



**T.C.
HATAY MUSTAFA KEMAL UNIVERSITY
INSTITUTE OF SOCIAL SCIENCES
DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL SCIENCE AND PUBLIC
ADMINISTRATION**

**FROM ETHICS ORIENTED POLITICS TO
POWER ORIENTED POLITICS IN 21st
CENTURY: A DISCUSSION ON INTRODUCING
DYADIC POWER THEORY APPROACH TO
POLITICAL THOUGHT**

MASTER'S THESIS

**Submitted by
MUHAMMET ALİ YUNUS**

**Advisor
Dr. Soner AKIN**

Hatay-2020



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Muhammet Ali YUNUS tarafından hazırlanan **“FROM ETHICS ORIENTED POLITICS TO POWER ORIENTED POLITICS IN 21st CENTURY: A DISCUSSION ON INTRODUCING DYADIC POWER THEORY APPROACH TO POLITICAL THOUGHT”** adlı bu çalışma jüri tarafından lisansüstü öğretim yönetmeliğinin ilgili maddelerine göre değerlendirilip oy birliği/oyçokluğu ile **SİYASET BİLİMİ VE KAMU YÖNETİMİ ANABİLİM DALINDA YÜKSEK LİSANS TEZİ** olarak kabul edilmiştir.

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Jüri Üyeleri	İmza
Doktor Öğretim Üyesi Soner AKIN (Başkan) (Tez Danışmanı- Jüri Başkanı)	
Profesör Doktor Yakup BULUT (Üye)	
Doçent Doktor Tuba YOLCU (Üye)	

Muhammet Ali YUNUS tarafından hazırlanan **“From Ethics Oriented Politics to Power Oriented Politics in 21st Century: A Discussion on Introducing Dyadic Power Theory Approach to Political Thought”** adlı tez çalışmasının yukarıda imzaları bulunan jüri üyelerince kabul edildiğini **onaylarım**.

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Doç. Dr. Mustafa Onur KAN

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Bu belge ile bu tezde yer alan bilgilerin tamamının akademik kurallara ve etik ilkelerine uygun olarak toplanıp sunulduğunu beyan ederim. Söz konusu kural ve ilkelerin gereği olarak tezde yararlandığım eserlerin tamamına uygun bir şekilde atıfta bulunarak kaynak gösterdiğimi ayrıca beyan ederim.

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ETİK ODAKLI SİYASETTEN 21. YÜZYILDA GÜÇ MERKEZLİ SİYASETE: SİYASAL DÜŞÜNCELERDE DİYADİK (İKİCİ) GÜÇ TEORİSİ YAKLAŞIMI ÜZERİNDEN YENİ BİR TARTIŞMA

Muhammet Ali YUNUS

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Danışman: Dr. Öğr. Üyesi Soner AKIN

ÖZET

Siyaset, modern toplumların iktidar ilişkilerinin içine dahil olmasından bu yana bir etikleştirilmiştir. Bunun akabinde siyaset ona bakışımızı daraltan etik nosyonu olmadan düşünülemez hale gelmiştir. Sonuç olarak iktidar çoğu sosyal bilimsel çalışmanın odaklanmadığı bir kavrama dönüşmüştür. İktidar, yaratıcılığı teşvik eden bir oluş olmakla birlikte insanların bir sürü aşılamaz denilen materyal koşulları aşmasına katkı sağlamıştır. Bu noktada, iktidar istencinin materyal bir kavram olduğu kadar ruhsal bir kavram olduğu da düşünülebilir. Foucault'un iktidar ilişkileri ve Nietzsche'nin iktidar istenci kavramı bu noktada konvansiyonel felsefi okullara indirgenemez. Aslında söz konusu kavramlar felsefe içinde sosyal incelemeler yaparken iktidarı ön plana çıkaran bir okulun nüveleridir. Buna karşılık etik ile beraber insanlar ahlaki özneler olarak kurulmuş ve etik, onların iktidar istencini hadım eden bir iktidar tekniği olagelmıştır. Bu noktada, etik, akış halinde mevcut olan iktidarı bir noktaya sabitlemek için kullanılabilir. Bu nedenle, konuşan varlıkların öznelleştirilme süreci de bu çalışmanın ana temellerinden biridir.

Diğer yandan, iktidar kavramının etik ve sosyal normlar dışında düşünülmesine imkan tanıyan Diyadik Güç Teorisi incelenmiştir. Bununla birlikte, iktidar ilişkilerinin yoğunlaşması etiğin rolünü azaltmış ve iktidarın psikolojik bir karaktere de sahip olduğunu göstermiştir. Bu noktada, toplumsal oluşumları bir iktidar perspektifinden analiz ederek bir toplum ötesi tartışması başlatmak da yararlı olacaktır. Bu tez, yazın araştırmasına dayanan betimleyici araştırma metodunun kullanıldığı, teorik bir çalışmadır.

ANAHTAR KELİMELE

Siyaset, İktidar, Etik, Özne, Benlik, Toplum Ötesi, Diyadik Güç Teorisi, Psiko-siyaset, Psiko-iktidar, Modernite ve Post-modernite

**FROM ETHICS ORIENTED POLITICS TO POWER ORIENTED POLITICS
IN 21TH CENTURY: A DISCUSSION ON INTRODUCING DYADIC
POWER THEORY APPROACH TO POLITICAL THOUGHT**

Muhammet Ali YUNUS

Political Science and Public Administration, Master's Thesis, 2020

Advisor: Assistant Professor Doctor Soner AKIN

ABSTRACT

Politics has been moralized since modern societies took place in the relations of power. Thus, it has become impossible to think politics without ethics or moral that limit our perspective towards it. However, the power is the missing point in the most of social science analysis. Its nature is so different that the will to power helps people to overpass material conditions. The willingness to power can be classified a kind of materialism as much as spiritualism. The point is that Foucauldian relations of power or *Nietzschean* will to power cannot be reduced to regular philosophical school. Indeed, they are the base of an alternative school in philosophy that we named it power first approach in politics. Ethics is a power technic that castrates people will to power by re-producing them as moral subject. Thus, ethics is tasked to fix fluidity of power here. How the process of *subjectivation* of people is going on also an important part of this research.

Dyadic Power Theory is also studied because of its originality to re-think of power outside of social and ethical norms. Furthermore, the intensification of relations of power made us see the psychological character of power that reduce ethics role in politics. Thus, it is necessary to re- think of every social form from the power perspective and to initiate a debate over a post-society concept. This thesis consists of review of western political philosophy, it is a theoretical study at the basis of descriptive analysis.

KEY WORDS

Politics, Ethics, Power, Subject, Self, Post-Society, Dyadic Power Theory, Psycho-
power, Psycho-politics,

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

Abbreviation	Bibliographic Information
AKP	Justice and Development Party in Turkey
CHP	Republican People's Party
İYİP	Good Party
MHP	Nationalist Movement Party
DPT	Dyadic Power Theory
HOS	History of Sexuality

INTRODUCTION

Social sciences are mostly reified to economical oriented approaches, as to many coteries. Specifically, political science can be seen under shadow of economics. Nevertheless, human relations can't be explained by a single view, though economics oriented ones are very popular nowadays in academia and populist realm fed by capitalist powerhouses. A post-modernist philosopher would say that truth is just a perspective. To understand relationships between humans, institutions and states, we need to have many different views. Hence, this thesis suggests people to look at human relationships, political and social developments through the concept of power. Because the concept of power is mostly neglected by schoolers in the field. It's always easy to find scientific papers written by economical approaches. Yet, there's also an established discourse in Foucauldian sense that dictates researchers to look primarily at economic reasons. That means, there's always an economical reason beyond every social phenomena and social scientist's duty is to find that reason. In other words, there's also revealed a counter view. As Bernard Russell who is one of major scholar in political science claimed that all human relationships are about power (Russell, 1938). Therefore, in this thesis, the focus is going to be on the concept of power. Along with reading political and social developments through power, a view on questioning motives to reach power in politics will be enriched. Because power is catalyst of the society as Bernard Russell claimed it. The concept of power has been a side-term in social sciences and political philosophy as well as economical determinism was accepted as a tool to understand the whole social facts under influence of Marx. In contrast, Post-modern philosophers created a new alternative especially to Marxist readings by including the power into social science again. Especially Foucault's works about power is most influential one in the field.

In this thesis, it is going to be argued that power lays at the origins of whole social formation. Indeed, the power is covered by elites under different concepts. In this respect, we are going to conceptualize ethics as a power technic. Besides, we use the term in large manner implying reason, progress, universality, nation, society as the part of modern political ethics. Moreover, as moral and ethics are accepted as the same

since both are supposed to dictate human to behave in one way. The concept of society and nation are also considered as the outputs of ethic-oriented politics since these concepts are also the result of moralization of populace. It is possible to give a deeper insight in this subject for taking a picture of the thesis. Nowadays politics can't be thought by ignoring the term of society.

The rise of the modern state, nation and society are mostly linked to the development of capitalism by scholars. In other words, it's might be easy of thinking in a dualistic way as the consequences of *Platonian* philosophy. Even capitalism is the one of major reasons that had given birth to the modern state. It is just one of them. In this work, the source of modern state and its proprieties are being considered as the result of the will to power. Even the development of capitalism is considered as reflection of will to power of elites. That is, in political thought, the term of society is indeed determined herein as a new concept. It can be said that society born as a new term around 17th and 18th century. In that time, power begun to consider the population as a source of power since labor, civil servant and fighting armies required a huge manpower. Then, elites tried to shape the populations by introducing new concepts and technic of power to make their power more efficient for institutionalizing their power. It was probably the first time in history that states started big campaigns to understand and to subject their population through bureaucracy, education, etc. Besides powerhouses created a new word to describe their subjects. In this regard, Foucault claimed that human is a creation of 17th and 18th centuries as a result of relation of power in that time. Besides, social science had appeared in this era too (Foucault, 2004; 2005; 2010). In this manner, we can call social science as sciences of power too. Nevertheless, the reason of such a naming can be found in Foucault's assertion that is elites always attempt to hide power behind the sight (Foucault, 1980; 1985; 2004; 2005) In the same line, Nietzsche also claimed that *causa prima* of philosophy is power (Nietzsche, 1886) .

By shaping people in their ways, powers had a stronger state apparatus in their hands. As state started to shape their subjects whose relations are very weak with states. We can claim that states involuntarily invented their hindrance. Because in the beginning, we can say that tax was a single issue/tie between state and people. When it is needed state would milk their people but never consider feeding them. As a

Foucault disciplinary power concept took over in the 18th century. The state started to shape people's lives and bodies through education, bureaucracy, health institutions (Foucault, 1980; Şişman, 2006: 30-31). Especially, education had become the most effective way of powers. But it had side effects too. Because educated people were going to be a big hindrance to established elites in the coming years. As educated people who come from a lower level of society managed to have place besides nobles and higher bourgeoisie. We can argue that ordinary people considered education as a tool to have promotion. The willingness of society to education can be reinterpreted as a reflection of the will to power. In this regard, education had become something which is demanded by people later. Even they were forced to go to the school in the beginning. We can apply this analogy to other fields too. As a result, we can say that elites created their demanding subjects. Demanding subjects had a double effect on the power's games. The first one is that demanding subject was open to being influenced by other new-born political subjects who were early educated people and try to have more influence in the rank of the state against high bourgeoisie. The second one is that demanding subject entered in the power game instead of refusing state services and labor works. Thus, it was how modern society is established as the result of will to power of elites.

The technics of powers was supposed to make the ones who are in power position stronger backfired later. In this perspective, Foucault's ideas about power are meaningful. He says that the more power gets bigger the more liberties get bigger (Foucault, 2005). In the sum of this part, we can say that the will of power creates its paradox. As kings try to establish a strong mass of people to have more power inside and outside of their countries. They created involuntarily demanding subjects and the concept of society which made them overthrown later. By doing so, politics which is plotting game among nobles had a new player as the society. Besides we claimed that modernization of politics brought a wave of moralization with itself. Political elites attempt to moralize separately living people under the concept oneness, unity, society, nation to gather all of them in purpose for more power. What have been discussed so far can be counted as a mug shot of our thesis. The thesis is axed on two models we conceptualized. The one is ethic-oriented politics; the other one is power oriented politics.

In the context of this thesis, we focused on the concepts of self, subject, personality that can be used interchangeably. Because, these concepts are where we interpret moral and power. In this context, we try to give insights about these concepts according to each philosopher's perspective we issued. Because, subject, self, or personality are not just part of philosophical or psychological analysis. Even the dominant discourses claim that these are psychological issues. In contrast, in the context of our thesis, we claimed that these notions are social products. Thus, they are part of politics too since Foucault put it that power and subject are inseparable. Thus, we attempt to analyze how the notions through which we understand ourselves have a political baggage behind too.

In the first part of the thesis, the target is to reveal out how politics is moralized through rationalist philosophical tradition. Moralization of politics is examined based on rationalist thinkers starting by Socrates, Plato, Aristo, Descartes, Kant and ending by Hegel. In contrast, we set up our critics to rationalist thinker's rigid ethics understanding based on Foucault's philosophy. However, ethics is considered as technic of power with respect to Foucault in the perspective of this thesis. Besides, the first part of thesis is also important to understand *Nietzschean* and Foucauldian philosophy as both forged their philosophy by criticizing *Platonian* tradition. Besides, Cartesian and Kantian subject models are crucial to understand modern human. Foucault refers always at both models through his books. Furthermore, rationalist philosophers who are mentioned above are important icons in modern philosophy and there is no doubt that their philosophy shaped our today. However, the question is less answered about the implication of their philosophy in real politics. We can make an illustration that students always ask their proofs if math is useful in their daily life and why they learn to math. The same mystery is valid for philosophy too. In this respect, we tried to reveal out how political philosophy is affecting the real politics through our commentary on actual political phenomenon. For that, we followed a strict methodology. That is, firstly we started to study each philosopher's ontological philosophy and how their ontology allowed them have a subject model. Then, how they established an ethical philosophy around their subject model. Therefore, how their ethical philosophy had impact on politics

Furthermore, in the first part, ethics and moral are accepted as the same

phenomenon. Because both are used to control people's behavior. In this perspective, two of them are accepted as power technics. Thus, ethics is going to be accepted as power technics referring at Foucault's genealogy of power. In this context, the concepts of self, reason, union, universality are considered as part ethics-oriented people. In this chapter, the concept of universal reason is so crucial phenomenon that has important political consequences as union, nation, society, state. Our critics to the concept of universal reason is going to be supported by second chapter of our thesis.

In the second part of our thesis, it is an attempt to criticize rationalist thinkers' ethics perspective. In this section, first of all, we analyzed Locke, Hume as representative of empiricist tradition. Especially in Hume's section we studied the impossibility of universal reason. In this parallel, empiricist proposed that self is fluid and it can't be fixed through reason that is formed through experiences. In fact, we considered ethics as a rationalist philosophy outputs. The second chapter was somehow critics to first one. Nevertheless, ethics also find place as a phenomenon in empiricist tradition. In this manner, we analyzed Marxist philosophy that is an attempt to critics' rationalist morality that is supposed to be the basis of Bourgeois morality and how Marxism results in forming a new ethical understanding that have shaped real politics so far. Then, we studied Bentham and Mills utilitarian conceptualization of ethics. In this point, Mills utilitarianism was an important point to understand social liberal ethical understanding. Besides, how his intellectualism had legitimated state's interventionism by tasking state to afford necessary conditions for ethical life. Then, we studied Rousseau's rigid criticism to newly rising modernity and its ethical concepts. How his philosophy yielded an alternative political ethics. Especially how his concept of general will provided an ethical standpoint to all political fractions. Secondly in this section, we analyzed Tocqueville's work and his conceptualization of capitalism as an ethical model and his critics to ancient regime's ethics. Thirdly, we studied Thomas Hill Green philosophy that is similarly to Mills one. He tries to melt individualism and society in the same pot by keeping their specificity.

In the third part, we focus on the power-oriented politics model. We try to reveal out there is a tradition which prioritized the power over ethics. In this respect, we offer analysis of philosophers like Machiavelli, Hobbes, Nietzsche and especially Foucault. These philosophers developed an alternative reading of social facts based on

the concept of power. In the initial point of this chapter, we study Machiavelli who is initial point of the chain which ends with Foucault. Because Machiavelli's thoughts are reformulated by them later. Therefore, our Machiavelli readings are based on Foucauldian and *Nietzschean* perspective. Our commentary on Machiavelli's philosophy is not stuck with his *immoralism* since he proposes a new ethical model based on the concept of power. Thus, our Machiavelli reading is an alternative to reductionist Machiavelli readings.

Secondly, we study Hobbes as the second ring of this chain. Thomas Hobbes readings are mostly stuck with his famous saying "*Homo Homini Lupus*". In contrast, beyond his famous quote, Hobbes is a revolutionary figure in comprehension of modern politics as well as he is inventor of modern political notions. Especially Hobbes' influence is visible on Foucault who is the most quoted thinker in last decades. He's the first power-oriented thinker since Machiavelli who saw power an affair of state-men and princes. The originality of Hobbes is to equalize power to all and to consider that ordinary people has a part of power too. Therefore, we try to answer how Hobbes helped us see power beyond sovereignty and how he made ethics based on the notions of stability and obedience.

In the third part of the thesis, we are going to study *Nietzschean* philosophy. Nietzsche is the most original thinker in philosophical tradition because of his rupture with *Platonian* tradition. In Nietzsche part, we analyzed his concept of will power, genealogy of morality and psychology of morality. However, Nietzsche is important standpoint in the integrity of this thesis. His emphasis on the will to power and his critics on morality placed his philosophy in our model of power-oriented politics. Furthermore, we try to make *Nietzschean* philosophy is comprehensible as his philosophy is not a regular one. Besides we studied *Nietzschean* methodology which is called genealogy. In forth section of our thesis we make an attempt to use his genealogy in our research field.

Fourthly we are interested in the last ring of the chain which is supposed to be Foucault. He is one of the most quoted thinkers in today's worlds. As this thesis has a Foucauldian perspective to power, Foucault's has a large place. Especially this thesis are also an attempt to clarify Foucauldian perspective and Foucauldian analysis of political and social life. In this respect, we study Foucault's discourse, power

genealogy, subject model and archaeology. Besides we are going to see how Foucault's philosophy is influenced by Machiavelli, Hobbes and Nietzsche. Foucault is the part of power-oriented politics in our modelling. Besides, Foucault's discourse is an important work to understand post-truth debates as some argue that the concept of post-truth is justified by Foucault's works. However, even this thesis is not directly target to study post-truth field. It is also an important work to understand how his appearance was possible since we have major focus on Nietzsche perspective and Foucault's discourse.

In the fourth part of our thesis, we are going to focus on the original theories about power and its effects. Firstly, we are going to study Rollins and Bahr's Dyadic power theory that sees power as relative phenomenon in dyads. Besides, we attempt to enlarge theory with applying the concept of theory into relations between president and adviser. Then, we attempt to analyze the relations between communities in society through DPT.¹ Besides, we try to understand how society is formed in dyadic manner.

Secondly, we try to enrich psycho- power model which is introduced before by considering Foucault's power genealogy which sees power as un-centralized and Rollins and Bahr's dyadic power theory which sees power as a relative phenomenon we can re-think power as a psychological phenomenon. We discuss a new concept in political literature like psycho-power introduced by Stiegler and psycho-politics which is introduced by Han. It is possible to argue that Psycho-politics or psycho-power are supposed to be an important field in coming years. In contrast, there are few works in the present. In this point, we try to enlarge the field by making a genealogy of psycho-power. Although, Stiegler proposed that he developed his concept by referring at Foucault's works. Psychologic dimension of power has been also an object of debate in philosophy starting by Aristo. In this perspective, we try to give each philosopher's insight about psychology and human psyche throughout the thesis. And how they see important to know the dynamic of human psyche for politician. Furthermore, we take the concept of fear as a psychological concept that has important political consequences with respect to Hobbes. Besides, we used the concept of castration in political sense. Which is used mostly by psycho dynamic model in psychology. It is used to describe people who are passivized politically by ethical codes or the

¹ Dyadic Power Theory

mechanism of fear which is peculiar to psycho power model. Nevertheless, in our perspective, psycho- power modelling is not just a technics of power in the hands of elites. This technic of power can be also a technic in the hands of population. And this is originality of our perspective towards psycho-power modelling. However, the possibility of reversing power within human relationships can make room to rise of autonomic subjects and the dispersing of established powers institutions. Thus, people can form their self-culture not just by adopting social norms but also by revealing their creativity as Nietzsche would say.

Finally, we introduced our original model of post-society to understand the polarized society in today's world based on our readings. In this perspective, we attempted to make a genealogy of society. We try to answer how society was needed by elites, how human who live in decentralized way become a society or a nation. What is the role of the concept of unity, universal reason, briefly enlightenment behind construction of society? In this part, we are going to say that society has never existed but phenomenologically. In contrast, how the discourse over unity of nation or society has lost its influence and why we have a polarized image of society. Thus, we conceptualized this decentralization of image of society as post-society. In this respect, we are going to discuss about real occurrence, as feudalization of capitalism fortification of cities as facts who support post-society model.

As a methodology, this thesis consists of review of western political philosophy, it is a theoretical study at the basis of descriptive analysis. Besides, the thesis has a Foucauldian perspective since we are meant to research power. Foucault's readings on power is the most original and inclusive one in the political philosophical realm. He represents a power oriented research tradition which consist of Machiavelli, Hobbes, and Nietzsche.

CHAPTER 1

ETHICS IN POLITICAL THOUGHT

1.1. Ethics Oriented Politics

Ethics oriented politics refers the world of rules that is at stake for political institutions such as political ethics, the state and the party. In institutions, it is defined as the whole of judgments about the attitudes of both the rulers and the ruled. The most important point here is that the political ethical framework is more about those who govern than those who are governed. Because it is the privilege of managers to distribute duties, authorities and titles. This means using the power of having power. Today, the principles and rules of ethical behavior in politics, ethical codes in politics, political ethical commissions, other institutional structures that regulate and control compliance with ethical codes of conduct in politics, accountability mechanisms in politics, policy financing, recommendations for the establishment of ethical infrastructure in politics and model law proposal, ethically oriented gives the scope of politics. Likewise, there are suggestions and model laws for policy financing infrastructures to induce ethics in policy making was mostly mentioned for ethics oriented politics.

In Britannica, “*Ethics, also called moral philosophy, the discipline concerned with what is morally good and bad and morally right and wrong. The term is also applied to any system or theory of moral values or principles*” (Singer, 2020). Oxford Dictionary describes ethics as: moral principles that govern a person’s behavior or the conducting of an activity (Ethics, www.oxfordlearnersdictionaries.com). Cambridge dictionary defines ethics as the *study of what is morally right and wrong, or a set of beliefs about what is morally right and wrong* (Ethics, dictionary.cambridge.org). Besides, the origins of ethics is also important to understand what it is supposed to be as much as its definitions. It is thought that Ethics begins emerges when people live together and begin to have common traditions it is when people wonder what is right or wrong according to these traditions. At the same time, each society has myths about the origins of their moral understanding. Hammurabi’s laws; Ten Commandments can be given as examples. However, there is a mythical account of the birth of ethics in

the dialogue of Plato Protagoras. That is, Zeus has given a moral capacity to men that can allow them to live together and cooperate in order to compensate for the weakness of people according to animals. In this way, people could create justice and the law. In fact Plato's mystification placed ethic in divine position. Thus, morality occupied a high position because it was divine. The moral commentators were therefore the clergy. This link with religion and morality has influenced humanity for centuries (Singer, 2020). In our perspective, we focus on the aspects of ethics that mobilize people and conduct their behavior in political sense. Hence, ethics is a set of naturalized rules which conduct people behavior. In this respect, we don't differ between ethics and morality since both are supposed to have a dictate upon people. Historically, the roots of the words "ethics" and "morality" had already the same meaning. "*Ethics*" comes from the ancient Greek word "*ethikos*" derived from "*ethos*," which means custom or habit. The Roman politician, lawyer and bon vivant Cicero coined the term "*moralis*" as a Latin equivalent of "*ethikos*." (Gordon, -)

1.2. The Establishment of Relation between Politics and Ethics through Reading of Idealist Philosopher

In this part, we are going to describe the concept of ethics-based politics and to analysis the rise of ethics-based politics briefly. In the coming chapter we are going to see more detailed version of this linkage through Plato and Aristotle readings. Ethics is the central part of philosophy since Socrates and Plato. Even, they didn't use the term of ethics but virtue. He and his students developed a strong philosophical tradition against sophists who defend ethical relativism. As Socrates, Plato and Aristotle prioritized the intellect and claimed its universality. The accuracy with intellect's command is called as virtue /ethics. But we can't avoid the consequences of this philosophical invention. Socrates, Plato and Aristo have a major impact on politics not just in Europe also in the countries where the religion of Islam plays a major role. Indeed, the sophist tradition's ethical relativism was appropriate to political scene where many city- states exist. Because ethical relativism couldn't provide a unification of these states. In contrast, the concept of virtue which is based on the universal reason and which is the philosophical invention of Socrates is claimed to be a universal phenomenon. Thus, a universal reason would exclude an ethical relativism. Because it is over human being since these philosophers convinced the world about omnipresence

and absolute trueness of reason. Thus, the reason behind the rise of large kingdom and empires may be linked to the triple's paper. Because large social formations cannot survive without a common ideology. In this respect, universal reason can be a tool to gather people under a common conscience. In this manner, many thinkers claimed that they had also a political agenda and Plato was ambitious at politics. Furthermore, Aristotle was adviser to Alexander. Therefore, we can argue that even they haven't any political agenda. Their paper is used to justify the rise of centralized and large kingdoms later.

Ethics oriented politics can be still used to describe the actual political realm. We classify the politics based on moral values, common interest, ascetic ideals, progress, unity, as ethics-oriented politics. These concepts are linked to the assumption of a universal reason or truth which everyone must follow for reaching an absolute happiness. Furthermore, we argue that ethics-oriented politics serves to castrate people's will of power. By doing so, people are supposed to be docile and governable. Thus, ethics based politics is a technic of power that is used somehow from antiquity to our days.

1.2.1. Plato's Ethics and Ideal State

This chapter is sacrificed to Plato. But, we have also a place for Socrates who is Plato's master and the one who ignited rational philosophy in the initial part. Plato and Socrates is the source of the modern philosophy by neglecting sophist tradition whose ideas are somehow present in today's western philosophy. We should issue their philosophy to examine how ethics do and politics get together. In this part, we are mostly interested in Plato's political philosophy and in his concepts, which are related to ethics and justice. As well as we try to understand Plato's motivation behind his philosophy. As he has first place in all philosophy books, many can put him in divine position within the philosophic realm. But he's human and had some motivation to build up such a philosophy. Thus, our approach is going to be critical to him based on Nietzsche who is an obstinate opponent of Plato. By doing so, we try to understand and critic Plato's ethics justice and ideal state concept from our thesis concept of power-based politics. Indeed, Plato's justice, ethics, and ideal state concept are going to be at stake. But we have Socrates first to have historical accuracy.

As the influence of Socrates appears clearly in early *Platonic* work. We can say that Plato improved Socrates philosophy. That is, one of the most famous sentences of Socrates is that ‘‘ *unexamined life doesn’t worth living* ’’ it’s very short sentence but it has an intense meaning. We can claim that the entire of Plato’s ethical philosophy is an attempt to enlarge this sentence. Socrates sets up a criteria and goal for people to measure their life by the sentence. Thus, he puts an ideal to be reached by people. Furthermore, Socrates declared that ‘‘ *I know that I know nothing.* ’’ Thus, he tries to measure knowledge based on ignorance. Plato’s theory of knowledge is another attempt to express the apology Socrates in detailed manner. Because Plato believes that there is a truth that we don’t know but we must try to reveal out the truth. For this, people must put aside their customs and have a philosophical method to have ability to see or to reach the truth. In this respect. Briefly, we can argue that Socrates and Plato had a dyadic relationship. Thus, we can understand one through other or vice versa. Socrates was a political activist more than a philosopher with doctrine. After his death Plato developed Socrates philosophy adding his original concepts. Thus, it is time to go through *Platonic* works.

First, we can say that Plato established his philosophy with some respect to Solon who introduces laws (a kind of rules) to end civil war in Athene. They are known as Solonian constitution. He has a major influence over Plato. The most prominent Greek philosopher’s mother is descended from Solon. Thus, it’s possible to speculate that Plato was acquainted of his ancestor’s political thought and doings. Solon’s justice concept was not to favor the one side over the other. The famous Greek legislator’s laws serve to tolerate extremes demands of two side. Thus, two parties end up by compromising. But no side was satisfied with that. Solon’s strategy was to make each party powerless to avoid one sided domination. By doing so, Solon sets up himself as the powerful man in Athene (Aristotle, 1981; Karpowicz, 2019). We can find Solon’s trace in *Platonic* texts. We must also be acquainted with Plato’s life to understand his philosophy.

In Plato’s age, Athene was going through the same conflict. Poor against riches and Nobles against slaves. They were struggling against each other. Many says Athene’s culture was degenerated according to Plato. Plato was very curious at politics. And his dream was to be a politician. But Plato had refused to be part of these

struggling parties. Then, Plato started up a new path in politics by introducing philosophy into politics, educating his students and propagating his thought.

Many claim that Plato built his general philosophy to make a referential point to his political philosophy. We can see this through his major theories. We can argue that the goal of Plato for setting the theory of forms is to make a strong alternative against Heraclitus who claimed that everything changes permanently (Piyong, 2013). Because the idea of permanent change has also its political impacts. If change is accepted as a natural phenomenon, the political position of an individual can endureably change. Thus, chaos can be permanent in politics. In this case, according to Plato we cannot have stability in the city. Therefore, Plato must have contradicted the idea of enduring change in the philosophical realm to open a place to his political opinions (Şenel, 2013).

According to his theory of forms, the object of knowledge has two dimensions: The one is form (ideas); the other is object (the material thing). Everything has a form which is independent from the change which occurs in the objects and from the material existence of objects. He claimed that the material things are just shadows of their forms. Hence, translation of these thoughts into politics is that the world we live in is not the real world. The real one is the world of forms. In this point, humans must attain the world of forms which is perfect one. Nevertheless, humans, who have a natural willingness to attain this perfect world, should set up the material world according to the world of ideas by help of his intelligence in Plato's thought. (Piyong, 2013) Because, our intelligence has the clues to bring us to the world of forms. Plato established a strong alternative to the theory of change by introducing his theory. Thus, he tried to end civil war by making Athenians look at the ideal world where there is only order no wars. Plato's theory of form can be applied in this scale too. Because if there's a material city where people live, there's also an ideal city where souls live. And people should build the city based on this ideal city. In this point it is possible to ask that how would an ordinary citizenship know "what the real form is?" His response is that philosophers are the real guides in the research of ideal world. Thus, he legitimizes his position by introducing philosophy into politics.

On the other hand, the idea of separating the world in two parts and making the world of ideas superior to material words provides an important concept to politics: the goal. That is to say that people must seek the real world and be part of it according

to Plato. Thus, politics must be done to attain this goal in his thinking. We can argue that this is the beginning of goal-oriented politics. In this manner, the concept of promise in politics can be classified as the result of ethics-oriented politics.

Furthermore, *Platonic* philosophy is interconnected. Indeed, the theory of knowledge is not independent from the theory of forms. There are also important political connections we must issue. That is to say that if human has naturally willing to reach another world that he can reach on the material basis. He must learn how to reach such a world. In this point, Plato claims that knowledge can be found and taught to people. Human has already the knowledge inside himself. Hence, Plato says that individual must reveal out it. He claims that human seek the truth because human has a natural love on the truth, perfectness and goodness. In this point. We can argue that he tries to make connection with the concept of virtue and knowledge. The philosopher believes, as Socrates did, that human who knows the good never choose the bad (Lovinfosse, 1965). Hence, human must be in the search of truth. Hence, science (seeking the truth) is a moral duty. By this way, knowledge and virtue are interconnected.

On the other hand, many ask how an individual is supposed to know the truth which can't be seen with eyes. In this point, Plato's response is given by a metaphor. Plato explains the theory of knowledge mostly based on the myth of cave. Even we can't see the truth. We can reach part of it step by step. In this point, philosophers have duty to explain what they see with their mind's eyes. According to him, a philosopher can see more profoundly the world than ordinary individual. Because philosophers have already methods (like dialectic) to reach the true knowledge. Hence, philosopher is the perfect guide in the search of the truth and good (Karpowicz, 2019). In this point, we can argue that Plato connects his theory to his political theory. He actually makes room to his philosopher king concept which is going to be issued later.

The concept of justice in Plato text is also related to ethics. This require space to be explained in nuanced manner. Plato's justice concept is related to three virtues which is parted within three class in society. That is to say, there's separately one virtue to each class. In this point justice as virtue, belongs to all. Because, justice unifies three other virtues. We can say that Platonic justice and virtues understandings serve to moderate all classes' desires by making them responsible to be accurate with their

virtue. As everyone seek to be virtuous by making their duty and not interfering with each other duties. Justice takes place in society. Plato avers that if the classes interfere with each other's duty; injustice would reign the society (Plato, 2002: 291).

Furthermore, Plato has attempt to clarify everyone's duties in the city. Plato defines each individual role's within society in his famous book of Republic. Each individual and each class in society have theirs virtues according to theirs capacities. As everybody have a single role of his own, they cannot interfere with another's business. This means that nobody can't charge a crafter man by not having ability of fighting against an enemy because that would be injustice (Republic, 2002: 290). *Platonian* justice is somehow an attempt to provide an internal peace. For Plato's own description:

"Injustice causes civil war, hatred, and fighting, while justice brings friendship and a sense of common purpose" (Plato, 2002:205)

Plato tries to assure justice by cutting all possible extreme individual desires by making people focus on the ideal world instead of real society in which they live. People who tries to be accurate with their virtue and to be happy don't seek any more a powerful place in the society, instead they serve to common good and try to have a harmony between soul, mind, body etc. (Karpowicz, 2019).

After we examined the main constituent of *Platonian* philosophy. We can get into his political philosophy and his ideal city understanding. In the famous Republic Plato tries to give a response to the question "what's justice?" through Socrates' mouth. But he can't give a response based on the real life in Athene. Hence, he starts to describe the justice based on the utopia instead. In his utopic narrative, Plato gives a major place to instruction. The Instruction is an indispensable way to achieve justice in society and to establish ideal polis. Plato is aware of the results of power-seeking individual's acts within society (Republic, 2002; Karpowicz, 2019). His solution is to make all individual in the pursuit of perfectness in the ideal world based on moral understanding. For that reason, he introduces a new concept that people can fallow and desire. It is part of universal and absolute good. As told before, the moral worries of Plato are strongly related to politics and to his motivation of reforming the city. (Şenel, 2013) But his moral understanding serves to make people desire less power and to stabilize power in the hands of who supposedly merits the power as philosopher kings

or political elites. Because in his thinking, only philosophers know what's moral more than the rest. Hence, they have merits of ruling. Plato justifies his stand in Republic (2002: 333) saying that 'Until philosophers are kings, or the kings and princes of this world have the spirit and power of philosophy, and political greatness and wisdom meet in one, and those commoner natures who pursue either to the exclusion of the other are compelled to stand aside, cities will never have rest from their evils,—nor the human race, as I believe,—and then only will this our State have a possibility of life and behold the light of day.'

Here we can see how the philosopher sets ethics as a political instrument and his concept of philosopher king reveals his willingness to power or his willingness to absorb the power in every part of society. Plato get busy by eliminating people from power (let's say castrate their will of power through education) after stabilizing the power in rank of philosopher.

Plato also discusses his understanding of education in Republic (2002: 81) According to him, "*education is not only useful information but a purification of the eye of the soul, which is better than the bodily eye, for by this alone is truth seen.*" (Plato, 2002: 81) Thus, education is a tool to moderate people's desire and to make society stable.

On the other hand, we can argue that he installs a moral understanding which humiliate who seeks power. Plato believes that Philosopher must accept ruling position as a duty. According to him, philosophers have already other stuff to enjoy more than being ruler like be in search of wisdom (Plato, 2002: 60) and in his thoughts who desires to rule can't be trusted. Hence, he believes that a philosopher who are not inclined to have power can be best ruler in the society (Lane, 2016).

In the final part of chapter, we can give some space to Plato's opponent in order to understand him better. Plato's concepts are mostly criticized by postmodern philosophers. First Nietzsche's philosophy which is the source of post modernism criticizes *Platonism* vigorously. It appears everywhere on Nietzsche's work. Because Nietzsche believes that there's Plato and Platonism behind the corrupted society. Plato's philosophy consists of the concepts like forms, good and absolute truth which prioritize the reason over vital drives. He installs a kind of absolutism and he castrate

theirs will of power by giving a supreme place to reason and ethics. By doing so, Nietzsche believes that Plato aims at making people docile and absorbing their willingness to power. And he constructs his ideal city based on these docile people produced through his moral philosophy. Furthermore, Karl Popper, who is one of the most prominent thinkers in 20th century, criticizes also Plato for his ideal city concept which consists of a caste-like society. He criticizes Plato's instruction concept which works like social engineering factory to put people within boundaries (Popper, 1962; 2002).

In sum, in Plato's chapter we studied the motivation behind Plato's philosophy and its consequences. We claimed that Plato built his ontological and ethical philosophy to justify his political thoughts. Ideal city, virtue, moral, knowledge are the basis of Plato's ethics. We argue that these concepts result in castration of people's will to power. All in all, the concept of virtue ethics begins to be in the center of politics after Plato. And his philosophy has still impact on our political thinking.

1.2.2. Aristotle, Ethics, Politics

Aristotle must be also studied to understand the reason why there's strong connection between politics and ethics, because his virtue and ethics concept have major roles over politics. And his political philosophy has played a major role since 13th century especially in Europe. The diffusion of his ideas played also a major role in the initiation of political openness and reforms in Europe. Aristotle, as Plato's student, has more in common with his master than differences unlike some point out the reverse. Because his social political theory includes also the dominance of reason, in egalitarian perspective on politics, the concept of virtue and justice etc. which can be gathered under the name of ethics. But his political philosophy doesn't aim to stabilize the political realm as much as Plato's philosophy did. Even we can say that he sees politics as the principle dynamic of society. Besides, his concepts of happiness and virtue also consist of a dynamism. He encourages people to have dialog about politics as much as possible. Nevertheless, as the ultimate science not everyone has right to do politics. People must have merit, virtue to do or discuss about politics. Aristotle's ideas deserved to be analyzed deeply. In this perspective, we go first by explaining his general claims to understand his political philosophy. Before starting as a note: we can comfortably say that he developed his general philosophy for having base to

explain his political philosophy like his master.

Aristotle developed an alternative approach to his master. He unified the essence (form) and material in one instead of separating them in two parts as form and material like Plato did. He claims that one cannot exist without the other. Hence, the ideal is installed inside material. Ideal can be seen like essence here. By doing so, we can say that he developed a dyadic approach which appears in explaining his social theory later. The essence inside substance is like an energy to get substance into action. Hence, we should emphasize that the action, essence, purpose are the key concepts in Aristotle's philosophy as well as in his political thinking.

In Aristotle's perspective, all essence/ideal aims at reaching its end. Hence, we can understand the essence appears through reaching its end in the substance (the ideal). As all existence has a kind of essence. The essence of human is his intellect. All beings can be happy through completing their self-ideal (their essence). As human has the intellect as essence. Hence, human's happiness derives from the accuracy with his intellect when (s)he acts. The essence of human is not to satisfy bodily desires and not to seek fame as well. Nobody can be happy by seeking desire in his perspective. Otherwise it wouldn't be a virtuous life. In addition, the act of thinking is a critical point to have happiness. But it's not enough alone. According to him happiness is a virtuous activity it can be reached through realization and perfect exercise of virtue (Aristotle, 1999, 7 book, 3 section; section 11) but happiness is not a permanent state. The virtue is not something fixed. It depends on the context. It's an active case which requires thinking and acting in the same time. Which means human must find the mean in every altering situation through reasoning. He concludes that the mean is virtue. And human must find it in every case. The concept of mean is also important to understand his thoughts. Aristotle claims that *'Many things are best in the mean'* which means human must avoid the extreme position in order to seek a virtuous life. He suggests that moderation is salvation through his writings. We can say that Aristotle, like Plato, tries to stabilize the power flux in some way as he links the virtue and reason to mean. The concept of mean here can be thought like normality which is a Foucauldian concept and will be issued later. But briefly Foucault says powers govern people through setting normality as reason.

After we briefly resumed his generic concept, we can get inside of his social

political theories to understand the role of ethics in the community. First, Aristotle sees the formation of community like a must. As *Zoon Politikon*, human or political animal is destined to live in community. Because in Aristotle's perspective, the intellect whose role provides happiness to people has its meaning in the community. A human who lives alone can't be happy because just a god or the animals live alone (Aristotle, 1999). In his perspective, human is not capable of satisfying his needs alone, that's why human created community which is a natural result of human weakness to meet their needs. (Aristotle, 1999) And all men have a social instinct by nature according to him. That's why human is called *Zoon Politikon*.

Even though a community is a need. The community can't be formed without inequalities. A union needs someone inferior to serve according to his ideas. Whereas the equality of the two or the rule of the inferior is always hurtful (Aristotle, section 5, book 1), so the union can be seen like a substance which includes essence here. The man is superior to woman. Because man is the essence according to woman which are instrument. He sees this inequality like a must to provide virtue in polis. Because people who sacrifice their time to meet their needs by working as much as a slave does can't pursue a virtuous life. Because to be virtuous people must have free time to think about politics which is the ultimate science among the others or to train their self for wars. Aristotle develops a slave theory (through which he says that slavery is a natural phenomenon in his book) to legitimate his in opponent stance for equalitarian thinking (Aristotle, 1999 book: 1 section 2) and stated that:

“For that which can foresee by the exercise of mind is by nature intended to be lord and master, and that which can with its body give effect to such foresight is a subject, and by nature a slave”

Aristotle has an idea of ideal polis too. He's not dogmatic as much as Plato in this subject. Even we can say that he's a bit indecisive about the model of ideal state's government. Nevertheless, virtuous people has right to govern and people should follow virtuous people. We remember again that Aristotle's general philosophy is linked to his political philosophy. *'Many things are best in the mean; I desire to be of a middle condition in my city.'* (Aristotle, 1999: 96) As he claimed that the mean is the virtue with respect to his general philosophical understanding. He sees also middle class to have more possibilities to pursue a virtuous life. Because the extreme richness and poorness can't let people have a virtuous life. People with extreme richness is not

used to obey the reason and people with extreme poverties can't be instructed to obey. Thus, they can be just ruled through tyranny. We should follow virtuous people who derived mostly from middle class to be virtuous (Aristotle, 1999, book4 section 11). We can understand the moderation and self-control in the basis of mean. The concept of mean can be understood as normativity. People controls their self and are being controlled through this normativity. In the same time, we can argue that self-control is considered like virtue and people can learn self-control to be virtuous. We can get deeper in the concept.

As told before Aristotle thinks people acquire virtue through nature, habit and reason (Aristotle, 1999, book 7, Chapter 13). Thus, education has a major role and no state should avoid importance of it to make people virtuous. Because education serves to unify the plurality of people in one community. He considers the role of human psyche crucial in the formation of people. We can say Aristotle develop more nuanced power technics which target at shaping human psyche by philosophy and customs instead of rough regulations as Plato did in forbidding certain things according to social classes. Also, he sets up himself against Plato who claim that virtue is innate. Aristo has more openness in his regards to society in contrast to Plato. However, he sees also inequality as necessity. He rationalizes his opponent stance for equalitarian thinking by referencing on nature in contrast to Plato who referenced at the world of ideas which is supposed to be artificial. Obedience is also a virtue since virtuousness is accuracy with nature. Aristotle wants to make his community which is not equalitarian view accepted by people and gets people behave according to this phenomenon by using education as a power technic. Hence, virtuous people have the right on power and the other must obey. Because people with virtuous are more interested in public interest than the rest.

In Aristotle's perspective, the essence and ideal can be gathered in the name of aim (goal). The concept of aim is also part of his ethics understanding. Therefore, we should allude to the concept of aim here. The concept of aim has such an importance that the philosopher emphasized it in the very beginning of his book of ethics which is sacrificed to his son. In the same line, communal goals are better and higher than individual ones. Thus, Aristo makes an inquiry to find which groups has more virtue to rule the whole community. As issued on the paragraph above, virtuous people are

more interested in the goodness and public interest. We can say that the concept of virtue in political realm serves to stabilize the power in the hands of people who claimed to be virtuous. However, the goal-oriented politics is part of ethics-oriented politics as issued before on *Platonian* chapter.

As Psycho- power concept is going to be introduced in the coming chapters. We cannot avoid Aristotle's ideas on human soul. Aristotle, in his books which are called *Nicomachean ethics* (1906) and *De anima* (1907) emphasis the role of human psyche as it is essence of human. Thus, he links his virtuous concept to psyche through concept of happiness. Which means that happiness is something about soul. As told before, the aim of politics is to find happiness. Hence, Aristotle stressed that politician must know the entire of human psyche; as the medicine who know every part of body to treat a human. Politician would guide people to a virtuous life only by knowing the specialties of human psyche (Aristotle, 1999: 27). Hence, it's possible to say that the linkage between psychology and politics goes until the ancient Greek area

In sum, Aristo and Plato is the same philosophical line as much as Aristotle is opponent of Plato. Because both are prominent rationalist thinkers and served to get their ethical understanding powerful in political realm. Aristo also justified his political standpoint by his ethical standpoint. He also contributed to install goal-oriented thinking way in politics. We considered the goal-oriented politics which claims to object the goodness as part of ethics-oriented politics. In addition, Aristotle's care on human soul worth to be mentioned. Because he sees a deep connection between politics and psychology which is supposed to be a new concept in today's politics.

1.3. Kant's Ethical Philosophy

We must also issue Kant's ethical philosophy in order to understand ethics-oriented politics. Some scholars criticize Kantian tradition because of its pure moralism and by not understanding the particularity of politics and by not developing a political philosophy which differ from moral theory. That is to say that politics is reduced to ethics in his perspective (Williams, 2005: 3; Rostbøll, 2019). Some says that Kantian are responsible of ethics first approach in politics. (Geuss, 2008: 8; Rostbøll, 2019). However, Kant begun to engage in political philosophy in his late ages. On the contrary, we can argue that the entire of his ethics theory was somehow

about politics, as his ethical doctrine is employed in politics. We go first by issuing his generic inventions as Copernic revolution and its consequences which includes primarily the centrality of subject to understand the connection of his ethical philosophy with politics. After the birth of autonomous subject we can analyse Kantian ethics, because Kant wouldn't speak about ethics in the absence of autonomous subject. Then, we describe some of his major concept as categorical imperative and we try to see how his ethical theory is connected to politics.

Kant is a critical point in the western philosophy. He started up a new path in philosophy. Kant scholars describe the new passage in philosophical tradition as Kant's umbrella (Gözkan, 2018). Indeed, it means the end of Plato and Aristotle's huge philosophical influence over western philosophy. Nevertheless, Plato and Aristotle's impact on philosophy didn't appear the day after. Even Kant's philosophy is somehow influenced by both philosophers. But Kant brought some original concepts into philosophy. It's the centrality of human subject in the universe. Which means that human tried to explain the universe as it was until Kant. But the originality of Kant was to change this axis by claiming that the nature of material and universe are not important. Because it is human who describes what they are; who attributes their value (Kant, 1993: 25). It can be counted as a resurrection to *Platonic* philosophy because Plato placed the truth in a place which is independent from human. Therefore, he had made a revolution even he called it Copernican revolution by switching the place of truth from the world of forms to human intellect². Copernican revolution carried out an important critique to materialist philosopher as he claimed the superiority of human intellect which defines the reality of things.

Kant also called his project as transcendental philosophy which aims to understand how knowledge is possible. Hence, Kant argued that human knowledge wouldn't be possible without a priori notions that are time, space and causality. Human cannot think out of notions of time, space and causality. Thus, human being is subject to this a priori notions (Pereboom, 2019).

The Copernican revolution of Kant is important to understand his subject model and his ethical philosophy. These are tied up with each other. Kant placed

² (Gözkan, Akbank Sanat, https://youtu.be/dv_DILpfhH8).

human subject in the center of universe and declares the power of human being's intellect based on Copernican Revolution. In this point, it's necessary to discuss his subject model broadly. In Kantian perspective, the subject is the term to describe human who obeyed to rules of universal reason. Subject (also called transcendental subject in Kantian way) has a priori elements by which (s)he understands and defines the universe. If these a priori notions couldn't exist there wouldn't be a concept of knowledge. As a priori elements are common to all human beings, we can talk about existence of universal knowledge and laws. Besides, if objects are defined by the subjects. Our knowledge would be limited to our reason. But, we must focus on analyzing the way we think to understand a priori notions which influence our perceiving and thinking rather than objects. Because we can just know the way reason works (Recki, 2005: 201). After we discussed Kant's project that is *the critic of pure reason*. We can say that in Kantian perspective, subject is free of experiment. Therefore, s(he) is not dependent on the condition s(he) lives under because of that universal of reason's conducts are the same. The subject can free himself by his reason. But reason needs freedom to bloom. Hence, the concept of freedom is so critical at this point as the individual under influence or domination others couldn't use his reason. In this point, we can argue that Kant linked his subject model to ethics by placing freedom and intellect (reason) as the indispensable concepts that need each other. Therefore, he built his ethical philosophy after accepted that all subjects are supposed to be free and reasonable. (Rawls, 2005: 257) Subjects must respect each other's freedom to protect their freedom. It is (a priori) a universal rule that makes the reason and ethics meaningful.

Herein, it can be said that there revealed a Kantian absolutism on freedom. It is condition non sine qua. Because ethics is to criticize free acts. Kant perceive freedom as a little bit scary thing because free acts is neither definite by any rule nor by nature. In this case, there must be a general rule to assure the harmony of free acts. This general rule, which assure the harmony, derives from common human purposes. In this perspective, subject's acts must be oriented to common purposes in order to be moral acts. (Kant, 2003: 27) it's sure that there's also a nuanced metrics about what makes an act moral or not. Kant sees ethics as a concept which is related to mental process not to experiences. Ethics is just a phenomenon whose origins are within pure intellect (reason) where the human freedom lays. All other motives to act are a kind of

obligation as much as they are not command of reason. It is impossible to talk about ethics in the case of obligation. Even we act for a good purpose with respect to our internal sense desire, the act wouldn't be a moral act because we acted under obligation of our senses. Thus, if ethics are about a mental process based on a priori rules. The intention behind acts are more critical than consequences of the acts (Kant, 2003: 85-87).

