real sense. But, a critical point should be remembered: Which ways or methods can protect oppositionary movements against pressive regimes and radical regressive movements in crisis periods? Oskay does not formulate a clear answer for this question in his writings. He insists on the significance of maintaining, creating or constructing a free and genuine communication atmosphere instead of existing pseudo-one. To construct or create a genuine communication atmosphere needs to have critical outlook from our form of language to our beliefs, from our value judgements to our ways of behave. He also stresses on the significance of the existence of real 'written culture' in his all studies.

Finally, according to him, the problem posed by popular culture, is a problem of system, not merely a problem of popular culture. He states:

" All results support my main thesis that the cultural functions of mass communication goes beyond the structure of communication itself. To think communication as a linear process has long been left aside by the communication theorists. This is a simplification." (Oskay, 1982a: 412-413)

" In order to bring explanations in the field of communication one needs to depart from a larger theoretical framework that attempts to explain totality of the life". (Oskay, 1982a: 414)

Oskay has a more radical discourse in his critiques when he claims, "Our life is not a real life, our identities are psuedo-identities, not real ones and we can not trust the cultural historical accumulation of humanity from Ancient Greece to present day.". He describes our life as fictional and an 'aesthetized replic of life. He also describes today's communication as a psuedo-communication under the lead of the Benjamin. He argues that the real or genuine communication can only be maintained in an atmosphere (climate) that our life has spontenaity. But, it is hard to claim that Oskay has radical premises for the solution of our problems. He prefers a less radical direction on ways, methods and strategies for overcoming alienation and alienated society. Perhaps it is not wrong to say, Oskay claims that there is no ground on which theory and practice, thought and action meet. He prefers the terms like 'to reach higher level of civilisation' or 'a most advanced social life' instead of transition to socialism from capitalism. Oskay has been trying, in my opinion, to protect himself from political pressures. But, for Oskay, a radical change of the system should be aimed, (not change in some actors of system) by trying to reproduce our life in an

emancipatory way. Oskay, in my opinion, talks about a continuous cultural revolution in society. He argues that all repressive mechanisms will be abandoned by the way of transition to full or radical democracy. Civil society or organized society should be strengthened. But, it should be noted here, he distinguishes liberation from emancipation, following Adorno. He carefully emphasizes that, all democratization forms not automatically lead to emancipation. He argues that democratization does not necessarily have to be closely related with freedom in the sense it is defined. (13) He argues that,

'Democratization of consumption by itself poses no problem. The real problem is a democratization of consumption without a democratization in the other relevant social activities. (economic, social or cultural) It leads to manipulation of needs in order to reproduce the existing power relations'. (Oskay, 1982a: 85-86)

It should be claimed that, main source of Oskay's remaining hopes comes from his belief that human praxis is the motor force of the change and development in history. He claims that the studies of popular culture show that humanity have never been closed in a total false-consciousness throughout history. The demand for happiness and emancipation could not be diminished substantially throughout history. The real cause of the efficient performance of hegemonic cultural regulations is transition from absolute povertization to relative deprivation policies during the 19th century. Therefore, for Oskay, this problem seems to be transcended by rising the level of expectations of the individuals. Because, demand of men to a better social life,

and expectations around it, could not be eliminated throughout history. (Oskay, 1982a: 405-406)

Oskay, following Benjamin, ends in his all own studies by calling for the socialist politicization of everyday life as a response to what Benjamin's called fascist 'aestheticization of politics'. Contrary to Oktay, Oskay refuses to defend high cultural standarts. In his studies, popular culture attacked from a radical rather than a concervative tradition. Oskay is never defender of traditional cultural standards. He defends transition to a radical democracy from liberal democracy for emancipation of individuals and transformation of society to a better one. He implies a transition to a post-capitalist era, but, he never mentions transition from capitalism to socialism. According to Oskay, in my opininon, a new socialist thought which reformulates the definitions and aims of socialism is necessarily urgent.

6.3 REVIEW

Before entering to discuss their social and cultural projects, it should be claimed that, both Oktay and Oskay try to to sought the problem of transcending alienation, and realizing most emancipated and equalitarian society. Both Oktay and Oskay insist on the significance of the dialectical thought and negation of the present day by stressing on the plebien past for negation of present. But, in my opinion, past

history, present realities, and future potentialization: concentration only one aspect of these, is also fetishization. The balance between these factors should be maintained in man's sensitive mind.

One of the sources of disagreements between Oktay and Oskay is the tendency of Oktay about the negative moment of art or progressive and revolutionary potential of art and high culture. In this sense, both Oktay and Oskay are against the aristocratic approaches claims that with rise of popular education, there has occurred a seeming decline of popular taste. In this sense, contrary to Oktay, Oskay claims that, we should transform the popular culture as a culture of re-structuring of society. According to Oskay, it is possible to change present affirmative form of the popular culture, and we should utilize from revolutionary potential of popular culture. But, contrary to Oskay's approach, Oktay believes revolutionary potential and the negative moment of art or high culture. For Ahmet Oktay, until social contradictions are reconciled in reality, the utopian harmony of art must always maintain an element of protest. Oktay and Oskay disagreed on the revolutionary potential of art and popular culture. Oktay's arguments on the revolutionary potential and negative moment of art need a critical evaluation, like Oskay's arguments on the evolution and transformation of the popular culture from an affirmative culture to a culture of re-structuring in society. Because, as Oktay argued, negative examples of classical art have been absorbing by amusement industry. In this sense, popular cultural products destroys the ritual of art. However, artistic phenomenon is not merely expression of individual creativity. Art is limited by social factors. The artistic subject is in a sense social and historical as well as individual. But, it can not be claimed that art is only the

expression and reflection of social tendencies as Oktay argued. We can talk about the relative autonomy of art in society. But, it is hard to claim that relative autonomy of art represent a serious chance for resisting to the existing system, and change it. However, Oskay's arguments about evolution of popular culture in itself or transformation of popular culture in itself from an affirmative culture to a culture of the re-structuring in society is also critical. Oskay clearly states the difficulties of such a task himself. Such an evolution/transformation needs to discuss control over the production and distribution of popular culture, and elimination of this control. Discussions on evolution and transformation of popular culture inevitably includes the discussions on the capitalist owners of means of cultural production in Marxian terms. But, Oskay does not want to enter such a debate. In this sense, cultural forms should not be reduced to simple reflection of economic and class class relations, on one hand, and, cultural forms should not be reduced to expression of individual creativity, on the other. We should struggle against both fetishization and materialization of cultural and artificial products. It is necessary to say that, both Oktay and Oskay refuses to defend concervative and elitist cultural approaches. Both Oktay and Oktay see these approaches as regressive tendencies in nature. But, contrary to Oskay, Oktay does not refuse to defend high cultural values. He claims that to defend high cultural values should not be equated with elitist tendencies, as it is supposed. Oktay, contrary to Oskay, sees high cultural values as common production of humanity. In this sense, disagreements between Oktay and Oskay appears on the connotations of them surrounding the elitist/populist dichotomy.

However, Both Oktay and Oskay suggests that social contradictions and alienation of individuals should be reflected by cultural means for overcoming them. Oktay and Oskay believe that cultural level of the masses must be developed for transforming society to a better one in a healthy way. For reaching to a most emancipated society in future, cultural pressures over the masses should be eliminated according to Oktay and Oskay. But, it is hard to claim that they ignored the importance of economy, and thus, the politics. Both they argue that main determinant field of struggle is the field of political struggle. Political apathy should be dissolved for maintaining real transformations in society, and for dissolving political apathy, our everyday life activities have a significant role. They recommends to think on our everyday life in a radical form, and transform it, if we really want to transform society. Our actions should not be repetition of existing life. Both they insist on the significant role of most advanced consciousness of humanity for an emancipated future. But, they can not offer an elaborated body of concept for transcending the present situation of the masses. They fail to provide a consensus on cultural and social projects for an emancipated future.