In this point, we can issue the categorical imperative through which Kant definite the metric of moral actions. In his perspective, the motivation of our acts mustn't derive from desire or any purpose. The most important is that we must act on no condition. We must act on a maxim that everyone would do the same in the same case. By Kant words (1992) "*Act only according to that maxim by which you can at the same time will that it should become a universal law*" and we can say that this first formula of categorical imperative requires a common reason based on his words. It's called universalizability. The linkage between reason and ethics here is tied up. The second principle of categorical reason commands that (1992) '*Treat people as an end, and never as a means to an end*' we can say that Kant's proposition is about respecting other's freedom and preventing the use of power and domination between subjects. The third one is that (1992) '*All maxims as proceeding from our own lawmaking ought to harmonize with a possible realm of ends as a realm nature*' He concludes that categorical imperative sets up the base of morality. We can argue that categorical imperative has similarity with Plato's theory of forms. Kant argues that the deviation from categorical imperative (the case in which everyone makes selfish decision) would ends up with crash of civilized world.

Although Kant prioritizes intention over consequences of acts. He introduces the concept of the highest good which humans being must reach at. Besides, all our moral duties are linked to reach the highest good. In this point, he makes room to faith and suggest people to believe in god. Because we wouldn't believe in existence of highest good, unless we believe in god and immortality of soul. He believes that ethical rule would be nonsense without presence of god and the concept of immortality of soul (Rohlf, 2018). And it is such that if we don't accept the notion of God (speculatively) we dismiss our right to freedom (Recki, 2005: 195). By doing so, Kant support his ethical doctrine by the concept of God and gives sense to his doctrine by the concept

of immortality.

Kant also argue that the highest good can be just a common production which is made by ‘an ethical community’. Which means that all individual’s common purpose must be to reach the highest good where virtue and happiness met. In this regard, we should also argue that Kant puts community before individual and believes that a human being is not supposed to be spontaneously happy in the result of his virtuous activities. That is to say that, acting virtuously doesn’t bring happiness necessarily. In his perspective, human should think of his specify and its future not of himself in the first place as moral principle. In this point, we can issue his political philosophy after he claimed that highest good is a product of an ethical community and puts the community before individual. Because the design of society in an ethical way can’t be thought outside of politics. It’s a political project as much as an ethical one.

1.3.1. Kant’s Ethical Perspective’s Contribution to Politics

In this section we are going to analyze the connection between Kantian ethics and his political contribution. Kant was not engaged highly in political philosophy. Nevertheless, his ethical philosophy was an important point to connect politics to ethics. Even the day after of revolution in French, some prominent revolutionary elements got contact with Kant for introduce his philosophy to France (Ardent, 2005: 345). We can argue that Kant’s philosophical invention was very attractive for newly rising nation states. Because Kant prioritized the notion of universalizing state which diminish all proxy powers in country level. Hence, the concept of publicity and public sphere were essential to produce a common conscience for states. State-men would lead the countries easily through the shared conscience and ethics rules. Hence, in this chapter we go first by emphasizing Kant’s enlightenment understating then his *publicity* concept related to actual political realm and after we concludes on his *contractualism* which is based on reason.

Kant is an important supporter of Enlightenment. His philosophy justifies the enlightenment as a must-reach point for humanity. Nevertheless, we can claim that his political standpoint is not much clear. Many says he has republican willing. In contrast, the philosopher, in his famous article (1992) of “*What is Enlightenment?*”, stressed

out the possible danger of a republican government and even thanked the Prussian King Frederic 2 who is known as enlightened despot because of the freedom he entitled to people. We can argue that Kant advocate for enlightenment and an illuminated society. Hence, the formula of government is not a big deal as much as there's possibility of public sphere and freedom of thought. Because, in his thinking, decision-makers must use their power for common purpose. On the other hand, Kant looks at the idea of revolution with suspicious eyes. Because he doesn't believe that the way people think can change the day after of revolution. A revolution can also produce new prejudgment and enmities. According to Kant, the best way to progress is gradual change provided by a *sensus communis* for humanity (Ardent, 2005, 372) in the condition of liberty (Kant, 1992).

The principle of publicity is a non-sine qua for Kant. All would be nonsense in the absence of community. Hence, the communication and transparency are too important in order to have a healthy the community. Thus, actors in political realm have to declare their opinions and aims publicly. Otherwise their policies wouldn't be a moral and public sphere would be in danger. In fact, to have courage to declare thinking and act is an insurance of their morality since people hesitate to reveal their inappropriate thinking and acting. Thus, if our private maxims copes with the public one, our maxim would be moral. Here it's possible to say that public is a moral insurance mechanism of acts. If a subject insists on keeping his maxim secret Kant would say that his maxim is not moral (Ardent, 2005: 350). The concept of public sphere or public use of reason require some conditions firstly in the individual level. A subject's judgement is not just oriented to criticize other's ideas. Firstly, a subject's critical judgement must be oriented towards his critical thinking way, secondly the subject must criticize his opinion from perspective of others for developing a new third regard outside of s(he) had in the beginning. Which means that the subject's approach to his self must be neutral. After a critical comparison and testing the accuracy of his ideas a subject can declare his opinion to the public (Ardent, 2005: 342).

We can argue that the priority of public sphere on Kantian papers is related to the political context in which he lived. In Kant's ages, France and England were almost centralized countries. The feudality had almost collapsed. But we can say there wasn't a shared consciousness in country level or let's say a kind of common public sphere.

Absence of them was a danger for a centralized country. Because the influence of local powers was still present on people. Especially Kant was living in kingdom of Prussia that claims to be tutor of all Germans who live apart. Then, Kant was living in political area in which there was still a feudal alike domination over people and Kant was very against this social structure which is against free will and moral commands. Which can be called as state of nature. Kant's very first project was to prevent and eliminate the actual despotism than introduce a new ideal system. Nevertheless Kant wouldn't be in revolutionary position against this 'ancient regime' he would let it perish by itself instead (Ellis, 2012).

In this point we are to remember that Kant was also a *contractualist* philosopher. Hence, he called people to rejoin a state which prioritizes the universal law which is derived from reason to have freedom. In this point, the hierarchy of power in feudality must be remembered. The feudality was structured like a chain of obedience and everyone was superior or inferior to each other. Besides, there were clashes between small cities. Kant needed to get rid of war for a perpetual peace. Hence, he needed to invent a concept around which everyone can gather. It was the reason as it is always in Kantian philosophy. O'Neill summarized (Ellis, 2012: 11), stated that:

"Kant's version of the social contract can count as an idea of reason because he derives it from his account of practical reason, rather than from any appeal to actual or hypothetical consent."

As Kant's contract is not product of a historical or empirical cause it's not necessary to seek the origin of states. We should erase or forget the past enmities for preventing conflict and focus on the standard which state must attain instead. By doing so, can we say that he justifies the standpoint of Prussia voluntarily or involuntarily. It's obvious that his big project was to make enlightenment triumph. He needed a state which has all power on behalf of public and whose ruler consider their-self servants of public. He stated that

"The executive branch, according to Kant, must never treat the state as a private holding, but only perform the universal will of the people as best as this can be understood. Kant illustrates this norm in Perpetual Peace with the example of the absolutist but relatively progressive Prussian king Frederick II, who "at least said that he was only the highest servant of the state" (Herman 1993:352; Ellis, 2012:10).

In two last chapters, we tried to explain Kantian ethical philosophy. We issued briefly highlighted Kantian concepts related to our thesis perspective. That is, after his Copernican revolution he declared the power of human over the universe. But he chose to limit the power of subjects on behalf of the highest good concept. Which is an ethical community. Hence, human must have criticized first his reason after others. It would be just based on freedom. In his way, people needed ethical rules to protect each other's freedom. Hence, he developed an ethical theory whose source was reason and freedom again. But people couldn't be in successes because of the actual political social context they live. It was necessary to have a state which would promote public sphere and universal laws. Human can progress and enlightenment would be in success by the help of free public sphere. But for all this achievement they need to have a contract based on reason principles.

Kant is a very responsible for ethical approach to politics in modern days. He limited ethic with reason ignoring human psychological needs. The power is absorbed in the name of public sphere (publicity) which reign alone. Its ultimate point on reasoning and communication takes over the concept of power intersubjective (between subjects) through the notion of publicity. He implanted a notion of goal (aim) in politics again as Plato and Aristo did before. We used so many words of freedom through the text. But Kant's freedom is mere application of categorical imperative, and he always prioritize the human specify over individual. He doesn't care much about Individual happiness. Kant would say that A human's suffer is a moral act for human progress.

On the other hand, we tried to show the possible outputs of his ethical theory and its benefits for newly flourishing nation states. Beside the concept of public sphere can seem as a democratic ideal. But we issued the concept of publicity through Foucauldian papers later by which we can observe how statesman captured more power through the concept of public sphere. Beside we can argue that the concepts (reason, progress) Kant emphasized strongly become a sort of power technics to absorb political opponents. Everyone sets to universalize his point. All in all, Kant wouldn't say these are moral acts. We are not to question Kant's good will. But we can say briefly his ethical theory become a new battlefield of power struggle in the name of "so called high values".

1.4. Hegel's Ethical Approach to Politics

In this chapter, we are going to analysis Hegelian approach to ethics by comparing his stand with Kantian one. Because Hegel has similarity with Kant in many points. Even if he critics Kant in many aspects. Hegel benefits from Kantian concepts in many ways. Even he describes himself as Kantian thinker (Wood, 1993: 216; Legenhausen). But Hegel's philosophy is an attempt to have a synthesis of enlightenment philosophy and its opposite philosophy (conservatism) especially in moral philosophy. Hegel tries to melt individual first approach of enlightenment and community first approach into the same pot (Bezci, 2005) Hence, Hegel is an important bridge between modern and pre-modern ethical understanding. We benefit thinking outside of modern ethical discourse by having Hegel in this paper. We also have a critical perspective to the ethics understanding of modernity and to its impact on politics. In the beginning, we are going to issue his subject and community concepts then his ethics and freedom concepts. Then we continue to analyze Hegelian states by having critics towards Hegel. Finally, we conclude by opening parenthesis for his Slave- Master Dialectic, which is important point for our Psycho-power concept that is going to be discussed in 4th Part.

The reason why Hegel prioritize the community is that human would be nonsense outside of community. Therefore, human needs a society to live as Aristotle would say. In Hegelian perspective human's existence is related to community. To understand that, we should look at Hegelian subject understanding. Hegel doesn't accept the subject as an existence barrowed all its essence, freedom and ethical understanding from his reason in contrast to Kant. He believes that subject's self-consciousness is an output of mutual recognition between subjects. That is, after the one accepted the other as free as he is. Every subject sees the other as equal counterpart, and everyone is aware of his self-freedom through the other. As result, this mutual recognizing process ends up by a universal self-consciousness (Ağcan, 2015: 56). In this point, Hegel clarifies his subject understanding in his book of Logic "The Encyclopedia Logic" (1830), he says that:

" concrete person who, as a particular person, as a totality of needs and a mixture of natural necessity and arbitrariness, is his own end, is one principle of civil society. But this particular person stands essentially in relation to other similar particulars, and their relation is such that each asserts itself and gains satisfaction through the others, and thus at the same time through the exclusive

mediation of the form of universality, which is the second principle. “

In the same time, intra-subject self-awareness is the essence and aim of ethics. Hegel developed his concept of right which includes all ethical and moral dimension of life as well as the code applied in social life, law etc. Hegel's aim with his concept of right is to have a concrete ethical base to guarantee freedom of each individual. He says

“...morality, ethics and the interest of the state each of these is a distinct variety of right, because each of them gives determinate shape and existence to freedom” (Hegel, 1991: 59; Ağcan, 2015: 65).

In this point, we can say that Hegel connected his subject concept to his moral philosophy on the purpose of protecting freedom as Kant did. Hence, we can issue Hegelian ethic understanding now. Hegel's ethics philosophy is a critic to *Kantian* one. But it's not just a critic as well as it has original points. Hegelian critics are usually objected to Kant's excessive *raison first* approach to ethics. As told before, Kant's philosophy is distilled by *raison*. On the contrary, Hegel prioritized also the role of community as well as the individual desires by not underestimating the role of intellect. The concepts of desires and community were dismissed by Kantian philosophy in the favor of *raison* that is supposed to absorb human desires in Kantian philosophy. Nevertheless, Hegel also suggests to form a society based on reason's principles which are already common to all members as Kant claimed. Thus, members of such a society wouldn't hesitate to internalize desire and demands of this kind of society as well as to follow their individual desires. Because they wouldn't be in the contradiction with the society. Hegel thought that it's unrealistic to look away from human's will and desire. In his approach, the role of philosophy is to mediate between the individual interests and social values (Bezci, 2005). We can start to discuss about true freedom and ethical life according to Hegel after the synthesis of two.

On the other hand, Hegel was not an opponent of categorical imperative. Nevertheless, he was critical to the idea of having our ethical rules after a pure reasoning process as Kant claimed. Because Hegel criticizes that Kant had never introduced a concrete rule, in contrast he always discussed about universal rules which are applicable everywhere. Even Hegel accused of Kant's abstract universal laws of being responsible behind the terror of French revolution. Because revolutionaries didn't avoid using force and underestimated the culture of people on behalf of

universal abstract rules. Hence, they didn't hesitate to destroy present communal values (Bezci, 2015).

The freedom in Hegel's understanding is not an abstract phenomenon. It's well defined and circled. The recipe of human freedom lays at these concrete rules and communal ethics etc. Human can recognize others and be recognized by others just based on these concrete ethical rules. Besides, Hegel set the individuality as the ultimate success for individuals. But no body can't achieve this goal without recognizing and respecting others (Salman, 2015). Autonomy in Hegelian way is a product of process. Which means that human cannot be free just by help of universal reason. Hence, freedom is not a priori term which is found in subject as Kant predicted. Human can attain ideal freedom through an ethical oriented life. Therefore, human autonomy can't be reduced to individual elements. That means autonomy can't be described just by will and self-motivation. Besides, we can also understand that human's self is not a static; it can change depending on people around him (Wallace, 2005). Indeed, in Hegel perspective freedom has nothing to do with nature. As he explained and stated that:

"The freedom of nature, the gift of freedom, is not anything real; for the state is the first realization of freedom". The state of nature is ...predominantly that of injustice and violence, of untamed natural impulses, of inhuman deeds and feelings" (Hegel, 1968: 401-402; Osigwe, 2008: 1)

Hence, social and economic contexts are decisive to describe the freedom understanding of the age and the community. In this point, we can issue that how the needs of all free individual are going to be in harmony with each other as well as who is going to be in charge of harmonizing process in *Hegelian* way.

Hegel's solution is state which is supposed to represent every groups in society. The state, for Hegel, is a place where conflicts finds their ends and synthesis. As arbiter, the state is the reason of freedom and ethics in society. *"The basis of the state is the power of reason actualizing itself as will"* (Hegel, 1967: 279; Osigwe, 2008: 4) besides the state is representing of *raison* as it represents all member of society. We can argue that Hegelian state is an attempt for institutionalization of Kantian universal rule and categorical imperative concepts.

On the other hand, Hegel puts his state concept in a divine position. As he

describe the state as “*the march of God in the world, that is what the state is*” (Hegel, 1967: 279; Osigwe, 2008: 4). Besides, we can argue that he considers the state as a natural instinct as Aristo who says that human is social by nature. Hegelian state is reflection of spiritual instinct found in human. As he says: “*The State is the Idea of Spirit in the external manifestation of human will and its Freedom as well as*” (Hegel, 1968: 47; Osigwe, 2008:4) In addition, Hegelian state concept includes a Monarch who is not elected for avoiding intrapersonal conflicts. Hegel preferred that the Monarch must be not elected to avoid “*electoral indifference*” and also avoid weakening the state by making it depend on “*...the whim, opinion, and caprice of the Many* (Hegel, 1967:186; Osigwe, 2008: 2).” Hegel’s state concept needs to be criticized according to our thesis approach as he reduced politics to state. His ethical concept plays an important role in his prioritization of state. He stated that:

”The state of nature is ...predominantly that of injustice and violence, of untamed natural impulses, of inhuman deeds and feelings “The march of God in the world that is what the state is. The basis of the state is the power of reason actualizing itself as will. (Hegel, 1952: 233)”

Hegel’s ethical philosophy includes norms of community. That is, community has cultural codes whose origins goes to a long history. He attributes a rationality to these codes because of their experience and historicity. In addition, his concept of right, which includes all about morality and ethics, is somehow related to state. Furthermore, he legitimatizes monarchy by claiming that one’s rule avoids intrapersonal conflicts. He put the state in untouchable position, and he absorbs people’s will to power. The role of individuals is reduced to apply objective social norms to reach oneness in the name of state. Popper who is an important opponent of Hegel accuse him of being responsible in the rise of totalitarian state which unifies the nation and state as well as he critics him for historicism which supports racism in politics. According to Popper the liberal movement set back in Germany after Hegelian philosophy was popularized by state (Popper, 2006). Even Popper accuses Hegel of being a Prussian agent because he introduce a philosophy which legitimatizes the standpoint of Prussian monarchy in a such time that monarchies had started to lose power in Europe (Bakış, 2016: 111)

The master and servant dialectic is part of his self-consciousness process. It can be noted that the initiation point of self-consciousness is desire. Its desire to have

something material or non-material. The desire is possible just with an independent object whose role is negativity. To be noted that negativity has a productive force in this point. In fact, what makes self-consciousness be sure of itself is desire. Our existence are somehow dependent on something we desire outside of us. The fact that we can't possess all (this negativity of the fact) creates self-consciousness. He says that "*...self-consciousness is certain of it- self only by superseding this other that present itself to self-consciousness as an independent life...*" (Hegel, 1977: 109; Şekerci, 2017: 150). The desire of recognition can turn up into a struggle to live or death. This struggle made two parties be in aware of the value of their life. After one accepts the defeat and recognize the other as master, we reach a dialectic between master and Slave. As told before self-consciousness was output of mutual recognition as equal. It is worthwhile to remember the metaphor of mirror stage of Lacan. The only way to have self-consciousness is to view oneself in the other like in front of the mirror. Master cannot recognize himself / herself as a master by not viewing himself / herself in slave (Findlay, 1976: 98; Şekerci, 2017: 152). Thus, master become more dependent on slave as he generate his identity from its counterpart. In contrast, as slave is subjected to work in nature for satisfying desire of his master he has a different relations than the dialectic relation he has with his master. Then, the servant can acquire knowledge and produces objects more than his master. After a while master is supposed to become dependent of what slave produced. On the contrary, slave can free himself from the dialectic that he has with the master by reflecting his image on the product he had made. Therefore, the slave has his self-consciousness in the basis of his product and struggle with nature. In contrast, the master is enslaved by labor of his servant. Hegel's slave-master dialectic has in fact an important psychological dimension. It is important to analyze psychological aspects of slave master dialectic by asking that what makes one defeat the other and how the roles change a while after. Besides, the relation between servant and master is a dyadic relationship. The flux of power from one side to other or vice versa is another noteworthy case which is related to the dyadic power theory. We can argue that this dialectic explains well the psychological nature of power. Psycho-power concept and dyadic power theory are going to be at stake in 4th part of our thesis.

1.5. The Position of Power and Subject in Ethical Approach to Power

In this chapter, the concept of subject with power is going to be at stake. The concept of subject is a well-rounded phenomenon in philosophical realm. Its influences are so important in political context too. In fact, we can maybe resume all the section with a cliché that human became the center of universe after the Renaissance period. But it needed to be explained in nuanced way here. Because postmodern critics towards modernity can't be understood otherwise. Especially all Foucault's works cross somehow *Cartesian* subject of Descartes and Kantian Subject understanding. Theirs concept of subject is also related to their epistemological philosophy. These two thinkers placed their concept of universal normative knowledge on the basis of the centrality of Human. We can express that differently from his contemporaries like Baruch Spinoza (who has already a written book by himself as *Ethica*), and Confucian ethics admirer Gottfried Leibniz in 17th century, René Descartes and Immanuel Kant (being 18th century philosopher) were in the main position of enforcing humanism or humanist philosophy which legitimates the power of human over objects and universe. Besides, we are going to argue that the role of epistemology is an important point to link subject and power to each other. It worth noting that possessing *truth knowledge* is legitimator of power since Plato. Hence, in the first place, we are going to describe Cartesian subject which is important to understand the cliché about the centrality of human being after we re-issuing Kantian and Hegelian subject. But this time we are going to put our perspective from our power-oriented politics concept. Beside this section is going to be in accordance with the concept of empirical subject whose place is in the coming section. Because transcendental subject and empirical subject had developed in mutual manner.

Descartes has been considered as the initiator of modern philosophy for his rupture with Scoliotic Aristotelian philosophy. He believed that the entire of human beings share the same mind. But the reason of divergence in thinking was that people use their mind in different ways. Nevertheless, if people come together to set up a code of thinking. Therefore, everyone would agree with the entire outputs of reason. The role of philosophy is to find this code of thinking according to Descartes. Beside one of his originality is to say that reason is common to every human beings and reason is not only at service of authorities. Hence, human would be self-sufficient to find the

true without referencing any authority. His philosophy was a revolutionary one for his time. It also represents the change in mode of thinking of his period. In fact, we observe the rise of subject with Descartes as Heidegger proposes that

“Descartes as the moment when the sovereignty of the subject is established (in philosophy), inaugurating the discourse of modernity. This supposes that man, or rather the ego, is determined and conceived of as subject (Balibar, 2016).”

In this point we can issue how he forged his philosophy step by step. Descartes set his mediation as doubting process to find an undoubted point for proving his existence through his works. He reached at a point that everything can be doubtful and uncertain after his long mediation process in which he doubts everything. The point is that *“there’s something that can’t be doubted that’s the reality of a man doubts”* (Sewall, 1901). Hence, Descartes found his undoubted point in his thinking. He rephrased his inference by saying that *“I think therefore I am.”* (Descartes, 2017).” In this point we can say that he linked the existence to thinking and described human being as a thinking thing. Here we can also make analogy with Archimedes famous quote that *“Give me a place to stand and I will move the earth.”* In fact, all effort made by Descartes can be explained with this Archimedes saying. Because Descartes was searching a certain point to build his philosophy. Hence, he found his certain place in Human’s mind’s work (thinking). The concept of reason become the reference of all knowledge. He also set a duality between mind (*res cogitans*) and body (*res extensa*). That is, as stated that:

“two substances exist independently of each other The res cogitans is a definite, immutable and indivisible substance generating and bringing together particular cogitationes and ideas, the res extensa is conceived as an indefinite, mutable and divisible heap of matter within which any particular body lacks an essence of its own”(Cottingham, 1993; İlbaşı,2015).

Insofar he claimed that thinking doesn’t require body, so the existence was just possible with mind. Because body and its function are not certain as much as mind’s ones and all bodily function cannot exists in the absence of mind. He explained this phenomenon by saying that *“I think therefore I see, so on (İlbaşı, 2015).”*

Indeed, the subject is regarded as the personal interiority over against all that is extended and exterior to it, including the body that is closely associated to it. As a result, Cartesian subjectivity is constituted as a self-subsisting personal interiority, encapsulated within itself, which generates thought and bears ideas and the body is

radically excluded from thinking processes that are modes of the *res cogitans*. In view of the above points, the subject, as conceived in Descartes's philosophy, is a self-present, self-conscious, self-subsisting, indivisible, simple, self-identical and a temporal thinking being who is substantially separated from the body; whose relationship with the world is purely intellectual; and whose relationship with thought, which is also defined in pure cognitive terms, is that of a substance with its modes (İlbaşı, 2015).

Looking at Kant's discussion for transcendental subject, Kant's standpoint can't be understood by not analyzing his advocacy for enlightenment. He prioritized the free use of reason against obedience. It is consistent through his work. The Enlightenment in Kant's view is that the public's use of reason "*must be free . . . [for] it alone can bring about enlightenment among men*" (Kant, 1992: 92). Nevertheless, this freedom is not a permissive one. It implies the notion of consistency with laws that are already derived from universal reason. In this point, Foucault criticizes Kant for introducing a kind of rational despotism based on the concept of a free reason. But its use causes a kind of obedience (Olssen, 2003). The concept of free use of public reason is the basis of his subject model.

Furthermore, the Kantian subject is also the product of his standpoint in regard of his enlightenment advocacy. The period Kant lived was a process of transformation from absolute monarchies to fluid or mix regimes even republics. Hence, the concept of the subject wouldn't be reduced to absolute loyalty to the prince anymore. It was necessary to set a new kind of subject model. In the meantime, we can argue that the *Cartesian* subject and empirical understanding of the subject were both incapable to afford a compatible subject's understanding to the new political context.

The moment in which Kant introduced (and retrospectively projects) the transcendental subject is precisely that moment in which the subject of the prince couldn't be anymore the part of politics as before. It need to be replaced with the republican citizen. He stated that

"This is not a coincidence is already hinted at by the fact that the question of the subject, around which the Copernican revolution pivots, is immediately characterized as a question of right (as to knowledge and as to action)" (Balibar, 2016).

In this point, we can issue the technical details of the Kantian subject to clarify his standpoint. Kant developed his subject understanding to mediate between rationalism and empirical subject conception. According to him, two sides had deficiency based on their one-sided approach regarding epistemology. The empirical subject model which is developed first by Locke in contrast to Descartes and improved by Hume Later, sees individuals born with *tabula-rasa*. That is to say that all our knowledge comes through our sensations. Nevertheless Rationalism and empiricism share a common fallacy according to the Kantian standpoint. Their common propose is that the one ultimately is able to know the real either through reason or by the way of senses (Azeri, 2010: 270).

Before Kant, epistemology was separated into two camps. The one is analytic a priori which was unable to extend knowledge. (Kant claims that we can just prove the existence of our-self by Descartes' words "*I think. It's not enough to produce knowledge*"). The other one is synthetic a posteriori which is not appropriate to the concept of a universal subject (Lindsay, 1970). In Kant's standpoint, the reality is impossible in the absence of subject and object. The both are required to form reality. Hence, the subject and object's existence are mutually dependent. Copernican Revolution's motto is that "Object must conform to our knowledge" thus. we make objects and universe phenomenologically exist through understating. Hence, knowledge is possible through the unary factor nature based subject. Subject's material experiences acquire their meaning through reasoning process according to a priori laws. Therefore subjects can discover these a priori laws that are applied in particular empirical cases (Azeri, 2010) In this case, we must focus on understanding of human's thinking way instead of trying to explain the objects as they are. Hence, only a posteriori knowledge would be not enough to produce a universally shared knowledge. As known that the epistemology of Kant is related to his subject concept. The possibility of universal knowledge prioritizes the role of the subject over the nature through transcendental concepts. Accordingly, the transcendental subject could be conceived as the unitary site of the universal and necessary conditions for the possibility of experience as understood by Kant (İlbaşı, 2015). But the absence of a universal knowledge put in danger the existence of such a subject.

Nevertheless, Kant didn't underestimate the role of sensation for generating

knowledge (Kant, 1998). Hence, he introduced the concept of synthetic a priori judgment which is formed by both predicates of rationalism (a priori) (Kant, 1998) and empiricism (synthetic). In this sense, a synthetic a priori is the judgment that contribute something (which is not already contained in the concept of the subject, necessarily and universally) to the subject. According to him, the principles of all theoretical sciences should be synthetic a priori judgments insofar as these sciences are employed to extend our knowledge universally and necessarily (Kant, 1998; İlbaşı, 2015) Kant tried to combine two coherently after he described these are two different modes of knowledge. His solution is imagination and ability of synthesis to collect two separated knowledge. In this way, the mind can organize itself and give coherence to the ideas. As well as the concept of “*I think*” serves to conserve the unity of subject against endurable changing of empirical consciousness. As a result of the technical detail of Kantian subject, we can resume that the fact that the human being can have the “I” in his representations raises him infinitely above all other living things on earth. Because of this, he has a personality, and...through rank and dignity an entirely different being from things (Stevenson, 2012: 22). Therefore, we can issue political and social causes and consequences of *Kantian* and *Cartesian* subject understanding.

In this point, we can argue that Kant had noticed the impossibility of excluding empirical tradition. Because in Kant’s time, science was relatively more sophisticated than Descartes’. The role of science was getting bigger step by step in public management and in the international context. It has become the index of power with its contribution to every part of public life. Besides, *Cartesian* philosophy which neglects the body wouldn’t be appropriate with an age of intensified work in a factory as well as in military groups. Briefly, Kant’s age was more intensified than Descartes. On the other hand, empiricism was not suitable to form a normative knowledge to gather all around itself because of possible relativism on sensations. In the absence of eternal truth or normative universal knowledge, how would many small communities come together to form a united community in countrywide? Hence, the transcendental subject of Kant was the solution to such an impasse.

However, Cartesian philosophy had a considerable impact on Kant. It is possible to see its effects in Kant’s distinction between pure and practical reason. This dualistic approach has acquired an important place in philosophy and social sciences

later. Besides, the modern subject understanding is developed especially by Descartes and Kant. Both placed the subject (individuality) as ideal before society. In this perspective, society is considered as an instrument for help human find his individuality. Hence, the society must be organized to reach an ideal subject concept. In this point, we can argue that the dichotomy between individual and society gives possibility to political actors for forming the society according to their preferences in the name of reaching the ideal subject. That is to say that subjects also make them-self object of their objected society. Beside subject who tries to follow universal reason become also the object of the universal reason. Because the universal reason is dominated by modern science, philosophy, and politics. The domination of reason over the subject is toughly criticized by post-modern philosophers who thinks reason is not independent substance from its environment. That is, reason is something which is formed through a priori of historical period as Foucault would say. Hence, the subject whose reason is formed, can't be thought in the absence of power and social context he lives in.

The transformation of the subject is connected to power. We can argue that subject and power cannot exist independently. Indeed intra-subjects relations make power appear. Thus, power is not isolated from than subjects. However, there had been a polarized relation between power and subjects before the *enlightenment*. But powers have begun to get closer to their subjects with enlightenment since powers need to have a new tie to transform their subjects or to subject them in a new way. We can argue that the role of the ethics (as a tie) in politics is to transform people or to subject them to power. Especially Kant's secular ethics project has generous incomes for newly flourished nation-state. Because Kantian ethics is based on universality and it tries to grasp everyone strictly under a universal reason. Beside Kant's freedom concept is not a revolutionary one. His freedom perception is linked to consistency with universal reason. In this point, we can say that the position of power is the where universal reason lays after enlightenment. In other words, the struggle of power transformed into struggling for the capture of the position of truth and reason.

In this section, Descartes and Kant's subject concept were at stake. Because both built together the concept of modern subject who is autonomous, self-sufficient and endowed with reason. Their subject model is also the origin of their

epistemological philosophy. Human being becomes the reference of knowledge instead of extra-human powers. And then, their philosophy supported the rise of humanism which puts humans in the center of the universe. Humanism becomes a shadow ingredient of all coming ideologies like Marxism, capitalism socialism, etc. that places humans before all. The morality of political action is measured by its contribution to humanity after humanist discourse. (How do people benefit from such a project?).

On the other hand, we can argue that considering the human being as self-responsible because of its reason had negative consequences. Firstly, in the dichotomy between individual and society, an individual got weaker before society. As human must bear all negativities that he crosses. Even the reason of these negativities is society itself. Because Humanism puts human in a sacred and distinct place from society and emphasis always its independence (Especially Descartes and Kant neglected the social life of an individual). Nevertheless, individual and social life are complex. We can illustrate this by saying that all economical failures of individual are not caused by their hands. It's well accepted that the disorganization in society can be the reason for individual economical failures. But the rationalist Enlightened maxim is that a human has his intelligence. That's the phrase which welcomes people after all individual failures. Secondly, all ideologies tried to shape the normality in society according to their preference to make their ideal subject born. In this schema, an individual outside of normality is objectified and problematized by ideologies. So societies, ideologies, etc. conduct individual to clean their problem themselves as they are reason of them. Hence, we can say that the modern subject born with attributed psychological problems. Negri claimed that modern subjects are subjected to solitude since their ties are being weakened with society because of liberal and Neo-liberal discourse. On the other hand, we can briefly express that the exploitation of nature is legitimated through humanism.

Besides, humanism become also a pretext of imperialistic invasion later. Because humanism implies the concept of universal reason. As we discussed before, universal reason commands are supposed to be the same everywhere. Western countries who bear universal reason considered their self as must reach civilization of all society. Hence, imperialists have legitimated their invasion by claiming that they

bring humanity to underdeveloped countries especially in invasion of Africa, and referring at humanism which derives from universal reason so on.



CHAPTER 2

ETHICS IN MODERN PHILOSOPHY OF EARLY POLITICAL THINKERS

2.1. Ethics as an Idealistic Concept in Materialist Philosophy

In this part, we considered ethics as an idealistic concept concerning idealist philosophy. Although empiricism claims that our moral values are formed through experiences. In the end, the ethical codes which are the outputs of experience become some sort of a reason formed collectively. By universalizing the output of experiences of some, we forge an ethical understanding or common consciences which ask people to act according to certain moral codes that they have, maybe, never had an experience which conducts them to have such a moral code. Indeed, that is not the point of empiricists who claim there's no a priori notion in our reason. Nevertheless, whichever the origins of ethics are. Ethics is a shadow power that conducts people in their daily life. Hence, it results in forming hidden a priori notions in our reason and it is transferred to us in a certain way as education. Hence, ethics, as formed a priori notions in our reason, has a strong influence over our experience as it conducts us through human relations. Hence, rationalists and empiricists schools shaped our ethical understanding together.

2.1.1. Empiricist Approach to Ethics

Ethics is not a subject that is monopolized by rationalism. However, Empiricists philosophers didn't escape to issue ethics or to form an ethical philosophy. The notions that empiricists introduced in ethical philosophy also played an important role in our ethical understanding. But they have seen the origins of ethics derived from experiences instead of reason. However, Locke who is an exception in empirical tradition tried to base his moral philosophy on a rationalist basis and contradicted his epistemic philosophy. But he has a strong influence over Hume who is a loyal empiricist. Besides, it's probable to cross some idealistic notions in empiricist

tradition. In the end, our aim is not to prove that ethics is an idealistic notion rather see its political influences. We can argue that generally philosophers who try to forge a political theory or perspective mess with rationalism inevitably. Even Hume who is a skeptical thinker comes to say that human has a universal nature or it can be explained through a natural law as Newton introduced gravitation theory. At this point, we can parenthesis that we consider the notion of universality as an important concept within our ethical understanding. Because ethics is a useful political means as it is universalized. Therefore, in this section, we are to issue empirical philosophers. First, we are going to study *Lockean* epistemology, self-understanding, and his moral philosophy later. Secondly, we are going to analyze David Hume's philosophy on these matters. As a reminder that we are going to follow the same structure as we issued epistemological philosophy before in the former chapter. Because epistemological philosophy is necessary to explain how the subject appears. And the way subject is formed is useful to explain how ethical philosophy is shaped. But as told before Locke is an exception. He didn't form his moral and subject understanding based on his epistemology.

2.1.1.1. John Locke's view on Ethics

John Locke's empiricism is considered as a review of Descartes's rationalism which claims that the origin of all our knowledge is mind. Empiric epistemology counters a rationalistic predicate of knowledge by saying that all knowledge comes from our experiences. Therefore, Locke claimed that the human mind doesn't have any innate ideas, the human mind is a blank at birth. But human acquires knowledge through experiences. According to Lock, Knowledge can be formed through the ideas generated from experience. He specified the concept of experience by saying that there are two kinds of experience (Locke, 1999: 116). The one is our bodily sensations. We communicate with the external world through our sensation we generate ideas from the environment through them. The other one is the reflection (internal senses) which consists of thinking over the operation of the mind itself or over the ideas we get through sensations. Hence, complex knowledge is a combination of two sources. The reflection can't operate in the absence of basic sensations. It needs simple ideas taken by our senses to develop more complex ideas as knowledge (Locke, 1999: 26-47) Thus, Locke subscribes to a version of the empiricist axiom that there is nothing in the

intellect that was not previously in the senses (Uzgalis, 2019) Nevertheless, he was no opponent of universal knowledge concept. There is a universal knowledge which can be known either by reason or by sense.

Even Locke had a strong rupture with rationalist epistemological tradition. His subject concept has a constant similarity with Descartes. He had developed his subject understanding by criticizing Descartes's one.

*Lockean self*³ or the subject model is mostly based on the continuity between experience and present experience. The awareness about continuity is the basis of consciousness which is the root of personal identity in *Lockean* perspective. He stated that

“Which, I think, is a thinking intelligent Being, that has reason and reflection, and can consider it self as itself, the same thinking thing in different times and places....”(Locke, 1999: 318)

On the other hand, the body which has the sensory organs to initiate knowledge is not described as part of identity. To explain this phenomenon, Locke referred to a history between cobbler and prince. That is, the soul of the prince is transferred to the body of cobbler and cobbler's one is transferred to the body of the prince. As a result, the prince continues to feel like the prince in Cobbler's body. Because the same consciousness going along with the soul that inhabits it. if the same soul transferred lost its consciousness there would be a person but not the same. At this point, it's important to issue the distinction made by Locke between person and man. Because this distinction made possible that the prince has the same feelings. Hence, the sine qua of his person concept is consciousness. He stated that

“For, since consciousness always accompanies thinking, and it is that which makes everyone to be what he calls self, and thereby distinguishes himself from all other thinking things, in this alone consists personal identity, i.e. the sameness of a rational being; and as far as this consciousness can be extended backwards to any past action or thought, so far reaches the identity of that person; it is the same self now it was then; and it is by the same self with this present one that now reflects on it, that that action was done (Locke, 1999: 319).”

Besides, Locke's excess on the consciousness and continuity acquire its sense by his description of the person as forensic. Because it is consciousness which is

³ The notion of self can switch with the subject. Because self and subject mostly used in the same meaning by philosopher.

crucial to the reward and punishment which is to be meted out at the Last Judgment (Uzgalis, 2007). At this point, we can argue that Locke tried to fix people by attributing them a consciousness which is supposed to be a stable entity. Thus, there would be possible to act; to have contractual relation; even to commerce within a elaborating society. On the other hand, within a capitalized society, Law becomes an important referee point in arranging any sort of human relations to stabilize society. Hence, we can say that Locke tries to make people subjected to the law through consciousness.

John Locke's moral and political philosophy is not in accordance with his epistemological philosophy. Even he underestimated the possibility of having innate knowledge at birth. He mostly based his political and moral philosophy on a rationalist basis. He defended the existence of some innate notions as a right to possession and moral codes based on the model of contract which is supposed to be an idealist method. Locke believed that humanity was living in a natural state before his entrance into the civilized world. But Locke's natural state is not as Hobbes's. *Lockean* natural state is dominated by an innate notion of don't harm anyone which guarantees peace in the natural phase. This innate notion is generated by the mind. At this point, Lock is criticized for his contradiction with his epistemology. Besides, he claimed that people delegated their powers to state and entered a civilized phase to avoid any possible deviation in the state of nature. Hence, the secondary critics point out his *contractualism*. Because if all knowledge is generated from experiences how did he reach such knowledge?

The concept of God is also central to his moral philosophy. Locke justifies the existence of natural right (right to live, property etc.) through his concept of God. According to Locke, Human is the property of God who created human being. He stated that

"God having made man as a creature who, in God's own judgment, ought not to be alone, drew him strongly— by need, convenience, and inclination—into society, and equipped him with understanding and language to keep society going and to enjoy it. (Locke, 1999: 26)"

At this point, we can argue that Locke didn't just base his moral understanding on the concept of God. He also described the man as a social creature whose place in society. Besides, we can argue that he considered the concept of stability and a safe

future for society as moral ends. Furthermore, the concept of “to keep society going” is open to critics. We can express that the importance of this notion is to introduce the future into the present. This means that future-oriented acts to keep society going, in the present, appeared as moral acts in his perspective. Even nowadays politics is shaped by the debates about the future of society. Every party agrees on the stability and continuation of society as a moral stand but everyone differs on which future or on how is it possible. On the other hand, Locke didn’t justify his moral concept just by these notions. As a contractual thinker, he used his state of nature to justify his ethical standpoint. He stated that

“The state of nature has a law of nature to govern it, which obliges everyone: and reason which is that law, teaches all mankind who will but consult it, that being all equal and independent, no one ought to harm another in his life, health, liberty or possessions (Locke, 1999: 21)”

Hence, as every human being is the common creation of God. Everyone is equal to each other and there cannot be any subordination between humans for destroying another human’s life as well as for using another human being as a means. (Locke, 1999: 21) on the other hand, Locke uses the concept of the state of nature to guarantees the existence of liberal rights. However, in a *Lockean* perspective, the state of nature is not endurable. Because there’s always the possibility to collapse in the absence of an authority that protects peace through assuring justice. Because of civil war takes place after the unpreventable acts of revenge, no one would stop this civil war. Hence, people reach a contract by delegating their right to punish and judge to the state for avoiding the possibility of any injustice as well as for reserving their natural rights in the civilized state

2.1.1.2. David Hume’s view on Ethics

David Hume is influenced by Newtonian discoveries in natural science. Hume tried to forge a science that can explain everything about humans like Newton gravitation theory that is the center of natural sciences. In epistemological matter, David Hume held the Lockean idea that Human’s mind is a kind of blank paper at birth and the mind acquires knowledge through reasoning. According to Hume, everything which is exposed to mind is perception. That is to say, that reason consists of perceptions. Then, he also developed the concept of perception by dividing it into two parts: The one is impression is employed to call the perceptions which are so strong in

mind and the other is ideas whose impressions are weak; it's mostly described as faint images. This separation is based on liveliness and intensity of perception. Hence, impressions are felt strongly, in contrast, ideas are thought in a weak way (Hume, 2017: 1) Besides Hume claimed that each simple idea has a simple impression. These two (impressions and ideas) can take place of each other. However, it worth noting that complex ideas cannot have an equivalent impression. This kind of idea is formed through a combination of a lot of singular simple ideas. Hence, in Hume's understanding, ideas divided as simple and complex. (Hume, 2017: 2). Also, Hume specified the concept of an impression as the impression of sensation and impression of reflection. Hume said little about the reason for sensation which exists naturally in souls and derived from our sensory organs. On the contrary, reflection is formed through ideas that our minds have already them from past experiences. It works like in this schema: After an event, we can get a sense of pain or pleasure through our sensory organs. When it's intensified (pleasure or pain), during or a little later of the event. This is called an impression. But when it lost its intensity. It leaves its traces or copies in our mind, this one is called ideas. Then, when we re-think or remember the ideas left from the previous experience in mind, we can form a new impression based on these ideas (as fear or hope). So that would be called the impression of reflections (Hume, 2017, : 4). In Hume's perspective, memory and imagination have the key part of generating the impression of reflection, ideas based on that and producing complex thoughts. Memory consists of protecting the ideas as they are. Hence, the human mind can re-process them to have a new impression on them later. On the other hand, imagination involves producing more complex thoughts by re-grouping ideas or making them more abstract phenomena by cutting them from their origins. However, even imagination is supposed to be free, this process doesn't work all arbitrarily at the end. Otherwise, all our ideas would be random and coincidentally formed. Thus, according to Hume, there must be some notions to connect ideas. Hence, human's imagination generates more complex thoughts according to these three principles resemblance, contiguity, and cause and effect (Hume, 2017: 5). He stated that

“People who think of one idea are likely to think of another idea that resembles it; their thought is likely to run from red to pink to white or from dog to wolf to coyote. Concerning contiguity, people are inclined to think of things that are next to each other in space and time. Finally and most importantly, people tend to create associations between ideas of things that are causally related. The ideas of fire and smoke, parent and child, and disease and death are connected in the

mind for that reason” (Stroll and Martinich, 2020).

Hume stressed that these three principles which assure the union and coherence between simple ideas can be observed everywhere. Nevertheless, it's impossible to know the reason behind them. According to Hume, the reason lays at the origin of human nature. But their way of working is unexpected and unknown. Therefore, philosophers must put their curiosity aside and work for forming teaching based on observation and experiments (Çıvgın, 2016: 382). As told before, Hume's idea was to explain the nature of humans. The notion he used in his epistemology is also important to understand his subject model. The self is employed instead of the concept of the subject. Thus, the self can be described as a bundle of different perceptions concerning his epistemology. And these perceptions as told before are not consistent but changing all the time. Hume explains this phenomenon like this, and stated that

“For my part, when I enter most intimately into what I call myself, I always stumble on some particular perception or other, of heat or cold, light or shade, love or hatred, pain or pleasure. I never can catch myself at any time without a perception, and never can observe anything but the perception” (Hume, 2017 1.4.6.3: 131).

Hence, the human mind is useless in the absence of a stimulus. It's a product of its environment. The perception of humans can change all the time based on the environment he lives in. In this case, there wouldn't be a possible consistent self as Descartes and Kant claimed it. Furthermore, Hume introduced the concept of personal identity which is formed through three principles (contiguity, and cause and effect) that make possible the coherence of ideas and knowledge. These plays also an important role in the formation of personal identity. Thus, Hume goes like this, and stated that:

Even though my perceptions are fleeting and I am a bundle of different perceptions, I nevertheless have some idea of personal identity, and that must be accounted for (Treatise, 1.4.6.4) Because of the associative principles, the resemblance or causal connection within the chain of my perceptions gives rise to an idea of myself, and memory extends this idea past my immediate perceptions (Hume, 2017, 1.4.6.18: 131.).

In Hume's perspective, the self is not a consistent thing or a stable property. It's an illusion or an unstable phenomenon. He avoided qualifying the self as permanent phenomena. However, memory is the basis of personal identity. Because it conserves ideas and impression at any length as well as it makes the illusion about self-persist.

Although he supports the ideas on the fluidity of self. Hume introduces the concept of the universal nature of human. Even Hume claims that human behaviors don't change so much in time and space. Because human has an order like nature does. A human can transmit its culture through this order. "mankind is so much the same in all times and places the history informs us of noting new or strange in particular its chief use is only to discover the constant and universal principle of human nature" (Hume, 1975: 83) Even such a claim represents a deterministic approach. Hume didn't neglect the divergence of behavior in particular cases. He always keeps in mind that there is so variation in humans that we cannot know its degree. In the same time, Hume proposed that human being has a common nature through which we can understand people's behavior. But that doesn't mean these common notions are applicable everywhere. Besides, Hume neglects to attribute so much importance to reason differently from rationalist philosopher who prioritized the role of reason in creating the unity of self and making it the source of moral. In his thinking, the nature of human cannot be reduced to reason. In this point, the role we attributed to reason in forming process of universal rules is void. Hume stated that

"Since morals, therefore, have an influence on the actions and affections, it follows, and that they cannot be derived from reason; and that because reason alone, as we have already proved, can never have any such influence. Morals excite passions and produce or prevent actions. Reason of itself is utterly impotent in this particular. The rules of morality, therefore, are not conclusions of our reason" (Hume, 2017, Book 3 of Morals)

Nevertheless, Hume didn't underestimate the intellectual role of reason which can show the association of ideas or to give us a sense of true or false. Also, he emphasized that reason provides information and strategies based on experiences (Cohon, 2018) but the reason is not the source of any actions. Our sentiments, our passion and our will play an important role to put us in action. The mind's role is to help us realize a needed action by its intellectual properties like strategies and tactics. Besides, Hume criticized moral rationalist who claims that the morality of any action is measured according to its conformity with reason.

On the other hand, Hume formed his moral philosophy based on the notion of sympathy which is the human capacity to "receive" the feelings and beliefs of other people (Hume, 2007; Uzgalis, 2019). Hume emphasized that there is no idea or impression which can be lively than the one that our consciousness provides us about

our-self. Indeed, any impression we get from people to similar us provides almost the same lively impression we have for our-self. (Hume, 2017: 171) Hence, the notion of resemblance plays an important role in this mechanism. Besides, the notion of time/space and causation are also included. Therefore, we are most likely to sympathize with people we share the same location, culture, country, etc. (Hume, 2017: 301). Any action which generates approval or disapproval is considered generally moral acts or vice versa through the mechanism of sympathy. That is, people sympathize with people who are close to them. So they can understand each other's behaviors and they can change their behavior to please their fellows, as they have a more strong understanding and feeling for them. Indeed, morality appears through the mechanism of sympathy. Then, sympathetic feelings are corrected and gathered under a roof with the help of past experiences and a general understanding of the context. In this point, sympathy is not a feeling but rather a psychological mechanism that enables one person to receive the sentiments of another by communication. Besides, there is always a permanent change in our position in contrast to others. Human relationships are intensified and fluid. A person who is not close to us can be familiar after just a little time.

In this case, our moral judgment would be in permanent change. Indeed, people can develop a corrective mechanism to prevent impulsive judgment about objects and people⁴ through their experience. Nevertheless, our sentiments can also contradict the mind's faculty of correctness which is accumulated by experiences. And our sentiments can be still stronger in our decision and acting. (Hume, 2017: 302-303) Therefore, we can argue that Hume's moral philosophy is based on the psychological dimension of life. Hume's psychological and relational explanation of moral philosophy opens the door to say that we can't attribute any neutrality to virtue. It's not independent of human realities and it's collectively formed. In the Treatise Hume emphasizes that

“our sense of every kind of virtue is not natural; but there are some virtues, that produce pleasure and approbation by means of an artifice or contrivance, which

⁴ (Treatise book 3, 302) “In order to prevent those continual contradictions and arrive at a more stable judgment of things, we settle on some steady and general points of view, and always think in terms of them, whatever our present situation may be. Similarly, external beauty is determined by pleasure; and a beautiful face can't give as much pleasure when seen from twenty paces away as when it is brought closer. But we don't say that ‘it appears to us less beautiful’ from that distance, because we know what effect it will have at that distance, and by reflecting on that we correct its momentary appearance.”

arises from the circumstances and necessities of mankind.'' (Hume, 2017, Book 3: 246).

In this section, firstly, we analyzed *Lockean* philosophy and its contribution to ethics the natural state, natural rights, society as an end. Beside we issued his self-understanding based on consciousness to put people into certain stable forms because of political and economic reasons within a complex society. On the other hand, we had Hume who is influenced by Locke but went further in empiricism till the boundary of skepticism. Hume forged an accurate philosophy in contrast to Locke. His notion about the fluidity of self; his skepticism on reason and considering it as an artificial entity that is formed through relation are very inspiring for postmodern thinkers. He didn't choose to form a moral perspective but just to understand how it is established. Besides, his words about the existence of possible universal natural law which working in human worth noting again. Nevertheless, Hume always kept the door open to the possible unexpected variations on human behavior.

2.1.2. Marxists' Ethics Approach

In this section, we are going to issue Marx's approach to ethics. Firstly, we examine the central concepts of Marxian philosophy and his critics of capitalism. Secondly, we are going to argue if Marx has an ethical theory. Thirdly, we are going to analyze Marxian critics of liberal ethics per the concepts he introduced into ethical theory.