In this sense, it should be claimed that, Ünsal Oskay prefers a less radical direction about ways, methods and strategies for overcoming alienation, and most alienated society contrary to his most radical critiques about the present day. Contrary to Oskay's most radical discourse on present day by claiming that we are still living in a pre-historic time, he does not clearly mention socialism for protecting himself from political pressures. Oskay's financial dependency to university, pressive regimes and caotic political atmosphere in Turkey may be accepted as factors that effected his

latent discourse. It should be stated here: both Oktay and Oskay accept the existence of basic classes in society: the bourgeoisie and proletariat. But, Oskay's position is critical about the structure of these two classes, such a way then appear to be agents of historical transformation. Oktay clearly defends that class struggles is essential to any viable socialist project. But Oskay does not clearly mention 'socialism' or 'proletariat'. He tries to use a classless discourse. But, it is hard to claim that Oskay favor capitalism. He implies a post-capitalist society, in the last instance.

Oskay also argues that transition to a most advanced and most emancipated social formation instead of existing one can only be maintained through political struggle and consciousness of the social classes, not by development of individual consciousness'. (1982a:261) But, he does not clearly mention class nature of the society, and also does not clearly express his ideas about class struggles in his other books and articles. He expresses his ideas about class struggles in a more latent form. To sum up, in his social project the transition to capitalism is replaced by a transition from a liberal democracy to a radical one. The agent for a social transformation, as can be expected, is not only working class, but a popular alliance which includes every single individual and which consists of civil society organizations. These civil society organizations, according to Oskay, must get organized at every level. However, the problem posed by Oktay, contrary to Oskay, is to create a desirable and viable socialism. Oktay follows an emancipatory socialist discourse. He clearly defends the necessity to abolish the ownership of private property in the long run in a desirable socialism. He implicitly asserts that control of the productive process by immediate producers is a prerequisite for overcoming the

alienation in society. Furthermore, it must be borne in mind that Oktay is not only a cultural theorist, but also a clear advocate of socialist-Marxist thought, and he employs a working class perspective. Oktay states the supremacy of the capitalism over 'actually existing socialism', in his studies, and he is certainly informed about the 'new socialist thought' which reformulates the definitions and aims of the socialism. This new socialist project should be separated from 'vulgar' Marxist approaches. In this sense, both Oktay and Oskay emphasize the importance of other types of struggles in addition to class struggles of society such as ecological, feminist, anti-militarist, etc. These may be called as 'new social movements' based on the plurality of interests in society.

Oktay's and Oskay's social and cultural projects based on the formation of a democratic and emancipated society. The problem posed by Oktay and Oskay is directly related with democracy as well as the emancipation of individual. The constitutive elements of alternative society beyond the present one are freedom, democracy and equality both for Oktay and Oskay. Common utopia of Oktay and Oskay is the emancipation of humanity by abolishing of inequalities in society. As stressed earlier, they claim that the most advanced consciousness of humanity is a prerequisite for overcoming today's alienated capitalist society. Both of them insist on the significance of social organizations and political consciousness of the masses as well as the cultural development of the masses. Finally, both they argued leisure should be freed from the influence of the logic of the work for revival of the social and cultural life by active participation to social and political life for transcending alienation in society and maintaining most emancipated society in future.

NOTES:

- 1) See, Preface of 'Kitle Haberleşme Teorilerine Giriş' A.Ü. S.B.F. Yayınları, 1969 Translated and edited by: Ünsal OSKAY
Estetize Edilmiş Yaşam, P. 164
Dost Kitabevi Yayınları, Ankara, 1982.
Translated and edited by: Ünsal OSKAY
- 2) Oskay follows Benjamin about the development of the science and technology. He follows Marx and Engels about the transformation of the bourgeoisie to a regressive class in 19th century. He develops his thought by following other contemporary commentators like Habermas, Piccone, Fekete and others. He claims that firstly socialist political thought, followers of Marx and Engels, pointed out this problem. For Oskay, science is transformed to a science in a form against enlightenment tradition, and this situation creates difficulties for advance in consciousness of the masses that is a prerequisite for an emancipatory social transformation. But, he clearly asserts that technology should be evaluated as a depended or an intervening variables in social development. Culture and technology should not be considered apart from social relations. For Oskay,

technological pessimism and optimism come from the same origin: Technological determinism. These determinist approaches are the distortions of the hegemonic classes. Oktay refuses to defend these determinist approaches.