Marx promoted a materialistic history that analyses how societies organized their-self to produce for satisfying their basic needs and to reproduce itself. In Marx thinking, material needs are essential and vital; if they are not satisfied, humanity would stop to exist. Thus, culture, politics, religion, etc. have secondary importance. The starting point of his materialistic perspective is to analyze how societies organized the production which satisfies their vital needs to survive. In Marxist language, the way production is operated is conceptualized as a mode of production. Then, when this mode of production starts to yield a surplus (through the development of productive forces like technology, means of production, knowledge, how-know) a group can start to control this surplus and appropriate the means of production and forced people to work in their profit. Thus, the relation between the dispossessed class which is forced to work and propertied class is called a relation of production. Marx

claims that productive forces that transform the mode of production develop being operant but not necessarily (McCabe, 2018). But productive forces can provoke a struggle between classes because of its development when there is an antagonism between the relation of production and the productive forces. The dominant class can hinder the development of productive forces, which would yield to a mode of production that satisfy everyone needs and liberated human from the burden of works, to keep their place safe in society.

But in a certain stage, the antagonism between the relation of production and the productive force becomes unsustainable and it may trigger a class struggle which is pre-condition of the socialist mode of production. The where this antagonism is replaced by a new mode of production is not subjected to class struggle. However, capitalism is the last mode of production which implies such an antagonism. But we can argue that the place where such antagonism is consistent there's permanent class struggle and compression. The class struggle appears daily through the relation of production. The struggle is that capitalists attempt to profit from their investment by forcing workers to work as much as possible through the process of the production of absolute and relative surplus-value. Moreover, he stated that

“ the ensuing struggle at the point of production—the protracted more or less concealed civil war between capitalist class and the working class—is the very basis for both Marx’s politics and his ethics ” (Marx, 1976: 412; Blackledge, 2008).

Therefore, Marx criticizes that bourgeoisie who becomes conservative hinders the passage to a new mode of production which is appropriated to human nature as well as forced proletariat work harder in the name of more profit and keeping them in an outdated mode of production. Besides, productive activity of labor becomes a means to survive instead of being a creative activity to assure human flourishing in the result of alienation and compression (Marx and Engels 1962, vol 2: 24; Gilbert, 2000). This is where Marxian critics towards capitalism take its bases. But, as told before Marx supported his capitalism's critics on science he developed and tried to avoid any possible connection with bourgeois morality. Therefore, there's an ongoing debate if Marx had an ethical theory or not while it's obvious he has strong critics towards bourgeois ethics. At this point, we can examine if he has one or not.

It's possible to claim that Marx doesn't have an ethical standpoint as well as he

has one. Marx scholars are divided at this point. Nevertheless, it's obvious that Marx had a strong criticism of capitalism in which he saw the exploitation of the proletariat. Even Marx's appeal to change the world is so radical philosophical breakpoint. In this point, his philosophy has a telos. Besides, he thought that human is alienated through the relations of production. Indeed, this alienation was a setback to self-realization of human which is supposed to be free. But human flourishing cannot appear in the absence of collective conscience of workers which are supposed to be a united class against their master. Even he appeals to make a reform for reversing alienated human nature. Marx says,

"The reform of consciousness consists in no more than causing the world to become aware of its own consciousness, in awakening it from its dream about itself, in explaining its own actions to it ... It will then be seen that the world has long possessed a dream of things which it only has to possess in consciousness in order to possess them in reality (Lukács 1920)"

Hence, Marx seeks the way of liberation from ancient moral codes dictated to people instead of building a form of ethics, which means that Marx aims to reverse alienation with the free nature of humans. From these perspectives, we can argue that Marxist philosophy had an ethical perspective. Even his author had tried to avoid messing with ethics (Brenkert, 1983). Because his alienation concept includes a pure nature of the human before relations of production intensified that much. Indeed, as alienation is not desired phenomena which compasses class struggle, the workers are to have an awareness against it.

On the other hand, Marx's project was to forge a scientific socialism putting distance with utopian socialists whose initiation point was morality. Also, Marx is a positivist thinker but not a classical one which is going to be explained later. He was Hegelian at his young age. Indeed, his philosophical basis had some rationalistic concepts which appear especially in his subject concept. However, he tried to develop an approach based on Hegelian works as the class struggle to understand the human's history through it (Blackledge, 2008). Thus, in historical materialism, capitalism is just one of these phases in human history. Marx considered capitalism as a necessary stage of this historical process. Hence, he criticized capitalism because it tries to establish itself as a natural and permeant stage. Indeed, Marxist critics of capitalism are primarily based on the science Marx himself invited instead of a moral standpoint. (Brenkert, 1983). Therefore, we can say that Marx has two hats; the one is a

philosopher; the other is a politician. He saw an urgent need to overcome the capitalist period under the influence of latter. Indeed, it's possible to say Marx had willing to form a political program. Thus, Marx promotes the unification of the proletariat, but this unification needs to have a conscience at the beginning. At this point, we must paraphrases that Marx considered bourgeois morality as an artificial one to make society exist and capitalism operate. Morality is seen as a practical ideology by Marx. Because it appears and makes people reproduce the relations of production on the daily basis. On the contrary, Marx claimed that the working class doesn't need to have an artificial morality for having a unity. Because as they are all oppressed by the bourgeois, this oppression makes all of them empathetic towards each other. Hence, the solidarity, which is one of the important notions appears naturally among workers in Marxian ethics (Blackledge, 2008). After we concluded the paraphrase. One can ask how this solidarity would appear naturally in the absence of a collective conscience and under the influence of bourgeois morality. In this point, we can say that Marx messed his materialistic philosophy with idealistic notions as politician Marx rushed on triggering the end of capitalism to make the expected phase come as soon as possible in the name of progress which is one of the central notions in Marxist tradition and base of political legitimacy. He stated that

“Marx maintained that we must create a single science which can act as a guide to revolutionary activity, i.e. one which has normative implications. That is, he argued for a unity of theory and praxis. If we take this claim to mean that the normative implications of Marx's science are intrinsic to it and not simply appended to it, then to view Marx's science as a moral science is enlightening and faithful to Marx's own demands. But to do so is possible only if we view morality in the broad sense of an ethics of virtue (Brenkert, 1983). ”

At this point, we can say that Marx has an ethical understanding which is different from the bourgeois one. It's obvious that Marx critics strongly bourgeois ethics. Even he seeks to erase the notions which belong to bourgeoisie ethics which is strange to human nature through the development of material conditions. *‘The real, practical dissolution of these, the removal of these notions from the consciousness of man, will ... be affected by altered circumstances, not by theoretical deductions’* (Marx, 1932, Part:1/B). Then, we can examine his critics in nuanced manner as well as what Marx suggested instead of bourgeois ethics.

Firstly, liberal ethics is based on the concept of the selfishness of humans. It's like a dogma for liberal philosophers. Indeed, ethics consist of absorbing human's

desire and his selfishness while relations of production and oppression is going on. But human nature is not supposed to be selfish in Marxist perspective. We can argue that egoism is the consequence of the environment that Bourgeois created. At the same time, oppression of the dominant class can initiate solidarity between workers and this solidarity is seen as the basis of the worker class. Because *“The domination of capital has created for this mass a common situation, common interests.”* (Marx and Engels, 1987) We can remember Hume’s sympathy mechanism, people who live under the same circumstance tend to have similar values because they feel close to each other. Hence, humans can be good for humans, if necessary material conditions exist. Marx explains these phenomena like this:

“In place of the old bourgeois society, with its classes and class antagonisms, we shall have an association, in which the free development of each is the condition for the free development of all (Marx, 1848).”

Hence, Marxian ethics is based on the solidarity and partnership of individuals instead of reality between individual derived so-called selfish human nature. Secondly, Marx criticizes the Kantian concept of universal ethics and its abstract nature-based on Hegel’s works. Kant’s appeal to be in accordance with Universal reason works to suspend class struggle. Besides, Hegel critics’ Kantian ethics as Bourgeois morality, that Marx wouldn’t contradict (Wood, 1990: 132; Blackledge, 2008). Because bourgeois ethics and ideology represent itself as a natural and neutral phenomenon. Hence, the appropriated class imposes its constructed reason as a universal phenomenon behind *naturality* and neutrality of this ethical understanding. On the contrary, Marx sees ethics as a fragmentary concept. Therefore, we can argue that appealing people to common sense aims indeed to overcome the clashes originated from the class struggle between people. Even we can go further to say that the concept of modern society, which is constructed through universal reason, ethics, and law, is an ideological concept to cover class struggle and make capitalism operate. The future of society and common sense are the notions through which we mostly understand politics. Especially when there is some sort of crisis, everyone is forced to put aside his class interests or individual ones for avoiding the possible collapse of society in the name of society. From the Marxian perspective, this schema works positively for the dominant class, which serves to protect their powers. According to him, there can’t be universal ethics unless there is no universal egalitarian community.

Thirdly, from a Marxian perspective, where ethics takes its roots is not just reason, in the meantime, Marx doesn't underestimate the role of the subject. We can say that ethics appears through human relations, material conditions, and subject. Indeed, we can say that to place ethics in an independent point from human serves to bless it and to absolutize its exercise universally. Hence, Marx doesn't see ethics as a natural and stable phenomenon. In his perspective, ethics is open to change according to material conditions and human relations. It worth noting that the Second and third critics of ethics are mostly oriented to Kantian ethics which is considered as a liberal one. Marx's critics on Kant are mostly developed under Hegel's influence.

On the other hand, the concept of subjectivity is also important to understand the concept of ethics. Marx builds his concept of subject based on materialism and idealism. It worth noting that even Marx has critics towards rationalist tradition. He didn't exclude all rationalist nations. Even he tried to overcome the antagonism between idealism and materialism. He thought these two traditions have some deficiencies because of their one-sided approach. (Brenkert, 1983; Blackledge, 2008). Marx goes like this:

"The chief defect of all hitherto-existing materialism...is that the thing, reality, sensuousness, is conceived only in the form of the object, or of contemplation, but not as sensuous human activity, practice, not subjectively. Hence, in contradiction to materialism, the active side was developed abstractly by idealism—which, of course, does not know real, sensuous activity as such.. Hence he does not grasp the significance of 'revolutionary', of 'practical-critical', activity" (Marx, 1845).

Indeed, Marx attribute a revolutionary and creative aspect of human. That is, he is not a passive and dependent being who is just behind the satisfaction of his desires and he is also capable of overcoming his needs to reach certain destinations according to him. Hence we can argue that Marx aims to harmonize material activities with rationalist concepts. By doing so, he justifies his concept of human. Because Marx sees the subject as revolutionary agency especially humans who make part of the worker class. In the same time, the origin of freedom of agency is his sociability like Hegel who claimed that human finds his essence and freedom in the community.

"The materialist doctrine that men are the product of circumstances and education, that changed men are therefore the products of other circumstances and of a different education, forgets that circumstances are in fact changed by men and that the educator must himself be educated (Marx, 1845)."

After he forges his subject concept. Marx criticises of the liberal subject and liberal freedom concepts. Keeping in mind that Kantian and Cartesian subject models, these are the basis of liberal subject concept which reduced human to its reason or to itself by cutting its relations from society. We can argue that humans find them isolated since the subject is considered as self-sufficient, self-autonomous self-responsible. The predicate of rationalist was that humans with his mind could find the universal truth. Besides, freedom is an essential point in bourgeois ethics. Liberal thinker's appeal to freedom is a very consistent phenomenon. According to them, any shadow on reason must be dismantled to act in an ethical way and to assure freedom of the subject. Thus, freedom is limited to intelligent personal choices which doesn't harm the freedom of others. Besides individuals are appealed to act alone and to bear all responsibility. Any interference is considered as invasion of freedom. On the contrary, Before Marx, the philosopher Hegel had already seen the consequence of such a merely liberal approach. Its consequence is the reduction of human relations to a kind of fighting for individual purposes. Furthermore, we can argue that there is a case of 'war of all against all' in which the freedom of each individual was continually undermined by the freedom of others, especially in the market. So that no one could achieve what they wanted (Harman, 1996) At this point, from a Marxian perspective, one would say that liberal freedom has no social bases instead it's described as limited personal space. And individuals need some ultra-human forces which are supposed to be neutral as law and state to protect their sphere so their freedom. In this perspective, liberal freedom is reduced to the law which shapes the lines humans can't cross. Indeed, liberal freedom is a legal concept (forensic). Everyone is equal to each other as well as has freedom but within Law's boundaries. In contrast, it's well known that law is something that belongs to the superstructure in Marx's understanding. Hence, the exploitation of the bourgeois becomes only an exchange between patron and worker on individual scale through atomizing people and subjecting them to law. On the contrary, Marx says:

"To be sure, the matter looks quite different if we consider capitalist production in the uninterrupted flow of its renewal, and if, in place of the individual capitalist and the individual worker, we view them in their totality, as the capitalist class and the working class confronting each other. But in so doing we should be applying standards entirely foreign to commodity production" (Capital 1, 586; Brenkert, 2013: 149)

Indeed, we can say that liberal ethics which promotes individualism tries to frame social facts as individual affairs for avoiding the formation of any social or

political pressure. Nevertheless, Freedom is the goal of the Marx philosophy too. *“The central theme of Marx’s moral theory is how to realize human freedom”* (Blackledge, 2008). We can argue that this is also telos of his philosophy which makes Marx a politician or political scientist. We can say that Marx answers that humans cannot be free unless he freed his self from the burden of works which limits human flourishing and he alters the mode of production. While a human is alone, he is not capable of change such a gigantic system. Thus, he needs to be with people under the same circumstances. The unity between workers makes them feel forced to change through sympathizing with each other. Hence, this sense of power that is derived from unity can make the effects of freedom even before the revolution. These fragmented groups of workers come to understand their self like the same based on their solidarity. This awareness can result in collective conscience which causes a struggle against the dominant class. Thus, we can classify even the struggle as partly achieved freedom. Because it implies the existence of a collective conscience and solidarity against the alienating force of relations of production.

In this section, we came to realize that Marx developed an ethical concept based on mostly material conditions like human relations, his teleological concepts which predict the transformation of the mode of production which liberates human’s time and a dynamic subject which is supposed to make history. Alienation and self-revealing are the extreme opposite point in Marxian ethics. While the former is an element of exploitation and the latter is the essence of freedom. But this freedom is not realized at an individual level but collectively. Besides, his conceptualization of progress is also important. Because we can say that the value of all political action is measured with the concept of progress which implies determinism. In the final point, we can say that Marx shaped an ethics model which is supposed to be like science and to reveal the nature of Human and satisfy its needs by not adding any artificial notions. As Marx said the proletariat has nothing but his chains to break. We can say that Marx's understanding of humans is influenced by Rousseau who sees well in human nature. Therefore, all social operations are aimed to go back to this nature but by not dismantling what humankind has achieved so far instead by protecting and developing them to assure a surplus to free all human beings forever.

2.1.2.1. Critics of Marxist Ethics Approach

In this section, we are going to criticize Marxian ethics based on the post-modern view especially in Foucauldian way that implies *Nietzschean* power understanding. We can argue that all post-modern philosophers would agree on Marxist critics of capitalism. These critics are that capitalism is a totalized system as well as it tries to set up its liberal individuality and ethics model as a normality and infinite formations. On the contrary, Post-moderns criticize Marx when he introduces a concept of totalizing history and linking all social development to single phenomena: This is the relation of production by which he reduces his philosophy to economical basis. Besides, he foresees the arrival of a more progressive mode of production in the consequence of the development of productive forces. However, as a post-modern thinker would say that Marx initiated a totalizing discourse and reduced human understanding to relations of production. Besides, the main basis of critics towards Marx was the concept of power which is a neglected point in Marx. At this point we can start to analyse Marxian concepts through the concept of the will of power.

The origin of the struggle between the bourgeois and the proletariat is antagonism between the relations of production and productive forces. As the material conditions provoke the change in society. The development of productive forces provides a social change. But from the Marxian perspective, the relation of production (the relation between the working class and bourgeois) is an obstacle to switching to a new mode of production which provides a surplus to lower the burden of work and to provide free time for human to assure his renaissance. Nevertheless, Marx claimed that *“the productive forces developing in the womb of bourgeois society create the material conditions for the solution of that antagonism (Marx, 1977).”* But Marx had also said that the dominant class is to fetter productive forces. But we can say that productive forces keep growing and even we have a technology which free human beings from long hours of works. But it hasn't yielded to a social revolution at least in western countries which is the womb of the capitalist industry. One can say that there's a paradox in Marx's words. We can explain this paradox through the concept of will power that Marx neglected. At this point, we can argue that the reason for such antagonism is the power's will of the bourgeois. Marx claims that Bourgeois prevents a new form of productivity to appear for keeping their dominant position in society.

But productive forces keep moving at the same time (Hughes, 2000). Indeed, the question here that why productive forces continue to develop even against the dominant class policy which is supposed to fetter such progress. Maybe it's not progress in the sense Marx speak of. Also, we can answer this question from our thesis perspective of will to power: Marx introduced two classes into society to explain the production of relation.

By doing so he limits himself to comment on all social phenomena from the perspective of two classes. Indeed, he supposed to think that each class has its unity. Even the workers' class is still not aware of itself fully. It's going to be in matters of time. Even there is divergent sort of dominant groups or individual, they can be unified in the name of the bourgeois. These people or groups can be also rival to each other. Their wills can conduct them to have contradictory policies regarding their classes. This schema counts for worker class too. Hence, a fragment of bourgeois can encourage the development of productive forces for more profit or more power against their bourgeois rivals. At this point, we can claim that the will of power can initiate contradiction and struggle in each class. And that would yield to a permanent development of productive force without causing a social revolution. Besides, the development of productive forces can't be explained just with a search for more profit which is a secondary aim that we mostly place in the first place. As the capital can be converted into political influence to have more power in society. Propriety is not end anymore but a means to power. Because history is a permanent struggle in society as Marx says. Nevertheless, this struggle is not just between classes. It's everywhere as Hobbes claimed that this war of all. Thus, propriety is not an end but a mean when it's more than needed. However, we can say that Marx's class concept is artificial. The masses are divided into classes and everyone is supposed to behave regarding its class interest (Foucault, 2004). At the same time when they don't act according to their interests, this is explained as alienation. Then, alienated individuals are supposed to be recycled through awareness sequences. Indeed, two classes are constructed or an individual is being stereotyped. If we rethink again what we discussed about propriety at this point. The propriety is a mean to power, the one who holds the means of production is not necessarily to be in the position of power all the time. There are always variations in the human perception of power as told before in the Hume section. We can conceptualize it as the psychological domain of power. Hence, the economy

is alone not enough to understand the relation between power and domination (Foucault, 2004).

On the other hand, the concept of progress is related to ethics that Marx introduced. It became a matrix of political actions as he foresees a more sophisticated mode of production to be reached for the renaissance of human. All social phenomena are assessed through the concept of progress. Hence, it becomes some sort of norm or a priori notion that conduct political behaviors to one supposed destination. Besides, as science is promoted by Marxist traditions in the name of progress. Science replaced religion in modern days. Indeed, the concept of progress becomes sine quo none of modern politics even for Marx opponents through framing science with concept of progress. Hence, science promoting of Marxist traditions against cultural values, religion, etc. ends up by framing science as a secular religion. To not forget that Marx's philosophy is framed as science too (Foucault; Olssen, 2004).

2.2. The Approach of Utilitarianism on Ethics

Utilitarianism is an ethical philosophy that bases its moral standpoint on the maxim that appeals to have as much as possible happiness and as much as people affected by this happiness after any individual actions. Utilitarian thinkers don't have an epistemic philosophy on their own. They used mostly Lock and Hume's epistemological stand instead. In this context, the consequences of acts have the last word to determine the morality of individual actions since happiness is the target of all acts in utilitarianism. They conceptualized the amount of happiness derived from individual acts or policies etc. as a utility. Bentham described utility as that property in any object whereby it tends to produce pleasure, good or happiness. (...) Nevertheless, happiness is a relative concept. But Bentham who systemized utilitarianism based on Epicurean philosophy suggested measuring morality according to the quantity of reached happiness. Then, he clarified his happiness understanding with hedonism. He strongly defended the idea that human is under the control of two extreme phenomena: pleasure and pain. "These two govern us in all we do, in all we say, in all we think..." (Bentham, 1907: 1). All human doings are to seek pleasure and to avoid pain for having happiness. In this context, pleasure is identified with good.

According to him, the only good is a pleasure. The other entities were just

instruments to have pleasure. Bentham would say that money can't give a direct pleasure. But it's an instrument to have pleasure by buying desirable stuff. Besides Hume would say that the ideas we had from past experience could give us pleasure based on the future use of money through the mechanism of reflection of Hume. Nevertheless, happiness is described as a relative phenomenon. In contrast, Bentham whom precursor of utilitarianism tried to introduce a mathematical calculation to measure the degree of happiness. This calculation which is supposed to be neutral would make Bentham's utilitarianism as normative morality. But firstly this calculation required to consider everyone as equal. No body's pleasure wouldn't be higher than others. This is a radical part of utilitarianism. Bentham had received strong critics because of this notion.

Nevertheless, Bentham went further to consider the pleasure and pains of an animal as the same as a human. We can say that Bentham had to express such a claim to have accuracy in his philosophy. Because he didn't classify the sources of happiness as higher and lower degrees as Mill did later. As claimed by Bentham, man naturally has the will to avoid pain and acquire pleasure. No human would choose pain over any kind of pleasure, but it was open to critics. Most criticized Bentham for introducing an ethics which suits animal. Even Mill defined Bentham morality as the ethics of pigs. Because, in Mill thinking, happiness and morality couldn't be reduced to numbers. If so, animal life would have more moral life than the human one. Nevertheless, Bentham was a social reformist. The standpoint of Bentham was to reform English society against old fashion traditions that put the interests of nobles before society. We can argue that he tried to overcome noble morality which secures the interest of few for an open place to Bourgeois. By doing so, we can add that he held the idea of the greatest numbers as a trump card against the minority of noble. Besides as a policy adviser, Bentham also suggested using his concept of utility as a concrete metric to measure the success of policies and to justify policies.

A measure of government (which is but a particular kind of action, performed by a particular person or persons) may be said to be conformable to or dictated by the principle of utility when in like manner the tendency which it has to augment the happiness of the community is greater than any which it has to diminish it (Bentham, 1907: 1). Since Mill took over utilitarianism philosophy. He tried to introduce new

concepts to make utilitarianism understood and to avoid critics.

Mill inherited Utilitarianism by Bentham who is his father's friend. But Mill was not loyal to Bentham who is the precursor of utilitarianism. After him, Utilitarianism was a more sophisticated philosophy. Mill firstly sought a standpoint to build his philosophy on it. Even he is obviously influenced by empiricist tradition. He introduced his own concept that is justified through empiricist epistemology too. In his perspective, all people doings and conducts in every circumstance would be measured according to the single principle. Then he actually invented the notion of utility to measure all social phenomenon. He stated that

“[T]he general principle to which all rules of practice ought to conform, and the test by which they should be tried, is that of conduciveness to the happiness of mankind or rather, of all sentient beings; in other words the promotion of happiness is the ultimate principle of teleology (Mill, 2009) “

We can firstly define Mill's individual concept to understand his utilitarianism and his contrast with Bentham. According to Mill, all struggle of people is to find happiness, which is a common point of the individual. Happiness can be described simply as living according to human nature. But is there a common human nature? Mill assumed that all individual has their native nature, no people is similar to others. Mill, believed human has the will to consummate his nature but he didn't idealize any sort of human living way. No people would be happy unless he lives in accordance with his nature. Thus, a human can reveal his essence through individuality. A human who improves his individuality becomes valuable for himself and others. When all acquire their individuality and satisfy their existence, this time, the community becomes more valuable. Since everyone has his native personality, society has a variety of different “experiments of living” which might bring society forward (Mill, 1977, Liberty, 18: 261) On the other hand, The individual can be happy to the extent that he takes responsibility for his actions and his choices. Then, human has a personality in the condition of having his own desires and impulses; the ability to reveal his nature and assuming the responsibility of his acts. But who hasn't not his own nature can't have a personality. Because he's like a machine. Human is supposed to shape his life and character through his free choices.

Human nature is not a machine to be built after a model, and set to do exactly the work prescribed for it, but a tree, which requires to grow and develop itself on all

sides, according to the tendency of the inward forces which make it a living thing. (Mill, 1977, Liberty, 18: 263)

Mill claimed that the capacity of making choice differentiate human from other beings. Beside Mill is aware of possible negative consequences of any choice. Thus, people must-have experiences that improve them and help reveal their individuality. Indeed, Freedom is an important instrument to reveal these different natures and capacities. Nevertheless, an individual is free to act as they wish in their personal area unless they don't harm anybody with their action.

The only purpose for which power can be -rightfully exercised over any member of a civilized community and against his will is to prevent harm to others. His own good, either physical or moral goods are not the sufficient warrants. Nobody cannot rightfully be compelled to do or forbear because it will be better for them to do so, because it will make them happier, because, in the opinions of others, to do so would be wise, or even right'' (Mill, 1977, Liberty, 18: 223)

Nevertheless, although each human has his own capacity and nature, s(he) is a social being who sympathizes with people and who doesn't think only of his personal interest. Thus, an individual is always to overcome the dilemma between their internal desire and society expectancies. According to Mill, who fallows just what society command is a machine. But a human can synthesis both to improve his individuality and society in ultimate degree based on his freedom

Mill philosophy is teleological. Because he appeals always to improve individuality in the name of more happiness and reaching an upper mode of existence. That's why Mill divided pleasure into two as higher level and lower level pleasure. (Mills, 1985, Utilitarianism, X: .211) Beside it is central point where he differs from Bentham who would say that pleasure is pleasure. By doing so, Mill introduced the notion of quality into utilitarianism. And he added that "of the intellect, of the feelings and imagination, and of the moral sentiments" are amongst the higher pleasures (Mills, 1985, Utilitarianism, X: .211). Because the search of higher pleasures are the ones who command people to improve their self. The pleasures of the intellect, of the feelings and imagination, and of the moral sentiments [have] a much higher value as pleasures than . . . those of mere sensation," than "bodily pleasures" (Mills, 1985, X: 211).

If all pleasure were the same, everybody would choose the easiest way of having pleasure as well as human nature would be reduced to animal one. On the contrary, some people put aside their interest in society and who choose pain over pleasure for having higher degree of pleasure in the long term. In this perspective, even people suffer from their virtuous acts. It gives them a pleasure in the same time. Hence, virtues are also instrument to pleasure. Each of virtue, pleasure, money, power, and fame, Mill stated that:

“once desired as an instrument for the attainment of happiness, has come to be desired for its own sake. In being desired for its own sake it is, however, desired as part of happiness. The person is made, or thinks he would be made, happy by its mere possession. . . . Whatever is desired otherwise than as a means . . . to happiness, is desired as itself a part of happiness. (Mills, 1985, X: 236–7).

Therefore, we can say that this partition of pleasure assures a dynamism to Mill’s morality and justifies his teleological approach. Mill affirmed that it’s better to be a dissatisfied human being than a satisfied pig; better to be a dissatisfied Socrates than a satisfied fool. Indeed, Mill’s concept of happiness is not just related to consequences of action as well as it is a mode of existence which requires the use of higher faculties to be in. This analogy also implies the importance of life manner in contrast to pure pleasures and it explains why people pick the choice which make them less happy now but happier in long term. As Mill divided the pleasure into two we can say that he divided also the mode of existence. By doing so, he pyramided society based on pleasures. Then, people who are in lower degrees of mode of existence should aim to have more sophisticated pleasures which shapes the way they conduct their life. Keeping in mind that Mill sees everyone equal to each other. In this point we can issue the role of education in Mill perspective which is going to be issued below. But we firstly study two important formula of utilitarianism to understand Mill perspective very well.

Mill has two formulations of utilitarianism which is contradictory with each other in some cases. His first formulation is act utilitarian. He describe this one like:

‘The creed which accepts as the foundation of morals, Utility, or the Greatest Happiness Principle, holds that actions are right in proportion as they tend to promote happiness, wrong as they tend to produce the reverse of happiness. By happiness is intended pleasure, and the absence of pain; by unhappiness, pain, and the privation of pleasure.’ (Mill, 1977, CE, 210, 10)

The first formula is the classic output of utilitarianism. People use it to evaluate the

morality of their acts based on the consequences of their action. After Mill add his second formula; he states that

“..This, being, according to the utilitarian opinion, the end of human action, is necessarily also the standard of morality; which may accordingly be defined, the rules and precepts for human conduct, by the observance of which an existence such as has been described might be, to the greatest extent possible, secured to all mankind; and not to them only, but, so far as the nature of things admits, to the whole sentient creation (Mill, 1977, CW, 214).”

The second formula is called as rule utilitarian. It's more complicated than the first one. We can say that this formula is to secure negative consequences of the first formula in which everything is almost permitted. But Mill forges a safety belt through second. As second formula command to secure all. The morality of any action is dependent on the consequences of action towards humanity. If it promotes happiness of all. It's moral or vice versa. Hence, the acts which produce more pleasure are moral acts according to first formula; which protect happiness of all is moral act according to second formula. In fact, the second one reveals that society and even other kind of being's happiness is important as much as individual ones as he states that ‘as and not to them only, but, so far as the nature of things admits, to the whole sentient creation. (Mill, 1977, CW, 214).’ are important. It's obvious that there's a utility in collective happiness whose feedback is also positive to individual. In fact, the second formula of Mill need to be explained for understanding Mill's ethics. We can concretize these formula based on an example given by Mill him-self. He goes like this:

“Take, for example, the case of murder. There are many persons to kill whom would be to remove men who are a cause of no good to any human being, of cruel physical and moral suffering to several, and whose whole influence tends to increase the mass of unhappiness and vice. Were such a man to be assassinated, the balance of traceable consequences would be greatly in favor of the act (Mill, 1977: 182).”

The first formula would justify the murder of such a person. But the second one opposes the murder and affirms it as immoral act. Mill says nobody's life would be safe if people were allowed to kill others whom they believe to be a source of unhappiness based on the former maxim (Mill, 1977.182). Because there's a right to life which is universally accepted and as it's universally source of happiness. To oppose such a right in certain circumstances may lead to the destruction of a universal right as well as it would be source of unhappiness for all. In fact, people protect their self by obeying second formula. But it requires a strategical thinking. In every country,

there's always discussion on the subject of death penalty after certain act of murder or violation. After an act is heard or seen through news channels, as impression of people on event is so intense in that moment, and the stimulus are alive. People have willing to demand more strict security measures and even death penalty from authorities. That's why second formula exists. In this point, we can refer to David Hume who claims that the reason serves to protect people for having 'bad' decision after a shocking event.

Mill's moral understanding is not limited to personal area. As he added notion of quality into his utilitarian philosophy. Individual is supposed to increase collective happiness by his acts even his purposes were to satisfy his desires at the beginning. The matter is that morality of individual acts are subjected to a maxim which makes connect individual to a community or universality. Therefore, it's obvious that Mill didn't retire his self to an individualism disconnected by community. The target of an individual act is to increase happiness of as much as people in his environment. Although people are independent of the act. We can say that Mill's moral maxim was like that act in such a way that your happiness brings also happiness to others who are independent of your action. Hence, Mill's maxim requires a strategical thinking. Individual is to consider any possible possibilities for picking up the most appropriate one. The morality of choice would be open to moral criticism in Mill perspective in the absence of thinking. Thus, we can argue that Mill's morality is based on a kind of intellectualism. If people are not fitted (fixed) into a certain intellectual level. Morality wouldn't have a clear definition. As Mill is aware of this paradox. He always prioritizes the role of education through which it's possible to create a more sophisticated societies and individual. Because Mill is aware of the role of society which affects also individual happiness. Since the happiness is not counted just with numbers. There is always possibility of untasted happiness beyond our present perception. Society must be placed on turning lathe for progress and having some sort of untasted happiness. We can say that Mill's morality requires a strategical thinking. He conceived of the moral act as a movement of chess. Then, people need to learn chess and thinking strategically to produce greatest happiness for greatest number. In this point, education is the basis of morality. Besides, Mill always argues that uneducated or uncultivated people cause possible danger to morality and political system. Hence, state is to control education of its subjects. In this point, Mill states:

“Now any well-intentioned and tolerably civilized government may think, without presumption, that it does or ought to possess a degree of cultivation above the average of the community which it rules, and that it should therefore be capable of offering better education and better instruction to the people, than the greater number of them would spontaneously demand. Education, therefore, is one of those things which it is admissible in principle that a government should provide for the people (Mill; G. West, 1965).

Nevertheless, Mill, as a liberal thinker, doubts the given role of state on this matter. State is able to monopolize education through which it can produce its loyal subjects. We can argue that his doubts on state made him express this phrases which contradict the former. Mill stated that

“A general State education is a mere contrivance for moulding people to be exactly like one another: and as the mould in which it casts them is that which pleases the predominant power in the government, whether this be a monarch, a priesthood, an aristocracy, or the majority of the existing generation; in proportion as it is efficient and successful, it establishes a despotism over the mind, leading by natural tendency to one over the body.” (G. West, 1965)

In fact, the reason why Mill stands persistently on that matter is that he is aware of the rising power of public opinion since nation state stabilizes itself; produce its subject by help of technologies of communication. Although he held the idea of counting everyone as one. His hypotheses that masses are not educated and able to tyrannize over intellectuals through nationwide elections. Thus, he involuntarily had to admit education as state responsibility.

Mill is up to participation of everyone into politics. But he has preconditions. *“But though everyone ought to have a voice—that everyone should have an equal voice is a totally different proposition”* (Mill, 1977, Considerations, XIX: 473) *“ the ones who are more educated have more merits in decision making process than less educated* (Mill, 1977, Considerations, XIX: 474; Miller 2015). In fact, we can say that Mill’s ideas, voluntarily or not, serves to legitimate the political standpoint of cultural and economic elites in society.

On the other hand, Mill’s, higher degree of pleasure, the concept might yield to the concept of a higher mode of existence (manner of life). Therefore, some groups in society can justify their possible domination through their higher mode of existence against the ones who supposed to have lower degree modes of existence. From this perspective, we can say that Mill’s statement which is *“better to be Socrates dissatisfied than a fool satisfied”*, may imply the idea of the superiority of certain

groups over large groups. The groups who establish their hegemony over society, make their cultural values or habits desired by people. In the meantime, we can say that Mill, who is an opponent of any intervention in individual space, justifies such intervention through the connection he made between morality and education voluntarily or not. So education becomes a useful tool for elites who think of establishing their hegemony. Nevertheless, we can't say that Mill sees society as a pyramid of classes or individuals; instead, he believed that every member of society can reach a certain intellectual point through education.

We can also criticize the concept of individual introduced by Mill. His subject concept has similarities with the idealist subject concept. Even Stuart Mill's philosophy is based on empiricism. He believes in the autonomy of an individual and its nativity. He also sees the success of an individual in revealing his native nature. Hence, freedom is the *sine qua non* for individual flourishing. Although Mill doesn't isolate an individual from society. He prioritizes the concept of personal space which is closed to intervention in the condition of not causing harm. Furthermore, the philosopher suggests individuals to choose; to act freely and to bear full responsibility for their actions. Otherwise, individuality wouldn't be accomplished. An individual is to consider the profits of society when they act. In return, we can say that individual is left alone before society as he called individual to bear all responsibility of their acts. As a result, we can say that society was sanctified by Mills once again. An individual is to sacrifice their choices in profit of collectivity. But society is not to assume responsibility in any individual failure. Hence, all social problems can be pushed to the individual sphere. In return, an individual must accept what happened to him as he is self-responsible.

2.3. Liberal Philosopher's Ethics Understanding

2.3.1. Jean-Jacques Rousseau's Ethics View

In this section, we are going to study the philosophy of Rousseau. As his philosophy has shaped political ethics understanding especially by his emphasis on equality, general will, and his criticisms on the formation of civil society. He's an important critic of modern ages. He had foreseen the direction that society took even in the beginning of this modern era. Hence, we are going to discuss firstly his natural

state concept and passage to the civil one. This helps us see how morality and civilization were shaped then, we are to analyze what Rousseau proposed to overcome the corruptive nature of civil society. we conclude by analyzing what he proposed as a solution to corrupted civilization: general will.

Rousseau thought of morality as a social and cultural construction. Morality has developed throughout human history. It's necessary to emphasize that the history of humans didn't begin with first humans beings in Rousseau thinking. This means that the state of nature that he reflected is actually not the point where human history began. Because Rousseau's human description in the natural state is almost similar to animal portrait we have in our heads. It's useful to draw a portrait of humans in the natural state. In the pre-history process, human beings were asocial creatures; living alone; coming together for some purpose for a short time. Even humans hadn't the ability to speak; their communication was based on gestures and basic words (Rousseau, 2016). In this point, we can have a break to emphasis one of Rousseau original assertion that human is not a social being. The split between Hobbes and Rousseau is well-known on the topic of human nature. But, the discourse about the sociality of humans is that much naturalized that we can't notice such a claim. Aristo stated that human is a social animal by nature. Almost every philosopher was agreed on the sociality of humans. In this respect, the philosophy of Rousseau is opposition to classical philosophy at the base.

Furthermore, a human is not devoted to a reason which helps us remember, think or make strategies in the natural stage. They have just mind alike faculties that an animal would have. Humans were living based on their sensations. After Rousseau claimed that human has two basic instincts. The one is survival and the second one is a pity for the members of his species. Therefore, Rousseau is also an opponent of rationalist assertion that human is devoted by a reason and has already the knowledge by having a reason. Hence, a human is neither a social nor rational being but a constructed subject through civilized history. As Foucault would say that human is an invention. Nevertheless, in his book on the reason of inequalities, Rousseau emphasized that human's free will which liberates human from his natural instincts or needs, and his desire of perfection are two faculties which belong just to be human. These two human faculties assure the development of humans in an individual and

collective manner (Rousseau, 2016).

At this point, we can issue how single living humans come together to form a community. Rousseau's answer is a materialistic one. He hypothesized about the passage from a natural state to a civil one. First, he thought that people are forced to live together because of climate change, as nature was not any more generous to meet the needs of single humans easily. This pushed people to live together in the gifted area. Thus, the density of humans in a strict area forced them to communicate with each other. Then, people managed to form a common language. In the meantime, the basic social relations are constructed; minor social formations appeared as a family (Rousseau, 2016). Then, cohabitation caused sympathy and through which humans had a new kind of sensation like love, affection, etc. in the meantime they had also sensations like envy jealousy because of their ability of comparison. (In the David Hume section, the mechanism of sympathy supports the Rousseau deduction about the formation of feeling.)

However, Rousseau's claim about social formations are not just formed based on geographical changes. He also considered property as a fundamental reason. Maybe the first cause was the geographical one to live together. But people developed a concept of property that makes people slaves of each other and initiates a civil society based on inequality in the cohabitation process. Rousseau expresses that

“The first man who, having fenced in a piece of land, said 'This is mine', and found people naïve enough to believe him, that man was the true founder of civil society. From how many crimes, wars, and murders, from how many horrors and misfortunes might not any one have saved mankind, by pulling up the stakes, or filling up the ditch, and crying to his fellows: Beware of listening to this impostor; you are undone if you once forget that the fruits of the earth belong to us all, and the earth itself to nobody (Rousseau, 1923, part:2). ”

Naivetés of people is an important fact which justifies the improvement of mind in time, and artificiality of mind. Beside people wouldn't think of keeping stuff for themselves in the natural stage. Because, firstly, people didn't have a notion of future, life was lived on a daily basis. Hence, lack of experience and notion of the future are enough signifiers that people didn't have strategical thinking in a natural state. Therefore, such rawness of human conducted people to obey. He stated that

“All ran to meet their chains thinking they secured their freedom, for although they had enough reason to feel the advantages of political establishment, they did

not have enough experience to foresee its dangers (Rousseau, 1923). ”

Rousseau describes men of natural state alike animal who lacks faculties of comparison and imagination because of their solitude. But when a human enters a civil state. He had a trauma that affects his psychology forever. Thus humans developed a sensation called *amor propre*. It's the desire of being superior to others. In Rousseau's perspective, we can argue that *amor propre* is the reason for the lust of power as well as honor hatred and jealousy. At this point, it must be emphasized that *amor propre* and *amour de soi* are not the same concepts. *Amour de soi* is a natural feeling of survival, *amour propre* is a constructed feeling after people are forced to live in society. Then, as social life are sophisticated; *amour propre* reflects itself in a different way

Which means it is not just through a physical manner that people claim their superiority. Also, intellectuality becomes a signifier of power in time (Rousseau, 1923). Besides, people are interested in the ideas of others regarding themselves, since they are under the effect of *amor propre*. Thus, people start to act under a social masque for receiving the liking of people. Rousseau claims that life loses its *naturality* in consequence of this fakeness. Even kindness becomes some sort of gun to receive likings. In the same context, Norbert Elias who is a German sociologist put it this way, people are not free to use their gun against another after the development of capitalism and monopolization of legitimate violence by state. The gun was excluded from social life. But people have enemies still. In this context, the ban of arms forced them to seize new skills as lying, plotting against each other as well as keeping the temperature low and being always polite. In the meantime, developing capitalism and commerce has required strategical thinking which pushes people to foresee the move of his enemy before as well as to plan the coming moves before too late. People try to get the sympathy of his social environment to be known as virtuous by people. Because virtuous people are respected in social life. Aristotle claimed that virtuous people have merits just to rule and to have power. Thus, kings and aristocrats, etc. considered their self as virtuous to rule. The passage from *noblesse d'epee* to nobles of robe especially in the period of Lois XIVth characterizes almost what Rousseau needs to express perfectly. Hereby *amor propre* is the reason for degeneration according to Rousseau. Rousseau started to think about what to do after Rousseau expressed the reason for inequalities in society and the construction of morality. Then, he asserted that *amor*

propre can be the reason for human renaissance as much as it is the main cause behind degeneration (Rousseau, 2016). Because there's also *amor propre* who forced people to prevail to perfection behind the development of reason, conscience, and imagination etc. Although many criticize Rousseau of being an anti-modernist or anti-intellectual thinker, he is conscious that we can't go back in history. Thus, we can use our reason in a different way instead of fighting each other. But the usage of reason must be under the guide of sentiments. The only social sentiment is a pity it would help people form a right society. Because pity helps people be empathetic towards others. In other sense, *amor propre* can turn into desired virtues under different conditions. Even so, morality or virtues have nothing to do with human nature. These concepts are a phenomenon that is external to the nature of human. These are a social construction. Nevertheless, in his perspective human is good by nature. If a human is corrupted and alienated. That is because of society. Rousseau hypothesis that human has a natural instinct which leads him toward goodness. That's conscience or inner man who conducts man to think of the consequences of their acts as bad or good.

That's obvious that these concepts are constructed. But as a human is a feeling creature. Bad or good are just words to describe feelings. Rousseau puts sensations before reason. Because reason would deceive humans in their acts as it is a social construct, (Rousseau, 1923a). To illustrate that the acts which generate more profits are considered good in capitalist societies. But the desire of having more profit would bring a harm to others. In this case, one can justify the harm as the fault of others based on his reasoning. (in the Marx and Mill section, there's an explanation in a nuanced manner how are social problems pushed towards an individual, the negativities that individual crossed in the social sphere are considered as individual faults).

After the process of transformation, a human is socialized and moralized as well as politicized. However, as told before, human has sensations before ideas. Human is supposed not to flourish his nature through reasoning and judgments but through sensations and especially conscience (Rousseau, 1923). Beside this transformation sophisticated the ordinary nature of human. Human was alike animal in state of nature but after passage to a civil one, human turned into an individual who is supposed to have free will, rights, obligation and responsibility. As human raised a gigantic culture and cities etc., he couldn't return to natural living anymore. Even his

desire of self-exile from society, he can't. In this context, the question is to solve degeneration in society itself. Although society is a fictitious concept, it also helped human be aware of the faculties peculiar to his species. We can argue that as pity forms a conscience. The conscience inside human is not derived from reason but sensations. Thus, a morality which is derived from conscience would help human to stop the tyranny of reason or *amor propre* in a true manner.

After Rousseau accepted that there's no possibility of going back in history. He tries to find a form of society where man can consummate his nature and obey the law at the same time. That is to say that human doesn't have any ruler upon him and rule himself and he's still part of society. He proposes a formula which is called general will. *"The idea of the general will is at the heart of Rousseau's philosophy. The general will is not the will of the majority. Rather, it is the will of the political organism that he sees as an entity with a life of its own (Younkins, 2005)."* Rousseau formulated the general will like that

"There is often a great deal of difference between the will of all and the general will. The latter looks only to the common interest; the former considers private interest and is only a sum of private wills. But take away from these same wills the pluses and minuses that cancel each other out, and the remaining sum of the differences is the general will (Rousseau, 1923)."

It implies the common interest of each individual. People started to form certain notions that are the interest of all through a general will. As a right to live, no one or no policy would be in contradiction with such a right that is produced by the general will, if so, the general will would be broken. If a person contradicts general will he wouldn't be part of society in his perspective. Whoever obeys general will commands, indeed obey himself. , in this manner, society is not a coercive phenomenon. Besides, Rousseau sees the necessity of equality for the perfect application of general will. Because inequalities in society would make it inapplicable. Rousseau who is aware of the impossibility of applying such a concept in crowded communities, suggests people form small communities as Plato did. Because no one is stranger to others and communication is easy between people in small communities. The most important is that there is no need to delegate individual power to representatives. Hence, general will would be safe. At this point, Rousseau describes the representative system, as an elected aristocracy. Even the concept of general will has been open to be manipulated so far. Political elites or elected aristocracy haven't hesitated to legitimate themselves

by self-declaring represent of the general will.

In this section, we have seen critics oriented towards modernity. However, Rousseau is not an anti-modernist, or we cannot describe him as a post-modernist. Nevertheless, his ideas have influenced many modern and post-modern thinkers. His vision of classless society and critics of property etc. were going to shape the essence of Marxist ideology. Besides, we can say that the concept of general will has been shaping political life since its appearance. But it's used mostly in alienated version from its true essence. Nevertheless, it became the base of political ethics understanding. Hence, every political entity has the desire of representing the general will to monopolize the power in the country. Thus, we can argue that the general will initiated an industry of public relations or political communication later. On the other hand, the general will is opened to be criticized. Even some pretend that there is no naturally formed public opinion. Its existence is an illusion. The question is how we continue to analyze politics based on the general will. Political elites keep the concept of general will alive. Because it's a useful coverage and legitimator. The general will is misinterpreted and used in the place of the will of the majority.

Furthermore, it's important to touch on the subject of polarization in society. It has appeared as a new phenomenon in today's politics. We can say that society is not formed naturally but in an oppressive manner after we have studied Rousseau's philosophy. Besides, in Marx's section, we argue that society is an ideological concept. Nevertheless, society is always presented as a holistic and holy entity. The facts about polarization in society are presented as normal by many scholars. Hence, we can argue that society is nothing but a fiction and the facts about polarization are proof of its artificiality. Thus, scholars are supposed to think about new forms of social formation since the narrative about the holiness of society lost its effects.

2.3.2. Alexis de Tocqueville's Ethics View

In this section, we are going to analyze Tocqueville whose inferences about the way capitalism or capitalist ethics works are crucial to understanding the formation of capitalist ethics. We have analyzed mostly theoretical deductions so far. Even their authors claimed to be an empiricist. But Tocqueville's case is different. His voyage to the USA helped him compare between different cultures. It also helped him hypothesis

about the future outputs of social change in Europe. Even he had not a philosophical doctrine. His hypothesis was to turn into realities. As a note, especially his claim about the future hegemonic powers of the world. He foresaw the USA and Russia to be world superpowers before a century. The former is not as much sensational as the latter. After a small note, we can turn our perspective to his analysis especially on society, individualism, the dynamic between freedom and equality. Finally, we conclude by analyzing where ethics is positioned in his political understanding.

Tocqueville's first claim was that the main dynamic of society is people's desire to be equal. All good or all bad in society are caused by desire of equality. He wrote of "Political Consequences of the Social State of the Anglo-Americans" by saying: *"But one also finds in the human heart a depraved taste for equality (Tocqueville, 2002: 72)"* the concept of equality here is used as a natural drive of human more than that a rationalistic concept. We can say that the part of 'depraved taste for equality' alludes to the concept of the will to power. But his use of the concept has more negative connotation, it appears clearly after he completed his phrase like that *"equality, which impels the weak to attempt to lower the powerful to their own level, and reduces men to prefer equality in slavery to inequality with freedom (Tocqueville, 2002: 72)." In his perspective, the struggle to equality causes a volunteer servitude. In contrast, freedom with inequality is preferable to equality without freedom. Although he puts the desire to equality is an engine of social change as well as he claimed that the natural inclination of society is equality by referring to the passage from an aristocratic society to democratic one. He had suspicions about the concept of equality. Because France had a vivid memory about what happened after the revolution which aim equalizing society just some decades ago of his birth. Hence, Tocqueville had experiences about the destabilization of France, the period of terror, Bonapartism etc.*

Nevertheless, we can say that the struggle to equality is not excluded in his thinking but it is limited to a degree which doesn't harm freedom which is the most valuable phenomenon for Tocqueville who stated that he has *a passionate love for liberty, law, and respect for rights.... Liberty is my foremost passion*". The concept of passion is central in his thinking way, because passions are also behind struggle to equality, freedom etc. well-being is considered as the first passion of individual.

Moreover, he explains the reason why equality has possibility to become dangerous in this way “*when citizens are all almost equal, it becomes difficult for them to defend their independence against the aggressions of power. As none of them is strong enough to fight alone with advantage, the only guarantee of liberty is for everyone to combine forces. But such a combination is not always in evidence* (Tocqueville, 2002: 72).” we can say that Tocqueville saw strategically important to keep possible counter-power against the state or governments. Because the possibility of clashes between different groups of elites would stabilize the state’s power and prevent any kind of domination. Thus, he tried to secure liberty by diversifying powers in society. In this point, we can argue that his analysis have similarities with Foucault’s concept of *relation of powers*.

Moreover, Tocqueville’s argumentations fit our thesis perspective that is power-oriented politics. Because he hypothesized that total equality would perish all relations of power as well as it provokes the appearance of an absolute power besides. Since we cannot know what equality would bring us, it’s useful to keep equality and freedom in harmony. Because freedom is a kind of guarantee for the struggle against possible extremities of power. Freedom is an assurance because it is a kind of power given to people. Furthermore, it’s obvious that Tocqueville made a clear distinction between liberty and democracy. It’s different from our perception of actual democracy and liberty. They are used interchangeably. We can say that it helps justify anti-libertarian policy in the name of democracy.

At this point, we can issue the philosopher’s perspective on the concept of democracy. Tocqueville problematizes the possible dangers of democracy. In his perspective, democracy facilitate people’s struggle for equality. In contrast, democracy is supposed to average members of society. That is to say that people are supposed to have equal rights and power in democratic regimes. Thus, averaged society may lead people to a kind of conformism especially in the matter of public opinion. Because everyone is equal to each other as well as no one can have enough power to support his opinion. Thus, all opinions are also equalized. And the content of the opinion loses its value. In this context, the number of people who support a given idea becomes important instead of the quality of opinion. As Tocqueville express that opinion of the majority is considered to have moral authority. It is widely believed that “there are more enlightenment and wisdom in a numerous assembly than in a single

man” and hence “the interests of the greatest number should be preferred to that of those who are fewer” (Yüksek, 2017) Thus, the majority become decisive in orienting decision-making process, so democracy might end up a sort of despotism of majority which undermines the essence of liberty. Furthermore, as democratic men appear in the consequences of the democratization of society, this new kind of men are driven by two instincts: equality and wellbeing. Thus, they can delegate their rights (freedom and powers) to an authority that guarantees them wellbeing and equality or they can be forced to do so, while they are occupied of their business for the wellbeing of their own.

People who are exiled or self-exiled from politics might lose their power to a single authority in time. Hence, that is what Tocqueville means of equality in servitude or under state control. We can argue that he tried to discuss a kind of political alienation. In his thinking, equality which is a natural drive of humans is supposed to have negative consequences. Nevertheless, equality is not necessarily to provoke negativity at the end. His inference shows us indeed how much extent that he’s forward-looking. That is, the world has witnessed the representative democratic system so far. It’s a current issue that people lost their affection and their interest in politics by considering the percentage of participation in elections in developed countries. On the country, some can argue that there’s a vibrant web of NGOs in these countries and people make their voice heard through different channels. Nevertheless, there’s a reality of a-politicism. Such a trend can be encouraged by politicians through a social construction process, propaganda, etc.

Furthermore, Tocqueville emphasizes that the crucial role of marriage, family, laws, and religion are to moderate commercial passions and help individuals to go beyond merely personal interests. Political and social participation which are encouraged by local associations causes occasions of communal action by making people aware of current issue of their communities. Thus, local and associative engagement initiate formation of communal relations and social bonds (Rožič, 2014). In this point, we can argue that Tocqueville share the same point in the role of community that make essence of individual freedom. On the other hand, Alexis de Tocqueville worried that *free, capitalist societies might develop so great a “taste for physical gratification” that citizens would be “carried away, and lose all self-*

restraint.” Avidly seeking personal gain, they could “lose sight of the close connection which exists between the private fortune of each of them and the prosperity of all” and ultimately undermine both democracy and prosperity (Tocqueville; Malanga, 2009).

At this point, the concept of passion worth being stressed out the second time. Because it's the reason for any phenomenon in society according to the *Tocquevillian* perspective. Firstly, the passion for well-being is identified as mother passion. Hence, everyone desires well-being. This commune desire can provide general well-being because people can compromise with others to keep their interest safe. Hence, the general well-being which is the interest of all may generate political stability in the condition of having an open society in which people have promotions based on their achievements. In capitalist societies, individual achievements are mostly realized in the economical realm. That's why people are inclined to commerce or occupy most of their time with the business. That is why the passions of people produce a coherent society in the USA instead of a polarized society as the case of France. Because there's a non-hierarchized society in the USA where people have the possibility of promotion in society through their achievements. In contrast, there's an aristocratic structure and people's rank is determined by their families in France.

Furthermore, it's possible to nuance how cultural codes are being shaped around economy, labor etc. Tocqueville says that *“the notion of labor is therefore presented to the mind on every side as the necessary, natural, and honest condition of human existence (Tocqueville, 2002, 619).”* Unlike in Europe, where aristocrats often scorned labor, in the United States, *“a wealthy man thinks that he owes it to public opinion to devote his leisure to industrial or commercial pursuit, or to public business. He would think himself in bad repute if he employed his life solely in living (Tocqueville, 2012: 619)* the pioneering French thinker noted that

“lay a common set of civic virtues that celebrated not merely hard work but also thrift, integrity, self-reliance, and modesty—virtues that grew out of the pervasiveness of religion, which Tocqueville called “the first of [America's] political institutions, . . . imparting morality” (Malanga, 2009)

We can say that this case represents well how cultural code or ethical understanding is shaped. That is linked to what society appreciates. We can argue that valuable objects in society are generally an instrument to power. But people forget the aim and concentrated on the instrument in time. The instrument becomes the goal

itself. As people ignored that money was an instrument to reach power. Money becomes the goal itself or money turns to be power (seen in depth at the section about Mill).

On the other hand, Tocqueville is aware of the negatives outputs of passions. They are not just to provide good intentions between people; they are also to cause selfish desires like envy, jealousy, clashes, and struggle between people. But he thought that old fashion society cannot tolerate or canalize these passions anywhere. As the law of entropy explains that condensation pressure yields an explosion to a certain degree. Because individual satisfaction can't be realized outside of the community. Thus, societies like France where there's a well-established *hereditarian* structure are subject to receive such an explosion or revolutions. On the contrary, the openness of American society would canalize such pressure by providing a promotion to successful, talented, hardworking people. Then, everyone works to be one of them. Besides people who are already rich have also the risk of being poor in the result of their actions since their wealth is not insured by their family line. Hence, people who are aware of this reality put their egoistic inclinations aside and work for society and themselves in the end. However, Tocqueville's claim needs to be criticized by considering current reality. Since capitalism has become a feudal alike system. We are going to enlarge the debate in post-society section 4. Chapter.

At the same time, people's desire for success makes also society dynamic and vivid. New values and ethics which promote collective well-being appear permanently because of this dynamism. In contrast, there are rigid, fixed rules ethical understanding in societies where people are classified and ranked according to their family. The cultural code is used to persist this split forever. Hence, there's no collective conscience in such societies but struggling parties. Therefore, Tocqueville stressed out that the melding of private and public profits in the same pot made American civil society strong. He expresses the reason for American success in his letter to Ernest de Chabrol (Tocqueville, 2012):

"imagine . . . a society formed of all the nations of the world: English, French, Germans . . . people having different languages, beliefs, opinion: in a word, a society without roots, without memories, without prejudices, without routines, without common ideas, without a national character, yet a hundred times happier than our own; more Virtuous? I doubt it there is the point of departure. What serves as a bond for such diverse elements, what makes all of that a people?"

Interest. There is the secret. Particular interest that pokes through at every instant, interest that, moreover, arises openly and calls itself a social theory.”

Hence, ‘American society put the claim of ancient world thinkers at odds. Since what Tocqueville and other late Moderns observed is a modern republic founded not on virtue (as claimed by the Ancients) but on the private interest of each citizen’ (Mansfield 1996; Rožič, 2014: 17). Nevertheless, individualism has nothing to do with egoism which Tocqueville criticized too. People learn how to overcome their selfishness and respect their individuality and society through civil or state institutions, Hence, democratic society makes individual see community as whole, unity, connected to each other not as formation of classes, struggling groups. He expresses (Tocqueville, 2012) that:

“The jury teaches each man not to retreat from responsibility for his own actions; a manly disposition, without which there is no political virtue. It vests each citizen with a sort of magistracy; it makes all feel that they have duties to fulfill toward society and that they enter into its government. By forcing men to get involved in something other than their own affairs, it combats individual egoism, which is like the rust of societies {that ruins nations more than armies do}”

Tocqueville expresses how ethics is shaped based on the dominant social and political mode, which means there is a different ethical understanding according to dominant discourses. We can say that his inferences are mostly based on his observation and comparison. We can argue that he has an empirical approach to epistemology. Thus, we can argue that he supports the idea that there’s not a universal ethical understanding, and its formation is referred to as dominant political discourse. Nevertheless, he prefers democratic values instead of aristocratic ones and he idealizes an ethical approach based on equality of condition which doesn’t harm freedom. Hence, equality is “the primary cause of the majority of laws, customs, and ideas that govern the conduct of the nation” (Tocqueville; Rožič, 2014). He introduces the concept of equality of condition which provides an independent start to life from hereditary provisions since a perfect equalization of society is supposed to have negative consequences and it’s hard to be reached. In the meantime, as people are passionate about well-being and equality, tolerable amounts of inequality in society would encourage them to advance in society through individual achievements. (Rožič, 2014). Indeed, as told before people realize their goals and have a property that provides well-being mostly through economic success. Thus, propriety becomes morally precious since it turned out to be a symbol of success. Also, Tocqueville

(2002) asserted that

“Men of property are lovers of peace, the growth of personal wealth which war so rapidly consumes, the mildness of manners, the gentleness of heart, those tendencies to pity which are engendered by the equality of conditions, that coolness of understanding which renders men comparatively insensible to the violent and poetical excitement of arms – all these causes concur to quench the military spirit. I think it may be admitted as a general and constant rule, that, amongst civilized nations, the warlike passions will become rarer and less intense in proportions social conditions shall be more equal.”

Because a war or permanent inequality in society would perish all propriety. Furthermore, in his perspective, democratic values are important to keep a balance between equality and freedom. His thinking way is more likely dialectical but the balance of the dialectic between freedom and equality is protected by democracy,

In this section, we analyzed Tocqueville because of his major work and analysis of America. His comparison of America with the old countries of Europe permitted him to look outside of established discourses in Europe. He considered the capitalist system as catalyst of society through production free labor, commerce. Thus, the dynamism of the capitalist system becomes a source of a new kind of ethical understanding. Besides, capitalism encouraged the formation of new social ties in a country where many different cultures come together to produce, commerce, and work. In contrast, Europe was stuck with rigid rules and ethical values that put people in boundaries. Furthermore, he asset individualism as a value by not avoiding the role of community. He held the idea of equality of condition which provides an independent start to life in contrast to hereditary provisions.

2.3.3. Thomas Hill Green’s Ethics View

Thomas Hill Green is an idealist philosopher who is inspired especially by Hegel and Kant. He thought that the source of knowledge is the reason. He is a major figure in the liberal tradition. Before Green, liberal thinkers conceptualize freedom mostly in a negative manner. Liberty was defined as the indifference of state towards individual acts. People are supposed to be free to the extent that nobody gets harm by their individual actions. Liberty consists of not intervention of the state to individual acts as much as they don’t harm anybody. Green’s originality lays at critics he oriented towards such a kind of freedom which is not efficient to assure people the basis of moral life. In the same line, Herbert Spencer described such a kind of liberty

understanding as letting people starve. But truth freedom consists of providing a meaningful life to people. The state action in such a case is to afford an opportunity to self-flourishing as every individual has the potential to reveal. An individual is important as much as society in his thinking. Because individuals and society constitute each other. in this section, we are going to study the moral standpoint of Green who is highly inspired by religion. Then, we are to issue his political teaching by criticizing his positive freedom concept through Foucault's reading of disciplinary and normative power concepts.

Green's epistemological philosophy can be resumed by saying that there's neither object nor subject in the absence of relationships. Which means that the objects have their meaning in relation to each other. Such a relation is constructed by human consciences. This formula is also applicable to understand Green standpoint in political and moral matters. Since the object or phenomenon is meaningful through their relations with each other, the human being is also meaningful in his relation to others. Otherwise human would be just an animal. Green expressed that some practical recognition of personality by another, *of an "I" by a "thou" and a "thou" by an "I", is necessary to any practical consciousness of it.* " (Green, 1906: 190). Indeed, since human is worthless unless he has not another human being, he's somehow subjected to society. The necessity of being in relationships needs some practical rules to govern these relationships as well as individual needs a community to realize his-self or to improve his life. Green stressed out that

"The man cannot contemplate himself as in a better state, or in the way to the best, without contemplating others, not merely as means to that better a state, but as sharing it with him (Green, 1906: 199)."

Thus, the necessity of being in relationships with each other justifies the *raison d'être* of moral code in Green perspective. Nevertheless, as liberal thinker, he didn't sacrifice individual before society. He established a balance which is in profit of society and individual as individual achievement has a meaning within society. However society must be organized in suitable manner for individual to help them realize their individual projects. His phrase on this matter like that

"the purpose of society is the wellbeing of individuals, and morality, though finding expression in social and political institutions, is ultimately unmeaning apart from the moral character of individuals." (Algazy, 1986: 84)

Furthermore, he expressed that morality is not just product of society as human has his own conscience and his native specialties to reveal out. In fact, in this point, we can say that Green tried to synthesis Kant and Hegel teaching. As he puts that ‘*Thus, it is equally true that the, human spirit can only realize itself, or fulfill its idea, in persons, and that it can only do so through society, since society is the condition of the development of a personality* (Green,1906,: 191).’ Furthermore he supported his assertion through divine works as he stated that

“the true lesson which [the Bible] teaches is that God is not to be sought in nature, nor in any beginning or end of nature, but in man himself (Tyler, 2019) (...) “God’s fulfilment of himself” (Tyler, 2019).

Hence, human being is part of a universal conscience since he has innate capacities. Human is an end in himself. As he’s is part of God. On the other hand, Green introduced a metric to measure the morality of acts according to its contribution to society. Furthermore he divided the self into two characteristic: as an animalistic and humanistic self like Mills did. By doing so, we can say that he gave a metric to individual for measuring the quality of their actions and he introduced some teleological essence to human behavior. On the other hand, this distinction had another meaning for commenting his concept of negative and positives freedom. The former consists of indifference of state towards human actions. The latter is to assure necessary conditions for self-flourishing of individual. However, Green’s distinction between animalistic self and spiritual self of men, which is the distinction between that which is and that which should be necessarily conducive to the distinction between a negative freedom which corresponds to the animal self of man, the pursuit of pleasure and conformity to that which is, and conformity to that which is, and a positive freedom which is expressive of the spiritual self of man (A1gazy, 1986: 58)

Although he put the socially oriented actions as human’s acts. He hadn’t placed society before individual. In fact, his analysis of society and individual is based on a dialectic which provide an improvement for both side. Beside, in the end, no one lose its character. It’s clear as he expressed that

“the purpose of society is the wellbeing of individuals, and morality, though finding expression in social and political institutions, is ultimately unmeaning apart from the moral character of individuals. Morality cannot be defined merely through” the outcome of the historical process, cannot find expression solely in political institutions or the spirit of a nation apart from assignable human beings (A1gazy, 1986: 84) .”

Furthermore, the morality in Green is a becoming. It is not a standard phenomenon or as Kant would say that we have a priori concept in our mind since the day we born. Hence, as a human has a natural instinct of perfection on his work. Progress in society is inevitable, the role of society here is not to prevent improvement made by an individual. We can say that the dialectical essence of his theories gets their meaning in this teleological perspective.

On the other hand Green's political theory is linked to his moral philosophy, the state is an important agent between society and individual and help both of them in order to improve morality and life standard in the meantime. Thus, the duties of state are not just to have a *laissez faire* approach rather encourage and help individual in their life project. Hence, state can't be reduced to law or a coercive power (A1gazy, 1986: 87).

In this point, the concept of state intervention into an individual sphere worth being explained in a nuanced manner. The state responsibility, in Green standpoint, is not to be immobile or paralyzed against individual demands. Earlier liberals were against the idea of state intervention. Maybe their state imagination was similar to the Hobbesian Leviathan. Nevertheless, the flourishing bourgeoisie needed to liberate themselves from the aristocratic state. That's maybe why thinkers needed to describe freedom in a negative manner. But, after the bourgeoisie triumphed in their struggle and formed their own system. Liberal thinkers had the possibility of imagining an interventionist state on a moral motive to *subjectify* people in accordance with their policy or their vision of society. Hence, as we have seen so far, the moralization of social and individual matters facilitates state intervention. In this context,

Green philosophy serves to diversify individual freedoms area. Which was limited to economical ones. The diversification of freedom opens indeed a space to interfere in individual space. It worth noting that the passage to disciplinary and normative power phase appeared almost in Green's age. Hence, disciplinary power and normative power imply shaping individual behavior and thinking in a desired way. Education was a sole instrument at this point. Then we can understand Green's moralization of education in this way. Beside educated people is not just subjected but they are useful for the development of society and power. The population had become a source of power in international concurrence through the 18th century. Nevertheless,

education, health services, security become a valuable object in society. The state was responsible for assuring these services for certain decades. At this point, Green philosophy was a remarkable base to form a social state concept. It worth noting that Keynes' social state had its origins in Green teachings.

As a liberal thinker, Green is against a total intervention of the state into an individual area. He argues that morality can't be imposed by the state through law or policies. The reason for this is that the positive freedom which Green advocated is moral freedom, hence cannot be imposed from the outside by Legal or political means and is not simply the material well-being which a paternalistic government (A1gazy,1986: 88) Hence, the essence of morality would lose its essence. At this point, Kant's influence over him appears. Kant emphasized that morality is a matter of subject who is free and responsible for his acts. Indeed, the level of inference must be at a tolerable level according to Green. Moreover, his moral concepts acquire its meaning in society, which means that individual action must be realized to contribute to human development, that's the ultimate point of his moral understanding. Hence, through this notion, state, as it has the capacity of determining what's valuable in society t, state actors can establish education as a norm and without any physical intervention, people would send their kids to school voluntarily.

In this section, we went through Green works, we analyzed his epistemological concept which is mostly inspired by Kant and Hegel. The main title of His chapter was that his formula is object acquire its sense in relation to others relation. This dialectic was also the basis of his moral and political philosophy. It's obvious that he has religious in his thinking and he considered human conscience as the engineer of establishing such a web of meaning between objects and humans.

2.4. Positivist Approach to Ethics

Positivism that is introduced by Comte can be described as a peak of Enlightenment. The author of positivism aimed to transform his teaching into a secular religion which is called the religion of humanity. Many says that positivism has political connotations at the very beginning. Because the reason why his creator created such a philosophy was not just to glorify science. Hence, in this section, we are going to study political motivation of positivism and his contribution to political

realm, secondly, we are going to issue what's supposed to be a positivist ethics and how did it shape our thinking way?

Positivism is a philosophical doctrine which prioritizes the use of scientific method for producing knowledge and which justifies science as the basis of modern society. Also, positivism is a philosophy of science. Its epistemological roots are based on empiricism. It suggests scientist not to look the causes of phenomenon instead the relation between them (Comte, 2012; Brentano, 2014). As told before, David Hume claimed that the first cause can't be found. Besides, the seeking of causes would conduct us spontaneously to find in the first cause. Then, we are supposed to be stuck in the chain of causes. That is to say reasoning process results in a tautology. Thus, that would bring us nowhere but metaphysic or theology. Hence, the objective of science must be on the present issues and on the relations between facts. As the relations between facts are observable. Science must focus on find the ties between them based on posteriori analysis.

Moreover, positivism is an important teaching for introducing a rigid scientific method claims into social analysis since it claimed that society are dominated by certain rules which can be found through the exercise of scientific method. Auguste Comte is inspired to Newtonian discovery of gravity. As Newton's theory is an inclusive theory that reveal out a natural rule that is valid everywhere. Hence, philosophers who is influenced by Newton tried to find out the universal normative social rules. We can say that August Comte was one of these philosophers. That is, Comte categorized six majors' sciences starting by mathematic and ending by sociology. He believed that social progress is related to scientific progress, but science is not efficient to assure progress and unity in society alone. Thus, it's necessary to form a science of society that can make all scientific outputs meaningful by putting them at service of society. Otherwise, whole scientific knowledge would be useless in the absence of such a science. Hence, every discipline of science must be organized in a way which yield a formation of social science (Comte, 2012). In this point, we can argue that Comte didn't see scientific progress as a value in it-self. He considered science as an instrument for unity and progress of society instead. Therefore we can argue that Comte was anxious at the point of progress. Then, he tried to mobilize science for social progress as well as he charged sociology of controlling the social

development and coherence. However, his concepts of *Union* and *progress* become symbol of positivism in time (Comte, 2012). Even these words have a great political connotation in the coming decades.

The notion of progress is central in Comte thinking. His concept of progress is modeled through his concept of three stage law, i.e. these three stages consist of the *theological-military stage*, the *metaphysical-judicial stage*, and the *scientific-industrial society* (Comte, 2012). In the first stage that called theological, people were used to explain the reason of facts based on the idea of God or divine forces. This stage implies also a militaristic point that is justified by religion. There's epic stories about conquests for religion. Theological stage has 3 sub division in itself starting from *fetishism polytheism* and ending by *monotheism*. But what Comte said about passage from second one to third worth being noted that polytheism as it englobes many different gods. It can cause contradictions in the way people thinks. Because it's obstacle to form a union in society. This inference is pretty the same what Plato did in his Republic. Also, priest is dominant group in this part. In the second stage which is called as *metaphysic stage*, there is also a kind of explanation based on divine forces, but people start to explain social or natural phenomenon by abstraction, imagination or fantastical thinking before referring directly to God. Thus, the idea of social contract appeared in this stage since people begun to think the reason of social fact and social formations. They tried to explain them through an abstract phenomenon before referring to God. In this stage priest were still strong. Nevertheless, there was also jurists who acquired force beside priests. The second stage is a necessary one for the initiation of third stage. Because, in this part, people tried to explain social or natural fact outside God. Thus it can be said that people start to think logically. In the third stage which is supposed to be the *positive stage*, people begin to observe and to analyze social or natural facts based on their relation with each other instead of referring supernatural or metaphysical forces. People started to turn their face away from the phenomenon they can't explain through scientific method. This stage which is dominated by scientists is considered as peak of humanity and a maturity of human mental capacity in his thinking (Comte, 2012). We can argue that Comte's law of three stage has obvious similarities with Marxist historical materialism. As it's known that two thinkers are inspired by Saint-Simon. Hence, the concept of progress is common for Marx and Comte too. Especially both have a teleological thinking. Moreover,

Comte did not stay at the point of analysis, he introduced also an agenda to bring humanity forward.

August Comte described the age he lived in as the passage from second stage to third one. Science was strong but not in hegemonic manner. The church had also influences over society but not as it was to have so many years ago. Hence, his age was the period of mess. Society had lost its basis of morality and it was going to perish because of lack of morality as he claimed. In this case, Comte suggested to introduce science as a new religion to form a science based morality instead of declining Christianity and others monotheist religions which consummated their time. In his thinking, the church was not capable of assuring union in society any longer. Thus, science must have role in the unifying of declining society. Even, Comte thought paradoxically that individual need to have spiritual satisfaction and science was incapable of providing such a thing. Then, he came up with idea of establishing *religion of humanity*, which is a godless religion, humans worship the humanity that they are part of it (Bourdeau, 2018). We can argue that humanity is an abstract concept. But Comte claimed that it's a social and concrete phenomenon. However, it seems that the idea of the religion of Humanity put Comte at odd. Even Comte's friend Jean Stuart Mill underestimated his concept. But his reasoning was not that much baseless after Renaissance, Enlightenment and Copernican revolution of Kant which put the subject in the center of universe (Kalelioğlu, 2019). There was obviously a rising discourse over humanity. Even August Comte got followers from Brazil Ottoman Empire, Grand Bretagne etc. Especially the ideologues as in the committee of union and progress in Ottoman Empire were inspired that much from August Comte they named their part after his generic mottos (Bourdeau, 2018). As well as the religion of humanity are accepted as official religion of Brazil etc. many says he went further in his religion concept that he declared himself as prophet and introduced ritual of worships etc. However, we can argue that he actually tried to solve the problem of his age, after industrial transformation, there were new sort of cities, growing masses etc., thus, the question of state was to find a new base to assure a unity. That doesn't mean Comte tried to help state for solving its existential problems. In his perspective, the concept of union was a necessary for progress (as told above about the passage from polytheism to monotheism)

After Comte presented his new religion, he also described a mode of subject related to his doctrine. As humanity become as sacred entity in itself, human beings is to love other more than him-self as a worship, this notion is systemized after under the name of altruism which is a Term created by August Comte to designate the attitude opposed to selfishness. Altruist or selfless the one who puts his duties towards others before the satisfaction of his own interests (Steiner, 2015). But the concept of altruism is stranger to natural drives of human as evolutionist theorists put it. But it's strange that in the initiation of his philosophical project August Comte are more likely a materialist philosopher but in the end of his work he was driven into rationalism. Eve he claimed as principle of positivism there can be a universal rule as long as there cannot be a universal observation. Moreover, we can argue that his political motivation draw him into rationalism as it was the case in Marx and in Locke.

CHAPTER 3

POWER ORIENTED POLITICS

The key word of this part is power. However, the meaning of word is reduced to politics in public imaginary even if it has a broad meaning in dictionary. Power is defined as *ability to control people and events: the amount of political control a person or group has in a country: an official or legal right to do something* in Cambridge Dictionary (dictionary.cambridge.org, Date of access: 10 May 2020) while it is defined as *the ability to control people or things, political control of a country or an area, the ability or opportunity to do something the right or authority of a person or group to do something.* (oxfordlearnersdictionaries.com, Date of access: 10 May 2020) in contrast, the other key word of this part is politics. As we argued before, politics is mixed up with ethical narratives. However we are going to describe that politics is all about relations of power and the will to power. Dictionaries already defines politics based on power that can be seen in Oxford dictionary *the activities involved in getting and using power in public life, and being able to influence decisions that affect a country or a society* (oxfordlearnersdictionaries.com, Date of access: 10 May 2020) *the activities of the government, members of law-making organizations, or people who try to influence the way a country is governed:* (dictionary.cambridge.org, Date of access: 10 May 2020) However, we are going to have a large discussion about power based on Machiavelli, Hobbes, Nietzsche and Foucault papers. We try to re- conceptualize and to re-place the concept of power at the center of science politics as well as we try to shape an alternative approach based on the concept of power to analyze social phenomenon throughout this part

3.1.1. Machiavelli's Political Philosophy

In this chapter, we are going to analysis Machiavelli's political philosophy. Machiavelli is an important thinker because of his power oriented political analysis. It is possible to say that he is the precursor of power first approach in philosophy a. because of his power oriented political analysis. It is possible to say that he is the precursor of power first approach in philosophy. Besides he is also first to criticize

ethics oriented politics as well as to establish an alternative perspective to political philosophy that we call power oriented politics. Machiavelli had influenced Hobbes, Nietzsche and Foucault. His philosophy is examined through these three philosopher to understand how Machiavelli's ideas are reformulated by scholars during this chapter. Although he is a famous immoralist we try to examine how his philosophy cannot be reduced to the concept of 'might and trickery are always permitted to capture power. In this perspective, we first analysis his *immoralism* and his critics towards morality that he believed is the reason of political degeneration. Secondly we examines his proposals about power's nature that is going to be issued and enlarged by Hobbes, Nietzsche and Foucault later. Also, we are going to discuss the strategies of power introduced by Machiavelli. As he sees power something to be acquired.

3.1.1.1. Machiavelli's Immoralism

The main originality of Machiavelli is simply his rupture with Platonic political philosophy that reduces politics to a moral philosophy. He questioned ethics-based politics which is established since Plato. That is ethics-based politics justifies that virtuous people has just right to govern as well as people is obliged to obey the ruler who is described as shadow of god on earth. However, Machiavelli broke the chain of Platonic tradition on philosophy. He discovered that the motivation of politics is to attain power rather than trying to reach higher values. Morality may turn into deviation in the struggle to power since power is target of all political life (Machiavelli, 1998; 2003). Thus, Machiavelli introduced a sort of *immoralism* into politics, which is justified by the concept of goal. It is well known that he always held such a maxim that *Fins justify means*. But Machiavellian *immoralism* has much deeper perspective that this. (Kesgin, 2015). That is going to be fulfilled in *Nietzschean* work later. Nevertheless, Machiavelli expressed that moral values can't fit into the real life, most of time, due to their idealistic artificial nature.

Many have imagined states such as nobody ever saw or knew in the real world, and there is such a difference between the way we live and the way we ought to live that the man who neglects the real to study the ideal will learn how to accomplish his ruin, not his salvation. Any man who tries to be good all the time is bound to come to ruin among the great number who are not good. Hence a prince who wants to keep his authority must learn how not to be good (Machiavelli, Prince, XV; Vatter, 1999.16)

Machiavelli critics of church. Machiavelli accuses of church for its

monopolization of morality and for degenerating people's culture as well as for being the reason of Italian disunity. Because Christianity, by prioritizing weaker over stronger altered ethical code in favor of weakness (Mansfield, 2019; Semercioğlu, 2016; Kesgin, 2015; Nietzsche; 2006). Even Machiavelli come to say that Christianity effeminate people's culture (Semercioğlu, 2016; Kesgin, 2015). In this manner, he claimed that Christianity introduced the concept of submission as ethical value since it made people believe "*that it is evil to say evil of evil* (Mansfield, 2019)" This maxim has affected people's thinking and behaviors in many ways. But in political culture, Resistance to rulers become a kind of sin, while obey to them turned into virtue. By the way, the concept of consent and resistance or disobedience to ruler had been a topic of debate in theological philosophy until the mid of middle age. Saint Thomas de Aquinas was precursor to conceptualize consent of people in philosophy. Nevertheless, it's possible to say that the concept of consent had been marginal to political philosophy until apparition of parliamentary alike regimes. Therefore, Machiavelli's critics of religion is later enlarged by Nietzsche whose almost entire career is dedicated to reveal how moralism weakened people and turned them into herd (Nietzsche, 2006). We can argue that Nietzsche's Archeology of moral can be seen as enlarged version of Machiavelli's statements, On the contrary, in Machiavelli's thought, *strength* and *power* are more respected values. Moreover, we can say that Machiavelli's struggle to alter the *Platonian* discourse over politics as he introduced a new moral understanding based on *the will to power* rather than a moral understanding that serves to castrate people's will to power.

Machiavelli received severe critics because of his supposed *immoralism*. In fact, Machiavelli's fame about his *immoralism* is mostly resourced by Machiavellianism which is developed through manipulation of his texts. It's a political ideology that simply justifies every doing of elites to capture and keep power. On the contrary, many philosopher as Hegel, Rousseau, Spinoza, F. Bacon expressed that Machiavelli's critics of morality doesn't support an immoralist perspective rather they are remedies to cure broken moral values (Mansfield, 2019). Even Machiavelli is described as defender of freedom in Spinoza perspective. Furthermore, some says that Machiavelli advises people to be aware of extreme action of people implicitly, while he gives instruction to prince. In this point, we can express that he tries to reveal out rationality of power in order to warn people how much ruler can go further in their

doing. And that's exactly what Foucault tasked philosophy of understanding and detecting power and its rationality in every of its acts. As result, Machiavellianism is not developed completely different from Machiavelli's textbooks. It is sure that power is an important entity to have and he encouraged people to reveal their will to power. Especially we can argue that *Prince* is reflection of his will to power. Besides, Machiavelli saw power as something productive and advised prince to not stop before moral values that are already fictive and results of past relations of power. He proposed instead to overcome these moral issues with higher creativity. Because creativity is somehow reflection of people lust to power.

The power oriented ethics. Machiavelli is in fact conscious that moralized world covers the nature of human as well as castrate people's lust for power. That's to say that moralization of world contributes to make individual weaker than they are. Since he puts that *the man who neglects the real to study the ideal will learn how to accomplish his ruin, not his salvation* (Machiavelli, *Prince*, XV; Vatter, 1999:16). *Although Machiavelli's obsession on power is mostly interpreted as people's ambition to power.* In the meantime, we can argue that this maxim is going to be in Nietzsche's the will of power and archeology of moral as starting point. Besides, Nietzsche didn't limit the will to power to political ambition he rather sees all life as struggle for live and power. In fact, we can comment Machiavelli statements in this way too.

Besides, Machiavelli is against the concept of total domination of people. Because as Foucault put it that domination annihilates all power relations. Disappearance of relations of power is hindrance and not desired phenomenon in his thinking. Although he encourages prince all necessary measures at the expense of being considered immoral by people. Machiavelli sees the will to power and relation of power as something positive and productive as Nietzsche and Foucault. In this point, Isaiah Berlin, a political theorist said in "The Question of Machiavelli" that *"Machiavelli is possessed by a clear, intense, narrow vision of a society in which humans talents can be made to contribute to a powerful and splendid whole"* (Raymond, 2017) Struggle to power can bring humanity to a golden age like he expressed. Therefore, Machiavelli proposes an alternative moral concept that helps people to reveal their talent, creativity and strength instead of morality that castrates people's will to power (Kesgin, 2015).

3.1.1.2. Machiavelli's Power Understanding

Power is central phenomenon of all Machiavellian studies. Although, he has not a clear definition of power. It's not difficult to pull out definitions of power from his writings. We can argue that the notions that he discussed about specialty of power had been conceptualized by Hobbes, Nietzsche and Foucault. In this perspective, we are going to analysis power in Machiavellian thought.

The nature of power in Machiavelli thinking, power is a fluid term. That appears through his comments on *the theory of circulations* which he studied in his books. But the perspective that he evaluated this theory may makes us pull out a power definition. Machiavelli expressed that *“For a Monarchy readily becomes a Tyranny, an Aristocracy an Oligarchy, while a Democracy tends to degenerate into Anarchy. So that if the founder of a State should establish any one of these three forms of Government, he establishes it for a short time only* (Machiavelli, 2013: 13) power tend to be reversed by its contradictory form) since no precaution is taken by holder of power in the first place. Nevertheless, this circulation can be blocked by Prince who is conscious of the nature of politics can prevent it from sliding into its contrary, *“by reason of the close resemblance which, in this case, the virtue bears to the vice”* (Machiavelli, 2013: 13). Machiavelli believes in the technic of power as he believe power can be acquired and kept through different strategies. Thus, in Machiavelli thoughts, Power is not a stable substance and it is nobody's natural propriety. In contrast, it's fluid. The fluidity of power is later issued and by Foucault in his genealogy of power. But in Foucauldian paper, fluidness is interpreted broadly. Foucault describe power as something that flows through every atom of society.

Power appears on relationships. We can pull out another definition of power by reading comparison that Machiavelli made between different kingdoms. Its Foucault's maxim that expresses power is organized through relations. But we can argue that Foucault is also inspired by Machiavelli's papers. That is, Machiavelli's example on the types of kingdoms provide an important perspective to understand the nature of power and the benefits of multiple relations on the keeping power safe. In this perspective, Machiavelli makes a comparison between feudality in France and absolutism of sultanate in Ottomans. The latter is governed by ministers appointed by the prince, and the former are ruled by king with aristocrats who have propriety of

their territories and legitimate claim on them (Machiavelli, 1998: 81) However, King of France doesn't have an absolute power upon aristocrats that subjected to the king hierarchically. Because everyone is vassal to another in feudal system. The power is organized and appeared through relations between vassals. The king is in the highest position within this net of relation. However, there are a weaker relation between vassal in the time of peace because of no external danger and lack of communication over vassal. King is not needed in such a situation. He becomes important in the time of war as he is chosen to organize the campaign against enemy and every vassal rushes to gather under rule of king to protect themselves. Because the invasion of king's land which includes their lands means the end of their profits in the present system (Elias, 2017). The matter is that once kingdom of France is invaded; it is easy to be captured by invaders because there's no unity between them. But it's harder to keep its territory because invaders are to encounter many fractions of aristocracy who defend their territory at the expense of their death. In contrast, the country of sultan is hard to be captured but once it is invaded, it's easier to secure invaded lands. Because there's no nobles and no people who see the territory as their propriety (Machiavelli, 1998: 81). Therefore, it's a useful example to understand how power need to have counterpart for its existence how sharing of power is profitable for the stronger. We can argue that, leaders who accumulate powers in their hands can undermine their organization in the modern era. Furthermore, the failure of leader may become the dissolution of organization as it was the case for country of sultan in the meantime.

Politics as battlefield. We can describe politics as multiplicity of relations of power or as abbreviation of power relations Machiavelli is relating the politics to battlefield when he advises about technics of power. He states that

"You must know, then, that there are two methods of fighting, the one by law, the other by force: the first method is that of men, the second of beasts; but as the first method is often insufficient, one must have recourse to the second. It is therefore necessary to know well how to use both the beast and the man." (Machiavelli, 1998: 69).

In the light of this statement, there's a similarity between war and politics. The statement about the strategies of power also reminds us Hobbes and Foucault's definition of politics like war. On the other hand, law is considered as a kind of fighting. It's crucial to know what he means of law in this point. However, we can hypothesis that the word of law in Machiavelli's use can be understood as politics in

enlarged sense in this context since the word of politics has no intense frequentation at that time. Therefore, it can be said that power is target of all political battlefield.

In Machiavelli knowledge and power in dyadic relationship. Machiavelli is first to reveal the relation between power and knowledge that is going to be theorized later in Foucault's works as well as in Francis Bacon's maxim that knowledge is power. This is basic originality of Machiavelli who is trained to be adviser to princes of Italy. In his time, Italian peninsula was still a center of financial market and commerce. Although nobles still manages to keep their position. There was a dynamism in Society. Furthermore, as a state man, he had experiences about the observing how state operates in eye. That is, he had ability to analysis what's the coming move of rivals as a politician. We can explain Machiavelli's talents on politics by Hegel words. Hegel expressed that philosophy is always late to conceptualize what's happening in the present. But Machiavelli's case is contrary to this claim, indeed, he managed to see the future way of doing politics. Some says he's the precursor of modern politics. However, He's pioneer of modern state rather than being the founder of modern politics. Because his analysis implies mostly prince perspective rather than community. That's to say, he sets up society as object of knowledge. People's likes and dislikes becomes a matter of knowledge to stabilize power. Machiavelli most of time is interested in prince's struggle to power (Machiavelli, 1998). However, his publications is limited to prince point. Besides he didn't interest in making an anthropology of community He also did not give an insight on the people's thought since he didn't interest much on people's condition that makes them obey in their rulers like *contractualist* philosopher. His insights of society are not sophisticated. His main proposal is that people must be kept satisfied rather they would be dangerous for power of prince. Although he has a limited perspective on people's life, he foresaw people's importance in politics before centuries. It is trivial to say that Machiavelli was living in a period in which there's so many parties that struggles to capture some part of power in Italy which is a battlefield of external and internal powers (Yaşlı, 2016). Furthermore, there was also a struggle in individual level The social dynamic of Florence was so dynamic to yield personages who seek to have power in format of wealth, politics etc. since promotion was tolerated by cultural conventions. However, Machiavelli's analysis and political claims imply deep insight. All of them are issued and developed by political thinkers later. One said that all

philosophy is footnote to Plato. In this respect Machiavelli was first to make a hole in Plato's philosophy as he started up a new kind of thinking that aspires Hobbes, Nietzsche and Foucault later.

3.1.1.3. Technics of Power

It is possible to assert that Machiavelli's immoralism is an attempt to liberate power from everyone who monopolize it since power is not any more a holy concept. We described that power is a fluid object and something to be gained and kept. In this respect, there must be strategies and tactics to acquire and to keep power. However, Machiavelli didn't introduce a strategies and model of power as Foucault did. But it's possible to pull out technics and models of power which he proposed implicitly by reading Machiavelli's texts through Foucault's genealogy of power. Furthermore, the rhetoric of his book is always instructive. He keep giving insights to prince. The matter is that his proposals mostly includes psychological domains. In this context, first, we are going to analyze Machiavellian love and fear under the name of psycho-dynamic character of power.

Machiavelli sees two main strategy of power as love and Fear. In fact, we can argue that it's where he centralizes psycho-dynamic of power as ruling strategy. Machiavelli ask

"whether it be better to be loved than feared or feared than loved? His answer is that one should wish to be both, but, because it is difficult to unite them in one person, it is much safer to be feared than loved." (Machiavelli, 1998: 66)

Because Love and fear are both powerful motivations. Love is supposed to forge a relation of dependence or a bond of obligation. Which is in fact a weak bond since people is supposed to be selfish, on the contrary fear is to provide an unreturned obedience since it makes people be anxious about their life or propriety. That's why fear is a useful term in politics. He stated that:

"You must know, then, that there are two methods of fighting, the one by law, the other by force: the first method is that of men, the second of beasts; but as the first method is often insufficient, one must have recourse to the second. It is therefore necessary to know well how to use both the beast and the man." (Machiavelli, 1998:69)

Fear as power technic. As psychologic phenomenon, fear is considered a natural sensation. Nevertheless, philosophers like Hobbes and Nietzsche also put fear

of death is the basic element of all social formations since it's manipulated for political purposes. That's to say that what we fear of is not naturally a given phenomenon rather it is forged through social and political relations. Machiavelli expresses on his book of *Discourses*:

"Just as the observance of divine worship is the cause of the greatness of republics, so the disregard of divine worship is the cause of their ruin, because where fear of God is lacking, that kingdom must either come to ruin or be sustained through fear of a prince who makes up for the shortcomings in its religion." (Machiavelli, 2003:32)

Thus, the capacity of make people fear is a vital power strategy. But the matter is to find what makes people fear. In this case ruler is supposed to have the knowledge about people's life and to make their fear endure through different strategies as ceremonies, creating symbols.

Animating people's fear can be seen as a power technic. As Hobbes puts it that humans are equal. Besides, this equality is in fact the reason of a pertinent war in Hobbesian philosophy since the weaker people can also come together to defeat the stronger through different means. In that case, symbols and signs are needed to make power emerge and endure it among people as well as to end this penitent war. Once the fear which is source of power is created and internalized by people. It needs to be endured by the rulers. In this point, Machiavelli advises that

"Those princes or republics that wish to maintain their integrity must, above all else, maintain the integrity of their religious ceremonies, and must always hold them in veneration, because there can be no greater indication of the ruin of a state than to see a disregard for its divine worship." (Machiavelli, 2003: 33)

In fact, ceremonies are opportunity to make strength and power appear. Because the animating of myths serves people to feel fear intensively. However, the centrality of fear is going to be in Hobbesian philosophy later.

Economizing hate as power technic. In Machiavellian thinking, people is the central place. Even he has not a detailed examination of community. He roughly asserted that people's main concern is their propriety and the amount of tax they pay. Thus, Ruler wouldn't earn hate of people as much as they respect their properties and they don't increase taxes asymmetrically. Besides, Aristocrats are supposed to have permeant demands even they pays no taxes. In Machiavelli thinking, the prince is always placed between aristocrats and people. Prince's source of power can be neither

aristocrats nor people and prince is supposed to pick a partner one of them. Since people is so far numerous than aristocrats. The prince, who earns the hate of people because of his partnerships with Aristocrats would put himself in danger and his reign wouldn't last so much. But the prince who earn the support of people would overcome the resistance of aristocracy with the help of former. However, Italian peninsula was different from the rest of Europe as it has cities like Florence and Venice etc. that are the center of monetary market as well as these cities had practice of assembly rule at that time (Yaşlı, 2016). Thus, there is possibility of promotion more than the other countries. It's possible to say that Machiavelli foresaw the empowerment of people in that time.

The other generic thinking of Machiavelli is his perspective on the military matter. It is known that there was a permanent struggle between cities in Italy since cities were almost in equilibrium with each other in the result of union and pacts against each other. Besides, there was a church that profits such a permanent war to keep its hegemony. In this point, it's possible to claim that Hobbes is inspired by Machiavelli's presentation of Italy. Especially, there was also a third side that profits of the war between cities. Its mercenary armies that conduct war behalf of cities. That's to say that War was a subcontracted job to the war lords. Furthermore, professional soldiers were not supposed to fight till their death, because their life were their capital for the coming wars. In contrast, Machiavelli suggest prince to establish a kind of national army which is formed by citizens who don't hesitate to sacrifice their life. Because a soldier who feels connected to his land and his community is supposed to sacrifice his life. That's to say that soldiers must have a cause to risk their life. In fact, it's possible to assert that's where the narratives about national spirit takes its origins. Besides, we can also argue that ascetics' ideals, higher values, myths and truths are introduced to complete the formation of a possible national spirit. It's also the reason why Machiavelli choose the multitude of people over aristocrats.

Institutionalization of power as technic of power. Although his book is named prince because of his advises which are directed to rulers. His power-oriented approach to politics crushes with his ideal about unifying Italy at some point. His advises are always aimed to the princes who is going to be the author of Italian unity because he thought that even Italy has successful princes. It's not enough to stabilize the future.

Thus, there was a need to establish a system that conduct princes to govern successfully even they are not talented. He stated that:

"The salvation of a republic or a kingdom is not, therefore, merely to have a prince who governs prudently while he lives, but rather one who organizes the government in such a way that after his death it can be maintained."
(Machiavelli, 2003:11)

Thus, the solution was institutionalization which is the first requirement of modern state. But Machiavelli, who is aware of the circulation of regiment because of power's fluidity believed paradoxically in the fixing power within a political institution. It's also possible to say that Machiavelli advises rulers to establish a reason which is going to be state's one (Machiavelli, 2003).

The entire book Machiavelli task himself to advice prince for acquiring and keeping power. The power can't be existed just based on a single person. Power needs to have a net of relations to exist. It also appears in Machiavelli thoughts when he advises newly coming prince to establish his bastions in community while erasing former's one. He stated that:

"A new Prince in a City or Province of which he has taken Possession, ought to make everything new. Whosoever becomes prince of a city or State, more especially if his position be so insecure that he cannot resort to constitutional government either in the form of a republic or a monarchy, will find that the best way to preserve his principedom is to renew the whole institutions of that State; that is to say, to create new magistracies with new names, confer new powers, and employ new men, and like David when he became king, exalt the humble and depress the great, "filling the hungry with good things, and sending the rich empty away." (Machiavelli, 2003:11)

In this perspective, Machiavelli's assertion has also implication with today's politics. Since politics is reduced to leader's image and personality, it can cause the dissolve of organizations unity in the favor of leader. That's to say that there's an asymmetric balance of power between party and leader. The latter is idolized by masses. Even people identify leader with concept of super-man or Nietzsche's concept of *übermensch* in the sense of human who reveal its will to power and bring his community beyond what they have imagined. Nevertheless the concept of *übermensch* is already manipulated by National socialist party in the favor of Hitler by describing him as Führer/ guide. However, we can argue that Nietzsche would have reserve to describe and analysis leader-oriented politics of today based on term of *übermensch*. Therefore, the unbalance between leader and party can harm the application of power

in the long processes. As Machiavelli put it that a ruler needs to have partners (bastions) inside society and to create new ones if he lacks of supporters. In the same line, Foucault asserted that leviathan needs its small versions to exist. That is. if there's no rocks inside sand Leviathan is subjected to be disappeared within sand. In this perspective, the leader oriented politics can provoke a boomerang effect as he risks his party's prestige. Furthermore, the leader-oriented politics is mostly related to the populist and nationalist movements. In *Nietzschean* sense that is because of *massification* of society after modern capitalism. However, Machiavelli whose aim is to unify Italy sees an opportunity to have a strong leadership in the beginning of the unification process.

Finding remedy in History as technic of power. History is much more than a record of what happened before today. It is used as atelier to produce truths and myths for legitimating today's political institution. That's going to be issued in Nietzsche and Foucault's part about their perspectives on the concept of power later. They introduced a new methodology which is called genealogy. This model to study the past aims at understanding the dynamic of present. Its maxim is that history is not what we left behind rather it's what we live in the present. In fact, after studying Foucault's and Nietzsche in retro perspective way. We found out that Machiavelli is almost in the same line with Nietzsche and Foucault who forged genealogical approach to power. Machiavelli believed also that societies and their ancestors don't differ much since people have the same feeling and the same will to power. He expresses that *«Anyone who studies present and ancient affairs will easily see how in all cities and all peoples there still exist, and have always existed, the same desires and passions (Machiavelli, 2003: 39) .»* In this respect, sensations are the dynamo of society. That's why things are supposed to be revived. Machiavelli stated that:

“ Thus, it is an easy matter for him who carefully examines past events to foresee future events in a republic and to apply the remedies employed by the ancients, or, if old remedies cannot be found, to devise new ones based upon the similarity of the events ”. (Machiavelli, 2003: 39).

We can argue that conceptualizing history as remedy to present issues is mostly an empiricist regard to society rather than an idealist-romantic approach. At the continuation of his phrase he came with idea that

“since these matters are neglected or not understood by those who read, or, if

understood, remain unknown to those who govern, the result is that the same problems always exist in every era.'' (Machiavelli, 2003: 39)

In this point, he believes still that people is able to solve problems and to break this repetition of history towards new ones by using their mind creatively. Even people come over the current issue and establish a new kind of space. Our passions are not going to be altered. As result, this perspective about the sameness of human feelings and repetition of events makes history as a pharmacy to present issues. Nevertheless, Machiavelli who is writer of *Prince* wouldn't hesitate to advise prince to manipulate history. Although he knows that it's not a permanent remedy.

In this section, we analyzed firstly Machiavelli's *immoralism* as a break with *Platonian* tradition. After we pictured Machiavelli as starter of new kind of moral which is based on power. Secondly, we investigated how Machiavelli perceived and defined power. We tried to pull out specialties of power through reading of Foucault, Nietzsche and Hobbes. We noticed important similarities with Foucault's power analysis. However, the important part of this section is to reveal out that Machiavelli is actually precursor to make the relation between power and knowledge. Thirdly, after we studied knowledge as something fluid and not propriety of anyone. There must be technics to acquire and keep power. In this section the other important part is to see that Machiavelli introduced people's choices into politics of prince. Furthermore, Machiavelli lets us think of psycho-dynamic domain of power since people's love and hate towards rulers become decisive on the strategies to reach power. In the sum of all three part, we can express that Machiavelli inserted a new kind of political perspective between Aristotle and Plato's traditions. In fact, it is new regard that makes the effects of power be seen by thinkers. Because in philosophy as we analyzed until now power or politics have not been examined separately from moral or epistemological philosophy. Nevertheless, Machiavelli's power perspective makes us think outside of traditional philosophy. Actually, we can argue that what Machiavelli achieved is in equilibrium of Kant's Copernic revolution. Nevertheless, reductionist Machiavellian studies prevents understanding of his philosophy.

Although he has limited amount of publication. Every of his phrases is intense and can be enlarged by comments and a reading through thinker who aspired to him. As understood from its career Machiavelli was man of action rather than a thinker. Nevertheless, his career had gave him a considerable amount of experiences to

compose important books as Prince and discourse on Livy that serves to enlarge the boundaries of political philosophy (Kesgin, 2015) Machiavelli thoughts have been marginal in politics because of his supposed *immoralism*. Especially in political discourses, Machiavelli become a reference point when political rivals accuse each other's politics of being unjust and selfish. In fact that's the result of poor Machiavelli reading of political advisers or the result of misinterpretation of his books. When we dig into his teachings. It's revealed that Machiavelli cannot be reduced to the concept of political *laissez faire*. He actually proposes a new ethical understanding around power. Besides, we can argue that even he did not exclude the use of physical abuse in struggle for power. Nevertheless He wouldn't support the use of it as political tool as he proposed to capture saw the knowledge the ultimate strategy to govern as well as to keep power easily.