- 3) See, Preface of 'Günlük Hayatın Eleştirisi'
(Marx, Freud and the Critique of Evryday Life)
Bruce Brown, Ayrıntı Yayınları, 1989
Translated by: Yavuz ALOĞAN
- 4) 'Popüler Kültür Açısından İdeoloji Kavramına İlişkin Yeni Yaklaşımlar'
(New Approaches About Ideology Concept in the context of Popular Culture) OSKAY, Ü. AÜ.SBF Dergisi, Cilt:35 No:1-4, pp. 247-48
- 5) 'Popüler Kültür Açısından İdeoloji Kavramına İlişkin Yeni Yaklaşımlar'
(New Approaches About Ideology Concept in the context of Popular Culture) OSKAY, Ü. AÜ.SBF Dergisi, Cilt:35 No:1-4, pp.252-253
- 6) According to Oskay, the book lost its importance. Because, a light 'written culture' has been existing in today's world. He recommends studies of Umberto Eco and Ernst Mandel to his avid readers.

- 7) See, 'Estetize Edilmiş Yaşam'
Dost Kitabevi Yayınları, Ankara, 1982
Translated and edited by: Ünsal OSKAY p.164
- 8) But, Oskay argues that contemporary man come to in a situation that he/she has not a capacity to use leisure opportunities. The real cause of the pacified situation is the cultural incompetence of the masses.
- 9) In his 'Çağdaş Fantazya (1988: Contemporary Fantasy), Oskay evaluates cognitive function of science-fiction as progressive. He evaluates popular science-fiction as a degenerated form of science-fiction, or as a psuedo one, that anti-cognitivity is dominant.(p.34)
- 10) See, Oskay's 'A-Social and 'Non-Social' definitions in his 'Çağdaş Fantazya'. (1988: 292-293)
- 11) Oskay claims that the problem of innovation in language is a problem that is directly connected with innovations in participation form to social life. Therefore, practice (social practice) is always come first.
(See, Oskay, 1982a: 310)

- 12) Premises of Oskay are tried to be exposed by following his views about the role or function of these cultural forms within his critique. These premises are taken from his way of writing. Because he does not clearly indicate their premises.
- 13) Oskay follows Adorno within this context. He also emphasizes the distinction between 'emancipation from self' and 'liberation for the self' (1982a: 206)



CHAPTER 7

CONCLUDING REMARKS

In previous chapters, we tried to draw the conceptual framework for popular culture phenomenon. And then in the final part, we were concerned with the problem how these concepts are evaluated in Turkey by two intellectuals in the context of its sociopolitical role. As the conceptual framework has shown that, the concept of popular culture can not be confined to a single school of thought. After drawing back conceptual framework, my analysis is focused on the political role of the popular cultural products in modern society, and premises for overcoming sociocultural problems of today by discussing main arguments of these intellectuals on these subjects. In this study, following an overview of social thinking on the popular culture, we have tried to examine their arguments, and we offer some hypothesis, nothing more.

First of all, it must be mentioned that, Oktay's and Oskay's conceptions of popular culture are similar. Both of them use same or similar concepts. It is hard to claim that, the connotations that they attribute to the concept differ in certain respects. Oktay's conception of popular culture is the same that of Ünsal Oskay. There is a great consensus on social significance of the popular culture. But, it should be pointed out, their conception on social significance of popular culture is not the