3.1.2. Hobbes's Political Philosophy

Hobbes is a revolutionary figure in comprehension of modern politics and inventor of modern political notions beyond his famous quote. Especially Hobbes' influence is visible on Foucault who is most quoted thinker in last decades. We can even say that Foucault made his political analysis by referring at Hobbes. He's the first power-oriented thinker since Machiavelli who saw power an affair of state-men and princes. The originality of Hobbes is to equalize power to all and to consider that ordinary people has a part of power too. That's to say that he provided the founding backdrop to the respective attempts to think power beyond sovereignty'' (Popp-Madsen, B. A., 2014). It's such as aspiring idea that Foucault's claim about omnipresence of power may take its origins from Hobbes. In plus, Foucault in the society must be defended (2003; 2004) references many times to Hobbes. Especially, we can argue that Foucault's main politics analysis is justified through referencing at Leviathan. In this perspective, we are going to analysis firstly Hobbes definition of politics which means war of all; secondly his contract vision to fix power at one point; thirdly his subject understanding implying a discussion on reason; fourthly we issue how much Hobbes prioritize sense especially fear in his philosophy. His usage of sensation are also considered as a support to our concept of psychodynamic of power. Besides, the analysis on Hobbes is going to be introduced from Foucauldian perspective.

In the very beginning of *Leviathan*, Hobbes reveals its methodology as empiricism (Hobbes, 1993; Duncan, 2019). As he is a prominent influencer to British empiricism. Nevertheless, He didn't hesitate to cross the boundaries of rationalism since the social nature coincides with the rational in the sense that it is through reason, and reasoning, that men find a way to escape their unbearable "natural" condition of war of all against all (Santi, 2011). Even so, he is clearly an empiricist thinker and his political philosophy is based on empiricist epistemology not like Locke who contradicts his philosophical base by introducing a rationalist-oriented philosophy. Hobbes is also a *contractualist* thinker, but the base of contract is not reason. Instead, sensations are prioritized through his works, the fear and especially the fear of death come in first place and that are the key of Hobbesian thought. (Hobbes, 1993) That's maybe his life had gone through civil war, asylum, fear, other kinds of danger. Hence, it's clear that he saw the life as struggle of power. His political analysis is valuable at that point. Nevertheless, that's probably that the dangers he crossed makes him think of fixing the struggle of power at some point and he introduced his contract

Hobbes's natural state is one of prominent philosophical creation. Because it lets people think what would be in absence of a sovereign power in the world. Secondly his creation introduces an important alternative to think outside of Aristotelian perspective of human as social being. (Popp-Madsen, 2014) Hobbes natural stage takes its origins from people's lust for power. This means that people are pictured in natural state as ready to use every means and have every tool to keep their life safe. Hobbes stated that:

"So that in the first place, I put for a general inclination of all mankind a perpetual and restless desire of Power after power, that ceased only in Death. And the cause of this is not always that a man hopes for a more intensive delight than he has already attained to, or that he cannot be content with a moderate power: but because he cannot assure the power and means to live well, which he hath present, without the acquisition of more (Hobbes, 1998:66)."

Indeed, it's chaos that reigns over the world, since everyone seek power and people are equal in the absence of a sovereign authority. That's to say people have not guarantees and means to keep their life safe outside of themselves. Hobbes also stated that:

"And because the condition of man . . . is a condition of war of every one against every one, in which case everyone is governed by his own reason, and there is

nothing he can make use of that may not be a help unto him in preserving his life against his enemies; it followeth that in such a condition every man has a right to everything, even to one another's body (Hobbes, 1998:86).''

Hence, politics, in natural state, is supposed to be a total war. Since everyone is naturally equal. People make their law to the extent of their force. In the meantime, the force is also not enough to make the law of stronger persist. Because people could have different strategies to absorb power of stronger. People have various skill and means to absorb power of each other. That's why the state of nature is marked off a perfect equality and war is permanent in this stage, the single reality is to survive by every means (Hobbes, 1998). It's such a war that it is a hindrance of human flourishing. Hobbes added that:

''There is no place for industry, because the fruit there of is uncertain, and consequently, no culture of the earth, no navigation, nor use of the commodities that may be imported by sea, ..., no knowledge of the face of the earth, no account of time, no arts, no letters, no society (Hobbes, 1998: 84).''

Besides, some scholars claimed that Hobbes didn't mean a hard fight or blood pool by introducing the concept of *homo homini lupus* with his nature state. As Foucault put it that

''there are no battles in Hobbes' primitive war, there is no blood and there are no corpses ... We are in a theatre where presentations are exchanged, in a relationship of fear in which there are no limits; we are not really involved in war ''(Foucault, 2003: 92).

But this war is not pertinent as long as people obey the fundamental law of nature as well as their reasons. Otherwise natural state wouldn't let people flourish and human would be always in danger and in fear. Hobbes claimed that:

''And consequently it is a precept, or general rule of reason: that every man ought to endeavor peace, as far as he has hope of obtaining it; and when he cannot obtain it, that he may seek and use all helps and advantages of war. The first branch of which rule containeth the first and fundamental law of nature, which is: to seek peace and follow it. The second, the sum of the right of nature, which is: by all means we can to defend ourselves.'' (Hobbes, 1998: 87)

The key of exit-door from natural state is human's reason. However, reason doesn't suggest us innately to seek peace in Hobbes thought. Because people seek peace to keep their life safe and secured after the experiences they had or that can be called as instinct. Hence, mind's principle has been formed in practical life. That's to say reason is formed through experiences. Then, this seeking of survival lets people

agree on basic principle to exit natural state for a civil one (Santi, 2011). Hobbes natural stage has a fin after a contract made by people. But this contract has never been signed by people and Hobbes is aware of that. It's presupposition. In contrast, the reason of contract is based on the (instinct) sense of survival, in this perspective it has also a material reason, we can think of. Moreover, Hobbes concretize it by claiming that people's silence to sovereign is proof of this contract. However, Hobbes enacts the process of contract like this: Hobbes argued that:

" I authorize and give up my right of governing myself, to this man, or to his assembly of men, on this condition, that thou that give up thy Right to him, and authorize all his actions in like manner (Hobbes, 1998: 144). "

In Hobbesian perspective, the subordination of individual rights (power) to a superior authority makes possible a unity which is target of his political doctrine. One it is done, the multitude is united in one Person, this is called a commonwealth, in Latin *civitas*. (Hobbes, 1998: 114) Nevertheless, the point is that contract is arbitrary and a fictive point. Which means unity is formed on fictive notions. As Hobbes stated:

"Accord between men is based merely on agreement, i.e. is artificial; it is not therefore surprising that something more is needed if men are to live in peace. No accord, therefore, or association [societas] based on agreement can give the security required for the practice of natural justice, without some common power to control individuals by instilling a fear of punishment. " (Hobbes, 2003:72).

However, Hobbes introduces also different way to enter civil state. War and domination of a group over another, so acquisition are also the ways to have a contract. Commonwealths can be formed in two ways: through institution, or agreement; and through acquisition, or force. In the case of invasion of a people by another folk, invaded people's indifference to their invaders is a sign of a latent agreement. Thus, invader sovereign has as much as the same right above this people's ancient ruler (Foucault, 2004). Hobbes political philosophy is indeed a project to end the English civil war which marks off his life story. Foucault says that Hobbes calls every part of civil war to forget the past. It's well known that there was a struggle between Normans and Saxons. Although Saxons are defeated by a king who is Norman decent and William the conqueror begins to rule England before centuries. Saxon never accepted to be ruled by Normandy decent invaders even they had consent in the beginning. On the contrary Normans had all aristocratic titles in the country while Saxons describe their self the owner of the land. Hence, this struggle had never end. But Hobbes in this

point, suggest people to forget the past and to gather under one rule because the civil war had just brought chaos to England. Hobbes sets his logic on the negative outputs of absence of authority. To have not authority would let us get into chaos. Hence, obedience to authority is always best choice even monarch have the power illegitimately. Foucault claims that Hobbes suggest both sides to forget about the past and end rivalry between them. Because civil war had left England vulnerable, poor and weak (Foucault, 2004). Moreover, we can argue that the idea of Hobbes held about forgetting the past and obeying a single ruling body either of king or of assembly makes him establish the base of French way nationalism which prioritizes just the consent of people in adhering people into nation and by ignoring their culture, history etc. On the other hand, we can say that he made also the way to make assimilationist politics enter into politics in the later age of modernism. Because, in the case of England, past rivalries based on cultural differences initiated a permanent war and put sovereign always in illegitimate position. In this context, assimilation was a solution in the hands of sovereign authority which foresees the cultural differences in the field would bring permanent disputes in society.

Furthermore, the concept of equal share of power in Hobbes thought is the reason of a permanent struggle. In contrast, concentration of power in one monarch or assembly put end to this power struggle. Thus, oneness in his perspective is an obsessed phenomenon. its principle of authority as well as it is considered the source of law since authority, which is formed based on accumulated powers has a coercive force to apply the law agreed on contract. Furthermore, the concept of unity or oneness have been always a useful tool for politician. Firstly, Hobbesian contract served monarchies to legitimate establishing a full control of their influencing areas and to eradicate feudal formations in that time. Thus, in that manner, he also contributed to development of modern state. In addition, in modern political scene unity is also a political principle. Every political parties want to monopolize the concept of unity by showing their self to represent the entire society. This obsession of unity is going to show itself as general will in Rousseau later.

After we re-think Hobbes with Nietzsche and Foucault readings. We can argue that contract is also a tool of this permanent war since the agreement between people is artificial. Contract has become a signifier to stop all political struggle in profit of

whom are in powerful position by calling it law or constitution, public opinion, consent. The supposed existence of a contract paved the way to stabilize politics by technic of consent producing later in modern period. Foucault stated that:

“Therefore, there are no qualitative difference between the state of nature and the state of society, as the same logics govern the two states: „It doesn’t matter whether you fought or did not fight, whether you been beaten or not; in any case, the mechanism that applies to you who have been defeated is the same mechanism that we find in the state of nature, and in the constitution of the state (Foucault, 2003: 97).”

Foucault’s claim alludes to individual case after and before of contract. In each case, individual is to counter a possible danger. In civil state, the danger is even bigger than before from the time when a Leviathan rises. Because the fear of punishment in the case of contradiction of law makes people fear of it. Nevertheless, people were supposed to be safe as long as they obey law. On the contrary the individual rivalries are supposed to decrease but it’s not the case since people takes measures against each other permanently. Even there’s no material difference between two stages. We can argue that it’s perception which make the difference or makes the sovereign reign over the subject who perceives their power is gone in the favor of ruler. In this case, power or sovereignty are a matter of perception or psychology. Furthermore, the psychologic aspect of power in modern times has even bigger influence since major media outlets use technics of manipulation (Chomsky, 2014). These outlets have power to simulate an existence of consent or public opinion. Producing consent on hardware is less needed than before.

The originality of Hobbes philosophy lays at his natural state concept in which “*All is against all*” (Hobbes, 1998: 96). We can make a little emphasis on this claim that war is seen like game of strategies rather than fighting for death of another. (Foucault, 2004) In this sense, Hobbes’ analogy fits well the modern kind of relations. Furthermore, He is discoverer of power struggle between people since he defined relation between people as power struggle. Nevertheless, he saw power as a negative phenomenon. It’s the source of endless fighting. Even he justifies himself based on the existence of a natural law. We can argue that he had built up a philosophy against this nature of human or his concept of fear made him think that people would stop their struggle in one point for keeping their life secured (Hobbes, 1993). We can add that that’s also a hypothetical point since people sacrifice their self in some purposes for

centuries. Because, he is unable to justify any case of self-sacrifice on the basis of natural right alone. “*Individuals can -and, if rational, always will- reclaim their natural independence whenever they fear for their continued safety and self-interest* (Masters, 1989:174; Nicole, 2017). That’s sure that it contradicts the law of nature put by Hobbes who refuses to subject people to death because it contradicts natural law.

In his thinking Contract is irreversible. Because after contract is made; nobody can get out of it. Hobbes would say that someone who breaks a covenant “*can in reason expect no other means of safety than what can be had from his own single power.*” (Hobbes, 1998: 97). To be alone is to be in state of nature as well as being alone means being left to die. In this manner, the contract has an imposing character and it has similarity with Foucauldian discourse which is also supposed to marginalize people who are in contradiction with it. A marginalized person even he has right to live in modern times, he’s devoid of civil rights, which means almost a civil death. Therefore, Hobbesian contract can be classified a primitive version of Foucauldian discourse. Because since contract is a fictive phenomenon and nobody know where contract is signed. As a result, it’s imposed by groups that are in the position of power to stop power struggle of the dissent groups. Then, politics is fueled with signifiers of contract that’s especially law, public opinion and society it-self. In the same time everyone who contradict contract is externalized from society for breaking law or social codes.

Another of original perspectives, he introduced in political philosophy is to alter the axis of political legitimation. The contract of Hobbes let people think of different legitimation strategies. The base of legitimation is switched to earth from sky, since he tried to make science of man and politics. Hobbes tried to understand human by his nature and his emotions as well as he tried to understand society by its constituents (individual). His main proposal is to end a civil war which is sourced and legitimized by traditional customs and religion through which human is subject to die. Since death in war is an honor according to these cultural and religious customs. But in Hobbes perspective. Seeking death out of nature was in contradiction with natural law. Therefore, he set his perspective to keep human life safe by understanding his nature. Through study of human nature he tried to build a political philosophy which is in accordance with natural law (Chadelat, 2014) in this perspective, Hobbes is

considered the founder of modern political science as well as modern state. In addition, some name him as precursor of bio-power concept because of his prioritizing life versus death (Popp-Madsen, 2014).

It's well known that state of nature is a model to justify his actual political doctrine on absolute monarchy. In the same time, we can argue that it implies the notion of progress. Because Hobbes describes the state nature as follow, Hobbes stated that:

“ there is no place for industry, because the fruit there of is uncertain, and consequently, no culture of the earth, no navigation, nor use of the commodities that may be imported by sea, ..., no knowledge of the face of the earth, no account of time, no arts, no letters, no society“ (Hobbes, 1998: 84)

Briefly *the life of human in natural state is and the life of man, solitary, poor, nasty, brutish, and short*” (Hobbes, 1998:84). On the contrary civil state is defined as follow. *“The liberty to buy, and sell, and otherwise contract with one another; to choose their own abode, their own diet, their own trade of life* (Hobbes, 1998; 141).” The definition is mostly based on economic aspect of life. But it's well known that feudal rivalry was a permanent hindrance to development of trade capitalism. Hence, civil stage is justified as developed stage than previous one. Furthermore, the dichotomy used by Hobbes has its place in our today's political discourses. Its strategy that previous political or historical periods are mostly described as the state of nature which implies all badness. On the contrary, the present period is described like a golden age.

On the other hand, his definition of human in civil state is mostly unknown because Hobbes famous *homo homini lupus* is always pulled out from its context. In the further part of this statement, Hobbes added that after the contract between humans is done, human is god for human (Manon, 2018). It's mostly unknown part of the former. Because, man on his own is a destitute, being incapable of ensuring his subsistence and promoting the conditions of his own humanity on the other hand by his insertion in a society and in a system of division of labor and exchange that the man manages, thanks to the other, to live a life free of his vital needs. Everyone's efforts thus contribute, to the prosperity of all, regardless of the field, considered as a man with great skill and demanding professional experience is always a god for those who call on his services. Man is to accomplish his humanity in civil state (Manon,

2018). Since life with others requires the development of qualities by which men approach to have a nature similar to god. On the other hand, the arrangement of relations between humans is also important to prevent any initiation of civil war which endangers sovereign authority. In this perspective, Hobbes calls people “*Do not that to another, which thou wouldst not have done to yourself.*” (Hobbes, 1998: 180) Which is identified with Kant philosophy later.

Therefore, we can argue that where moral philosophy of Hobbes starts is in the point of contract done. In this perspective, his morality firstly aims to protect civil state safe, and prevent any setbacks. Thus, obedience become a virtue in all condition. Because every kind of tyranny is preferable to natural state. Because even the tyranny as a form of government is supposed to have a kind of unity. Hence, resisting against tyranny is also a danger to dissolve this unity. Hobbes put it “*For what is it to divide the power of a commonwealth, but to dissolve it; for powers divided mutually destroy each other*” (Hobbes, 1998: 216). Authority is for interest of all since it guarantees commonwealth even it limits people’s freedom (Çoban and Balcı, 2020) In this case, giving consent to sovereignty and ruler is an imperative. Hence, Hobbes morality doesn’t take its origins from a platonic rationalist point and the concept of God. In contrast he bases his moral understanding preserving the life we have now rather seeking an immortal life after death. In this perspective, ethics is not a kind of transcendental matter or divine affaire. Ethics is linked to preserve life and improve it. Furthermore, Hobbes, as Machiavelli, refuses to reduce politics to ethics instead politics is formatted to meet the needs of human by considering his specialties. In this matter, it’s another point of bio power in his philosophy.

3.1.2.1. Hobbes’s Subject Perspective (Nature of Human)

Hobbesian subject analysis, Hobbes has his own methodology which lets him see society is not a natural unity but composed by atomistic parties moving disorderly. Although Hobbes did not consistently describe his philosophical methodology, “most scholars agree that he used a “*resolutive-compositive*” method. According to this method, one comes to understand a given object of inquiry by intellectually “*resolving*” it into its constituent parts and then subsequently “*composing*” it back into a whole (Finn, 2020).” For Hobbes, such a process may be used when investigating a natural body (such as a chair or a man), an abstract body (such as a circle), or a

political body (such as a commonwealth). Hence, to use Hobbes's example, one can intellectually resolve the idea of a human being into the following ideas: "rational," "animated," and "body."

After he used his method and divided society to its elements. He developed a doctrine which aims to unit all elements in oneness in the persona of Leviathan. It's possible to say that the history of subject begins with contract. Before contract there was humans living on their (selfish) nature without forming a social body.

His subject perspective, Hobbes, by inviting people to subordinate their rights to single man or assembly, indeed he subjects them to an authority. Thus, obedience become the source of *subjectivation* of people. In this perspective Foucault's idea that there is no subject without power has its meaning. Hobbes' famous statement is that *homo homini lupus* reveals that human in natural state has another nature than civil state. They cannot be subject since people has nothing else outside of their self to rely on. Nevertheless, humans are rivals to each other. And this rivalry is justified by the concept of will to life (survival) by which Hobbes bases his dogma (about selfishness of human) with materialistic points. However, in Rousseau natural state, nature is able to give people necessary materials for their survival so there's no rivalry before civil state. In this point, it's also another Hobbesian dogma since we don't know the conditions of nature puts people in struggle. On the other hand, his famous statement is also contradictory with his philosophy as he's is from empiricist school which claims that human is product of his environment. That's why he is strongly criticized by J.J. Rousseau who see goodness in human nature, but this is corrupted after he enters into civil stage. Hence, human can be good or not but this is not determined by birth rather it is formed through social relations that they have. Because good and bad are formed socially. These concepts are already relational term in Rousseau and in other philosophical school too. However we can argue that it's a dogma since Rousseau asserted that there's no concept of good and bad in natural state because good and bad are arbitrary concepts based on human relations as well as human is not supposed to have strict relation in non-civilian stage. Hence, we can argue that Hobbes totalizes his human perspective by an hypothesis supported by his natural law theory and tried to build his philosophy upon a semi rationalistic claim. His famous statement is the most quoted one in academics and non-academic papers as well as in daily language. It's

taken out from its depth and used in the entire world to justify discourse on law and security or selfish desire of people.

Contract in Hobbes thinking is the base of all civil life and *subjectivation* of people. The phenomenon of contract needs to be analyzed separately on the matter of subject. Contract is a turning point in human life because after contract nobody are the same. Because subordination to single authority makes people have another life which they are not used to and is not their nature (Popp-Madsen, 2014). Since the contract is the result of agreement between people. To achieve the peace, people build together a leviathan which is an artificial character/ person. At the end, even its existence is fictive, its effect on practical life is real.

However, natural persons can also be turned into artificial one or into subject after a leviathan is established all together (Popp-Madsen, B. A., 2014). Because leviathan is effective on defining 'truth' knowledge as much as it dominates people. In Hobbesian thought, the sovereign is the foundation of all true knowledge (Spark Notes Editors, 2005). It's become the metric of knowledge since Leviathan takes over; and subjected people to itself. To protect the contract for preventing any step back to natural state, sovereign has rights to dictate a law to his subject. Hobbes stated that:

"It belonged therefore to him that hath the Sovereign Power, to be Judge, or constitute-all Judges of Opinions and Doctrines, as a thing necessary to Peace; thereby to prevent Discord and Civil Ware. Seventhly, is annexed to the Sovereignty, the whole The power of prescribing the Rules, whereby every man may Right know, what Goods he may enjoy, and what Actions he may doe, without being molested by any of his fellow (Hobbes, 1998: 118-119)"

Contract is to be secured by all means. It requires a permanent *subjectivation* of people not just by force also by defining a social code, law or ethics. Hence, the contract persistence relies on artificial authority (leviathan) as much as an artificial person. The contract required by the most fundamental law of nature is forged and entered into by all persons. These persons can be divided into two categories: "natural persons" and "artificial persons." Natural persons are those whose words are their own, whereas artificial persons are those whose words are those of another. (Hobbes, 1998: 106). Nevertheless, the existence of natural person is doubtful since everyone is subject to single authority and objected to *subjectivation* by authority. We can argue that the relation between knowledge and power are also considered in Hobbes perspective in that point. However, Knowledge is resumed to law as respect to Foucauldian sovereign

power model. Nevertheless, Foucault's claim about power's strategies to govern people and subjected them by its relations with knowledge generating parties and his critics about artificialness of subject has similarity with Hobbes.

Furthermore, Hobbes uses a kind of methodology which is called as *resolutive-compositive* method. After he divided society into its constituents and analyzed the way society is formed. This time, he analyzed human by its components to understand his nature. Since in Hobbes thought politics is not considered by transcendental formations, he bases his philosophy on human nature. (Finn, 2020.) Hence, this methodology is also applicable to analysis human being. Hobbes, in *Leviathan*, analysis all human faculties one by one. He examines mind, sensations by their components. This kind of analysis permits us indeed to see how subject is an artificial phenomenon and what's the dynamic notions of human which makes him seek power or fear of all. In this perspective Hobbes is interested in psychological domain of human.

Hobbes' conception of mind is so explicit and permit us to see clearly how a subject can be formed through language. In *Leviathan*, Hobbes (Leviathan, 1993) says that the Ancient Greeks have a single word to describe the mind and language. This word is: Logos. Hobbes attributes this to a tight relation between mind and language. Namely, he claims that without language there cannot be a phenomenon that can be called mind. Because words, as building blocks of language, are signs that allow us to think. Furthermore, Hobbes stated that:

"Language is an invented technology, not a natural inheritance, according to Hobbes, and it is a technology that transformed our kind, introducing a deep cleavage between us and otherwise comparable animals" (Pettit, 2009: 2; Nicole, 2017).

Since mind has language think on. The language can become where manipulation occurs. This manipulation is a key point to get people dominated in result of difference produced by language. In this point the supposed cleavage between people's thinking is to show artificial structure of mind. Beside reason is just a process of addition and subtraction and doesn't have an innate notions or knowledge in itself. In this point Nietzsche would say we are stuck with language. Hobbes also stated that:

'When a man Reasoneth, he does nothing else but conceive a summe totall, from Addition of parcels; or conceive a remainder, from Substraction of one summe

from another: which (if it be done by Words,) is conceiving of the consequence from the names of all the parts, to the name of the whole; or from the names of the whole and one part, to the name of the other part. [...] In sum, in what matter soever there is place for addition and subtraction, there also is place for Reason; and where these have no place, there Reason has nothing at all to do (Hobbes, 1998: 27)''

People who do not have these signs or symbols will not have materials to process or to reason. According to him, knowing words will not be enough to think 'logically'. It is also necessary to master the accommodative meanings of words. In this point the question is that who fix the meaning. Furthermore, we can argue that as empiricist thinker, Hobbes is almost in the same point with David Hume who claims that reason is nothing but a machine of strategy working on the accumulated experiences. The mind is just a tool of addition and subtraction of experiences and things. In this manner Hobbes in Leviathan is issuing that mind is open to be manipulated. That's to say that a person who knows the meaning of words as 'wrong', can still reason. But this reasoning can lead him to wrong (out of social consensus space) conclusions. *'The first cause of absurd conclusions I ascribe to the want of Method; in that they begin not their Ratiocination from Definitions; that is, from settled significations of their words : as if they could cast account, without knowing the value of numeral words, one, two, and three (Hobbes, 1998: 30).''* (For example, if a person learns the number 2 as five or voices it as five, the same person can answer it as 10 if we ask him a question like " $2 + 2 = ?$ ". This is actually not an unreasonable result within his logic, his answer is correct within his knowledge/ logic and consistent in itself.) As well as words are no different from numbers. Both groups are tools that enable us to think. *"The mind is the process of adding and subtracting them."* (Hobbes, 1998:27). Hence, we can say that the mind, which is supposed to be base of the self can be easily manipulated. We can argue that it would be a response to rationalist school which claims that sensation can be manipulated. In fact, mind can be wrong as much as sensations after we studied Hobbes deduction.

3.1.2.2. Hobbesian Fear as First Cause of Society

First cause or first mover is largely debated in philosophy. Rationalist school's answer to that is always mind on account of God. In empiricist school David Hume's response is that we cannot know the first cause. Hence, the task of philosophy is not to find it but to reveal the relation between phenomenon otherwise we would be stuck

in rationalism. Hobbes's originality is to think epistemology by considering authority or power. He sided with empiricist school's claim about impossibility of universal knowledge, but he thought that knowledge can be universalized also through the usage of power. Epistemic universality appears most of the time as a voluntarist creation of the sovereign: only the sovereign can sanction what is good and bad; just and unjust beyond the mere confronted preferences of private individuals (Nicole, 2017). Nevertheless, Hobbes, who is member of empiricism, would answer such the question about the first cause by fear. The role of fear in Hobbesian philosophy is so that he already said "*I*" and "*Fear*" born as twins. (Adams, 2007) Furthermore, the inclination of fear as concept into political philosophy in Hobbes makes us discuss about psychological domain of his philosophy. Hobbes in *Leviathan* defines all possible sensation one by one. Fear defined such as *Aversion, with opinion of Hurt from the object* (Hobbes, 1998:36). He adds further a social dimension to fear by calling it (*terror panique*):

"Fear, without the apprehension of why, or what, whereas in truth there is always in him that so fear the, first, some apprehension of the cause, though the rest run away by example; every one supposing his fellow to know why. And therefore, this Passion happens to no one but in a throng, or multitude of people (Hobbes, 1998:38)."

According to Hobbes, fear is a forceful sensation because it might occur even in the absence of object. Hobbes stated that:

"of things we know not at all, or believe not to be, we can have no further Desire, than to taste and try. But Aversion we have for things, not only which we know have hurt us; but also, that we do not know whether they will hurt us, or not (Hobbes, 1998: 34)."

However, Hobbes puts two categories people are fear of. first, as people is inclined to fear from unknown objects; one, The Power of Spirits Invisible; the other, as man is wolf for man, The Power of those men they shall therein Offend. Of these two, though the former be the greater Power, yet the fear of the later is commonly the greater Fear (Hobbes, 1998: 94). Even the power of spirituality has a greater power, the presence of humans with each other might cause greater fear to each other. Since human has means to absorb power of other, the power of men can be tolerated in some circumstances. On the contrary Spirituality has always power on human being. The possibility to provoke fear in people can turn into power in the hands of some or a collective fear can turn into an agreement between people Furthermore, the origin of

large and lasting societies lay not in mutual human benevolence, but in men's mutual fear" (Hobbes, 2003: 24). The fear as seen the base of civil society. People have a contract to overcome the fear of death. As Hobbes puts it in Chapter 13: especially "Fear of Death" (Lev. XIII.9) is one of the passions that "*incline men to Peace* (Michael, 2011)." Again as to him, "*Fear is also productive in sense that it's the reason of "all the kingdoms of the world [...] proceed from the consent of people, either for fear or hope"*" (Mastnak, 2012). Since the mutual fear yields a civil society. We can problematize who are going to take over society. In this point, we can refer to Hegelian servant-master dialect (who put his life at risk of death much than others become master) so, we can hypothesis that in Hobbesian natural state, there are people who discovered use of fear as a technic over the rest. Hence, they become rulers and imposed a contract to people. The contract is done either of consent or force. It doesn't matter what's option since both implies fear as a tool.

Moreover, reverse of fear of death can be translated as will to survive. The concept of survival translated in Nietzsche as a will to power. Machiavelli and Foucault also have positive connotation of power. However, fear of death is the reason of rejection of people from their lust to power. Hence, this passion is pacified through the concept of death. The reason why Hobbes focus on negativity of power, maybe, is his life story. The others had not envisaged death as much as him. Nevertheless, fear has impact so much on human decision making. Fear, by appeasing the lust to power of people become a technic of power.

Fear, as a strategy of power requires objects to provoke fear. Foucault by referring to Hobbes says that, if there were major differences, indeed there were obviously irreparable divisions between people that were visible and evident, obviously the war would be blocked immediately for that reason. (Foucault, 2004: 100) since all human are equal in natural state and that's equality is supposed to be perfect, power is dispersed, and fear is also mutually shared between people. Nevertheless, when the dialectics yields rulers. Rulers masters on fear to enlarge their power towards all community by making their power visible through producing symbols. In that point, we observe the use of psycho-dynamic dimension of power. But Foucault hadn't issued the psychic aspect of power in his works. Even his power analysis recalls always a psychic aspect of power. Beside in genealogy of power

Foucault places Hobbes as author of *juridico-discursive* model. He expresses that the single power technic of this model is to have saying over life of subject. That's to say, sending people to death or forgive their life. Fear of death is used as means but keeping that fear present and making people feel death close to them all the time is a bigger technic than sending people to death. In result, that's missing point in Foucault power analysis. Fear has also productive sides in Hobbes, Hobbes stated on the fear in the format of (that):

"Anxiety for the future time disposes men to inquire into the causes of things: because the knowledge of them, make the men the better able to order the present to their best advantage" (Hobbes 1998: 70)

In this point, the concept of future worth being analyzed as it become a source of anxiety. In modern time, especially after industrial capitalism took over. The concept of time turn into obsession. The technology of production is improved in a way which reduces time of production so on. This obsession over time is not just about production it had impact over human too. Thus, human's life is divided into periods of times. In each period they are supposed to reach given targets. In the case of unsuccessfulness at reaching target or having given proprieties people is supposed to be in a marginal position according to social codes (discourse) which setting target for individual. Briefly, time has become an obsessed phenomenon. Therefore, we can argue that the future is a common notion in all political discourse. Modern human is supposed to consider the future in his every act. This becomes like a priori notion. Whoever forget about future and act without thinking future is considered insane by society. Because such a person lack of strategical thinking. However, future become a fear generating mechanism as it causes anxiety. In our modern world, anxiety is a trend psychological disease. Hence, we can say that the fear of death is replaced by fear of future in format of anxiety since powers have abilities to stabilize or to destabilize the future of individual by different means. It's possible to say that anxiety is provoked and become a new technic of power. In this point, Kantian subject critics by Foucault worth being re-read.

On the other hand, Hobbes natural stage concept is a rich mine for social sciences, even Freud's concept of child development and Later Lacan concept of symbolic stage have similarities with passage from natural one to civil one in Hobbesian thought. In Psycho-dynamic theorem, child is supposed to have selfish

nature. But the point where child understand the world separated by him or her through an external power which is mostly to be father. He obeys this external power in result of fear of castration and accept the rules dictated to him. Hence, child becomes a member of society. This is almost similar mechanism works in passage to civil state in Hobbes imagination. People give up their rights to free their-self from fear of death and become subject of Leviathan (Marinoff, 2019).

In in this section, we have analyzed Hobbes philosophy through a Foucauldian perspective. We saw how much that Foucault was inspired by Leviathan. We issued Hobbes political inventions through his famous concept of natural state which let people think power and authority outside of *Platonian-Aristotelian* perspective. Furthermore, we tied to lie his philosophy to modern political issue. In second part, we focused on Hobbesian subject understanding. In fact, his teaching on subject is revolutionary as much as Kantian Copernican revolution by attributing power to ordinary individual. Besides, we allude to the source of *subjectivation* of people through power and liaison with Hobbesian power- subject and discourse analysis. In third part, we analyzed Hobbesian fear as first cause of society. In addition, we took his emphasis on fear to be the begging of psychological analysis of politics and psychological aspect of power.

3.1.3. Nietzschean Philosophy

Nietzschean philosophy is an attempt to see the world as it is since he believes that the moral world is a full construction of human reason against the nature. In *Nietzschean* thought, the concepts of truth, unity, oneness, moral, religion are pure fictive concepts which are generated by the faculties of mind. Nietzsche stated that:

“Verily, men have given themselves all their good and evil. Verily, they haven’t taken it, they haven’t found it, it hasn’t fallen onto them as a voice from the sky. Values have only been put by man into the things, in order to preserve themselves, – only man has created meaning, a human meaning! This is why he calls himself ‘man’, this is: the valuator (Nietzsche, 2006a: 43)”

In fact, Nietzsche supported his claims in a genealogical method, he found the origins of these artificial concepts in *Platonian* philosophy which bases also monotheist religions. In this respect, he has the method of genealogy. Which is a research method to reveal the construction process of what we see natural through historical or philological examination. Furthermore, the general assumption on the

Nietzschean perspective about truth is that Nietzsche is totally against the concept of truth, which is a partly true claim. Because he mostly disagrees with the concept of general truths or the generalization of local truths which appear in a specific point in the flow of time for a while after disappear, since generalization requires some level of artificiality. This ends up in creating a metaphysical dimension. Nietzsche also appears to be a sceptic about *nomic-determinism* based on his professed skepticism about the laws of nature (Leiter, 2019). He stands in a position close to David Hume and his skepticism. However, Nietzsche's philosophy is crucial for understanding post-modern philosophy. Nietzsche is also considered as the precursor of important psychological theories that is why Nietzsche has place in this part. Therefore, in this section, we are going to analysis firstly the origins of morality and the genealogical approach to reveal its artificiality, which is sourced by Platonic tradition. The concept of morality is so crucial in his philosophy since the world is ordered like a moral system, which prevent flourishing of human. Secondly, we go through the concept of the will to power, that is the source of every part of life. This concept secures Nietzsche from falling into pure nihilism. The will to power is kind of a different ethics which is not designated to control individual or to give a meaning theirs action, instead it suggest people to bear life as it's, as well as to not obey what he considered as heard. Besides, the will to power cannot be thought without the concept of *übermensch*. Thirdly, we are going to see the psychological analysis of Nietzsche as the base of morality, and how human who has a poor psyche mechanism at the beginning, is donated by complex psychic mechanism through morality. Beside the role of ascetic ideals are also issued because of their supposed stress capacity over individual.

3.1.3.1. Nietzsche's Genealogy of Moral

Genealogy is a research model to reveal out the process of production of the notions are supposed to be natural. In this respect, Nietzsche thought that morality is nothing but a human production like ideologies. Thus, he tries to reveal out the construction process of morality. He saw the origin of morality as fear like Hobbes who puts it in *Leviathan* that the contract is caused by fear of death primarily. Nietzsche had also a similar claim that people developed artificial notions, stories, tale, morality etc. to overcome the weakness they feel inside as well as their anxieties about unpredictability of life which is supposed to be tough for human being. (Emden, 2013)

The life is considered mostly tough in the absence of immortality. Although human has never had a science which can make him live forever. The question of death has not been resolved in the boundaries of possible knowledge. It's supposed that life was a banal case for human as long as we mean to die without of having a life after death. Thus, the fear is resolved in creating stories about a possible life we are supposed to have after death (Şengör, 2001). Nietzsche says roughly that it is a lie we constructed world upon it. Hence, in *Nietzschean* perspective, this is the weakness of man which is the responsible of this artificial world. Because human is not able to bear the tough reality of world. In this point, the reality is nothing but the bunch of concepts that we value and stories that we let shape our life. They are indeed meaningless, priceless outside of the human relations. That is, death coldness is warmed by stories about post-life order stories. In fact, it's also possible to say the opposite. The will to live is also responsible of this fear. Nevertheless, this will to live is corrupted by objecting it to meta-physical teaching.

In this point, Nietzsche's struggle is to secure life which is excluded by *Platonian* tradition. Thus, his work is also considered as an attempt to reverse Platonism (Heidegger, 2001). In this respect, Nietzsche is labelled as the philosopher of life. His proposal is to comprehend life by no filter, stories, doctrines or any teaching instead by itself and experiences (Şengör, 2001). Life is a kind of becoming rather than being. That's to say that life cannot be fixed in a specific point. This would contradict the essence of life. Nietzsche stated that:

“There is no ‘being’ behind the deed, its effect and what becomes of it; ‘the doer’ is invented as an afterthought, – the doing is everything.” (Nietzsche, 2006b: 26)

In fact, his purpose on living style is simply to be in accordance with natural law. This means living the nature with its realities by not adding anything additional to it like doctrines, morality, law and ideologies. To comment life by fixed terms or perspective means subjecting the becoming to some phenomenon or a kind of phenomenological teaching outside of its reality. Indeed, it's possible to say that commenting the life with a phenomenological notions causes some sort of alienation to what we really experience. That's to say that Nietzsche is an opponent of rationalist philosophical outputs. Because Plato's world of idea or Kant's phenomenological world subject individual to have a consistency with their practical life and these artificial notions (Heidegger, 2001). It's possible to say that the emerging of concept

of individual In Descartes and Kant papers are the reflection of social economical needs of emerging capitalism and state-nation later. As told before, fluidity of human behavior and thinking are tried to be concentrated in some point to make capitalism secured, as capitalist relations need to have concreteness and certainty in every matter.

However, the one of important critics of Nietzsche towards Plato is that his concept of *world of ideas* that made the life a sort of exam since the other world is introduced to us. Because to comment life based on the teachings makes us consider the consistency with what we live. Thus, it orients us to develop some sort of ethical perspective. That's also where *Socrates' unexamined life doesn't worth living* stands. In this point, the question is that what the criteria of such an examination is. Thus, ethics become a sort of criteria. And the second question can be asked that whose ethics? Nietzsche answers that since Platonism took over the philosophical world and supplied the monotheist religion with its concept. The response is the world of ideas to the second question since we live in the world of shadows. The good is to be in accordance as much as possible with the world of ideas. Therefore, the world we live become meaningless as well as it turned into the processes of examination. As a result, life is excluded. In contrast, Nietzsche's respond to Plato's theory of ideas implicitly in Zarathustra by his aphorism that "*noon; moment of the shortest shadow; end of the longest mistake; high point of humanity*" That's to say that he refuses the word of ideas as well as every concept belonging to it. And he claims that there's just one world. That's the world of life.

In *Nietzschean* perspective, from Plato to Kant and Hegel the world had become obsessed with moral values. For Nietzsche, these are, "*genuine philosophers*" (BGEi 211) *are those who create or "legislate" values, in contrast to those "philosophical laborers"*—Nietzsche names Kant and Hegel as exemplary cases—who simply "*press into formulas...some big set of valuations—that is, former positings of values, creations of value which have become dominant and are for a time called 'truths'*" (BGE, 211; Leiter, 2019). Philosophy become a milieu of value fabrication that contradict the nature of life. Therefore, this inflation of truths initiated conflict of values or let's say a nihilism. Nietzsche believed that the process of moralizing the world and life on the fictive notion are boomeranged to itself or let's say backfired. This multitude of values was the very reason of nihilism which is not

refusal of life but the moral life (Deleuze, 2001). In contrast, Nietzsche express that philosophy is not mechanism to construct and product truths instead is work of solving problems of life (Aruoba, 2001: 268)

Nietzsche would predict that after him, nihilism would take over the world and his prediction come true partly since nihilism has influenced firstly literature realm in Western Europe (Emden, 2013). However, the age we are going through is not a nihilist age but it's an age charged with inflation of morals which makes people be *moveless* or dispute in themselves. Nevertheless, Nietzsche that this multitude of morals or moralizing the life yields a sort of nihilism (Deleuze, 2001; Safa, 2001). However, this nothingness (it is according to Nietzsche morality), which is attributed to moral values, is needed by masses. Moral values are pictured like depressants to people who are sickened by moralism itself. If all modern political concepts like the value of society, unity, public interest, homeland, herd psychology are detached by people's mind. Masses wouldn't bear the reality as it's. Nietzsche also stated that:

“What has happened, at bottom? The feeling of valuelessness was reached with the realization that the overall character of existence may not be interpreted by means of the concept of “aim,” the concept of “unity,” or the concept of “truth.” Existence has no goal or end; any comprehensive unity in the plurality of events is lacking: the character of existence is not “true,” is false. One simply lacks any reason for convincing oneself that there is a true world. Briefly: the categories “aim,” “unity,” “being” which we used to project some value into the world — we pull out again; so the world looks valueless” (Nietzsche, 1968:13).

Morality is some sort of escape from the though reality of life. (Edelman, 2001:58) That is why promises in politics are always needed. In this respect, the success of politicians is not measured to their material achievements but their abilities to endure the illusion as far as economy is a study of managing limited sources in the propose of happiness of maximum number.

In this point, Nietzsche thought that if people's awareness rises and they become aware of artificiality of concepts they fallow blindly, they would turn into nihilist. Nietzsche claimed on this that:

“ Given these two insights, that becoming has no goal and that underneath all becoming there is no grand unity in which the individual could immerse himself completely as in an element of supreme value, an escape remains: to pass sentence on this whole world of becoming as a deception and to invent a world beyond it, a true world. But as soon as man finds out how that world is fabricated solely from psychological needs, and how he has absolutely no right to it, the last

form of nihilism comes into being: it includes disbelief in any metaphysical world and forbids itself any belief in a true world. Having reached this standpoint, one grants the reality of becoming as the only reality, forbids oneself every kind of clandestine access to after worlds and false divinities — but cannot endure this world though one does not want to deny it (Nietzsche, 1968: 13).''

In this case, his will to power shows itself to erase traditional moral in the favor of a nihilism which is a new kind of morality which is going to replace modern morality fueled by capital and state needs. Nevertheless, Nihilism is not supposed to be a permeant stage in life, it's just a temporary process in the awake of people's awareness of artificiality and meaningfulness of moral life (Emden, 2013). In that point, Nietzsche needed to have a methodology to show people how moral understanding developed through historical period for breaking the narrative on naturalness of moral values.

Genealogy of Morality: Genealogy in philosophy is a *Nietzschean* method which is based on his philological and historical insights. It's an attempt to see the relation between power and language and theirs influences on the formation of knowledge. In this respect, Genealogy implies hermeneutical analysis of historical texts. Genealogy's point of depart is that phenomenon which appear to be natural or truthful are actually fictive concepts forged through psychological needs of human and later manipulated by power relations. Another claim of genealogy is that powers set individual on certain mode of existence through these moral artificial concepts which are supposed to be natural. Because in the boundaries of a moralizing discourse what's considered as truth subjects individual to act in accordance with it. Since, truth brings itself into existence through an ideal. A truth couldn't have an existence without introducing an ideal to be reached by individual. That's to say, people is re-produced or subjected to power through the usage of the concept of truth or ascetic ideal. In this manner, genealogy is also a work of revealing the mode of individual existence through an anti-realist, anti-dialectical attitude (Molina, 2010). Furthermore, Genealogy aims at revealing how the political legitimation strategies is produced through re-production of history and it aims at answering how is culture evolved through historical periods (Emden, 2013).

Therefore, Nietzsche uses his genealogy on moral to reveal how our present moral understanding is shaped. In the first essays of the book through the assistance of his philological background he set himself to examine the etymology of moral terms

as the word of good and bad and their connotation in each epoch. Nietzsche also stated that:

‘I think I can interpret the Latin bonus¹⁸ as ‘the “warrior” ’: providing I am correct in tracing bonus back to an older duonus (compare bellum¹⁹ = duellum = duenlum, which seems to me to contain that duonus). Therefore bonus as a man of war, of division (duo), as warrior: one can see what made up a man’s ‘goodness’ in ancient Rome. Take our German ‘gut’: does it not mean ‘the godlike man’, the man ‘of godlike race’? And is it not identical with the popular (originally noble), name of the Goths? The grounds for this supposition will not be gone into here (Nietzsche, 2006: 15).’

He reveals out that monotheist faith had reversed their meaning in a sense which alienated human from his nature. It’s so that force and power are sanctified from society while weakness and humility are blessed. Nietzsche also stated that:

“The history of mankind would be far too stupid a thing if it had not had the intellect [Geist] of the powerless injected into it: — let us take the best example straight away. Nothing that has been done on earth against ‘the noble’, ‘the mighty’, ‘the masters’ and ‘the rulers’, is worth mentioning compared with what the Jews have done against them: the Jews, that priestly people, which in the last resort was able to gain satisfaction from its enemies and conquerors only through a radical revaluation of their values, that is, through an act of the most deliberate revenge. Only this was fitting for a priestly people with the most entrenched priestly vengefulness. It was the Jews who, rejecting the aristocratic value equation (good = noble = powerful = beautiful = happy = blessed) ventured, with awe-inspiring consistency, to bring about a reversal and held it in the teeth of the most unfathomable hatred (the hatred of the powerless (Nietzsche, 2006b: 17).

Furthermore, Nietzsche introduces his generic concept of slave morality with respect to master morality. The latter is simply reflection of animal vitality of human nature. That’s to say that man’s existence depends on his strength and his capacity to survive. It’s a struggle and domination of stronger without creating any values or morality. That’s to say there’s no conscience either artificial addition to life. The master dominates people without resentment or any fictive strategy but pure force which derives from life. In this manner, his strength is also the reason of society since master gathers people under their rule. Nevertheless, their manner of domination and attitude towards slave are so harsh, but master never thought they hurts their slaves instead they suppose that their domination make slaves learn what’s life to be. In contrast, slaves under domination develops a sense of resentment because of master harassments and their weakness which prevent their will to power reveal itself (Nietzsche, 2006; Molina, 2010).

In the second parties of his essays in the book, this time, Nietzsche focus on domestication of human. Nietzsche held the idea that the relation between slave and master is sort of a creditor and debtor relationship. In this relation, punishment become a guarantee of having work done for master punishment and pain mechanism generate what's called: memory, thinking, conscience and psychology. In his nature, *"human has animal like memory but as soon as they are dominated as well as pain is used to make slave work for their masters, slaves developed a kind of memory to remember the given order. (...)." (Nietzsche and Holldigdale, 1989).* Furthermore, memories of people initiated a collective memory which is called conscience. Then, through repetition of master doings and memorization of his order human internalize orders and rules; start to act on his own in a desired way. That's in fact the process of human domestication. It worth nothing that Nietzsche hypothesis about the domestication has strong similarities with operant conditioning theory (Nietzsche, 2006; Molina, 2010).

In the third part of essays, Nietzsche set up himself to examine the origins of ascetic ideals which foresee or prioritize an ideal world rather than our living world. Ascetic ideals take their origins from truths which are supposed to exist. Because truth either posed by religion or by science has a role to make objective the world; to set up an ideal world and put challenge before individual. In this point, Nietzsche critics the position of science which labels itself as opponent of religion. According to him science is not antithesis of religion as it does have ascetic ideal which encourage us to anesthetize ourselves and the world through a set of practices of subjectivity and a use of language such as political correctness (Molina, 2010). Lyotard, in his book called Postmodern Condition, proposes also that science's discourse tries to dominate the concept of knowledge by reducing all knowledge, which do not derive from scientific methods, to stories alike narrative by setting itself legitimate generator of knowledge in society. In this context, religion or science gave the same nature because both claims that there is an objective truth and their way are legitimate one. However, since the truth is an abstract entity that appears through human relation, that's to say that knowledge or truth are relational term, neither science nor religion claims to have absolute knowledge.

However, the concept of slave morality worth being analyzed separately in this context since Slave morality conceptualization alludes also to modern political realm.

As told before, slave morality is simply a reaction to master one. In fact, the impotence of slaves towards their master turn into resentment which is indeed the reflection of despair. Nevertheless, slave's hatred and their will to revenge assure a different strategy to reverse the domination of master. Therefore, slave morality serves to condemn strength, power etc. However, in *Nietzschean* thinking the peak of slave morality find itself in Judeo-Christian tradition. For Jews are considered the source of this slave morality since they have first monistic religion and prophets. That's, in *Nietzschean* imagination, they were few and powerless against their enemies. They couldn't win a war based on strength. Therefore Jews, priestly people, had another strategy. That was their capacity of moralizing the world (Edelman, 2001). It's such a power that they reversed roman ethics which favorites the stronger against weaker forever. Nevertheless, Christianity is also described as hatred revenge and lust of weak people to dominate (Nietzsche, 2006b). Nietzsche references most of time to this verse from the bible to explain what he means of slave morality:

“Then Jesus said to His disciples, “Truly I tell you, it is difficult for a rich man to enter the kingdom of heaven. Again, I tell you, it is easier for a camel to pass through the eye of a needle than for a rich man to enter the kingdom of God.” (Nietzsche, 2006b).

This verse is used to show the passage from a concept of good which is associated with noble, strong to a concept of good which is identified with weak, poor etc. Nietzsche argued that:

“Only those who suffer are good, only the poor, the powerless, the lowly are good; the suffering, the deprived, the sick, the ugly, are the only pious people, the only ones saved, salvation is for them alone, whereas you rich, the noble and powerful, you are eternally wicked, cruel, lustful, insatiate, godless, you will also be eternally wretched, cursed and damned!” . . . the slaves' revolt in morality begins with the Jews: a revolt which has two thousand years of history behind it and which has only been lost sight of because — it was victorious (Nietzsche, 2006b:17).”

Additionally, the slave morality needs the concept of other since hatred must have a target which must be diabolized. In fact, the slave morality cannot exist in the absence of a diabolized other. That's why the dichotomy between us and them is a useful one to canalize people's energy to somewhere else outside the group. That is to say that the existence of group is justified with others. The otherness or marginality are the term discussed frequently in social science or in hardware politics since the concept of polarization around the world appeared to be a useful mechanism to

dominate elections. This concept of otherness can be established in every level from individual level to civilizations. That is, Edward Said puts it based on his Foucauldian reading, the world of Islam has been a useful other to western imperialism for justifying their standpoint in eastern countries.

The concept of *heard* and *übermensch* can be remembered herein. Slave morality is a reversing power strategy of slaves against master. Once it's established. Slave morality which reflects the will to power of slave, set up itself to condemn any people who reveal his lust to power. In this moralistic discourse, indeed whoever in power holding position can see his self as the servant of people? May be the basic question. The great personages are misprized as there's omnipotent concept of God who is the first cause of all badness and goodness in society. As result, slave morality removes personages who have the ability to exist just on his strength; to bear the world as it's and have different experiences as well as to bring people to where they would never imagine. Hence, the concept of individual is replaced by concept of herd. Within *heard* there's no powerful men but shepherds who are weak but have reedpipes to gather the members of heard in anesthetized way.

On the other hand, *übermensch*, which is a concept of personality who is powerful to live independently from herd, is also a corner stone of his philosophy. As told before, Nietzsche is dissent of the concept of self. He believes that the self is a liquid term. For that reason, the concept of *übermensch* seems a contradictory of his thought. But *übermensch* is also not an inherent. People can be evolved in *übermensch* through experiences. In fact, this concept is a critic to herd psychology people have. *Übermensch* is someone who refuses to fallow herd. That's why he puts individual before society which is connoted mostly as herd or masses. In his philosophy the role of community is tasked to raise strong individual. But moral oriented community is hindrance for individuals. Especially modern moral formations are considered not as advance for having great personage as *übermensch*. Because modernity is the cause of unification of diversified people in oneness and masses. The rise of modern state initiated a sort of unity as well as capitalist mode of production has brought masses to cities. In every aspect of life is massified through capitalist modernity. In contrast, Nietzsche thought that this massification is a huge hindrance to appearance of 'great character'. Because moral of masses which is supposed to be slave morality, is a

reversing factor to evaluation of humans towards a superior mode. However, states or nations need to have this personage to bring their-self further. Besides, the task of society is to let *übermensch* flourish instead of protecting powerless and weak people. The prioritization of society over individual is mostly problematized in *Nietzschean* philosophy in this respect, he strongly criticizes the new perspective which refuses the role of personage in historical or political developments. Even it's possible to say that Nietzsche introduced the concept of *übermensch* to criticize the perspective which ignores the role of individual (Irmak, 2001). However, *übermensch* conceptualization of Nietzsche is manipulated by emerging nationalism in Germany. For that, many thinkers criticized this *Nietzschean* perspective. However, *Nietzschean übermensch* is not from any social national circle. For he's not a sympathizer of aristocracy, bourgeoisie, working class or a nation. Even he criticizes new appearing *Germanism*. However, he never introduced a concept of a superior nation but a superior man. As a matter of fact, Nietzsche would refuse to support any sort of nationalism which try to *massify* people in some purpose and annihilate any differences (Irmak, 2001).

3.1.3.2. Nietzsche's Will to Power

The will to power is the one of the important philosophical invention which reached its peak in *Nietzschean* philosophy. Nevertheless, the will to power and his book named after this concept are misprized by many thinkers. Because it's thought that the term of the will to power justified German nationalism that abused this philosophical invention. Furthermore, it's also possible to say that unusualness of Nietzsche in philosophical tradition puts his concept in marginal position. Although their philosophical originalities, *Nietzschean* terms were away from being tool for political-social analysis in the beginning. However, Nietzsche can be counted as the precursor of post modernism since his philosophy re-appeared through the most prominent postmodern philosophers like Foucault, Derrida and Deleuze. Especially Foucault's analysis on power can be thought as the reflection of his Nietzsche readings. Therefore, the will to power is an important concept to analyze the post-modern politics in the wake of post truth.

Nietzsche is mostly influenced by Spencer and Darwin evolutionary thoughts. Their natural sciences outputs are reflected as the will to power in *Nietzschean* philosophy. However, the first usage of concept of will to power is used by Kant. It is

also obvious that Nietzsche was also influenced by Arthur Schopenhauer's "*The World as Will and Representation*" while developing the concept of will to power (Ülken, 1946). Schopenhauer expressed that the dynamo of earth is a blind, insistent impulse and this impulse reveals itself more sexually or as a will to live. At the same time, in Schopenhauer perspective, this impulse is a source of misery; and he stated that the only way to dry this source is through art. On the contrary, Nietzsche argue that our basic condition as desiring, striving creatures can lead to a mode of existence worthy of endorsement, rather than to inevitable frustration (as Schopenhauer had it)(Lanier, 2007). The will to power is not a metaphysical narrative, since Nietzsche supported this concept based on his Darwin and Spencer readings. Darwin's concept of the struggle for life in evolutionary line affected him very deeply on his philosophical thoughts (Ülken, 1946). Darwin's maxim on the natural selection is that the evolution favorite the members who has more capacity to adopt himself to altering conditions of nature. This adaptability become a metric of strength. In contrast, human is animal who creates another natural space like society which can favor the existence of weaker against stronger. Nietzsche described this break with as the origin of alienation of human to his nature. The starting point of break was Plato from *Nietzschean* perspective. That is, people is stuck within platonic-moral world and this morality has been a handicap to reveal their will to power. In this point, Nietzsche struggle is to remove this barrier for liberating the will to power which is pictured a creative and destructive instinct in the same time (Edelman, 2001). He identifies the will to power as the source of the entire life. Nietzsche stated that:

'And do you know what "the world" is to me? Shall I show it to you in my mirror? This world: a monster of energy, without beginning, without end...as force throughout, as a play of forces and waves of forces...a sea of forces flowing and rushing together, eternally changing and eternally flooding back with tremendous years of recurrence...out of the play of contradictions back to the joy of concord, still blessing itself as that which must return eternally, as a becoming that knows no satiety, no disgust, no weariness; this my Dionysian world of the eternally self-creating, the eternally self-destroying, this mystery world of the two-fold voluptuous delight, my "beyond good and evil," without goal, unless the joy of the circle is itself a goal....This world is the will to power—and nothing besides! And you yourselves are also this will to power—and nothing besides! (Nietzsche, 1968: 550). '

However, for Nietzsche (1968) in nuanced way, power is the ability to determine reality (truth). If a person, a group or an institution can define the truth according to their own will, they actually create a legitimate ground to establish their

own sovereignty. But this is an ancient, as to him:

“eternal story: what formerly happened with the Stoics still happens today, too, as soon as any philosophy begins to believe in itself. It always creates the world in its own image; it cannot do otherwise. Philosophy is this tyrannical drive itself; the most spiritual will to power, to the “creation of the world,” to the causa prima (Nietzsche, 2002: 11).”

In this respect, the will to power is also the reason of philosophy as it is placed as causa prima. However, Nietzsche identified power with life by defining life as a will to power in his book beyond Good and Evil. According to him, the desire of an individual during his life is to have strength to reveal himself (strength, potential, creativity) For this purpose, all living things are seeking to create an environment that will reveal their potential. In this point, philosophy task is to focus on life instead of seeking eternal truths. Because, philosophy appeared already in the result of people's will to power. To set up philosophy as truth and morality generating faculty, works indeed to make the world a more artificial than it's before. It serve to squeeze more and more with Platonism. Nietzsche stated that:

“In almost all respects, philosophical problems today are again formulated as they were two thousand years ago: how can something arise from its opposite....? Until now, metaphysical philosophy has overcome this difficulty by denying the origin of the one from the other, and by assuming for the more highly valued things some miraculous origin (Human, All Too Human, I).”

This creates an alternative world to we are living in. Besides this world is reduced to our restricted mind in front of fertile nature and will to power. At this point, Nietzsche's Zarathustra talks to men that the way (traditional philosophy) they are on is just one aspect of reflection of will to power, Nietzsche stated that:

“behold [life says], I am that which must overcome itself again and again...And you too, enlightened man, are only a path and a footstep of my will: truly, my will to power walks with the feet of your will to truth (Nietzsche, 2006a).

Therefore, Nietzsche find ordinary man's will to power is considered as insufficient. He accepted that this *Platonic* philosophical tradition and slave morality are also sourced by the will to power. Nevertheless, it's insufficient to yield emergence of super-man. It also worth noting that Foucault named his first volume of History of Sexuality as will to knowledge by expressing that will to knowledge is other face of will to power in this century.

As told before, Nietzsche identifies power with life. According to him, life is a

will to power. Lust for power can reveal itself in individual by the will to survive to deliver philosophy, science etc. In contrast, Nietzsche suggests that the whole moral value system encourages the individual to be humble; to act in a way to suppress his will to power. As result Nietzsche expressed that this moral value system is the cause of the collapse of civilization.

The will of the power for justification of *immoralism*. The origins of *Nietzschean* moral criticism lays at Laroche foucault's maxims, Hobbes's leviathan, in Bernard de Mandeville's la fable des Abeilles even in Kant's anthropology. The first usage of concept of will to power belong to Kant. Then, Schopenhauer had also the term on his works. Finally, the concept reached the peak with Nietzsche who justified his *immoralism* based on the will to power. Pity and sympathy in Hobbes and Laroche foucault are considered as a hidden egoism. Indeed, they imply a sort of strategical thinking. People show mercy or sympathy to their fellow in order to be secured later if they need pity or sympathy of others in given case. Nietzsche also labelled them as the signifier of fear, weakness and powerlessness. He based his thinking or his refusal of morality mostly on Darwin who conceptualized life as a struggle to live, a matter of life and death. On the contrary, Nietzsche aim at introducing an alternative to morality, a new kind of philosophy based on bio-psychological domain of life which is neglected by traditional one (Ülken 2001).

Nevertheless the castration of people's will to power is a strategy of moral ordered political system, it's possible to assert that morality is a castration alike mechanism which stabilizes or distracts people's will of power since fear of death and nothingness oriented people to develop a second nature which we issued in previous part (Emden 2013: 229). Since human start to live in a moral oriented system. This structure has never resolved the reality of will to power which is a monstrous energy according to Nietzsche. Although morality has been naturalized in people's mind. Will to power is something derives from human himself and has never end. Because of that, all morality is systemized to castrate this lust to power as soon as human beings are born. Therefore, people's will to power is backfired towards themselves through morality. That's to say that any individual attempt which crosses social boundaries are classified as self; being egoist is most misprized trait in society. As result, this castration process is established alike psyche inside human that we are going to issue

deeply in next chapter.

3.1.3.3. Nietzsche's Moral Psychology

Nietzsche's position on the matter of subject is that self is a fluid term and cannot be fixed in a certain point. This controversial concept of self is also an alternative perspective to rationalist subject's model in which subject is considered a naturally given phenomenon. His critics on the matter of subject are targeted at Kantian and Cartesian subject model. Nietzsche defines Kantian and Cartesian subject model as moral agency, which is always understood to be free agency in the modern tradition (Leiter, 2019). In this point, Nietzsche has more likely an empiricist perspective whose claim is that subject is a product of his environment. Nietzsche expresses this in one of his aphorisms:

"The belief which regards the soul as something indestructible, eternal, indivisible, as a monad, as an atomon: this belief must be thrown out of science! ... Between ourselves, it is not at all necessary to get rid of "the soul" at the same time, and thus to renounce one of the most ancient and venerable hypotheses—as happens frequently to clumsy naturalists who can hardly touch on "the soul" without immediately losing it. But the way is now open for new versions and refinements of the soul hypothesis, [including] "mortal soul", "soul as subjective multiplicity", and "soul as social structure of the drives and affect" want henceforth to have civil rights in the realm of science. (Nietzsche, 2002: 14)."

Nietzsche in his historical and genealogical analysis keeps always a place to a psychological analysis. Because human needs, instincts, sensations are the reason of history even these are manipulated later by mind's faculties. As told before, Nietzsche in *Genealogy of moral* sets up himself to examine the process in which morality appeared and changed in time. By the way, he hypothesized on some point to complete his work. The matter is that his hypothesis was based on human needs or psychological needs of human. He expresses that the internalization of obedience to master was realized primarily by mechanism of punishment and pain. But latter repetition and imitation plays secondly roles. However, Nietzsche's example of child education of parent is a sensible case in this point, as to him:

"moral feelings are transmitted in this way: children observe in adults inclinations for and aversions to certain actions and, as born apes, imitate these inclinations and aversions; in later life they find themselves full of these acquired and well exercised affects and consider it only decent to try to account for and justify them (Nietzsche, 2005: 25)."

Furthermore, in his analysis, he presents psychological needs of human as the

reason of morality. Human's anxiety on the mortality of life caused the development of a fictive world. Therefore, the nothingness of the morality or the moral world are also covered by ascetic ideals which are also outputs of a moral understanding. Nevertheless, human's inner conflict whose source is fear of death in the beginning is never resolved within this moralized world. Once people, who are highly engaged in ascetic ideal, doubt of their thinking, they exposed their self to a mental breakdown. Nietzsche stated that:

“Such evaluative commitments are symptoms of psychological and cultural sickness, and that the ascetic response is an “instinctive”, but ultimately self-defeating, effort at self-medication (GM III, 13, 16). While asceticism imposes self-discipline on the sick practitioner, it simultaneously makes the person sicker, plunging her into intensified inner conflict (GM III, 15, 20–21). Thus, Nietzsche’s fundamental objection to asceticism is that it is psychologically destructive and practically self-defeating, even for those (the sick) for whom it does its best work (Anderson, 2017).”

Even asceticism has a religious implication in his background. It's secularized in time. Weber's protestant ethics is a valuable source to see how religious ascetic ideal contributed to the development of capitalism. Protestant-Christian morality fulfilled the newly emerging work ethics and the concept of saving money for emerging capitalism. For, that was important for accumulating greater capital to extend capitalist mode of production. In comparable terms, John Mandeville and Adam Smith argued that Protestantism guided the private profit principle not to mutual destruction but to greater common profit. Mandeville's Fable of the Bees and Smith's the Wealth of Nations clearly showed how the invisible hand that held 'private vices' and 'public benefits' in balance was a new tool for an older religious asceticism (Peeters, Wils, Van, 2011: 7). Furthermore, *asceticism* find itself also in newly rising state-nation movements as sacrifice for the nation' had a depoliticizing nature. Additionally, the notion of sacrifice of self is placed also in leftist and rightist movement. Moreover, we can discuss that Liberalism has implicitly a kind of ascetic view. The notion of career is so actual term in today's world. People sets their-self to have a decent career in wake of neo-liberal discourses. Although the concept of career seems a materialistic perspective towards life and its purposes to have more materials propriety. People also sacrifice large part of their life for having a good career as a long education process, training, hobbies, communication skill etc. The matter is that every part of this process is realized in a purpose. People see them as a tool to have success at the end, instead

of perceiving the activities as an end in themselves. Therefore, it causes them stress instead of joy. Even people are supposed to help their partner, friends and family altruistically. Nevertheless, the success of people is also beneficial for their environment. As Nietzsche puts it that altruism has also an egoistic origin.

Although morality derived from psychological needs which is primarily fear of death or will to live. We can argue that morality has become the reason of diversification of psychological needs. Nietzsche expressed it that the damaging side of morality has implanted itself within us in the form of a genuine self-understanding, making it hard for us to imagine ourselves living any other way (Anderson, 2018). Therefore, human end up with a more sophisticated psychic mechanism on individual level. This fixes human in certain point. Each person has a more-or-less fixed psycho-physical constitution which defines him as a particular type of person (Leiter, 2019). In other words, morality installed itself as psychic mechanism inside of human as conscience, self-mechanism which is internalization of social codes with individual differences and perspectives.

Since Nietzsche believe that self is not an innate proprietary but fluid concept. It's possible to reverse this moralizing discourse which appears to be natural. In this respect, *Nietzschean* philosophy has also a teleological side. However, Nietzsche teleological perspective is not similar to mainstream philosophical tradition. That's to say that he has common points with Marxism that contradict bourgeois morality and tries to reveal that bourgeois morality and culture is ideological construction. But the where Nietzsche and Marx differ from each other is that Marxist's ideal to switch bourgeois morality with working class morality which is supposed to be a natural formation. Beside Marx is also stuck with *Platonian, Kantian- Hegelian* perspective on important matter. Since he is influenced by rationalism and held the idea of truth. His retro-perspective regard towards history make him claim that there's a direction world goes or must go. Besides, he also claims that communism is not necessarily the next step of humanity. On the contrary, Nietzsche's ambition is to reverse human to his nature by abolishing morality and making the will of power which is instinct of human dominates the world. Therefore, Nietzsche propose a restauration instead of construction. Thus, Nietzsche argues, we are faced with a difficult, long term restoration project in which the most cherished aspects of our way of life must be

ruthlessly investigated, dismantled, and then reconstructed in healthier form. (Leiter, 2019). In this matter, we can argue that Nietzsche, in Socratic manner, tries to show people the instinct of power they have inside themselves as well as how every part of social order is established and how this constructed social orders make people feel passivity inside them through his book. He tried to say briefly that people's weakness or powerlessness are established as psychology in their self.

In this respect, Nietzsche prioritizes the role of psychology as a science of power that psychology be recognized again as the queen of the sciences, for whose service and preparation the other sciences exist (Acampora, 2011). For psychology is once again on the path to the fundamental problems. It's psychology that reveals the powerlessness of individual. In other word, how people are made to feel powerless or how the power struggle of discourses or any entity upon human are internalized by human. In this respects, a large number texts suggesting that Nietzsche's main agenda was to argue that

"the psychological world—or the world as a whole—is fundamentally composed of centers of power exerting force against one another (see GS 13; BGE 23, 36, 259; GM II, 16–17; III, 13–15; as well as many passages from the notebooks" (Anderson, 2017).

Nietzsche, who has not a strict psychological theory, also contributed to the development of psychological theories. The concept of will to power is handled by Alfred Adler, a Psycho dynamic theorist in Psychology. Adler states that man has a basic instinct of superiority. Because, unlike living creatures in nature, people live a longer childhood; and that he does not have the power to sustain his life alone. He states that it takes years for the child's basic skills to develop, which leads to the development of feelings of inferiority / inferiority in the child (Adler, 2010: 82).

Nietzsche psychological approach to power is crucial to understand power as fluid concept. It's possible to say that Nietzsche powers understanding had embodied in Foucault's power designations. Therefore, power's place is not outside of human being. It's formatted in psychological manner inside of people as control mechanism. It's like feel indebted to someone for acting in certain way or feel weak because against who are in relation with us because of the symbols he possesses as money, political position, officer, elderly people etc. Nevertheless, in moral oriented world, after people be aware of artificialness of power based on morality can reverse the force dictated to

them. Because the holder of power is also supposed to feel weak in such a moral world in which he has nothing but symbols as proof of his power. However, the excessive usage of law forces can be explained that conventional power holders are not able to handle psychological nature of power and its fluid characteristic. We can foresee that the usage of law is going to have frequency through in society. Nevertheless, power is to be appeared in relations. That is, it's more likely organized through dyadic relations. In individual manner, the power can be manipulated in profit of weaker since it has psychological implications that we are going to argue in section of the dyadic power theory and psycho-power concept in 4th part of thesis.

As summary: we questioned Nietzsche's philosophy in three important parts; firstly, we did a genealogy of morality, by which we studied the fear as the very source of morality, plus all artificial world that prevent the will to power flourish itself in individual. Secondly, we examined what's to be the will to power, and how it is subjected to a castration process. Besides, we saw that Nietzsche also identified the lust for power as *prima causa* of philosophy. Nevertheless, how this will is manipulated by Platonic tradition. Thirdly, we analyzed the relation between psychology and morality. How both are decisive in every social construction process. Furthermore how human internalized the social moral code in the format of psyche in Nietzsche works.

3.1.4. Foucault's Philosophy

We tried to profit Foucault's tools of research in every part of this thesis. Foucault had said in one of his interviews that my works are a tool bag, everyone can pull out the needed item. In the meantime, He refused to give a consistency or a *telos* to his thoughts. In many of his interview he rejects clearly to give a suggestion to people after he asked to do. Instead, he framed his works as a tool just to analysis the relations of power, so the world (Foucault, cited in Patton and Morris, 1979: p115). *"All my books...are, if you like, little tool boxes. If people want to open them, or to use this sentence or that idea as a screwdriver or spanner to short-circuit, discredit or smash systems of power, including eventually those from which my books have emerged...so much the better (Patton and Morris, 1979)."* Because he thought that there's no possible exit out of discourse. The impossibility of freedom marks off his statements in many occasions in the sense of surpassing discourse. Nevertheless, freedom is a condition of power or vice versa. But this freedom in Foucauldian sense can be described as possibility of

acting or developing strategies within relations of power. That's to say that subject is a product of discourse. Nevertheless subject can be only free within boundaries of discourse. Hence, he turned his eyes to present for understanding what we are, how are we formed since his ambition was to make history of individual by explaining relations of power and discursive formation. In his earlier work, his answers was mostly under influence of structuralism. Hence, he prioritized the role of discourse. In that period, his principal method was archaeology of knowledge but then he realized that discourse is not enough to understand that how subject is constructed since he noticed power as catalyst of human relations (Sarup, 2004: 110). This is principal break in the lineage of his works. His concept which is relation of power gave him an originality and freed him from structuralism. Although major scholars put him within tradition of post- structuralism he refused strongly to define himself neither structuralism defender nor post- structuralism defender. In fact, we can say that his perspective of power legitimates his refusal. Even that he refused to be called *post structuralist*, his works is one of prior of *post-structuralist* school. Besides, we can argue that Foucault considers himself as a journalist of philosophy. That is, he focused just on how a given thinking way was possible at a certain age. For that, he tried to analyze the relations of power behind discursive formations.

Foucault is an important theme of this thesis. This is primarily because of his power perspective as well as his discourse and subject understanding. Foucault sided with philosopher like Machiavelli, Hobbes, especially Nietzsche. Four of them deserves somehow to be named as philosopher of power since they put power as catalyst of their philosophy. Which is differently from political philosophy of rationalist or empiricist traditions. Hence, it's possible to introduce a new model which can be called philosophy of power which crosses all philosophy. Hence, we can say that Foucault is top point in this tradition which is claimed to be. Because his power perspective rises on Machiavelli, Hobbes and Nietzsche's power understanding.

On the one hand, discourse is also a crucial point where power and knowledge meet each other. In fact, their dyadic relationship yields a discourse. Hence, discourse implies the relations of power. Which is the originality of Foucault in discourse analysis according to the other discourse analysis tradition which focus on language. On the other hand, subject is stuck between these relations. In fact, it's where Foucault

reject *Cartesian* and Kantian approach of subject and he declared that subject is constructed through discourses.

In this section, we analyze firstly Foucauldian discourse. Secondly we are going to issue his power understanding, the way he perceive power then we have analysis of his genealogy of power with their effects on political thinking of today. Thirdly, we analysis of Foucauldian subject with dynamic of an actual term which is polarization. Fourthly, we issues his method of research to reveal how is discourse formed through archaeology of knowledge and we conclude by genealogy.

3.1.4.1. Foucault's Discourse

In this section, we are going to issue the concept of discourse in Foucauldian sense. Our aim is to give a concrete definition of the term which is ambiguously used the most of time as well as to explain how discourse operates. *Subjectivation*, relations of power and knowledge are going to be key notion through this section. On the other hand, we are going to analysis the effect of Foucauldian discourse to politics *relating it to post-truth which we are to analysis it in another section too*.

It is well known that the concept of discourse is mostly used in linguistic term. Foucault's own definition of discourse is mostly based on linguistic term such as *'discourse is constituted by a group of sequences of signs, in so far as they are statements, that is, in so far as they can be assigned particular modalities of existence'* (Foucault 1972a;107). Nevertheless, discourse is not limited to linguistic field. Especially, Foucault's originality lays at his usage of the term by relating it to the relations of power in society. Hence, Foucault refuse to reduce the analysis of discourse to a textual reading as he states

" The history which determines us has the form of a war rather than that of language: relations of power, not relations of meaning" (Foucault, 1980b: 114).

Hence, Foucault expand the meaning of discourse by adding the relation of power into its meaning. But the relation of power doesn't appear just on hardware but mostly on software through the production, diffusion and application of knowledge since Foucault points out that the relation of power, inequalities, relation of dominations are naturalized and placed within language. Foucault suggest the reading of texts through the analysis of tactical and material relations of force because power

can't be limited to meaning and significations of texts (Foucault, 2004).

Furthermore, we can say that discourse in Foucauldian sense means a mechanism which produces knowledge, meaning, objects even shape the way we think of objects or '*practices that systematically form the objects of which they speak*' (Foucault, 1972a: 135-140). Discourse is a reference point to all different statement in any field. Discourse shapes our knowledge as well as it has impact on the relations we have in society. Hence, its effects produce a social reality based on its constructed logic. Hence, the discourse is a dominant logic in certain temps and places, which promote a kind of truth. But a discourse is not a natural phenomenon since it is constructed through relations of powers. Besides, powers constructs the discourse relating it to an episteme in a given age. In this perspective discourse analysis is also an analysis of relations of power. We can also make an analogy with Kant's a priori concept to express what Foucault meant of Discourse. Kant claimed that there are three a priori notions in our mind, which are time, space and causality. All our thinking is limited to these notions since we perceive the world through these given notions. In this point, the effect and the aim of power are supposed to introduce rules, and define the manner of thinking and procedures which are working like a priori in our mind. Hence, discourse is a like a given frame through which we see the world. But we don't aware of the existences of these frames. In this point we can say that discourse doesn't operate to produce every single knowledge rather its operation has effects on shaping the general panorama or the boundaries within which we think. In other word, it set the perspective through which we understand the world. Thus, it's such a thing that discourse claims its *naturality*. It's possible to say that the aim of discourse is to make people think or say it has always been (this) the case. Hence, it means that our knowledge is limited to the extent that discourse permits us. This limitation operates by fixing the meaning of the texts or commenting any material change in boundaries of discourse. In this sense, discourse serves to assure a safe knowledge, which legitimates actions of powers, to people. Foucault stated that

" In every society the production of discourse is at once controlled, selected, organized and redistributed by a certain number of procedures whose role is to ward off its powers and dangers, to gain mastery over its chance events, to evade its ponderous, formidable materiality." (García Landa, 2004: 1).

In this point, we can say that discourse is a phenomenological world

constructed by power based on the episteme of age. This phenomenological world would survive any materials facts which contradicts even its existences. Because it's supposed that people can't think or can't be aware of what's becoming in the absence of terms or another perspective that would help people perceive objects in different way. On the contrary, power can provide, and diffuse knowledge generated by its partners in certain field like science, religion etc., through which people think of social phenomenon in a way the dominant discourses doesn't receive any critics etc. But it doesn't mean that discourse is an oppressive mechanism which tries to stop people thinking. Discourse tries to canalize people reasoning to reproduce discourse with their intellectual capacities instead. Foucault stated that

“Commentary averts the chance element of discourse by giving it its due: it gives us the opportunity to say something other than the text itself, but on condition that it is the text itself which is uttered [re-iterated] and, in some ways, finalized. The open multiplicity, the fortuitousness, is transferred, by the principle of commentary, from what is liable to be said to the number, the form, the masks and the circumstances of repetition. The novelty lies no longer in what is said, but in its reappearance (Foucault, 1972b: 221).”

The establishment of discourse. After power questions the sexuality for given reasons. It encourages the production of knowledge about the issue. As powers has capacity of defining what's valuable in society, rulers of power can initiate academics, scientific or religious men or any sort of scholars to produce an useful knowledge which is in harmony with present discourse. After power can diffuse this knowledge based on its capacity of communication it has. In *History of Sexuality vol:1* Foucault explains the formation of discourse in a concrete way. The section below is important to understand how discourse is formed. Foucault stated that

“The sex of the schoolboy became in the course of the eighteenth century-and quite apart from that of adolescents in general-a public problem. Doctors counselled the directors and professors of educational establishments, but they also gave their opinions to families; educators designed projects which they submitted to the authorities; schoolmasters turned to students, made recommendations to them, and drafted for their benefit books of exhortation, full of moral and medical examples. Around the schoolboy and his sex there proliferated a whole literature of precepts, opinions, observations, medical advice, clinical cases, outlines for reform, and plans for ideal institutions. With Basedow and the German "philanthropic" movement, this transformation of adolescent sex into discourse grew to considerable dimensions (Foucault, 1978:28).”

This statement is important to see that how relations between different institutions and their cooperation introduce a discourse on a given matter. Furthermore,

Foucault also adds that discourse doesn't treat its subjects like unconscious objects. As he says in further of the last statement that

"...with all these measures taken, the child was not to be simply the mute and unconscious object of attentions prearranged between adults only; a certain reasonable, limited, canonical, and truthful discourse on sex was prescribed for him-a kind of discursive orthopedics (Foucault, 1978)."

There is an important nuance to be revealed in this point. Although Foucault stresses out that discourse has a capacity of determination over our vision. We can say that he still keeps the idea of marge given to individual commentary or reaction before any statement or utterance. As he stated above *" the child was not to be simply the mute and unconscious object of attentions (Foucault, 1978)."* But that doesn't mean that Foucault would think that individual can exceed the discourse through their reasoning. It means that there are open spaces to comment by individual instead. Foucault thinks that no matter how discourse is inclusive, it has still holes or a rival which put it in danger. In this perspective, a reverse discourse can submerge through relations of power. Although 'reverse' discourses can be constructed against the dominant's one and it can represent clear sites of resistance to it (Brine, 1996). As Foucault notes that the nineteenth century profusion of discourses on the species and subspecies of homosexuality also made possible the formation of a reverse discourse which allowed homosexuality to speak in its own behalf (Cohen, 1997). Nevertheless, they are automatically marginalized by the dominant discourse (Brine, 1996). Thus, the control and marginalization become priority of discourse as long as relations of power operate.

Although subject has still open place to comment, discourse doesn't stop just by providing knowledge. The phenomena of control are also so important to issue with discourse. As Foucault state *"[e]ach discourse... is to some degree a jargon...a language of control and a set of institutions within the culture over what it constitutes as its special domain"* (Said, 1983: 219). First, people become subjected to given discourse through knowledge and repetition which are issued above. That's to say that people who internalizes the discourse become a subject. Foucault says very clearly that subject, identity or individuality are, in their sense, instrument of control for theirs self and others. As well as the concept of other or otherness is important fact in discourse readings. Because the other exists as diabolized object. Indeed, it works as security

tool for subjects. As the other is excluded or excommunicated because of their appropriateness with dominant discourse; the concept of other also initiate subjects to behave in accordance with discourse to stay in community. Foucault's book discipline and punishment, the history of madness are useful examples to understand the way discourse operate. In the former book, it's expressed that how category of criminal and prisons become a useful tool of security. In the later book. It's issued that how people who contradict the constructed logic of discourse are labelled as madman, and how madman was treated in every period of time to show artificiality of such a category. On the contrary people try to behave in accordance with discourse for avoiding labelled as madman, criminal or abnormal.

Foucault also makes an original claim that discourse encourages people to speak instead of popular belief that power conducts people to silence. The reason why powers initiate speaking is to *subjectivation* of people. We can argue at his point, people as they discuss on given topic. The ideas they repeat, or support are internalized much more by people their self. Even if they weren't too supportive about the ideas they supported in the all beginning. Secondly, speaking as an instrument to reveal truth about people life, is a tool of normalizing the dominant discourse. As told before, people can imitate and repeat what discourse dictates in order to be normal. So even if people are not what they repeated or imitated, they support voluntarily or involuntarily the norm which is introduced by discourse. In the meantime, they might become what they imitated. Foucault's statement about sexuality and its transformation into a discursive objects is below.

'Why has sexuality been so widely discussed, and what has been said about it? What were the effects of power generated by what was said? [...] The central issue, then, is [...] to account for the fact that it is spoken about, to discover who does the speaking, the positions and viewpoints from which they speak, the institutions which prompt people to speak about it and which store and distribute the things that are said. What is at issue, briefly, is the over-all 'discursive fact', the way in which sex is 'put into discourse (Foucault, 1978)''

The force of discourse lay at its assumed *naturality*, of which discourse is successful as much as it naturalizes itself. Hence, discourse can normalize itself through dominant sets of values in society. Foucault state that

"the will to exercise...control in society and history has also discovered a way to clothe, disguise, rarefy and wrap itself systematically in the language of truth, discipline, rationality, utilitarian value, and knowledge. And this language in its

naturalness, authority, professionalism, assertiveness and antitheoretical directness is.... discourse” (Said, 1983:216).

In this perspective, we can say that the discourse can also wrap itself in ethical code of society. In fact, ethics is already related to power as we have seen so far. Hence, ethics is a dispositive within discourse. Morality or ethics is perceived and used as a natural and neutral phenomenon in daily life. But ethical code's assumed *naturality* opens a large space of maneuver for neutralization of discourse in society. Even so, it's regular to witness that politicians moralizes social problems to apply their policies. Beside the frequentation of word of ethics used in political discourse is an important point to understand how ethics was a political concept.

Discourse has been described a phenomenon to set itself natural. Although it's assumed reality, discourse is not permanent fact as it's the results of power struggle or relation of power. It's well known that power is not a stable entity in Foucauldian sense. In this perspective, we can argue that the frequentation of relations in modern age is so high due to population rise, communication technologies and scientific progress etc. Hence, the frequentation of struggle to power is also so sophisticated. In this context, the concept of discourse is as fragmented as there is many different political parties or ideologies which struggle for power and none of them could success in monopolizing public opinion. Nevertheless, we can argue that ideologies can be inferior to discourse. They are just reflection of power struggle of diverse groups. But discourse is such a thing which compass all divergence in itself. Liberalism, socialism are ideologies but both share humanism as a standpoint. In the meantime, humanism is also an ideology for post-moderns. However, the dominant discourse is based on sanctity or centrality of human, as individual has become the center of universe since *Copernic Revolution*. Any ideologies who contradict this paradigm wouldn't have a large place in society unless it destroys humanist discourse. But the destruction of humanism means the coming of a new discourse. We can take the example of *ecologism* versus *humanism* as a case to clear what's discourse. The political struggle between ecologist which decentralize human being in the favor of all living substances and the other humanist-oriented ideologies makes a sense in this point. *Ecologism* is underrated by people who see human as the center of universe. As humanism is still major ideology in the world and mostly all political powers have their place based on humanism. *Ecologism* can seem non- meaningful for certain. Nevertheless, some says

there there's a switch towards an *ecologism* in today's world. But based on Foucault assumption above we can claim that there's a reproduction of *ecologism* into humanism to protect environment for human wealth.

To contradict naturalizing effect of discourse Foucault, criticize, in his book *Archaeology of knowledge*, primarily the usage of the notions like linear causality and narratives of progress, continuity and evolution as the most profitable methodological tools of analysis. Especially he criticizes the dominant method of history which serves to naturalize the present institutions and to create a link between different facts to assure an integrity in discourse. Foucault suggests historians to analyses where the disconnections appears instead of researching continuities between facts.

In the power struggle, the discourse is a point to be captured. Because discourse helps rulers of powers stabilize their power. Because who holds truth has the power since Platonic ideas takes over philosophic politics realm. As discourse is a mechanism which generates truth makes its owner powerful. But it doesn't mean that the relation of powers lost their influence. As they persist, the struggle within discourse also continue to exist. As Foucault state that "*discourse is not simply that which translates struggles or systems of domination but is the thing for which and by which there is struggle*" (Foucault, 1981a: 52-53)." On the other hand, we can argue that the formed discourse is supposed to support its authors in their ways to power. But the relation between power and discourse might become ambiguous after a while. The discourse might absorb its authors or can become a hindrance to them. That's to say that we are living in age (which is different from Foucault's one) public order or our truth changes permanently as post-truth dominated the world. We can say that Foucault meant of discourse as a concept which is not easily altered. But Foucault hadn't a phenomenon like social media and flux of information. Hence, we are living in a rapid age and who are in the position of power , or who struggles to power might form a discourse whose effects are not durable so much and which can become hindrance after a while as power is not stable substance . That's to say that authors of power can be enslaved by a discourse they promote in the first place as well as new actors might have power on defining the trajectory of discourse . As results we can say that power might become agent of discourse. Or discourse would free itself from its authors.

Discourse is supposed to change or to lose its effectiveness through relations

of power. Which is a key idea in Foucault thinking. It's possible to say that Foucault sees the concept of power in a dispersed manner. This untidiness of power assures always a resistance. Hence, this dyadic relationship between power and struggle provides a possibility of altering in discourse.

Since Foucault turned realities into discourse. Foucauldian discourse analysis makes us criticize the realities in which we find our-self. On the other hand, the *relativization* or transformation of modern and pre-modern dogmas into discourse by Foucauldian perspective serves to justify the stand of post-truth in philosophic manner. However, it also made us thinking ethics from another perspective. Ethics is largely accepted as an almost natural phenomenon. Even the philosophic school as Marxism or empiricist tradition we have seen before, which questions idealist ethics concept or bourgeois morality. Nevertheless, they just altered the base of ethics instead of total dissolution of it. In this point, Foucault would say that we cannot introduce completely an independent concept as our thinking is limited to given discourse. Beside neither empiricist nor Marxist or positivist retired their self from politics. Hence, their political struggle made them keep the concept of ethics while contradicting dominant morality. We can say that ethics is a second ideology or unseen ideology. Its shadowiness and perceived naturalness serve to fix relation of power in the favor of certain groups or individuals in certain place and time. We can define that ethics is a code of conduct whose operation is mostly unnoticed on daily basis. We hypothesis that practices and repetitiveness of discourse have effect of conditioning people behavior.

In Today's world, it's possible to say that the connotation of post-truth is not positive. As idealist or empiricist tradition promote a kind of truth. Every philosophic school whose origins go to these traditions keep idea of a truth or a reality based on their epistemology. In this perspective, Foucault who names the first volume of H.O.S as the will to knowledge referencing the will to power of Nietzsche, he justified his naming as saying that the will to power appear as the will to knowledge. In addition, Foucault asserted that knowledge is power. Hence, as the knowledge has effect of power over people by conducting their behaviors. We can say that individual considers unconsciously or consciously the truth as the rule of game through relations of power. Nevertheless, the rule itself turn into truth. On the other hand, post-truth is a danger for this traditional political struggle because of its exclusion of truth. Because

exclusion of truth can problematize all stable political hierarchy. But the analogy we made has sense in this point. The question is here that post-truth is a new rule of game or the *relativization* of realities is messenger of new discourse. On the other hand, postmodern strongly held the idea that truth is a fiction or constructed through social relations. Hence, underrating of post truth can be seen meaningless from postmodern perspective because of its *fictitious* character based on a certain truth and ethical understanding.

In this section we have analyzed Foucauldian discourse which overcome the discourse in the traditional sense and set the way we think of the world briefly through introducing a priori notion in our thinking. That's to say that discourse is not reduced to linguistic sphere instead it encompasses all power relations. As power is everywhere in Foucauldian sense. Discourse is also inclusive as much as power relations. Beside discourse has its effects over people through knowledge which is key element as much as power relations. Then, we saw the way discourse is formed by power and its partners in certain area referencing a passage from History of Sexuality. There, it's explained that after power problematize something in society and how it operates to frame this issue based on general episteme of age, in a profitable way. Thus, we came to realize how the *subjectivation* of people was possible through discourses. In the meantime, we come to see the element of control in discourse, people has always something additional to comment, on the contrary powers set their self to freeze the meaning of texts or any material change, new phenomenon to reduce or to transform people comments in placebo effect. In this point, the capacity of neutralization of discourse is its more powerful specificity to control. Discourse naturalize itself through infiltrating in social codes, dominant political perspective etc. thus, we analyzed that ethics is the most appropriate place where discourse hide itself. In conclusion we issued how discursive change is possible based on relations of power and the place of post truth in this transformation.

3.1.4.2. Foucault's Power Models

In this section, we are going to issue power in Foucauldian sense. Because the power is like base of Foucault's thinking. It's the fact that gives life to the concepts of subject and object. Power struggle and relation of power is the basis of society. Hence, power is an important phenomenon to replace the centrality of ethics, rationality and

other materialistic perspective in social analysis. It's mostly accepted that economic oriented approach is mostly used to understand society in social sciences. In this perspective, Foucault developed an approach based on power for understanding social relation. That's indeed why we are going to issue this subject. In the first place, we are going to see what Foucault brought to the concept of power and what are characteristic of power. Then we are going to make a genealogy of power starting from pastoral power model relating it to social state, then we going through *juridico-discursive* model and disciplinary power finally we conclude by normative power and its related concept as governmentality and bio power and its influence to modern politics in the case of racism and terrorism

Foucault's idea of power is shockingly innovative to our classical knowledge of power. In the past hundred years, thinkers took power from the heavens and later from the kings then they shared it between state mechanisms and the public. Foucault, on the other hand, took power from everyone. We can call this the Big Bang of power. "There is power but everywhere". It does not belong to anyone or any structure. Power flows. According to Foucault, power appears in relations and it's not a stable entity. Foucault is not referring to Power with a single structure which monopolize everything and totalize its rationality over social body. (Foucault, 2010: 72). In fact, power is organized through relations. This is called the relations of power. There are multiple forms of power; they can't be reduced just to be political institutions. Hence, they can be in play in family relations, or within an institution, or an administration. According to Foucault, 'power' is an abbreviation for 'relations of power' (Foucault, 1994: 719) and more specifically refers to 'a multiplicity of [heterogeneous] force relations' (Foucault, 1976: 121). In this perspective, Foucault introduce a new definition of power contradicting traditional perspective over power which examines power in state, government and opposition triangle.

Foucault's originalities on power is not limited just to its omnipresence within society. He also criticizes strongly the belief that power is an oppressive phenomenon. Instead he believes that power is a productive and creative fact. Foucault suggest us to

"cease once and for all to describe the effects of power in negative terms: it "excludes", it represses, it censors, it abstracts, it masks, it conceals. In fact, power produces; it produces reality; it produces domains of objects and rituals of truth (Foucault, 1995: 194)."

Because Foucault held the idea that “if power was never anything but repressive, if it never did anything but say no, do you really believe that we should manage to obey it? (Foucault, 1978: 36)” Foucault’s self-answer is that

“If power is relational rather than emanating from a particular site such as the government or the police; if it is diffused throughout all social relations rather than being imposed from above; if it is unstable and in need of constant repetition to maintain; if it is productive as well as being repressive, then it is difficult to see power relations as simply negative and as constraining (Mills, 2003).”

On the other hand, power is not a one-sided relationships. Instead, as power implies resistance it’s a two-way relationship. “where there is power there is resistance” In this perspective, he asserted that “coextensive with resistance; productive, producing positive effects; ubiquitous, being found in every kind of relationship, as a condition of the possibility of any kind of relationship (Foucault, 1978: 36)” Hence, in Foucauldian sense the relation of power is the base of all social relation, so it is the reason of society. Therefore, Foucault contradict indeed the belief that rationality, ethic has been considered the base of society since Plato.

Furthermore, Foucault saw a dyadic relationship between power and knowledge. But he didn’t use these two term as identical since he’s against the reduction of these notions to each other. As he muses in a 1983 interview, ‘studying their relation is precisely my problem; if the two were identical, I would not have to study their relation and I would be spared a lot of fatigue’ (DE IV:455; Piomelli; 439). Instead he hypothesis that the one is impossible without other as well as two of them are implied in relation of domination.

On the other hand, Foucault promote the freedom as it’s the base of all power relations. Because freedom is ‘a field of possibilities in which several ways of behaving, several reactions and diverse comportments may be realized (Piomelli: 427) He asserted that in the lack of freedom there’s no relations of power instead a pure domination. In this perspective, the relations of violence are also not relations of power; ‘slavery,’ he dramatically remarks, ‘is not a power relationship when man is in chains.’ (Deveaux, 1994: 235) We can clarify that domination would turn people into tools in the hands of dominant and perished the notion of struggle. Foucault says, ‘Freedom is the condition for the exercise of power,’ and so ‘must exist for power to be exerted (Choker, 2004).

Pastoral power is the first form of power and technology. It is inspired from the way shepherd guide his herd. That is, shepherd is supposed to meet the needs of the flock, to maintain it in unity and protect it from dangers as well as he is supposed to take care of each sheep individually. “*Every act of each of his sheep, for everything that may have happened between them, and everything good and evil they may have done at any time* (Foucault, 2007: 227).” Even if a sheep is lost, the shepherd leaves the flock and searches for the lost sheep, risking sacrifice all the flock. Thus, Foucault stated that

“the pastor must really take charge of and observe daily life in order to form a never-ending knowledge of the behavior and conduct of the members of the flock he supervises (Foucault, 2007: 236).”

In this model, the guidance of conscience of herd is also important to form an unity in behavior. The pastoral power model was adapted by the church. The relation of priest with their ecclesia is easy to make an analogy with pastor’s one with their herd. You may recognize the language of *pastorship* from Christianity: in some Protestant churches, ministers (priests) are called ‘pastors,’ and the Twenty-Third Psalm begins ‘*The Lord is my Shepherd.*’ The members of a Christian church are often called the ‘*flock*,’ and the Bible uses the sheep and shepherd metaphor to refer to the relationship between people and clergy in religious settings (Lynn, 2014). That is, the priest also takes care about the needs of believers one by one. He helps believers confess their sins for their salvation. Even he assumes responsibility about the sin of believers. Because if one of his herd cannot account for God, it is the priest who is responsible for it. This means that the priest was not a good shepherd. The priest listens to the believers and preaches them for their salvation. In other words, to manage in guiding, priest tries to have the secrets of the believers one by one through mechanism of confession in order to put them in the straightway. Christianity frequently uses the method of guiding conscience, which are actually borrowed from Hellenic civilization.

On the one hand, Foucault express that the modern state and its institutions are not careless as much as sovereign power of the Middle Ages since there’s discourse on sanctity of human and state requires a sophisticated population. Thus, state keeps its eyes on people needs. The rise of social state is not a coincidence in this manner. In fact, we can call it as shadow of pastoral power (Foucault, 1988). On the other hand, the way pastoral power serves to individualize and to *subjectivize* people is also the

base of modern *subjectivation* process related to governmentality. As Foucault put it that

“ What the history of the pastorate involves, therefore, is the entire history of procedures of human individualization in the West. Let’s say also that it involves the history of the subject. . . . [The pastorate is] a prelude to governmentality through the constitution of a specific subject, of a subject whose merits are analytically identified, who is subjected in continuous networks of obedience, and who is subjectified [subjectivé] through the compulsory extraction of truth. (Golder, 2009)”

Although technology and human relationships are becoming more and more complex, the pastoral power model has not really disappeared. Foucault says that the pastoral model has remained in the shade due to the model of power peculiar to feudalism (Foucault, 2005). Pastoral model of power is substituted by juridical-discursive model in medieval age. So we can issue the new model in this phase.

First of all, this model which is also called sovereign power model takes its essence by law and morality. That’s to say that power is based on the application of law and morality over people. It creates binary standard moral/immoral and legal /illegal to conduct people behavior. Secondly, power is summed on the top of social structure. Monarch has an absolute power over his subjects. Thirdly, the way power is used in this model is mostly based on repression, coercion and violence over bodies. Finally, the juridical-discursive model has a notion of freedom which is understood as escape. Subjects have freedom by liberating their self from application of law over their-self

Nevertheless, subjects are not in center of politics. The model prompts the concept of territory. That’s to say that power interested in controlling land and its products to generate more taxes rather than on bodies and what they do. This model suggests that ruler is concerned with protecting his land and how to expand his land. Because the power of sovereign is measured to the extent, he possesses territory and raises tax. There’s not much tie between ruler and his subject but tax and some mandatory services dictated by law and morality. Because the main concern of the ruler is the lands that he possesses rather than his subjects. Even rulers retire their self from people by divinizing their self. Beside in medieval age, population density was lower in cities. Hence, there was a low degree of communication between communities. As there was neither a kind of unity among communities nor a collective

conscience Ruler had nothing to doubt of his subjects. Even monarchies were very tolerable to ethnic and religious diversity, because Monarchs saw it strategically that diversity was a hindrance to formation of a kind and monarch is content of their subjects as much as they pay their taxes (Elias, Gellner).

According to this model, sovereign rules his subjects with the legitimacy he received from God. It has a total control over his subjects. The life and death of the subjects are in the hands of the ruler. On the contrary there's no strict control over people except death penalty. Power appears through ruler's control on the life of his subject by sending them to death or forgiving them. Hence, that's why executions were made in public which is single event of power apparition. Indeed, it is a model that assure or provide power not from regular surveillance systems, but from the physical existence of the ruler through establishing power around the ruler. But as Foucault put it that the success of power is its capacity of absorbing itself through relations. On the contrary, such a power's doing, and strategies are easy to be noticed by subjects. Indeed, subjects can develop strategies to repel the doing of this kind of power. The sovereign model was appropriate for an era in which there's disconnection between people, the density of relation is low due to an agriculture economy which requires a high rural population, so relations of power are limited to certain field.

Since the measure of wealth and power becomes an industry based economy which requires a large amount of labor. Human beings are settled in the center of the monarch's policies since his subject's bodies become an instrument tool for power. The rulers of powers problematized human in the consequences of the relations of power. Thus, a discourse on the human body begins to be constructed and the body becomes a property of the state. According to Foucault,

“This new mechanism of power is more dependent upon bodies and what they do than upon the earth and its products. It is a mechanism of power which permits time and labor, rather than wealth and commodities, to be extracted from bodies (Foucault, 1980a: 104).”

To exemplify, syphilis vaccination become mandatory in England in 1871. This is indeed a turning point in the relationship between subjects and rulers. The Interference of power in individual body is justified for the purpose of protecting public health. But

“it is ultimately dependent upon the principle, which introduces a genuinely new economy of power, that one must be able simultaneously both to increase the subjected forces and to improve the force and efficacy of that which subjects them (Foucault, 1980a: 104).”

Thus, living conditions for healthier bodies begin to be improved by state policies. For example, the restriction of working hours in mines, local administrations dealing with garbage, and the quality of water and food are assessed for the first time in this period. Again, for the first time, a direct relationship is observed between public health and state health. Everything that endangers the health of the social body is marginalized by starting to think of society as a body (Şişman, 2013).

Management took a new dimension instead of his indifference towards his subjects in the Middle Ages. Indeed, power invested in social sciences (sociology, psychology economy, pedagogy etc.) The appearance of such a social science in the begging of 18th century is not a simple coincidence. It is the first time that a discourse over human is established. In the meantime, the episteme of modern age is based on centrality of scientist truth. Then science has legitimacy over defining what truth is. Hence, new power strategy was constructed to hide their dictates behind scientific facts. By doing so, power encourages science to produce useful knowledge for it-self. Furthermore, people who are unconsciously shapes their conducts are self-subjectivized to power. This *subjectivation* process is working through the internalization of knowledge which is promoted by power, which is maintained in their Foucault analyze, *‘the most pervasive power is that which makes its subjects co-operate and connive in their subjection to it* (Hoskin and Macve, 1986: 106; Lightfoot, 2014: 6). In short, the disciplinary power model does not operate by making people do what others want them to do, but to make them want to do it for themselves and to do it as others want them to with the desired tools, efficiency and order (Allen, 1998; Marsden, 2001).

However, the phenomenon of control is so important in the case of disciplinary power. Foucault’s description of the concept of control is that *“it is a type of power which is constantly exercised by means of surveillance rather than in a discontinuous manner by means of a system of levies or obligations distributed over time. It presupposes a tightly knit grid of material coercions rather than the physical existence of a sovereign* (Foucault, 1980a: 104).” In fact, eye or gaze fits the symbol of this model. Control of people are realized through gazing them but after a while the eye which gaze them become a part

of them. Even there's nobody around people is to feel the pressure of this gaze on him. Indeed, this process is very similar to the way conscience or inner man working inside people. Foucault explained that

“he who is subjected to a field of visibility and who knows it assumes responsibility for the constraints of power; he makes them play spontaneously upon himself; he inscribes in himself the power relation in which he simultaneously plays both roles; he becomes the principle of his own subjection (Foucault, 1991: 202-203).”