same that of all powerful media approaches and technology determinist approaches, pessimist or optimist. Political role of the popular culture is also pessimistically reviewed by both of them. Therefore, they consider popular culture to be a useful theoretical tool in understanding the manipulation over the society. In this sense, it seems that there is a 'great consensus' over negative connotations of political role of the popular culture in existing society. Both of them agree that, popular culture lead to political apathy and conformism, and these cultural products serve to the reproduction of capitalist mode of production in present day. Oktay and Oskay strikingly arrive at same or similar conclusions on political role of the popular culture even though their intellectual backgrounds are quite different. Theoretical affinity of them can be easily observed. They dislike popular culture and mass culture, not because, it is democratic, but, precisely because it is not. Both of them reject the reconciliation of man to his fate. In this study, we have tried to show political content of popular cultural products serve ideologically as a legitimization mechanism for reproduction of the system, capitalist mode of production in the context of the conceptions of Oktay and Oskay. It is not hard to claim that, popular cultural products play a strategic and central role in reinforcing dominant social values and norms that legitimize existing social system. The key word around discussions on popular culture is legitimization of existing system. It should also be claimed that, popular cultural products served to the manipulation of the masses throughout history.

Oktay's and Oskay's conceptions of popular culture are the same, and they reach similar conclusions on political role of the popular culture. We can say that the

popular culture concept operates in the same manner in Oktay's and Oskay's approaches. But, it is necessary to determine the negative content of popular culture in their thought does not mean a great consensus between them. The similar conceptualizations of Oktay and Oskay do not lead them to adopt similar social and cultural projects. They fail to provide a consensus on social and cultural projects for a most emancipated future despite the full consensus on the social significance and the political role of the popular culture. In other words, they can not offer an elaborated body of concept for transcending the forms of alienation. The difference between them emerges at the level of their conceptions of the way the emancipation of the society is established. The struggle in this case is not over the different meanings of the same concept.

First difference lies in their conceptions of cultural projects in the context of the future potentializations. In this sense, the difference between them emerges at the level of their conceptions of elitist/populist dichotomy. As discussed in chapter 6, Oktay argues that evolution or transformation of popular culture in an emancipatory way can only be possible by the way of appropriation of high cultural values. He clearly defends high cultural values. Oktay believes negative moment of art as a revolutionary potential of art. But, contrary to Oktay, Oskay refuses to defend high cultural values. Oskay suggests evolution and transformation of popular culture from an affirmative form to an emancipated one. But, it should be underlined here: both Oktay and Oskay refuses to defend conservatist approaches on one hand, and pluralist conceptions and the semiotic democracy idea of post-modernist thinkers on the other.

The second difference lies in their approaches to the Marxism and socialism in the context of both their future potentializations and their cultural criticism on popular culture. In this sense, Oktay defends socialist utopias, but, he tries to follow an emancipatory socialist thought apart from Marxist-Leninist strategies or in other words, 'vulgar' Marxist approaches. In the final analysis, Oktay clearly defends the necessity of abolishment of family and private property, and he clearly mentions transition from capitalism to socialism on one hand, and he evaluates the popular culture problem in the context of rising hegemony of capitalism, on the other. Contrary to Oktay, it seems that Oskay does not indicate a clear political choice. It should be claimed that, Oskay prefers to use a classless discourse, or, a most latent discourse in the context of the discussions on socialism. Oskay prefers to use terms like 'transition to a most advanced society' or 'higher level of civilisation' instead of transition to socialism from capitalism on one hand, and he evaluates the problem of popular culture in the context of ideology problems in advanced capitalist societies, on the other. Differences between them lies on their conceptions in the context of their criticism on one hand, and their societal projects on the other. But, it should be underlined that, both of them implies a post-capitalist era. Both Oktay and Oskay, refuses to fetishize economics and politics. They equally reluctant to treat culture as a realm apart society. Both they refuse reductionist analysis of art to a reflection of social trends. But, it is hard to claim that Oktay and Oskay ignored the importance of economy and politics and other social factors in his critiques about cultural and social life. Economic and technological characteristic of mass medium may be one of the many factors that should be taken into account. This does not

mean that socializing and acculturating influence of mass media are ignored by them. Economics is clearly not the only factor in play, but equally it can not be ignored.

The third difference between Oktay and Oskay emerges at the level of their connotations on the current political developments. As stressed earlier, Ahmet Oktay implicitly asserts on the dissolution of real socialism and hegemony of capitalism in his critics on popular culture. He also asserts on 12 September military coup in Turkey, and the other political developments. But, it seems that, Oskay does not want to enter such discussions. It seems that, contrary to Oktay, for Oskay, problems of real socialism or military coup in Turkey is out of the scope.