Furthermore, the notion of visibility requires also the arrangement of place according to make the notion of visibility operate everywhere. Beside we can make an analogy between notion of visibility and a notion of transparency which are modern concepts. Hence, the culture of revealing his-self- doing, propriety, thought become a new kind of cultural moral in modern society. Since power needs to have the truth of its subject life, visibility and later transparency become new sort of values.

Foucault tries to name the power models separately based on their dominant techniques and character. Accordingly, this time, power techniques begin to evolve from the a method trying to discipline the bodies one by one, towards a system that envisions society as a single body. Foucault stated that

“Throughout the second half of the 18th century, I guess this time it seems like something new emerges which is not disciplinary, but another technology of power. It is a technology of power which does not exclude the disciplinary technique, but incorporates it, modifies it partially, and will use it, in particular, by settling in it in a certain way. , and indeed by settling down well through this pre-existing disciplinary technique. the discipline tries to manage the multitude of people in such a way that this multitude must be able to transform into individual bodies to be watched, trained, used, perhaps punished (Foucault, 2004)”

By these new techniques, the multiplicities of individual become manageable by adjustments made on the social body. These new methods are not supposed to discipline people in a strict and oppressive manner; it operates in a way that allows individuals to internalize the discipline. This model of power is based on the notion of governmentality which is one of key concept in Foucauldian teaching, it includes the whole effort of guiding people, shaping their behavior, directing and managing (conduct of conduct).(Foucault, 2005: 276). As Foucault put it that

“This word [government] must be allowed the very broad meaning it had in the sixteenth century. ‘Government’ did not refer only to political structures or to the

management of states; rather, it designated the way in which the conduct of individuals or of groups might be directed – the government of children, of souls, of communities, of the sick ... To govern, in this sense, is to control the possible field of action of others (Foucault, 2002)''

The art of government doesn't consist of imposing certain laws on people. In other words, it is supposed to arrange things by indirect means. In this sense, the production of *diapositives*, norms are important. Hence, the rulers of power produce 'things' that can be expanded in social spheres. They are referencing the cultural depths of society and circulate them in the production process. Human sciences are building certain norms which serves to structure a discourse over human and his behaviors. These norms are reproduced and legitimized in the hands of teachers, doctors, judges, police and administrators. Since human sciences make human a formal subject of study, there is an expansion of rationalized management and social control systems (Sarup, 2004: 91).

Society is accepted as singularity or become a single body through which power is able to make arrangements that cover the whole society since individual are incorporated as a single entity, instead of dealing with individuals one by one. In this perspective, the life of the social body is also questioned by governments. For that, The new technology is concerned with managing this multitude of people, not because they are primarily human bodies, but on the contrary, because they create a large collectivity which is open to be affected by major phenomenon peculiar to life as death, illness, births, epidemics, production disease. So firstly, after the establishment of power on the body through the method of individualization, there is a second power organization that is not individualizing. In the contrary, it takes place in the specie-human direction instead of body-human direction. Foucault stated that

''After the anatomo-politics of the human body, the foundations of which were laid in the 18th century, at the end of this century, we see that something appears that is no longer the anatomo-politics of the human body, but the "biopolitics" of the human species (Foucault, 2004).''

Since new technologies are emerged to control the population especially on the matter of life. This new structure of power called as a bio power. That is a power that makes adjustments on the population and changes the human resource in a way that power needs to. The dominant notion of this model is governance /governmentality. Powers conduct people, not by law, but by a mechanism of normalization. At the same

time, this power model is different from the *juridico discursive* model. This one doesn't have a right to leave his subject to death. Instead, the strength of power comes from its capacity to keep its subject in life more and more, power turns into the right to intervene and to interfere with the "how" of life, hence, to increase life. Death, as the end of life, meant of limit and end of power, especially from the moment it comes into play at this level. According to power, death is outside because death is the single area that power can't interfere in (Foucault, 2004: 253). Death is not externalized just because scientific success permits to intervene and to extend life expectancy. But, it is really based on the strength of this Bio-power that people are kept alive so well that even when they must have already died biologically. (Foucault, 2004) "It is undoubted that this bio power is an indispensable element of the development of capitalism, because capitalism is secured by the introduction of 'desired and docile' bodies into the production apparatus and adjustment of population events (increase/decrease of population etc.) according to economic processes. But Foucault stated that

'capitalism wanted even more, both of them with their usability and obedience to grow, they also needed strengthening; they needed power methods that would increase their strength, abilities, overall life, but would not make it more difficult to make them governed (Foucault, 2010: 103-104).''

Death becomes problematic for power as it is externalized since bio-power took over political and social sphere, Foucault asks the question: (Foucault, 2004: 260) "Foucault also stated that

'How can this government, whose aim is to keep alive, leaves its subjects to death? How to use killing power, how to use killing function in a political system focused on biopower? I think racism comes into play here.... It is this determination of bio-power that puts racism into the mechanisms of the state. so, Racism, as the basic mechanism of power, settles in this modern state. which shows that every modern state had a racist policy in a certain period of its construction. What is racism really? First of all, it is the way to create a disconnection within that living space, where the government bears the responsibility: the interruption between what it must live and what it must die. In the biological continuum of the human lineage, the emergence of races, the separation of races, the hierarchy of races, the qualification of some races as good and others, on the contrary, the lower race, all this will be the way to dismantle this biological space where power is imposed..''

It is contradictory that bio-power that excludes death serves to end the lives of individuals at the same time. Thus death is happened on a legitimate basis, by law support. Foucault stress out this contradiction. According to Foucault, racism can be *instrumentalized* by the state and for the destruction of the other side in the struggle

for power. Hence, death can be justified in this manner. Then, we can say that according to the sovereign power theory of the Middle Ages, sending the king's subjects to death was an absolute sign of power. The modern state applies the sovereign power model covering it with racism. It's called as state racism. Foucault argued that

"Thus, racism serves power to establish a dynamic relationship between the life of one person and the death of another. It not only enables the hierarchy of 'worth living' but also positions the health of someone in direct contact with the disappearance of another (Lemke, 2014: 63)."

With the concept of state racism, right of power over death, which was previously excluded from the practice of power is added to power again. Death is thus included in power as a means of sustaining and strengthening life. Death becomes the protector of the integrity, superiority and purity of the race in the name of the health and power of the society. Also, a useful tool for shaping the life of the society, determining desired practices and destroying undesired practices by society are integrated and operated with the health discourse too (Güler, 2016: 38).

Death can be also used as a counter technic through terrorism on the other hand. That is, human life is being extended gradually. Life has become easier and pleasures have diversified. It can be said the quality of life is improved as a result of the technological and scientific possibilities we have in modern times. In other word, death turned into a phenomenon that irritated society. Nobody wants to see blood on the floor. Even the word of death has been less frequent in modern ages. States does not use the verb of kill even for the enemies it has eliminated. Instead, words such as 'being disabled' are used.

However, if we consider again that the state builds its own rationality over life. Death is a phenomenon that frustrates the rationality of the state. Besides, states try to protect and expand its human resources which are the measure of both its existence and its power. In this respect, terrorism's strategy to target mass casualties is actually supposed to target the legitimacy of state which is coming from his capacity of keeping his subject alive. On the other hand, some scholars propose that the label of 'terrorism' is one of the strongest cards in the hands of the state. As we use it today, terrorism is no longer an "*act of creating brutality with political ambitions*", it is gradually turning into a tool that state uses to destroy its ideological enemies one by one. Labelling

enemies with this name allows the state to keep pressure on society, and people under surveillance through armed forces or other kind of civil surveillance strategies. By tagging some as a terrorist, the state determines who is a ‘good’ citizen and who is not (Lennard, 2017).

Furthermore, the introduction of death which is technique of sovereign power model through bio-power in modern ages represents an important point in the Foucauldian genealogy of power. In fact, it expresses that none of these models belong to just one period of time. Powers may recall previous techniques if needed and put them in usage. As told before, power doesn’t exist just based on law but it sets normality according to the dominant discourse, social and political codes. But power seek a remedy by applying laws in the case of inability to generate a norm. Especially authoritarian powers around the world justify their acts through law. Beside authoritarianism which crosses populism has a technic of power which recall pastoral power technic too.

In this section, we firstly studied the main specialties of power according to Foucault. Which are mainly, the omnipresence of power, its fluidity, its independency from institution and people, pushing people to creativity and productivity, its relationship with knowledge. Indeed, power is the reason of all social relation in Foucault, since it appears through relations. Power is in fact the condition of liberty in Foucault contrary to mainstream thinking. Hence, we analyzed the originality of Foucauldian power concept. Then, we studied the genealogy of power starting from pastoral power, through sovereign and disciplinary power, normative power which includes governmentality, to bio power considering and its racist aspects.

Foucault had always revealed his desire to write history of individual and to reveal how the individual is constructed and how the individual is formed within discourses. For this reason, the individual is the focus of Foucault's work. In the meantime, subject is a concept related to power as understood by his book ‘subject and power’ that’s to say there’s a dyadic relation between them. Philosophers have seen the origin of subject either in reason or in material environment as well as partly in society so far. On the contrary we can argue that, Foucault originally put the reason of subject in power relations. In this context, we are going to have, first of all, a definition of notion according to different scholars and Foucault critics the traditional

liberal definition of subject. Then, we try to see what Foucault meant of 'fluid' subject, power-subject relations and socialization and polarization matrix then we analysis the mode of *subjectivation* introduced by Foucault, we conclude by issuing the role of the power-knowledge matrix, language game and marginalization in *subjectivation* process

The concept of "self and "self-construct'', 'self-consciousness' began to take up volume in academic literature. The reason for this is that, as Foucault explains, the concept of human settled in the focus of power throughout the 18th century. When man was born as a producing and political subject, he turned into the object of the rulers and scientific research (Foucault, 2004: 247). The concept of self gives a 'meaning' and unity to the speaking beings (human or social animal). The notion of self or subject are supposed to direct human actions according to their self-perception which is already constructed by power-knowledge dynamic. Foucault whom main concerns is to reveal the rationality and extremity of power, strongly criticize the belief that self is a natural phenomenon. Especially through his work, he criticizes or confront the concept of Cartesian and Kantian subject understanding which assumes that human has an independent conscience and mentality. Foucault thinks that attributing naturality to the concept of individual serve to hide political rationality behind. In contrast Foucault sees self as a 'fluid' concept formed in social relationships, as opposed to the view that sees Self, natural and everyone's innate element. Thus, Foucault says that we should avoid a definition that describe the subject as autonomous, or transcendent as in Kantian discourse. According to him, the subject has been the intersection point of discourses that cannot be managed from a center (Sarup: 113).

3.1.4.3. Foucault's Concept of Subject

In the Foucauldian sense, the subject is a product of continuous construction. Power and knowledge are the base of this building process. At this point, it should be remembered that according to Foucault, power is not a phenomenon that can only be defined by superstructures such as the state and government. According to him, "*Power is everywhere.*" (Foucault, 2010: 72). Power is fluid and flows in all social relationships. For this reason, the construction process is continuous. The analyses that reduce the process of identity and self-acquisition to familial bonds and label them as

static phenomenon are far from being able to show the reality as it is. Because, if the process of the formation of the self is reduced to familial ties, we fall into the understanding that sees the self as a natural element. Deleuze and Guattari even criticize the analysis process of psychoanalysis that reduces the individual's problems to the childhood (parent-child triangle) (Eugene, 2013).

Thus, self can be considered as a permeable and variable structure within the network of relationships. Now we have to understand the subject as a cradle of multidimensional, scattered and unmanageable discourses (Sarup, 2004: 13). In such a situation which can be called a dynamic socialization, the individual is constantly exposed to new (discursive) information. At this point, we can argue that the aim of political and social polarization, which is a trend topic phenomenon in the world, is to break the effect of socialization and to keep their subject within boundaries of discourse. Hence, the governments or other political entities try to keep their subjects in their social channels for avoiding the influence of other discourses over their subjects.

In this point, we can issue that how discourses affect individuals? How discourses draw individuals into their relationships is also a major research topic. However, a parenthesis can be opened for expressing the way discourse operates according to Foucault. Firstly, Foucault developed his philosophical concepts related to structuralism which promotes only linguistic dimension of discourse. Many poststructuralists, including Foucault, have been influenced by this aspect of structuralism. However, as an alternative to linguistic determination, Foucault had started to draw attention to power relations. (Sarup, 2004: 110). Including Postmodern admits that the individual is a cradle in which discourses conflict. For this reason, it would be appropriate to think that a single discourse is not effective on the individual. So self/subject can be transformed as the subject of another discourse at any time since its unity are artificial. In this context, language and power-knowledge relations can be placed at the center of *post-structuralist* discourse especially in Foucault's teaching. Hence, *subjectivation* is possible through these key elements. It's sure that these concepts need to be explained much clearly.

Foucault initially introduced three basic modes of *subjectivation*. The objectification of the speaking subject through grammar and language, or

objectification of the producing subject within the economic sphere; It is the *subjectivation* that divides the subject in itself, by dividing practices (according to the relationship with other subjects) by classifying them and objectifying them. The distinction between benign and insane; healthy person and sick person. As well as Governmentality actually envisages the formation of new subjectivities mode (Revel, 2002). It's the mode of *subjectivation* which work two sided by considering feedback of subject. That's to say that subject has also a saying in his self-guidance. Since society is so complex. Power is not able to interfere in people life one by one. Instead, it defines categories and procedure through which it guides people. Foucault concretize it in one of his interviews by giving example of madness. According to him, madness is an artificial category. Nevertheless, this artificial category serves to label a part of society as mad people. Hence, this people is to behave according to certain procedure (norms) introduced by power in relation with his partner. Besides, when power sets up a category it also defines power relationship in this category. To illustrate, a psychoanalyst is indeed a part of relation of power with people who are defined as mad. The analyst has certain power which is generated by discourse over mad. That's to say, power definite general rules, via its subjects who are in application. They can develop new strategies, new manner of relations in the condition of not crossing the border of discourse. They are also permitted to sophisticate power technics in the field in cooperation with their superior.

On the other hand, there's a dynamic of power relation and power- knowledge as the basis of *subjectivation* process behind of governmentality. Foucault, in his book, refers to Nietzsche who stated in his book "The Genealogy of Morality" that the power established the subjects (Sarup, 2004; Foucault, 2003) He further states that the subjects are built by discourses and that the power-information matrix that establishes the discourse must be analyzed in order to analyses subjectivities (Çelebi, 2013: 518-519). In this point, we can open parenthesis to understand what Foucault means of knowledge/ information. That is, Information is implicitly present at all stages of our actions. At this point, it is necessary to think about the information in its broadest sense. Information is a kind of practical knowledge which is generated by discourses that set us as subjects. Knowledge is the meaningful practices that are operative within discourse. Information can be called also self-consistent concepts that facilitate the life of the subject, even add meaning to the life of the subject and shape his life.

Moreover, we know how scientific discourse has become the central authority of modern societies since the Age of Enlightenment. It is assumed that scientific production is necessary for human progress. Thus, powers have a new partner with which it can establish new strategies for management. As scientific discourse overcome religion in the result of power relations. Science become the essence of episteme of modern age. Normality, norms, social codes are established based on science as it become the bearer of truth. Hence, powers begin to hide their self behind scientific truth in order to govern successfully. The supposed scientific outputs that powers use can also be scientifically truthful phenomena or not. The matter is that science is used to legitimate policies because of reputation it has. That's not to say scientists have political relations or ambitions. But it's well known that states, government support generally scientific research that fits their policies. Besides, it is also accepted that the scientific innovations are not limited to state support. Any innovations might be turned to be supportive for power or vice versa. In this point, we just try to concretize the maxim between knowledge and power claimed by Foucault. Therefore, power can open space for its own policies based on science. It spreads information that is useful to itself or tried to put any knowledge in a cap which does not benefit it. Powers also profit from ethical values agreed upon in the society to build a discourse. To illustrate, opposing religious dogmas in the middle ages is called perversion in contrast it can be seen as madness to oppose or ignore scientific data today. We don't question the truthfulness of scientific data in this point. What is discussed here is that science become an authority in society. it has decisive role through the usage of power as once the religion had. Hence, we are subject of modern science, we shape almost our life based on science as once we shaped it according to religion. Besides, it worth nothing that this subjectivity is open to be manipulated by relation of power in every level of it.

Foucault says that the most serious break between the natural and social sciences began with the Age of Enlightenment in the 18th century and it was completed with the French Revolution afterwards. With the end of the monarchy, power begins to be applied with the use of a certain administrative information, which includes the knowledge of economic, social and demographic processes, for practical and pragmatic purposes, and thus, the knowledge-power relationship, which has been disconnected for long centuries, is re-established (Urhan, 2010: 130).

According to Foucault, the individual is constructed based on experiences. And this construction is made neither by pressure nor directly by the force of law because of today's power technologies. As the part of the normalization society, it is done with these norms. Power creates a discourse by interacting with its partners in the community.

On the other hand, the concept of language games is also important for understanding linguistic determinism which Foucault supports but doesn't see it as the only determinant. "Language games", a concept introduced by Wittgenstein, have been frequently handled by many postmodernists. Lyotard made the following definitions for language games: "*Each of the various expression categories can be defined within the framework of the rules that determine their characteristics and the benefits they can speak. the proper way to move them* (Lyotard, Post Modern Status: 32)." Lyotard's postmodern society example is that it is a society where the individual struggles in various language games in a competitive environment that can be characterized by diversity and conflict (Sarup, 2004: 216). Foucault also stated in the History Book of Sexuality that individuals are *subjectivized* through speech, contrary to popular belief, rulers subjected them not by silencing them but by pushing them to speak.

Discourses envisage shaping the individual with language games and giving them roles. The language games phenomenon assumes the possibility that the discourse which plays a major role in the individual's self-perception can be replaced by 'other' discourses. For this reason, the places where "other" discourses can infiltrate the self-perception of any individual (self-flow) can be defined as cracks. Discourses are leaking from these cracks can affect self-perception of individual. The attempts of discourses to infiltrate in individual's self-perception, for transformation of subject can be called as cracking strategies.

Foucault always argue that human is a discursive creation. Hence, it's important claim to understand Foucauldian subject and discourse understanding. The word of human, individual and subject are interchangeable words. Because speaking beings, while they define themselves with the word "human", they establish themselves as the subjects of the Humanist discourse that settled after the Renaissance. Foucault says that before the 18th century, the word human was not a very common word. As well as the word "individual" entered circulation with the bourgeois class

while it was gaining political power. The concept of Individuality, sanctified by liberal discourse, was a concept that bourgeoisie used to provide a legitimate claim for their policies against monarchs, especially in order to protect their property (freedom of economic action in the broadest sense). That is to say that the concept of individual helps limiting monarch interference, as its rule of game. Foucault, in the *archaeology of Knowledge*, claimed that discourse does not emerge based on objects which exist. In fact, *discourse exists after the rules of the game allows an object to exist*. Hence, it appears again that the creativity of power relations in Foucauldian sense on that matter. (Foucault, *Archaeology of Knowledge*, 2016: 53) Also in *Nietzschean* philosophy, all life is defined as a will to power. The will to power turns life into a conflict area of different power centers. The demand for power is the basis of both cultural production and natural production. Hence, the concept of individual is the result of a game based on the desire for power between the bourgeoisie-aristocracy and the king.

Marginalization or *otherizing* is also an important strategy of power in *subjectivation* of people. The idea of centrality of other in self-perception is also supported by *Psychanalyst School* especially by Lacan. However, Foucault emphasis the role of *other* in the formation of discourse. Especially his famous book *madness and civilization* is a cornerstone work to observe how marginalization operated in the context of mad and reasonable/benign. To illustrate, the other has always been found as a scapegoat to strengthen the self, to establish and strengthen his identity. Who is differentiating from the familiar order of being, who don't get along with the standards of sameness, who goes beyond the margin of normal and tolerance, are determined as the Other and treated as a kind of "scapegoat". (Megill, 2008: 16-20). "Scapegoats " change constantly according to time, place and dominant discourse. To give an example that the age of Enlightenment and the hegemonic discourse of the Cartesian tradition had needed an "other" to place it in dialectics with reason." who contradicts the rules of reason were labelled " irrational. Besides, this dichotomy has real consequences on social economic and politics sphere. We can argue that the development of a universal reason was tied up with centralization of state meanwhile. Because the state determined the rules of the game by promoting economic growth through centralization. Therefore, a central mind or a universal reason become possible. Those who did not get along with this new discourse and social structure were marginalized. Especially, those who could not provide a plus to production were

under surveillance of suspicious eyes and they are supposed to be subjected to marginalization. In what category would these others be grouped? Foucault answer this like that beyond the walls there was not only madness, (different silhouettes) as well as ill, poor, vagabonds, criminals, and “deranged minds” were present. They would take the part once leper played it (Foucault, 2013: 135). All of them are supposed to fulfill the place of other. These words of Foucault are the most beautiful expression of the diversity under the umbrella of closure. It is not just the mad/ mad ones that are closed; carriers of sexual illness, homosexuals, those who are irreligious, those who do not comply with moral rules, etc. all abnormal situations are closed under the umbrella of madness. Within the framework of the moral understanding of the classical era, not only the mad ones, but also those who have bodily sins, and those who have devastated behaviors, in short, closure spaces were discovered for all those who went beyond social norms and all those who were different from the majority were closed.

On the other hand, closure or marginalization doesn't serve just to whom is subject to them instead it serves to normalize whole society. In fact, marginalization goes, hand by hand, with exclusion from society. That's to say that people's perception on marginal people is supposed to be negative. Hence, majority of people evaluate their thinking, their behavior, their speech in accordance with norms for avoiding labelled as marginal. In his book, Foucault claimed that state, instead of full disappearance of marginal, prefer managing marginal groups as useful tool of control. To give an example that, crime rate increase in society or even the perception of rise may justify the budget of security spending in a state. Even people can voluntarily demand of more sophisticated security tools for having the sense of security (Foucault, 2000).

In this section we have analyzed how Foucault developed a critic towards Kantian and Cartesian subject. Then, we studied his subject understanding which claims that subject is an artificial creation produced by discourse. Thus, we issued the mode of *subjectivation*, relations of power as well as the mechanism of marginalization (*otherization*). However, before concluding we can analysis and describe the concept of power-oriented politics through Foucauldian subject understanding. Foucault strongly held the idea that subject is constructed trough discourse and practice in

different fields. In this perspective, he is strongly criticizing the idea of a natural self and subject as well. He tries to reveal the relations of power and effects of power on self-construction. Furthermore, we can argue that the concept of identity, self, individual, and human are reflecting the same fact which is subject. The difference between them is that every one of them reflect another discourse. That is, human is subject to the discourse of humanism; individual is the one of liberalism. Self is the one of psychology. Moreover, we are not just under influence of single discourse. We can be subjected to difference discourse in the same time. That's why speaking being is described as the battlefield of discourses. Hence, speaking being cannot be tied to single discourse since there are multiple relation of power even Discourse tries to set up it-self as a single reality. On the contrary, the homogenization of relations of power would mean the decrease of relation and the possible field of action of people. Foucault support the diversification of relation of power to make freedom possible. in this context, Foucault would contradict the dispositions which fix the relation of power as ethics whose role is to put all relations in order. As well known that Foucault's power definition implies a resistance as contra-power. Foucault always rejected, tried to say that the existence and diversification of relations of power can create the effects of freedom which means simply the diversification of choices. Hence, ethics in Foucault is something which defines the relation of person with himself, that's the techniques of self; which serves the empowerment of individual instead of a disposition which fix social relations. Furthermore, the concept we introduced in our thesis '*the power-oriented politics*' has also its meaning here. To be remembered that the standpoint of Foucault had never been to introduce a strict theory. Nevertheless, in this point, our concept is based on Foucault's thought. Besides, we can also express our concept based on post truth discussion. Post-truth is mostly criticized from ethical perspective. But post truth can be understood based on the will of power which means that people are inclined to see and to shape the world according to their desires. In this perspective, post truth is also a reflection of power's will of individual. On the contrary ethics is supposed to limit the will of power of individual. In this manner, post-truth serves to extend the field of action. That's to say that it serves to diversify the relations of power by relativizing norms or ethical codes dominance over subject. Hence, the *relativization* of ethical code, and truth would serve to liberate social relation in individual level. In contrast, there can be the consequences we cannot predict in macro-politics. Nonetheless, Foucault also claimed that the homogenization of relation of

power or putting the relation of power in hierarchy in all social level assure empowerment of state that's called leviathan. On the other hand, the *relativization* of ethics would also be a hindrance to monopolization of force by single entity. Because *relativization* might prevent people think and behave in the same way.

3.1.4.4. Foucault's Method as Archaeology of Knowledge

In Foucauldian analysis there's shift in time from an archaeology of knowledge to genealogy inspired by *Nietzschean* heritage. Before the publication of *Discipline and Punish*, Foucault describes his method as archaeology which sets to reveal "the history of systems of thought" peculiar to each historical era and each "archaeological stratum." His archeological method is not supposed to find only the relation between statements which are in common and even which are different from each other. The possible relation behind them would be, what we call, episteme that conducts the way people think and behave unconsciously. In this sense, episteme is alike unconscious areas, which set up the boundaries of discourse and its consistency by not dictating any visible rules upon subject. In this sense, that's unthinkable notions that subject wouldn't mind, because they seem bizarre if someone thinks of (Garland, 2014). This unconscious are is mostly described as episteme whose work is to set the boundaries of conscious. What is thinkable? Furthermore, he introduces three mode *epistemes*. As to Garland:

"He argues that the forms of knowledge characteristic of the Renaissance, those characteristic of the Classical period, and those characteristic of the Modern period, were each structurally distinct, entailing different "epistemes" and correspondingly different ways of ordering thought and producing discourse. The first was organized around "resemblances" between things that were captured in language; the second was based on "representation" by means of a discourse that mirrored the world; and the third was organized around the figure of "man", a figure that stands simultaneously inside and outside of knowledge, as both knowing subject and known object (Garland, 2014)."

Archaeology turns out to be nothing else than describing all the rule at a given period and for a specific discourse which related to episteme of age in each society. According to Öner on being defined this (2016):

"Archaeology tries to define not the thoughts, representations, images, themes, preoccupations that are concealed or revealed in discourse, but those discourses themselves, those discourses as practices obeying certain rules (Öner, 2016)".

It does not treat discourse as a document, as a sign of something else. It defines

types of rules for discursive practices that runs through individual oeuvres, sometimes govern them entirely, and dominates them to such an extent that nothing eludes them (Foucault 1972b:140; Mills,). Thus, archeology analyzes the limit and forms of *expressibility*. What is it possible to speak of? (Foucault, 1972c:234)

Moreover, the notion of a priori is one of central concept in his discourse and archaeology. The concept of a priori is peculiar to Kant's transcendental philosophy. But Foucault separated the term from its transcendental connotation instead he proposed that a priori is constructed historically. The concept of a priori is supposed to make knowledge possible. Hence, the notion is decisive in defining the truth since there's a different a priori notions in every age. Beside there are multiple of a priori concept in different field. In some respect, the function of archaeology is supposed to detect these a priori formations.

Archaeological method aims to reveal the dominant discourse in a given time and place since discourse set rule of thinking through historical a priori and put subject into what's to speak of and how? Foucauldian archaeology indeed decentralizes subject who is supposed to be autonomous and reasonable. Instead it proposes a new understanding which suggest that subject is a construction. Besides, Foucault refused the idea of that subject is author of discourse. For him, that's the contrary because the source of knowledge is not subject since discourse set the limit of understanding and definite what's meaningful or not. In this perspective, subject is nothing but the reflection of discourse on human being. Hence, it's possible to understand individual through studying the maxims on which discourse rises (Foucault, 2016). According to Gutting and Novaes (2015):

"It (discourse) allowed the historian of thought to operate at an unconscious level that displaced the primacy of the subject found in both phenomenology and in traditional historiography (Gutting 2013; Novaes, 2015)."

Foucault, in his book of archaeology of knowledge, criticized firstly the narrative of history about continuity and cause/effect relations. He asserted that history is serving to normalize the present intuitions since it justifies them through a narrative organized based on continuity and cause/effect relations. He thought also that history is re-built on present, so attributing history a naturalness serves indeed to hide discursive formation behind a *naturality*. In this manner, history is no more than a permanent formation and re-formation of facts or a new regard to history. In this sense,

the field of archaeology is in present; it takes present notions and make history of them archaeology tries to reveal out how was discourse, object of knowledge is constructed instead of traditional historical analysis. (Foucault, 1972b). Hence, that's why Foucault had needed to correct misunderstood about the archaeology. Especially, Foucault needed to emphasize that archaeology doesn't mean "digging out" in any of its senses. He's troubled with that. On the contrary, he claimed that

*"this is precisely misunderstanding I have nothing to do with archaeology in this sense. In fact, I don't like metaphor of digging out. I'm more the surface guy but I also didn't expect that almost all of my readership was lacking any sense of my readership was lacking any sense of humor"*⁵

Because Foucault thinks that discursive things are basically flat, superficial. As he stated that

"I was interested in [the subjects of his archaeologies] because I saw in them ways of thinking and behaving that are still with us. I try to show, based upon their historical establishment and formation, those systems that are still ours today, and within which we are trapped. It is a question, basically, of presenting a critique of our own time (Simon, 1971: 192; Garland, 2014)."

In this perspective, we can use another metaphor to make understand the term. In fact, we can argue that no discourses have disappeared, their existence is mostly fluid, grid or we are not aware of their existence. But sometimes they revive hazardously or through the relations of power. In this manner, we can use Freudian term of subconscious instead of digging out or excavating that Foucault reject. Subconscious is a concept to express that we have some impression that we are not aware of their existence, but they sometimes affect our present perception unconsciously. In this perspective, Foucault instead of separating between past and present, he positions the past in a position of affecting our today. It's possible to say that's why Foucault reject the metaphor of digging out. He sees the past into present and archaeology serves to reveal it through retro perspective study which means going into sub-consciousness. We can argue that the idea of making history of present and idea of placing past system of thought and practice in the subconscious of present conducts Foucault to update his research method.

Indeed, Foucault updated his Archaeological method which briefly supposed to reveal out structural orders, structural differences and the discontinuities that mark

⁵ (https://youtu.be/u_pWpHWVdiM).'

off the present from its past with Genealogy which seeks instead to show “descent” and “emergence” and how the contingencies of these processes continue to shape the present. What is present reality? What is the present field of our experiences? Here it is not a question of the analytic of truth but involves what could be called an ontology of the present, of present reality, an ontology of modernity, an ontology of ourselves (Foucault, 2010: 21).

It's trivial to say that Foucault place the relations of power in the center of his philosophy. The archaeological method which divides the history into layers with respect to dominant episteme of period and which analyze discursive formation is not able to reveal the relations of power. In this perspective, the genealogical analysis reveals the emergence and of contemporary practice and institutions traces as well as power struggle behind them. Genealogy is, in that sense, “effective history” because its intent is to problematize the present by revealing the power relations upon which it depends and the contingent processes that have brought it into being (Dean, 1994; Garland, 2014). The conditions on which discourse, subjectivity or practice rise are not supposed to have a unity instead genealogy make history of this unification through analysis of the relations of power. As Foucault (1991: 82) express:

“The search for descent is not the erecting of foundations: on the contrary, it disturbs what was previously thought immobile; it fragments what was thought unified; it shows the heterogeneity of what was imagined consistent with itself.”

In this perspective, genealogy is an effective tool to problematize institutions claim of *naturality* by revealing power struggle in their construction process. In this point we can think that Foucault reject all phenomenon which monopolize power since he held the idea that the duty of philosophy is to decipher the extremity of power through monopolizing rationality. The method of genealogy is useful method to detect power for having strategies against monopolizing inclination of power. As to Koopman (2007) on this:

The much-debated question of why Foucault shifted from archaeology to genealogy can be answered in this way: whereas archaeology offers a static analysis of practices synchronically pulled from the past, genealogy offers a dynamic analysis whereby these practices can be viewed diachronically as historical processes themselves. Genealogy enabled Foucault to explain historical change and continuity. In this way, genealogy was an expansion of archaeology rather than a refutation of it—of course genealogy refutes a few assumptions made by archaeology, but on the whole it refutes these assumptions by reinterpreting the key elements of the earlier approach. (Koopman 2007;

Novaes, 2015)

In this respect, Foucault had redacted books that concentrates on special matters through which he used the method of genealogy like discipline and punish, Birth of the Clinic etc. Foucault had redacted books on different topics which had actuality at that time. Especially Foucault was an activist who goes from Spain to Poland. He was very preoccupied with condition of detainees in France, he had participated to reunion and conference to raise awareness about their conditions. he tried to reveal that how prisons become a useful dispositive in modern state, and how prisons become fabric of useful criminal through his books. On the other hand, in The Birth of the Clinic, he remarks that:

“The research that I am undertaking here . . . involves a project that is deliberately both historical and critical, in that it is concerned . . . with determining the conditions of possibility of medical experience in modern times” (Foucault, 1973: 35).

Furthermore, his genealogy of power were analyzed in the former chapters. It can also give an idea about his genealogical method. Nevertheless, we can resume it again. Foucault introduce models of power starting from pastoral power, *juridico-discursive* mode, disciplinary power to bio-power etc. each model appears with according to condition of given period. But one doesn't appear after other takes place, instead, every of them can exist and can appear together under an update form. Hence, the past system of thought or discourse can appear and disappear hazardously in the consequences of relations of power. This may be called continuation but not in the sense of a cause/effect relation or a strict linear way. So that's why Foucault strongly criticize the concept of a linear progress.

CHAPTER 4

DYADIC POWER THEORY AMONG OTHER ALTERNATIVE APPROACHES ON UNDERSTANDING POWER ORIENTED POLITICS

4.1. Dyadic Power Theory

In this section, we are going to analysis Dyadic Power Theory in the light of Foucault's teaching about power. DPT⁶ can be thought as a case in the context of this thesis. The theory is specifically focus on bilateral relations and its theoretical baggage is based on Foucauldian works that are not explicitly cited. This can be oriented as critics towards the theorists and experimenter of theory. Besides, the dyadic theory claims and outputs coincides mostly with our thesis perspective. Since the originality of theory is to consider power as something perceptive. Generally, the assertions of theory about specificities of power are in the same line with philosopher's perspective we issued in third part. In this perspective, we are going to analysis first of all DPT's theoretical basis by referencing at Foucault's power studies and present the DPT itself in the light of Rollin and Bahr's and Dunbar's works. Secondly, we try to apply theoretical perspective of DPT to analysis the possible dyadic relationships between president and his /her advisers. Thirdly we re-formulate DPT as partnerships between groups instead of keep using theory in intrapersonal relations in this perspective. Fourthly, we are going to study the relation between power and public as dyadic relationships. Finally, we are going to analysis relation between power and media.

Theoretical basis of DPT. Foucault's teachings about power have an important influence over dyadic power theory. Bahr and Rollins theory based. We can argue that Power is frequently perceived as a political entity by majority. As well as the illustration of power in the imaginary of the society is often like a 'monster' (Leviathan). It was Foucault who conceptualized and presented the first alternative approach to the classical power studies. He trembled the approach that reduces power

⁶ Dyadic Power Theory

to the center, the state or decision-making mechanisms by claiming that "power is everywhere". This motto of Foucault explains Foucauldian understanding of power very effectively. While he is expressing that power is everywhere; he indeed tries to explain that power does not belong to anyone and it has a fluid course. Power is not just a political term since he described all social and professional or frank relation as relations of power. That's to say that the relations between teacher/student; master-apprentice are also relations of power.

It's possible to say that the authors of theory place the axis of their theory on the notion of resistance that Foucault kept it always while he defines power. Nevertheless, we can argue that he didn't have a deeper explications over the concept of resistance. In contrast, we can argue that the theorists updated this notion of resistance by the notion of perception. They express that power is a relative, that's to say that power is depend on perceptions of individual about their partner's power. In fact, these claims of theory also coincide with Foucault's definition of power as Foucault expressed that power is a relational and appear through relationships. However, Bahr and Rollins' theory is axed to explain the relation of power in marital relations. Even it's limited to relations between husband and wife. It's original to theorize about the balance of power between partner and to claim to explain the relations between partners based on the relation of power as well as to express that their relations and their level of affinity are dependent on the tension of power between them (Dunbar, 2004). Nevertheless, people are aware of the struggle between them. And this struggle was conceptualized as power or the will to power in philosophical world. However, people are inclined to understand this struggle as the results of broken moral values. Then, people choose to make a self-control in their relationships to improve and secure the future of relationship. They are programmed to respect each other's according to cultural codes, their status which is recognized by cultural code again (Dunbar, 2004). That means, all relations are already set up by dominant cultural code. People choose to apply what they learned through their process of socialization to prevent the conflicts between them. That is indeed the result of the embodiment of people as moral subjects. People are respected as long as they are in the cultural boundaries.

In this context, Rolland and Bahr theories is efficient theory to understand the

specific relations. It is a subject that researchers mostly neglected because of their focus on major cases as politics and economy etc. In fact, the specification of theory in the minor relation are, all by itself, proof of its originality in the literature. Besides, it is possible to say that post-modern philosopher would encourage this kind of work. As Foucault always alerted that leviathan are not independent from minor powers that help it exist in society. In this perspective, to analysis minor power relation is important as much as analysis political power's relations.

DPT definitions. Dyadic Power Theory took its origins from Rolland and Bahr's theories on communication. The theory target is to reveal out the importance of perception of partners on each other's power and resources. DPT considers that resources and authority held by each partner are the basis for power within the relationship. Nevertheless, the matter is that DPT prioritizes the perception of partners about their level power rather than the real resource they have. DPT consider also the importance of interaction between partner and the outputs of this interaction since power appear through interaction (Dunbar, 2004; 2005; 2015). That is to say that who held the power theoretically can fail to make accept his plans to his partner who are theoretically less powerful. That is, DPT's hypothesis are that resources of partners in dyads are important. Nevertheless, these are not enough to direct the trajectory of relationships by all their self. Because the perception of partners on each other's powers and the importance of each other resources can change all the time. DPT can be resumed in that way: Even though an individual may have considerable access to resources or s/he has more authority in public. He or she can still be the less powerful person in a relationship if his or her partner has even greater resources or authority. Consequently, power is not a characteristic of the individual; it is an emergent property of the relationship (Simpson, Farrell, Oriña, Rothman, 2015: 400).

Furthermore, as told before DPT is not an independent theory. It is in fact a composition of separate theories. However, Dyadic power theory is mostly formed based on fallowing theories: The chilling effect, Social exchange theory, Normative Resource theory, Interdependence Theory that are going to be described one by one. Social exchange theory that assume that individuals will act to maximize their interpersonal rewards and minimize their interpersonal costs (Blau, 1964; Emerson, 1972b; Homans, 1958; Molm & Cook, 1995; Thibaut & Kelley, 1959). Individuals'

dependence on a particular exchange partner is based on both value and alternatives, such that people are more dependent on those whose exchange relationships they value highly, especially when alternatives are few (Molm & Cook, 1995). According to the social exchange perspectives, power is achieved *dyadically* when a person is valued as an exchange partner and there are few alternatives (see, e.g., Emerson, 1962, Thibaut & Kelley, 1959). However, the social exchange perspective does not explicitly postulate what communication behaviors be enacted when *interactants* are confronted with an imbalance of power. Although they specify general outcomes, such as increases or decreases in commitment to the relationship (Dunbar and Abra, 2010: 659)

The chilling effect which supposed that, *“people’s perceptions of their own power in a relationship has important consequences for satisfaction as well as, whereby individuals who feel powerless or who fear aggression from their partners will avoid conflict”* (Dunbar, 2004; 2005; 2010).

Normative Resource theory which is introduced by Blood and Wolfe (1960) and later extended by Safilios-Rothschild (1976). Wolfe (1959) defined resources as

“a property of one person which can be made available to others as instrumental to the satisfaction of their needs or the attainment of their goals” (p. 100), where skills, knowledge, money, and status are considered to be relevant resources.

When the levels of resources between partners are imbalanced, the partner who has fewer resources becomes dependent on his or her partner for access to the resources that he or she desires to satisfy his or her needs and achieve important goals. This increased dependence produces less power within the relationship. (Simpson, Farrell, Oriña, Rothman, 2015: 397). Interdependence Theory (Kelley & Thibaut, 1978; Thibaut & Kelley, 1959) was one of the first social psychological theories of power in dyads. Borrowing concepts from game theory, Thibaut and Kelley (1959) defined power as the ability of one partner in a relationship to directly influence the quality of outcomes (i.e., the amount of rewards vs. costs) that can be obtained by the other partner in a given situation. Individuals who have better alternatives to the current partner or relationship—those who have high comparison levels for alternatives—should typically have greater power within their relationship because they can get better (more rewarding) outcomes outside the relationship than their current partner can. Over time, people who have better alternatives are more likely to leave

relationships unless their partners provide them with special or unique outcomes, such as extremely high levels of love and affection. (Simpson, Farrell, Oriña, Rothman, 2015: 398)

Even Dyadic theory is a composition of many perspectives on power. Dunbar express that the concepts which are used in the theory have their proper meaning. Dunbar made a dictionary of these concepts from firsthand. These are: *Power* is the ability or potential to influence or control the behavior of another person (Dunbar, 2004: 238). It's also described as the perception of one's own capacity relative to an interaction partner (Dunbar, 2004: 238). That can also be interpreted such as people has no absolute power over each other. Even individuals have resources to make them feel much power in contrast to their partners. The relation between partner and their background and share of power from past to present are also decisive on whom has more power. Secondly, Control attempts are defined as

“attempts by one person to change the behavior of another (called “power use” by exchange theorists; e.g., Molm, 1981) (Dunbar, 2004: 238) . Individuals may use any behavior as a means of attempting control including dominance (as defined by Burgoon & Dunbar, 2000; Burgoon et al., 1998), stonewalling or withdrawal (Gottman, Levinson, & Woodin, 2001), or non-negotiation (Fitzpatrick & Winke, 1979)” (Dunbar, 2004: 238).

As told before, theorists see the power relevant when there's divergence between partners. In contrast, in Foucault and Russell teachings power is a productive phenomenon and exist all the time because of that's the condition of all relation. However, Dunbar is also aware of this omnipresence of power in any relations since she note that *the work of other theorists since that original publication has suggested that power is a relevant variable even in communication in which there is no conflict (Huston, 1983; Komter, 1989; McDonald, 1980 (Dunbar, 2004: 238).* Nevertheless she chose to see power relevant when there's divergence between partners

Thirdly, *Counter-control* is defined as attempts that are responses to control attempts from an individual's interaction partner. (Dunbar, 2004: 239) indeed counter-control matches with Foucault's concept of resistance. According to him, every relations of power implies resistance. In this perspective counter-control can be classified as positive phenomenon as it excludes domination.

Fourth, *Authority* refers to norms regarding who “ought to” control different

situations in a relationship (Dunbar, 2004: 239). The position of Authority is given to one of partner by cultural norms. That both are subjected to. As told before, the baggage that partners have together is also decisive on who is going to fulfill the authority.

Fifth, *Resources are anything that one partner makes available to the other, helping the latter satisfy needs or attain goals* (Dunbar, 2004: 239). The conceptualization of resources as factors to make the other feel powerful is also an important nuance in this point. It's because of economical reductionism and negligence of power's concept in social science. It's always pictured that material needs are single decisive factor over politics. In this point, we can make an analogy. That is, as told in Mill's utilitarianism everything are means to happiness. But means become happiness itself in time. We can interpret this as alienation of individual from their targets of revealing their potential. Because as it is also told before that in Nietzsche's will to power, power is described as fin and every sentiment are measured according to the amount of power that individual has. Thus, happiness is described as the feeling existence of power. In this perspective people start to see money as an end rather than a means to power. As result, resources mustn't be thought as material ones.

Sixth, the term *relative* is employed to refer to power differences between partners in relation to each other. As Roland and Bahr put it that "*Power and control are relevant constructs in relationships only when conflict exists between the goals of the partners*" (Dunbar, 2004: 239). Nevertheless, power can be relative even when there's no conflict between partners. It can be thought that one in dyad can convince the other for a given plan based on his power in dyad. Even one of partner doesn't need to apply the plan but s(he) chose to be silent because s(he) feel less powerful. But after a while the one who was silent in the beginning can have willing to set back from the agreed plan because of any possible causes that make this person feel more powerful than before. Therefore, it's possible to say that power is always relative between partners

Dunbar also resumes DPT's hypothesis and claims in five maxims. The first one is that DPT considers resources to be one source of power in families, building on the social exchange interdependence, equity, and normative resource traditions (Dunbar, 2004: 238).'' The relation of power between people can be defined by

external values. That's to say that the dominant discourse in given time are determinative the way relations of power are structured and the balance between them. Furthermore, social relation is also important to determine what is valuable. In this context, the materials make us feel powerful are indeed identified by society or discourse.

Secondly, dyadic power theory also recognizes from the literature on sex roles and relational control that

“the authority to utilize those resources in interactions is often granted to individuals by societal (and often patriarchal) norms as well as the interactants’ own relational history (Dunbar, 2004: 238).”

In this perspective, DPT see power as propriety which can't turn into action all the time. Even social codes granted power to one person, the application of power is limited also to social norms. Besides, people's private history between themselves and their perception on each other's power can affect the way power is applied.

Thirdly, DPT suggest that power should be viewed relatively, or in relation to others. Thus, DPT acknowledges that power incorporates the perspectives of both individuals in the interaction (Dunbar, 2004: 238). Power is a relational according to Foucault also. There wouldn't be power in the absence of one side. Thus, even the weaker side's feedback is important in application of power. Otherwise, this couldn't be called relations of power instead we would call it as domination.

Fourth, DPT puts the interaction itself on center stage. Attempts to take control of any given interaction, although partially determined by power, are really the focus of the theory because they determine the outcome of the process that has ramifications for the future of the relationship (Dunbar, 2004: 238). That's to say that power is not stable; it can change all the time according to the present case. However, in the case of DPT, the usage of power is reduced to control attempt concept. The struggle between partners is considered a sign of power equilibrium in power. Nonexistence of conflict is sign of unbalance on power. Furthermore, partner's power difference can appear while the future and goal of relation is discussed. *“Power and control are relevant constructs in relationships only when conflict exists between the goals of the partners”* (Dunbar, 2004: 239).

Finally, people's perceptions of their own power in a relationship has important consequences for satisfaction and this is incorporated into the theory also as an outcome of the power processes enacted (Dunbar, 2004: 239). In this maxim, power is pictured as something hedonic. The pleasure that one partner has because of his power over another became the dynamic of all relation of power. As the concept of will to power proposes that everyone seeks to reveal their self and their capacity. It is possible to assert that people's hedonism can be classified as realization of the will to power of individual in dyad. However the hypothesis and output of his experiment are given below as a summary with those sentences that:

“Based on the extant literature since the publication of Rollins and Bahr’s (1976) theory, Dunbar (2004) theorized that the relationship between perceived power and the dominance displayed in interactions would more likely be curvilinear, in that those who perceive themselves to be more or less powerful than their partner would engage in less dominance than those who perceive they are equal to their partners. The study described here is more supportive of this view than the original linear view although the results should be viewed with some caution due to the limitations in the sample discussed below. Hypothesis one and the direct relationship between power and conflict outcomes tested in RQ1a, which were consistent with Rollins and Bahr’s proposal of a linear relationship, were not supported. The curvilinear pattern, on the other hand, is evident both in the results from H2 and the results from the sex-segregated analyses for RQ2. In addition, the data here from the tests of RQ1b supports the contention that power does not directly result in favorable outcomes but the interaction itself plays a more powerful role in predicting the outcome of the conflict.” (Dunbar, Bippus, Stacy, 2008:18)

The common point of theories including DPT, The chilling effect, Social exchange theory, Normative Resource theory, Interdependence Theory discussed above is that power is placed as fundamental component of relations. Their claims are simply that power is not absolute and permanent substance and perception of partner on each other's power are crucial for the future of relations. All these theories can be placed on the Russell's maxim that “the fundamental concept in social science is Power, in the same way that Energy is the fundamental concept in physics” (Dunbar, 2004) Russell also states that the power is the reason of all social relations. People comes together to feel more powerful than they are. They are willing to endure the relations as much as they satisfied with the power they acquired in the relation.

4.1.1. Basic Dyadic Relationships between President and his/her Advisers

The literature over DPT is too limited. There are few sources developed and

experimented by Dunbar. In contrast, it's possible to say that the theory deserved to be enlarged by scholars working on the concept of power. Since people can always establish bilateral partnerships for any purpose at any time. It is possible to ask that what is it that brings individuals together and provides them a life-long purpose and keeps them together. DPT can be used to answer the nature of all relationships. In this perspective, as part of this thesis we are going to apply dyadic power theory's notions over possible dyadic relations that includes dyads between president and his advisers. In the coming sections between power and public, between power and media. To analysis the dyad between president and adviser, we first to see the reason why presidents need advisers and they are dependent on presidents. Then presidents' power over adviser is going to be analyzed. Finally, we are going to have a schema to concretize the relation between them.

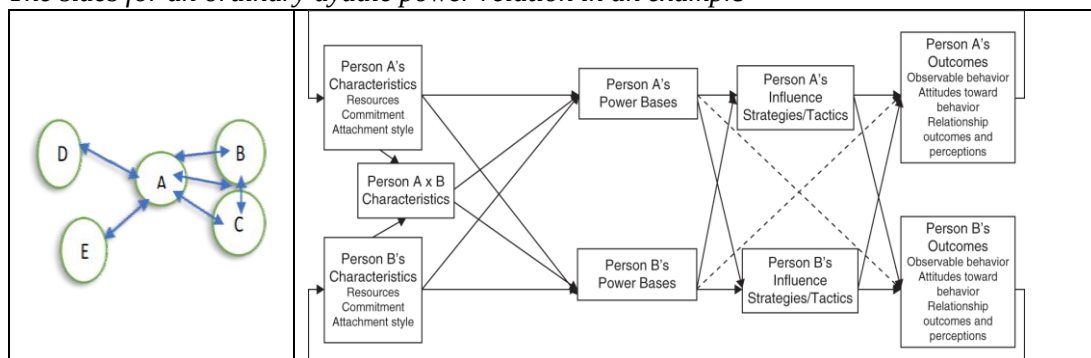
The need of president to advisers. Discourse as described in Foucault, is a matrix which identifies the way relation of powers are shaped (Foucault, 1972b; 1980) In this perspective, even the discourse is a product of power and its partnerships, after a while discourse can affects and limits the power that is the reason of the discourse in the beginning. As expressed before, in the historical process elites needed knowledge and expertise in different field to acquire and keep power. Even social science is invented as technic of power according to Foucault.