Finally, it should be claimed that, their differences does not emerge at the level of theoretical approaches of them. Theoretical affinity between Oktay and Oskay can be easily observed. These differences are derived from their different intellectual origins on one hand, and political discourses and choices of them, on the other. But, it is hard to claim that, they are the representatives of different schools of thought.

Radical critics of them have political overtones. The distinguishing element of their critics from more Orthodox radical commentators, is their refusal to reduce cultural phenomenon to an ideological reflex of class interest. As Oktay said in his 'Türkiye'de Popüler Kültür' (1982a:24), both Oktay and Oskay have a dialectical qualification in their studies about popular culture. Critical distance of them from

popular culture did not diminish substantially. They have pessimistic views, and they fear the closing of all possibilities for a transformed future like Frankfurt School theorists. But, both they do not believe that all possibilities are closed for an emancipated future. They investigated that the hope for an emancipated future can exist in. Whatever the disagreements separated them- and they are not serious- Oktay and Oskay spoke the similar questions from within a common tradition, and there is a complementary relationship between their studies.

It is hard to claim that, they see masses as passive audiences. They emphasize the manipulative tools of the system in the passification process. The masses are not really deceived, they are massified by system. Because, minority who are active at the macro level of politics is still very effective on our life. According to Oktay and Oskay, pacified existence of the masses in social life is closely connected with anti-democratic regulations on our social life.

To verify phenomenas like fetishization, reification, alienation, and the materialization of culture by normal social scientific techniques is very difficult. Cultural studies in the context of political life carries serious disadvantages. The former popular culture are not easily measured or tested. Our conclusions will be consistent with that measuring has been done. Mediating mechanisms between culture and politics can only be understood in psciosocial terms. An interdisciplinary relation between politics, psychology and communication should be

tried to construct for explaining and understanding the nature of the cultural phenomena in the society and thus change it.

The problem posed by popular culture is finally, then, a problem of class distinctions in modern societies. For understanding the permanent division of the society into two broad categories winners and losers in understanding the mechanisms of popular culture is urgently necessary. The techniques of information and image control so highly developed in present day. Spread of technology serves to popular culture's effectiveness in today's world as Oskay argued. Efficiency of the communication does not create a emancipatory cultural atmosphere for the free thought and expression. The consciousness level of humanity is tried to be kept in a limited perception level. Administrators and controllers of society fear from progress in cultural level of the masses. They try to keep pacified existence of masses through cultural regulations. Popular culture is a useful theoretical tool in understanding mechanisms of manipulation over masses. Popular culture reinforces the existing values and norms, and these products do not develop cultural patterns of the people. As discussed in chapter 4, popular cultural forms preclude the emergence of an opposition as a whole. Popular culture supports the moderate oppositionary movements for creating a society without a serious opposition. Therefore, contemporary man who achieve great developments in the material culture is detended from developments in non-material culture by the way of cultural regulations of hegemonic class. Finally, popular culture plays a significant role which provides an ideological dominance over the society. Therefore, it is difficult to accept that, in a pluralist society there exist no hegemony, but perfect integration and

consensus as liberal thinkers argued. Social conflicts tend to be presented as relatively complex and particularly intense. This is the standard liberal approach. The existence of a pluralist democracy may become deceptive, and a pluralist democracy would appear to be most efficient system of the domination because of the restriction of rights. Cultural hegemony over the masses must be taken into consideration in discussing equality, freedom and democracy in a free discussion atmosphere. These concepts need to a critical evaluation. As Marcuse argued, free election of masters does not abolish the masters, and the slaves. Free choice among wide variety of goods and services does not signify freedom if these goods or services sustain social control over life of toil and fear- that is if they sustain the alienation. (Marcuse, 1964: 7-8)

However, it is difficult to accept that the age we are entering is post-industrial and/or informal society. Because, advance in technology of the communication does not refer to the termination of capitalist mode of production, but modifications within the capitalist mode of production in accordance with the changing legitimization process of the capitalism itself. Such a consideration may leads to the fetishization and mistification of technology as creative power apart from its material base. Liberating discourses of the pluralist approaches do not reflect a democratic content. Optimists or non-hostile criticisms of popular culture do not share the alarm about popular culture. But, as discussed in 4th chapter of this study, both Oktay and Oskay, contrary to liberal-pluralist approaches, share the alarm on popular culture and mass culture. Both they argue that a serious social criticism of the popular culture is necessary for understanding the nature of social hegemony over us, and for change it. As stressed earlier, transforming society in an emancipatory way is the common problem of Oktay and Oskay. However. today, everyone talks about the necessity of

radical social transformations. But, for transforming social life the false harmony between the particular and universal should be perceived by masses as Oskay argued. Men must come to see it, and to find their way from the false to true consciousness, from immediate interest to their real interest. The optimal goal is the replacement of false needs by true ones, and the abandonment of the absorbing of the reality principle by pleasure principle. For realizing such a higher level of perception, critical outlook to life is necessary in social life from everyday life activities to scientific studies.

If a genuine culture is telos consciousness of human activity looking for a better society in practice, and in history, the reason is always to be a reference point for progressive groups who carry the sufferings all humanity from domination and repression. Reason is the medium by which the nature of the emancipation can be investigated in order to have a real conditions of a good society, and this is the telos of the freedom. A genuine culture can provoke radical social reforms. But, it should not be forgotten that the material and historical conditions can produce radical changes. For a change in macro level of the society, firstly, micro cosmos and his his evedryday life exercises, beliefs and thought should be changed in an emancipatory way. Without a change in everyday life experiences of individuals, to expect radical changes in social life, is only a optimist dream. Emancipation as a task can only be maintained through cultural development of people. For overcoming alienation and maintaining the most advanced and emancipated society in future, firstly, a genuine communication between the individuals should be provided. Pacified existence of the individuals in social life should be abolished. Advance in the

consciousness of humanity by creating an emancipatory cultural and social atmosphere is a prerequisite for a real transformation to a better society. For maintaining such a development, the political role of the popular culture in modern societies should be clearly explained and understood. The struggle against mass culture can consist only in pointing out its connection with the persistence of social injustice as M. Horkheimer points out. We must transcend the level of the popular culture and mass culture for maintaining a higher level of consciousness. Capitalist society is capable for containing qualitative changes for a foreseeable future. Man's need to conform is a big threat for emancipation of humanity. But, in a society, there are always forces and tendencies which may break this containment.

In our study, we are not concerned with the practical effects of the popular arts, but, we are interested the conceptual and theoretical approaches on popular culture and mass culture by following two Turkish intellectuals: Ahmet Oktay and İnsal Oskay. But, it is not hard to claim that, all aspects of popular culture can only be studied by looking at our everyday life and life style. The field of everyday life activities is an important field of the social research. For example, the football passion of the Turkish society should be investigated in all aspects by serious researches, like popular music, tourism, fashion, popular literature, journalism, etc. Empirical studies on our everyday life experiences and all cultural activities of individuals from popular sports to tourism, from love stories to adventure films, from pornography to violence, should be seriously investigated in a satisfactory manner for understanding the role of these images on our ways of life. Serious researches should be made for understanding real causes of events and, for maintaining transformation

of the society in an emancipatory way by transcending all alienation and reification forms as Oktay and Oskay point out. Participation in the debates should, therefore, be wide, and it calls for more work from social researchers. In this sense, it would be interesting to investigate how popular cultural products perform their functions in the society. Studies on everyday life experiences and popular cultural forms should be increased for understanding the nature of the everyday activities, and changing our ways of life, and the society. We should try to hold premises which could bridge the gap between the present and future for an emancipated society in future. A critical outlook about the present, and revival of cultural/social life by providing highly participation of the masses to cultural, political and social life are the preconditions of such a rational development. Productive forces of society should be controlled by the immediate producers for providing an active participation to social life. Political role of the popular culture in modern society, and sociocultural projects should be reconsidered for providing a reference to tell which practical tools can maintain an emancipated society by transcending the alienation, and deception of the masses.

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