The dependence of president on advisers. However, the matrix between power and knowledge in today's world is so complicated than ever. Sophistication in every field's makes individual vulnerable in their action and decision-making process. Especially politicians cannot stand alone in the position of power because of complexity of life. Dynamism in political life requires always rush decision making process. For this, politicians are supposed to be feed with necessary knowledge. Thus, it can be assumed that they have different partners in different fields. Because modern management requires sophisticated techniques and expertise in many fields. Politician or high rank bureaucrats are always dependent on their partners or advisers since they have to make decisions in different areas simultaneously and they are often under pressure (Foucault, 1980b; 2018). This dependency of the managers especially to their advisors can start up a dyadic relationship in time. Because advisers may have also self interest in their advising process. The success of their consultant is considered also

as their proper achievement. And in this dyadic relationship, the consultant with his competence in the field is supposed to have more knowledge than his client. As consultant has not enough time to skill up him-self in a specific area, s(he) needs to be dependent on the knowledge of his counsellor. However, advisers with their skills may manipulate consultant. That's not say to advisers make politicians do what they need to be done. Even, their advices can be correct and useful for consultant but small changes or the nuances in their advices can produce big profits for counsellor. Or else advisers can manipulate politicians without expecting any material returns because of their moral value. They can make, the politician who is already dependent on them, do what they see correct.

Presidents power over the adviser. We can claim that a third party's intervention may be the end of this dyadic relation between president and adviser. It's to say that a third one may influence the course of the bilateral relationship between the subject of power and his advisor. The third factor can diminish the effect of first adviser or stabilize the present relation or rise the effect of first adviser. Nevertheless, considering that the time of president is much more limited compared to his advisors. Thus, once subject of power has confidence on his adviser, he is unlikely to have another one; even he has new advisers; he makes the last decision with his first adviser. The matter is in this point that advisers can have much more time together. Two of advisers within multitude of advisers can come together to form an alliance or a dyadic relationship. Even if they are supposed to compete. In this way, consultants may have more power over the president as a result of this bilateral relationship since they have much access to president

Figure 1:
The sides for an ordinary dyadic power relation in an example



(Simpson et. al, 2019:88)

It's possible to schematize what we tried to express above. In this scheme, A as politician, president or manager has the power to decide. B, C, D, E are advisers to different fields or in the same fields. Nonetheless, it is pictured that B and C have also an intense relation which is supposed to be a dyadic one. In this context, B and C is supposed to have a strong access to A differently from the rest because of their implicit support to each other agendas. However, A is not supposed to have a limited bunch of advisers. S(he) can have always more than fourth. Nevertheless, it is supposed that A can't have enough time to meet all of his advisers. It can be thought that A may pick some of his advisers as mediators between him and his advisers. Thus, "*who have the role of mediator have more power than the rest?*" can be questioned. Mediators can sympathize with each other instead of concurrence between them-selves because of the negative consequences of concurrence for their career. In results, advisers may come together, and they can manipulate A's thoughts as well as tries to help him for keeping his power. Because A's unsuccessfulness ends also the power the advisers have. Furthermore, adviser as gatekeeper decides who can access to A besides, advisers can have role in hiring new advisers. As result, A can become a subject of his advisers.

However, president is supposed to have an ideological and to understand social phenomenon. President is not just surrounded by advisers but public, NGO's, political rivals and media. Even a politician can have companions that he meets through his career. On the other hand, president has informal relations. President is to be influenced by his or her spouse and family member etc. However, these all phenomenon may dilute dyads between president and advisers. Thus, the weak relation between adviser and president is to dilute adviser's power over president. In this perspective, president can chose to have as much as possible advisers to keep his authority.

4.1.2. Dyadic Relationships among Different Classes across the Historical Periods and in the era of Nation-State

In this section, we are going to analysis the relation between classes according to DPT's notions. In Marxist historical materialism, History is defined as struggle between classes. But in our analysis, we focus on the notion of power rather than relation of production. Besides, it worth noting that in this section as Foucault refused

the concept of class (Foucault, 2004). Populace is going to be analyzed herein as imaginary formation under the name of nation or society. We can argue that society is formed through dyadic relationships. In this context, we are going to conceptualize and analysis the struggle between aristocracy/bourgeoisie and king/bourgeoisie as dyadic relationship. Secondly, we try to analysis the dyadic relationship between bourgeoisie and populace how this dyad ends up by forming a nation as well as we try to study the dyadic relationships between us and other in nationalization process. Finally, we conclude by revealing out the dyadic relation between president and nation as an important dynamic in the process of nationalization. To note, as continuation of this part in 4.3 section, we are to analysis the dyadic relationship between polarized communities and their political elites as well as the concept of polarization as a new discursive formation.

It is well known that since 11th and 12th in Europe, a new class is to appear through surplus value of commerce. This class is named after the name of neighborhood they built under *bourg* of citadels. Bourgeoisie was going to capture economic power. In the meantime, aristocracies were dominant class based on the divine law. Aristocrats had privileges as not paying taxes and having propriety the land they exploit. As well as they had power to resist king's doing. As results, there was two classes in court of king towards 15-16th centuries. The king was in the middle of these groups as mediator. The stress between bourgeoisie and aristocracy was useful for the king as king can use one of them against the other (Elias, 2003).

However, the rising of bourgeois class was also a possible danger for kings who are actually aristocrat. Kings were doubtful of bourgeois as much as aristocrats were. But kings noticed that keeping bourgeoisie within the game of power or the relation of power was efficient against Aristocrats who keep demanding stuffs and not paying any taxes in return. In this process, the tension between Aristocracy and Bourgeoisie helped kings to rise their power. That's indeed the history of absolute monarchy in France. In the end, the dyadic relationship between king and bourgeoisie against Aristocratic helped king to have more taxes; to rise sophisticated armies and to rule country despotically. In return, king made a centralized country in which there's one law and one currency and one market. For that, Bourgeoisie were satisfied in this dyad. Nevertheless, King was an aristocrat but his policy against aristocrats eroded his

power because king lost aristocratic forces to limit bourgeoisie. Briefly, the end of this process was revolution in France when aristocracy were totally weakened, and king has nothing to reverse bourgeois economic power (Elias, 2003).

Thus, bourgeoisie tried to turn its economic power into political power that is ultimate power because of its psychological effects. As told before human's life struggle is to overcome his innate fear. In this perspective, power is psychologically helpful to reverse such an endless fear. As human's main strategy is to secure his life that is reflected as will to live; latter Nietzsche conceptualized this as will to power that is reflection of human's desire to live. Since living needs a reformation of the areas he lives, human needs to shape their environment permanently because of the altering conditions. In this manner, in the dyads, who has the political power can be supposed to be more powerful because of its psychological effects and the feeling of security it provides. Economic power is not satisfying without political one. That's why we prioritize the concept of power in explaining relationships.

However, bourgeoisie, in the majority of world, had captured political power in time. But Bourgeoisie needed to have another partner since they sacrificed their royal partner. The new partner was the decentralized populace. In their resistance against kings, people become the source of strength of bourgeois. It is sure that the dyads between bourgeoisie and people did not begin suddenly. Since political thinkers think of another source of legitimacy there was a slow ideological shifting towards populace. In this context, Machiavelli's obsession for having knowledge of people's like and dislikes, Hobbes's contract which altered the axis of legitimation from top to bottom can be classified in this line. However, bourgeois thinkers are tasked to introduce a theory of nation that bless the alliance of bourgeoisie and populace. Therefore, political thinkers firstly conceptualized the populace who are decentralized and who has not common conscience under the name of nation. The reasons make political elites needs a nation to build are discussed in Foucault's part. Nevertheless, it's possible to make a summary. Since a capitalist economy had become an important resource of political power. The rulers to keep and rise their power needed to encourage capitalist economic model and support the existent bourgeois classes. But capitalist economy needs a centralized country with sophisticated work force so on. Then bourgeoisie need to turn his gaze at populace.

The alliance between bourgeoisie and populace become an important dyadic relationship that made the world up down. This dyad had a role in transforming political regimes in the entire world. Bourgeoisie couldn't exclude the populace after its revolution against king and aristocracy. Because it needed populace to use them in their big economical project as work forces and in their political transformation process as base of legitimacy. This needs of Bourgeoisie helped populace have a considerable amount of power against bourgeoisie. Hence, populace needed to be conceptualized as nation that's a holy entity in majority of political discourse in Today's politics. Nation was firstly a political project to reverse the ancient regimes discourse that sees the royal family as the legitimist rulers. However, national discourse is naturalized itself in time. And this nationalist discourse turned into fascism that prioritize one nation over the rest.

In contrast, populace had also profit in bourgeois revolution. Populace was not just an object of bourgeoisie. Slaves of ancient regime turned into worker under new regime. That is, their status was improved according to past. That is to say that their domination was legal in the ancient regime, but the domination and slavery were out of normal since bourgeoisie took over. However, there are many critics about status of worker in capitalist society. Their situation is considered as a kind of modern slavery. Nevertheless, in dyad between patron and worker, labor classes had freedom to go out, to manifest, to boycott so on. All of them made possible existence of relation of power. Therefore, this helped the development of their rights.

The dyadic relationships between us and other in nationalization process. In this naturalization process the dichotomy between us and the others had a major role. As communication strategy, nation building process as well as the routine in politics is mostly shaped by dichotomy between us and them (the other). That's also explained in Foucault's part of Bio-power concept. Discourse needs the concept of other to control people for applying its control mechanism, as told before in Foucault's history of madness, discourse on madness is serves to identify what's the normality and who is normal person. Thus, in this normalization process of capitalist ideology, who are outside of relation of production are called as mad people and marginalized from society. In this manner, worker is controlled and kept within relation of production. In the same line, the other is used to define the good citizen in the eye of political elites

since the behaviors of other are misprized and found dangerous by discourse. However, the good citizens are to be what's called us and the other is always kept present in political discourses to define the good citizen. Thus, the Self identifies itself with an Us, and we can only exist when there is consciousness of a Them (Schütz 1982, 32-33; Schütz 2002, 41-42; Bauman 1992, 53; Bauman et al. 2004, 47-48; Kämpfi, 2008).

We can argue that political elites under the name of nations used each other as enemy to fulfil the concept of other (the other) in their formation process. Since the nonexistence of other put in danger national discourse. The hostility between them can be considered as results of this process. Especially in the awake of national discourse by help of communication technology and marginalization of people begin to cause hostility between populace. The one of this record is massacre of workers who are from Italy by French in 1893. Noiriel's paper on massacre of Italian focus on the press impact on massacre of Italian Aigues-Mortes where is provincial of France. It's a dramatic event as its first time masses chases a bunch of people because of their attributed national identity. Even Italian who had been killed didn't describe their self as Italian since national discourse had been in success in Italy yet. it is an important case to understand how nationalist discourse is mobilized through marginalization and hate towards other (Noiriel, 2010).

Furthermore, the other's existence is doubtful or the ones who is pictured as other in society is most of time not strong as they are imagined. There is exaggeration by politician in order to consolidate power in their hands through alimenter fear of people. Umberto Eco's novel *The Prague Cemetery* is a major work to understand what the dynamic behind marginalization of Jews are through 19th century in Europe by newly emerging nation states. Jews were useful other to political elites because in people's imaginary Jews are always misprized because of their faith through centuries. In this context, modern political elites did not hesitate to re-use Jewish myth to justify their politics. Besides, national elites try to picture Jews with newly emerging socialism that is going to be hindrance for coming years. As results the balance between leader and people are always symmetric because of army of *mythification* that leader has. This *mythification*, symbolization and storytelling technics are covered under the name of bourgeois ideology in Marxist Teaching; Foucault conceptualized

that under the name of discourse with nuances later.

The dyadic relation between president and nation. The process of nation-building can be also understood through DPT. Political elites who are major actors in building process are presented mostly in the name of president (the main character or mythicized person) even they are supposed to have divergences between themselves. However, the rulers have willing to identify themselves with the state they rule since Louis 14. The king of France who declared ‘‘ *L’état, C’est moi* ’’ which means that I’m the state and I’m France. Besides, Rousseau’s general will concept is manipulated mostly by autocratic rulers to justify their existence in the head of state and to soften the crude declaration of Louis 14 later.

As told before, the conceptualization of populace under the name of nation required a big transformation project as education of all people living in the boundaries of countries, the unification of cultural values, connecting all separate markets, establishing a unified currency and markets (Gellner, 2008; Benedict, 2006). Every part of this process is conducted by state that includes political elites or bourgeoisie. However, the state was an abstract entity in the imaginary of populace. We can argue that the prioritization of state over rulers would be unsuccessful because of its abstractness as communicational strategy. It is a useful strategy to have a concrete entity that populace would think when they are told of state. In this context, all of political elites that are supposed to be divergent from each other could not be in the scene in the same time. It’s possible to say that requirement of communicational strategy of political elites *favorized* the rise of *mythized* person (guide-president) who represents state. Besides it can be thought that it is useful strategy because people had been living under rule of one-man during centuries. They were not supposed to engage in politics and to know all state’s affairs since people lives in countryside or newly in their factories. Therefore, the concept of guide is important in the beginning of national building process. As example Napoleon Bonaparte in France, Bismarck and Frederic William in Prussia, Atatürk in Turkey etc. However, this strategy caused deviation later in example of Hitler and Mussolini.

Nevertheless, the rulers have willing to think of society as a single entity. Politician think of all individuals as one while they try to have a dialogue with them. In this context, the relationship between Guide and nation established in fascist

regimes, can also be regarded as a dyadic relation. That is to say, the political leader, who sees himself as the representative of the general will can establish a sentimental relationship with the nation which is supposed to be a single entity. The nation and the leader are supposed to have mutual benefit in each other's existence. Since there is dyadic relationship between them it is possible to measure the balance of power between them. In this context, because of mobilization of myths that support guide's oneness makes the political leader strongly than people. Beside as much as the leader convinces people he is the reflection of people; the leader is permitted to get all his policy done without resistance of nation. Furthermore, the leader who is placing the other as danger to nation and diabolizing the other can have solid support of nation. As Kämppe stated that

“party polarization has far-reaching effects on presidential leadership. Increased ideological homogeneity eases the task of party leadership, a central role for presidents.”

Besides, Foucault's pastoral model of power that conceptualizes the president or any kind of ruler as shepherd in fact can be placed in the same line since model suggest that ruler like guide/shepherd is supposed to help his public feel safe in the case of incertitude.

4.1.3. Dyadic Relationships between the Power Elites and its Public

In this part, we are going to analysis the dyadic formations between power and public in today's politics. In this context, the former section can be thought as the base of this one. However, neither power nor public are supposed to be homogeneous as we studied before. Thus, power cannot be reduced to government or president in the light of Foucault's analysis. That is, the concept of power in this section can be thought as political elites to concretize the notion of power. On the other hand, public is mostly supposed to be united. But in this section, we try to explain based on nation building studies that public as an artificial formation and the narrative about its homogeneity and *naturality* and unity doesn't reflect the reality. Indeed, as we studied the concept of public is the indicator of virtual unity. That's to say it's a phenomenological concept that human created and the human world is marked by imaginary boundaries. Nevertheless, our unawareness of what lies behind these boundaries leads us to misinterpretations and fallacious categorizations (Bauman et al. 2004, 54-55; Kämppe, 2008). In the reality, public, nation or society are the terms to cover the struggle

between existent communities by referencing Foucault's definition of politics. Furthermore, we chose to examine the dyadic relationships between different communities and groups whose alliances makes the concept of public exist. Nevertheless, these communities and groups etc. are also supposed to be constructed through discourses. In this point, we considered political elites as the founder of these groups to form a social base for institutionalizing their political power. As result, since we accepted power and public as heterogeneous. We hypothesized that each political elite formed their community. However as Foucauldian discourses analysis project that this construction is not just based on illusion. We can say that elite' manipulated different cultural and local codes as well as they generalized and naturalized them through education, media, ideological tools. However, they are supposed to struggle between them since political and economic elites are diversified. This multitude of communities and political elites made possible the formation of dyadic relationship between each other to capture power. In this context, we are going to analyses the impasse of concept of nation then reasons of polarization and marginalization as political strategy used by elites to have more power t in contrast to public. Secondly, we are to examine political elites in the process of construction of their community and political elites' relative power in contrast to community (public). Thirdly, we are going to study publics (communities) relative power's in the dyad with political elites.

The failure of national discourse can happen, since divergences appears frequently in society. The rulers of power cannot have a fraction of society as partner. Because the society is partitioned more than ever or society has been not unified. We can argue that communication technologies helped us to see the divergences in society. Therefore, political discourse failed to show the nation as one. After the supposed oneness is lost, we had the phenomenon of polarization of society. Nevertheless, the polarization of society or to demonstrate society as polarized can be classified as new powers strategy since political elites are engaged in globalization as results of the new mode of capitalism.

Inventing new enemies. Ethnicity-based conflicts or individualism in the entire world have appeared since the illusion about the oneness of nation is reversed through class struggle. The concept of cultural democracy is popularized. In contrast, the national discourses had received a setback. The globalization also externalized the

struggle between nations in the profit of global market. That's to say that France and Germany are not permitted to have an endless war as they did before. In this context, the national discourses re-established their self by the help of ethnic conflict, terrorism or immigration within the nation. Every nation had re-invented its other to stabilize their discourses. Because the lack of other put in danger the success of discourse. In this line, global terrorism especially the supposed Islamic terrorism was a remedy to fulfill this vacuum. As Edward Said observed and thought that

"Hostility to Islam in the modern Christian West has historically gone hand in hand with, has stemmed from the same source, has been nourished at the same stream as anti-Semitism" The word "Islamophobia" has been coined because there is a new reality which needs naming: anti-Muslim prejudice has grown so considerably and so rapidly in recent years that a new item in the vocabulary is needed so it can be identified and acted upon. In a similar way there was a time in European history when a new word, anti-Semitism, was needed and coined to highlight the growing dangers of anti-Jewish hostility. (Mahamdallie, 2015)

Thus, we can argue that the concept of global terrorism eased the cooperation between nations especially after the collapse of Soviets, terrorism was the main agenda of global media to manipulate people's fear and re-united broken nations.

The concept of other, inventing enemy, polarization, communities building process are issued to explain the resources that political elites have for putting populace in their boundaries. Powers has ability to re-code cultural values to exploit people's fears that we are going to analysis in the coming section in detailed manner since the rulers of powers have a monopoly over education and media. .

The marginalization as power strategy in contrast to public. In the underdeveloped countries, the intended effect can be produced through marginalization of a minority in society. The marginalized minority can be chosen over historical hostility between communities that forms the nation. However, as the polarization is encouraged by political powers. Political elites can choose to identify their-self with one of constituents in society to stabilize their power since they can't monopolize all living people in unity as told before. This monopolization also serves the other minorities to form a unity that they haven't it naturally. That's not to say that the majority are naturally united. That is, indeed neither what is accepted as majority nor what is accepted as minority are united or natural entity. Discursive formations and generals' definitions that are produced through the relations of power defines

majority and minority. That's to say majority and minority are phenomenological entities rather than natural entities. Thus, a majority is formed through the marginalization of another group. It requires a large project supported by media, education economy and cultural partners. In fact, that's what Foucault introduced as discourse.

Polarizing strategy. In a layman's definition, "polarization" denotes "division into two sharply contrasting groups (Oxford Univ. Press 2000; Lee, 2015)." According to Kämpfi:

"Polarization is a strategic form of boundary making since the other is not only a stereotype of what is unfamiliar and excluded, but also an opposite in the sense of self categorization – an imaginary collective gets its distinct form and substance when it is mirrored against the idea of an outer collective (Kämpfi, 2008)."

However, we can define that these polarized communities are not separatist movement rather they have willing to monopolize the power in the country. And this nuance conducts them to not marginalize other communities explicitly and roughly. Besides since the majority is supposed to be perceptive, the political elites hesitated to develop permanently a fanatic discourse. Nevertheless, as polarization is useful tool for powers, it also helped formation of new relation of power. Because while power forges its community; dissents political elites have marginalized community in their hands to stabilize their power. That's to say that polarization in discourse helped political elites to gather atomized individual under groups by making them fear of each other. Polarization that is conducted by political parties helps the homogenization of and ideological scale. Especially party polarization has far-reaching effects on presidential leadership. Increased ideological homogeneity eases the task of party leadership, a central role for presidents. In fact, that's the main raison in Hobbesian contract, people fear about their life make them compromise over a contract or a ruler. However, the matter is that there are communities that are formed through polarization. Hence, they are supposed to have dyadic relationship between each other to acquire and keep power with them.

As result, we can argue that there's a dyadic relation between power and its social base (community) besides, there's dyadic relationships between political elites' behalf of their community. Here it's possible to analysis how the power of balance

shifts between them.

Political elites and construction of their community. Political elites who are on the position of power, are described as the author of their community. Nevertheless, after some point this artificial community tends to naturalize itself. The link between political elites and their community is based on the belief that community is represented by the elites. As told before, political elites have resources that they make available to their members. The resources can be thought as material or moral ones. Political elites are supposed to have more power according to their social base since political elites have more resources than their community. Even political elites cannot offer any material resource to their community they can secure their power as we discussed above by re-forming a discourse or manipulating people's fear. That's to say power doesn't rise just based on material resources. As we are going to discuss it has also a psychological domain. Furthermore, political elites have control mechanism over people and the concept of other is always operant to put their member in the cap. Besides, political elites can have alliances to compensate their losses between themselves in the case they lack the full support of their community. As parenthesis, we can argue that that's why relations of power don't let anyone have absolute power and why power is pictured as fluid entity in Foucauldian works.

However, the public of political elites are pictured as powerless until this point. But as Foucauldian papers suggest us that the resistance is non sine qua of all relation of power. If the public does not have any power over their agent, the relation between them would be relation of domination. Therefore, there wouldn't be the relation of power.

Reversing hegemony of political elites by public. DPT's main claims are that power is a perceptive phenomenon and the one who has more resource can have lesser power in dyad. In the partnership of political elites and their public. The stronger side is supposed to be political elites since they have more resources. As it's told that the strongest resources are their communication strategies as storytelling, producing consent, marginalization that can be classified under the name of discursive strategy to aliment a discourse. We also argued that community is formed by political elites. It is similar to the construction of nation by political elites. This is sub nation formations are not separatist groups it can be thought as the struggle between conservative and

modernist in the entire world. However, the formation of community is permanent process. But this process is not supposed to be linear. As post-modern philosopher argued that subject is the cradle of discourses. That's to say that discourses are supposed to affect people thinking and behaviors. Thus, political elites can fail to form their community as they need as result of divergent media outlets and socialization. Besides it worth noting that the discourse that political elites forge also affect themselves. That's to say that they are also subjected to their power. Thus, discourse can replace its authors in the trajectory.

The other important point is that the strategy of marginalization that is applied by political elites can be re-interpreted by community and it may cause an extremism in people's thinking. We can have a retro-perspective in this point that nationalism that is first introduced by political elites through 19th and 20th centuries are re-interpret by people and it caused a new kind of nationalism which is different from its origins. That's to say, nationalism crossed with populism. Ant the re-formed nationalism is misprized by political elites. However, the re-formed nationalism helped the promotion of new political elites. In this perspective, Foucault's discourse analysis can be remembered that he claimed that there is a reverse discourse since discourse is always open to be re-interpreted. Nevertheless, reverse- discourse doesn't mean a new discursive formation. It indeed supports the main discourse. But the point is that reverse discourse may alter position of political elites in the favor of new ones. In this context, the main struggle of political elites is to fix the meaning. But it is difficult process since their community is supposed to be numerous and to have complex relationships in their social life. Thus, the re-interpretation of discourse can make the community stronger before elites. Because re-interpretation process ends up by new demands of society. In the case that political elites cannot satisfy demands of people, the link between them can weaken. The possible loss of social base of elites can make them loose their position in national politics.

The fear of political elites. As we analyzed in Machiavelli, Hobbes and Nietzsche that fear is natural sensation because of human's will to live. And power is a tool to free human's fear. Humans will to live conduct men to acquire power to secure their life and feel comfortable in their environment. That's to say that while political elites manipulate people's fear they also fear of losing their power. Thus,

political elites to secure their power can be submissive to demands of people. Especially in recent years, after social media took over the public sphere and people begin to contact directly political elites. Therefore, political elites start to follow their follower's demand and try to sympathize with them. That's to say politics is vulgarized in last decades. Or else that can be defined as populism in elections to secure majority of votes (Müller, 2017). As result, it's the consequence of political elites who have more risks than people who have less resources and the amount of power. In this dyad political elites' fear make them vulnerable in front of their community. We can assume that the material cost of being in politics has raised more than ever. Once one of them lost in political rivalry it would be hard to rise again (Katz, Mair, 2008).

As results. no group is not able to capture and keep power alone because of the naturalized discourses through history. That is what we discussed in Foucault's part of discourse that discourses can be thought as stratified manner. Which means that there is a main discourse which compromise the other discourse as subset, as example it's possible to say humanism as discourse is included in every discourse. The discourse of capitalism, socialism and nationalism are the result of humanist discourse. As well as nationalism can have capitalism or socialism as sub-set. There is also minor discourse in them. However, we interpreted the polarization as strategy of discourse or as a minor discourse which is peculiar to nationalism. In this manner, humanism which includes are the highest cluster of discourse that political elites are subjected to them. As Foucault said that discourse is to limit power's doings since power is never an absolute phenomenon. That's not to say that these discourses cannot be altered through the relations of power. However, it's hindrance to capture of the entire system by a single entity since there's a law mechanism agreed upon and which is in accordance with international discourse. Besides any political groups that run out of legitimacy and legality are considered politically death. Therefore, political elites who are supposed to represent different communities have to form partnerships because they need to reach a given degree of votes for having enough number to set up a government.

The balance of security and freedom can be thought as signifier to decide who has the upper hand public or political elites. However, the rise of security discourse serves political elite to rise their power as public is fear of the any possible danger. In

recent years, the phenomenon of state of emergency have become so popular in the entire world. In contrast, the fear of political elites is also signifier of their weakness. However, it is possible to assert that two sides are equally strong and weak in the reality. The decisive point is that political elites can be thought powerful in the dyad as much as they succeed to exploit people's fear.

4.1.3.1. A Short Debate on 21st Turkish Politics

Dyadic Interpretation of Turkey politics as example. We can concretize what is told above by picturing Turkey's political scene in recent years. In Turkey, the ruling party AKP and the opposition party MHP come together to form an alliance in the purpose of 'saving the future and unity of country' according to their claims. Besides, this alliance is realized despite many years struggle between them. On the other hand, the relationship between CHP and İYİP can also be placed in this context. By the way, the long-standing alliance between Conservatives and Social Democrats in German politics is an example for this dyadic relationship. Furthermore, this alliance between MHP and AKP is realized to capture power since none of them can capture power alone after parliamentary system is switched to presidential system. President needed to have 50 percent of vote and since no parties are able to acquire power alone, they are subjected to make alliance with each other. And the supposed political polarization in country helped the consolidation of minor communities as well. It is well known that this process ends up by apparition of two block in society. This phenomenon is the reflection of our claim that society is structured in dyadic manner. Foucault on society must be defended expresses, through example of struggle between Saxons and Normans that society is not a united phenomenon; it is the composition of rival communities to cover the struggle between them.

On the other hand, we can argue that this kind of alliance favored the minor partner over the major partner in dyads. Because, even the switch of tiny fraction of supporter to another party can make the ruling party loose its power. Hence, this makes the ruling party more dependent on its partner. That's in accordance with DPT claim that the one who is supposed to be strong can be weaker in the dyads

4.1.4. Dyadic Relationships between Power and Media

In this section, we are going to study the relation between power and media.

But as told before power is not a homogeneous formation. Medias are also heterogeneous entity. However, media, more generally, technologies of communication have been efficient in the concentration of power. Hence, this made inevitable the formation of tight relations between power and media. In this perspective, firstly we tried to analysis the resources they have compared to each other. Secondly, we studied the dynamics of relations with each other. Finally, we conclude that media turned into battlefield between the other possible dyad.

Medias power resources. The dominant perspective on communication technologies is that their progress help human has more freedom than ever. In contrast, the technology of communication was also very crucial in nation building process. Because press help politician form a public opinion and form a perception of coherence between people. Furthermore, the effect of press was stronger than formation of opinion. According to agenda- setting theories, Press is not just tasked of presenting news. It also provides people basic information and notion through which they can interpret the news stream. That's to say that press, first of all, put the rocks below on which we stand and understand the world. (McCombs, Maxwell E.; 1976). Besides agenda-setting theories includes the theory of framing which is simply to set a perspective to understand the news. This perspective which is chosen to cover the news can be determined according to the relations of power between political elites and media and dominant discourse (Weaver, 2007). Moreover, the other important hypothesis of agenda setting theories is that normally people can keep and think some news, in the meantime. In this perspective, the choice of news that are going to form agenda become so crucial. We can also reference at Chomsky's five filters of the mass media and gatekeeping theory (Chomsky, Herman, 1998). The media has important amount of power in contrast to political elites. However, media is even described as fourth pillar of democracy after judiciary, executive and legislature (Ranjan, Kashyap, 2014).

The concept of media is supposed to be powerful as much as the other pillars of democracy. It is possible to add a retro perspective analysis to the relation between power and media. That is, we can argue that, politician are misprized and pictured as doubtful, selfish characters since Socrates and Plato. In fact, Plato himself misprized the concept of politics. His concept of philosopher-king is reflection of his hesitant

thinking towards politician and politics. He tries to replace politician with philosopher. In fact, as we studied in Nietzsche part, this perspective served to moralize political realm later. And the church claim on government can be placed within Platonism. However, as told before Plato introduced the concept of truth and human must find truth. Besides he must be in accordance with truth for fulfilling moral necessities. But truth cannot be affair of politician who has suspicious character in Plato thinking since Athene is morally collapsed in imaginary of Plato. In contrast, in Plato's work, Socrates is pictured as character who seek the truth and tried to help people to find the truth. Socrates passes most of time with people and discuss with them to reveal truth for their enlightenment. In fact, that's how journalist is pictured in contrast to politician. In Today's world, politics is pictured by people as a dirty works while journalism are thought of being innocent in contrast to politician since their task to expose politician's affair and enlighten society. However, this provides an upper hand to journalist or other media outlets in their relationships with political elites. That's to say in a moralized world, journalist is the representative of morality while politics is mostly described immoral.

Besides, political elites (power) and gatekeepers (media) are not supposed to have close relationships in legal terms. Nevertheless, the patrons who are the owner of media outlets have become the real gatekeeper, since media is monopolized by capital as well as the owners of capital hire the journalists they can cooperate and (Bilir, 2005). In the actual state of media, it's difficult to conceptualize media as independent formation that can be an independent partner in any dyadic relationships. Furthermore, social media outlets took over the public sphere. In the entire world, the moral standpoint that journalist claims to have, is being criticized in the present. Especially the concept of post-truth which is identified with lie damaged also the etiquette of media. And social media journalist captured the moral standpoint that mainstream media lost.

Nevertheless, it doesn't mean that there is a total domination of power over media. Media is a card in the hands of capital against political elites since it become proprietary of economical elites. That's to say that we can consider media as power resource of economical elites against political elites in the dyads. Furthermore, the conflict between political as well as the conflict between political elites and

economical elites can rise the power and independence of media. Nevertheless”, media is also a part of discourse in Foucauldian sense. It cannot cross the boundaries of discourse.

4.2. Mooting the Idea as Psycho-power Model

In this section, we are going to analysis *psycho-power* model. The literature over the psycho-power model and psycho-politics is limited. But psycho-power and psycho-politics require to be studied broadly. In this respect, we are going to analyze Stiegler’s psycho-power model, secondly Byung- Chul Han’s psycho-politics. Then, we are going to contribute to the development of a psycho-power model. Firstly, we are going to find the origins of psycho-power model in philosophical realm. In this point, we focus on fear and castration as technic of power that are peculiar to psycho-power. Especially we tried to see possible the reversal of power. That is, the model of Stiegler, and Foucault’s model of power are to analyze political elites’ strategy to govern people. Although, Foucault held the concept of resistance as power constituent. He didn’t introduce a model of power focus on the resistance of people who are subjected to power. In this respect, our model of psycho-power model is mostly focus on the people’s possible resistance or who has supposedly less power. In this point, DPT’s hypothesis in the perceptiveness of power in dyads is also important consistent of psycho-power model. Finally, we are going to issue modern society as risk society and modern individual as neurotic subjects.

The term of psycho-power is firstly used by Stiegler. He introduced psycho-power model with respect to Foucault’s bio power model. Stiegler’s claim is that Foucault’s bio-power model is lacking perspective to understand today’s political life. He asserted that bio power model is just focus on some principle as birth, death and population adjustments. But we can argue that this claim is lacking the essence of bio-power model. Because bio-power requires psychological faculties to be applied as its usage based on having dichotomy with us and other. Besides, Foucault discussed bio-power model referencing at racism which includes psychological domain. However, It is true that Foucault didn’t conceptualize a model about psychological domain of power. In this point, Stiegler’s claim is to fulfill this vacuum. Thus, psycho-power can be defined like fallow as to Grincheva (2013):

“Psychopower is a term used by Stiegler to refer to modern political technologies that capture and modulate the collective consciousness of societies. This technology, as advocated by Stiegler, is more advanced than the political mechanisms of biopower. The term biopower was coined by French social theorist Michel Foucault. It refers to the practice of modern governments and their regulations of human subjects through “an explosion of numerous and diverse techniques for achieving the subjugations of bodies and the control of populations (Grincheva, 2013).”

As power technologies, Stiegler refers to developing communication technologies. *“Digital technologies play a great role in cultivating this new ethos, as recent digital aesthetics forayed in digital coding underpin psycho-power (Grincheva, 2013).”* Besides, in his definition, psycho-power model targets human minds rather than his body. According to Grincheva:

“Psychotechnologies are operationalized through global communication channels, which control not so much human bodies, but the ontological essence of human agency through manipulating the consciousness of peoples defining their life being (Grincheva, 2013).”

In this perspective, his model has similarities with Foucault’s discourse that set up people’s perspective to comment the every aspect of life. Besides, Foucault placed the knowledge/information as the basic set of power since information become an efficient tool to conduct people behavior. Besides, Stiegler’s psycho-power model is also a marketing analysis. As he observes that psycho-technologies are used by market force for conditioning the psyche to stimulate consumption. In other word, it is introduced for an economic system that thrives on mass-consumption (Camp, 2012). However, Stiegler rephrases Foucault’s concepts as psycho-technologies that capture, control, and modulate *“the neuro-informational circuits of human behavior,” that especially prevail in such fields as education, marketing, and a broad range of cultural activities (Grincheva, 2013)”* However, psycho-power model can be resumed as shifting attention of power from body and even mind to human psyche since powers discovered unconscious as a more useful tool to control human behavior ,instead of enlightenment’s conscious model (Stiegler, 2015).

Furthermore, Han’s psycho-politics concept required to be issued too. As Power technics have been improved since Neo-liberalism. Psycho-power can’t be thought anymore just from Stiegler perspective. Byung- Chul Han’s book of psycho-politics is one of rare studies in the field of psycho-power and psycho-politics. Han discusses that Foucault had begun to work on self-technologies to understand new

technics introduced by Neo-liberalism. However, Foucault's unexpected death got him away from his studies. Han fulfilled this vacuum in the absence of Foucault. And he developed the model of psycho-politics as power technics of Neo liberalism (Han, 2019).

He claimed that the psycho-politics model encourage people to act rather restricts them. Permissiveness is a character of new power. People are encouraged to be free and to orient their gaze at their self in this model, which means, people are encouraged to forge their self. Personalization is supported instead of individualization and self-become a project to build through this model (Han, 2009). In this point we can argue that social media outlets like Facebook, Tweeter, Instagram, help people form their personalized area especially a self-book that help people to fix their personality in some point as these technologies records every doings and memories. In this way, people has possibilities to control their acts and form a consistent self. However, as we discussed in Hume, Nietzsche, Foucault sections that self is a fluid term and cannot be fixed in a certain point. In this point we can argue that these digitalized media provide a self-memory to fix the flow.

On the other hand, careerism is the main constituent of a self-project. People are encouraged to have goals since their childhood. Besides, people are suggested to be entrepreneur and courageous as Neo-liberal discourse support a kind of permissiveness. Even people is encouraged to have goal oriented relationships with each other. As a result, we can argue that people have weaker ties with their environment, or they are encouraged to form their surrounding or to find an environment that suits them. Negri pictured the neoliberal subject as a person who fall into loneliness (Han, 2009). In fact, that's what we discussed in Kant' section while we criticize his subject model. Because individualism support a kind of solitude while it calls people to liberate their reason from their social environment. Neoliberal subject considers their self as the author of their self-project too. Indeed, that is the source of the solitude of neoliberal. Neo-liberal subjects are used to consider their success and failure as the result of their thinking and acts (Han, 2009). Thus, even in the case of a general social issue they see the problem personal rather than social. This way of thinking holds people back to act together.

As result, psycho-politics is a power technique that makes subject

psychologized. That means. This psyche is constructed through individualization, personification process then, this psyche is developed and targeted by new power technics. However, we can argue that people have a psychology or psyche in the consequences of individualism as we have studied before. We can argue that loneliness makes individual weaker before society. Isolated subjects is supposed to face psychologic problems as depression cases that have been popular recently. As to the popular news:

“Consumption of antidepressants has increased considerably in most OECD countries since 2000.. The level of antidepressants consumption depends on the prevalence of depression in each country (“Pharmaceutical consumption” OECD, 2015).”

Their remedy is also provided by neo-liberal’s psychology industry as life coach, psychological counseling and guidance, personal development books, psychologist, psychiatrist, anti-depressant, vacations. Especially people have many new technologies to get them out of reality and experience new kind of sentiments since distraction technologies have been sophisticated (Han, 2009).

4.2.1. The Genealogy of Psycho-power model

In this section we are going to find a philosophical origin to psycho-power concept. Although psycho-power model is developed according to Foucault’s power model. There are plenty of philosopher who focus on the psychological domain of politics. Foucault indeed classified the different technics of powers used in different age and he categorized them into models. Indeed, he made a genealogy of power as pastoral power, *juridico-discursive*, disciplinary and bio-power model etc. In the same line, we can add psycho-power model into Foucault’s genealogical work. But psycho-power model is not peculiar to any historical period. Even we can argue that power appears mostly on psychic process of human. That is not say that material resources or other kind of power generating resources have no impact on the appearance of power. That is to say, these resources have their impact in psychological manner based on the experience of people, as Nietzsche claimed that morality is internalized by people because of fear of punishment. Hence, we can say that power concretizes through sentiments especially fear. In this respect, as we noted before, we tried to look at philosopher’s psychological perspective that we studied as part of this thesis. In this thread, we saw the fear as technic of power and permanent strategy of psycho power

model. The reason of fear in political sense may lay at the dualistic thinking. However, thinking in dualistic manner is also the consequence of *Platonian* tradition. Binary thinking can also be a triggering factor for fear. The political discourses acquire their strength, most of time, based on established dichotomy between us and other. We can argue that dualistic thinking way is also one of the causes of polarization between communities. Because this form facilitate discrimination as we are used to think in *dichotomic* manner (us and them). Polarization also implies people's fear against each other.

In the beginning, we can classify Aristotle's ideas on human soul here as the origins of psycho-power model. Aristotle, in his book called *Nicomachean ethics* and *De anima* (on the soul) emphasized firstly the role of human psyche. Also, he linked the concept of virtue to psyche. That's to say that happiness is something about soul. Besides, as told before the aim of politics is to find happiness in Aristotle's thought. Hence, Aristotle stressed that politician must know human psyche in all nuances as the medicine who know every part of body to treat people. By knowing the specialties of human psyche, a politician would guide people to a virtuous life so to happiness (Aristotle, 1999: 27) so it's obvious that the linkage between psychology and politics goes until the ancient Greek area.

Secondly, Machiavelli's political philosophy implies a psychologic perspective towards politics since he sees two main strategy of power as love and Fear. In fact, it's where he centralizes psycho-dynamic of power as ruling strategy. Machiavelli ask 'whether it be better to be loved than feared or feared than loved?.' His answer is that one should wish to be both, but, because it is difficult to unite them in one person, it is much safer to be feared than loved." (Machiavelli, 1998: 66) Because Love and fear are both powerful motivations. Love is supposed to forge a relation of dependence or a bond of obligation. Which is in fact a weak bond since people is supposed to be selfish. On the contrary, fear is to provide an unreturned obedience since it makes people be anxious about their life or propriety. That's why fear is a useful term in politics. Machiavelli already suggest prince to have a psychological strategy on ruling. Besides, Machiavelli express on his book of *Discourses* with those sentences that:

"Just as the observance of divine worship is the cause of the greatness of republics, so the disregard of divine worship is the cause of their ruin, because where fear of God is lacking, that kingdom must either come to ruin or be

sustained through fear of a prince who makes up for the shortcomings in its religion (Machiavelli, 2003: 32).''

Thus, the capacity of make people fear is a vital power strategy. But the matter is to find what makes people fear. In this case ruler is to have knowledge about people's life and to make the fear endure through different strategies as ceremonies, creating symbols.

We can argue that fear is a power technic since Machiavelli. Fear can be considered as a natural sensation and psychologic phenomenon. Nevertheless, philosophers like Hobbes and Nietzsche also held that fear of death is basic element of all social construction since it's manipulated by who held power. That's to say that what we fear of is not naturally a given phenomenon rather fear can be constructed through social relation. That is, powers already use *psyco-power* models.

Rulers specializes on fear to enlarge their powers towards all community by making his power visible through producing symbols. In that point, we observe the use of psycho-dynamic dimension of power. Besides, Foucault places Hobbes as author of *juridico-discursive* model in genealogy of power. He expresses that the single power technic of this model is to have saying over life of subject. That's to say, sending people to death or forgive their life. Fear of death is used as means but keeping that fear present and making people feel death close to them all the time is a bigger power technic than sending people to death. On the other hand, Hobbes natural stage concept has similarities with Freud's concept of child development and Later Lacan concept of symbolic stage. The passage from natural one to civil one in Hobbesian thought is similar to the passage of child who has a selfish nature like human in nature to symbolic stage where child learn of social codes.

We also analyzed fear as the cause prima of society in Hobbes part. Because, Hobbes is a *contractualist* thinker, but the base of contract is neither reason nor consent. Instead, sensations are prioritized through his works, especially the fear of death come first in his political analysis (Hobbes, 1993). However, the origin of large and lasting societies lay not in mutual human benevolence, but in men's mutual fear'' (Hobbes, 2003: 24). The fear as seen the base of civil society in Hobbesian thinking.

Also, Kant sees the mechanism of fear as a necessary mechanism to keep large

communities together. According to Kant, 'primitive' (Nomadic, Agricultural, Hunter and Gatherer) communities can operate in a flexible order without the need for a fear-producing social mechanism. On the other hand, the unification of these different communities is possible only due to the factors provided by a psychic order (especially fear of alien enemies or getting used to living in a certain order) (Choufani, 1992: 51). Kant emphasizes that fear is imposed by a social order to make possible cohabitation of different groups. As large-scale communities need a permanent control mechanism. However, this control mechanism can only be realized with psychic factors. Because it is not possible to appoint a police to each individual for a state; instead it can teach its subject to fear if they cross boundaries.

Hegelian dialectic between slave and master can be examined in this thread too. As we studied before, what makes self-consciousness be sure of itself is desire to be recognized by others. That is, our existence is somehow dependent on something we desire outside of us. The fact that we can't possess all (this negativity of the fact) creates self-consciousness. Hegel says that "...self-consciousness is certain of it- self only by superseding this other that present itself to self-consciousness as an independent life (Hegel, 1977: 109; Şekerci, 2017: 150)". The desire of recognition can turn up into a struggle to live or death. This struggle made two parties be in aware of the value of their life. After one accepts a group or person as being defeated and recognize other as master, we have a dialectic between master and slave. As told before self-consciousness was output of mutual recognition as equal. What does make one of them to accept defeat before others? This question can be responded based on psychological causes. As the value of life is internalized by both. Fear of death become more operant in decision making. Thus, fear of death is base of all psychological needs.

Hume's moral philosophy is based on psychological dimension of life as well. Hume's psychological and relational explanation of morale philosophy opens the door to say that we can't attribute any *naturality* to virtue. It's not independent from human realities and its collectively formed based on psychological needs of human.

Nietzsche, in his analysis, presents psychological needs of human as the reason of morality. Human's anxiety about his life creates a fictive world. Human build a moral world through which he sees the world and to relieve himself to overcome their fear. Also, we can assert that based on our Nietzsche readings. Human struggle to

overcome his innate fear. In this perspective, power is psychologically helpful to reverse such an endless fear. As human's main strategy is to secure his life that is reflected as will to live; latter Nietzsche conceptualized this as *will to power* that is the reflection of human's desire to live since living needs a permanent reformation and adaptation. Human needs to shape their environment permanently because of the altering conditions. In this manner who has the political power can be supposed to be more powerful because of its psychological effects and the feeling of security it provides. Therefore, it is possible to say that people seek power for psychological reasons.

Besides, Marx's concept of solidarity can be evaluated as a part of psychodynamic power model. It is told before that the union of workers can make the effects of freedom even before the revolution since fragmented groups of workers come to understand their self like the same based on their solidarity. This awareness can result in the collective conscience which causes a struggle against the dominant class. The workers who are supposed to weak can have power just based on their relationships with each other even material conditions are not fully satisfied. The sense of union serves workers to feel stronger before dominant class.

In DPT chapter we discussed that even political elites cannot offer any material resource to their community they can secure their power as we discussed above by reforming a discourse, manipulating people's fear. That's to say power doesn't rise just based on material resources. Elites have control mechanism over people and the concept of other is always operant to put their member in the cap. On the other hand, we used the term of *castration* to explicate that political elites technics to make people feel less powerful as we studied that will to power is a natural instinct of life in Third part of thesis. We also considered the *Castration of people's will to power* as psychological phenomenon. In this respect, ethics is considered as power technic to castrate the will of people. Machiavelli, Nietzsche and Marx are first to refuse moral ordered system for helping people to reveal out their will to power.

Machiavelli is in fact conscious that moralized world covers the nature of human as well as castrate people's lust for power. That's to say that moralization of world contributes to make individual weaker than they are. Since he puts that the *man who neglects the real to study the ideal will learn how to accomplish his ruin, not his*

salvation (Machiavelli, Prince, XV; Vatter, 1999: 16). While Machiavelli's critics are implicit Nietzsche's criticism is more obvious than the former. Nietzsche tried to explain that slave morality removes personage who has ability to exist just on his strength; bear the world as it's. The concept of individual is replaced by concept of herd because of slave morality. there are no powerful men within heard there are only shepherds who are weak but have reedpipes to gather the members of heard in anesthetized way. Then, all morality is systemized to castrate lust to power of people as soon as human beings are born through parent education and formal education later. In this way, we can argue that people's will to power is backfired towards themselves through morality. That's to say that any individual attempt which crosses social boundaries are classified as selfish; being egoist is most misprized trait in society. As result, this castration process is established like psychic mechanism inside human.

4.2.2. Reversal of Power

Moral absolutism is a political strategy in the light of our studies. However, the question is that does moralism has still impact on political life as before? Indeed, we introduced third part of study to show that rise of a new political understanding. Thus, we can claim that the setback of moralism in political realm may liberate people's action in politics. Post- society, DPT, and psycho-power model as part of thesis as well as debates on post-truth, unity, ethics, moral, religion, science etc. can be considered as setback of ethics-oriented politics. In fact, post-modernism is a critic towards modern ethics-oriented politics in one aspect. However, we can claim that *relativization* of political doctrines or fall of big ideological discourse has given a space to individual. Especially, marketization of politics and populist discourses prioritizes the role of elector before political elites. In other words, people improved their strength and psychology before political elites. Even political elites have the last word most of time. In the former chapter, we argue that polarization and feudalization are the strategies to stabilize political elites' power. In the meantime, it is thought that these strategies feed an antiestablishment discourse. Besides, the struggle of politician with each other and the *mediatization* and vulgarization of politics eroded image of politics. Thus, people are supposed to held moral supremacy in the relation with their political representative notion since politicians encourage a populist discourse. In this point we mostly discuss about the dyad between political elites and their communities

referencing at DPT and Post-society chapter. It is like once the re-formed nationalism helped promotion of new political elites.

Foucault's discourse analysis can be remembered in this point. He claimed that there is a reverse discourse since discourse is always open to be re-interpreted. Nevertheless, reverse- discourse doesn't mean a new discursive formation. It indeed supports the main discourse. But the point is that reverse discourse may alter position of political elites in favor of new ones. In this context, the main struggle of political elites is to fix the meaning. But it is difficult process as people have complex relationships in their social life. Thus, re-interpretation of discourse can make the community stronger before elites. Because re-interpretation process ends up by new demands of society. In the case that political elites who cannot satisfy demands of people, can lose public support. The possible loss of social base of elites can make them loose their position in national politics.

In this point we had analyzed *the fear of political elites*. As we analyzed in Machiavelli, Hobbes and Nietzsche that fear is natural sensation because of human's will to live. And power is a tool to free human's fear. Humans will to live conduct men to acquire power and to secure their life for feeling comfortable in their environment. That's to say that even political elites who manipulate people's fear also fear of losing their power. Thus, political elites to secure their power can be submissive to demands of people. Political elites have become more dependent on public support when they have risks to lose. Because just loss of one election is enough to make political elites powerless as they lose their resources.

On the other hand, social media caused a new public sphere and people had opportunity to contact directly political elites. In this point political elites couldn't slide over people's ideas and demands. They are subjected to be in touch and to sympathize with them in social media outlets. In Stiegler's definition of psycho-power, media and other psycho-technological outlets are pictured just in service of political elites. In contrast, since social media took part of our daily life. People started to use social media to organize and to introduce their demand into agenda of governments. In this point, social media provides powers technic at service of people too. Even there is no symmetric power resource between elites and ordinary people. The effective use of social media may gather hundred thousand of people against an undesired policy. By

doing so, influencers can acquire psychologically upper hand before politician. Because elites have more reasons to fear than their electors. Hence, fear mechanism can be reversed against politician. By doing so, political elites can reshape their politics and change their perspective towards society.

As result, political elites have more risks than people who have less resources and amount of power. In this dyad political elites' fear make them vulnerable in front of their community. We can assume that the material cost of being in politics has raised more than ever. Once one of them lost in political rivalry it would be hard to rise again. Thus, we can argue that it makes elites be more permissive or Machiavellian in their strategy.

4.2.3. Risk Society

Furthermore, we can analyze the concept of risk society through psycho-power model. The concept of risk is a trend concept for three last decades. Risk is defined as potential dangers in the future. Since modern capitalist societies had sophisticated technologies, they have attempt to control the future to secure their life and wealth. Ulrich Back defines modern society as risk society. Risk society is also a consequence of the decline of fatalism. The main impulse of the risk society is "I'm afraid". (Back, 1992: 49) Feeling of fear and insecurity leads to paranoid (skeptical) thoughts. As result, Insecurity produces insecurity paradoxically. One of the frequently mentioned concepts in this kind of society is "risk". A study of medical journals published in England, Scandinavia and the United States between 1967 and 1991 revealed a significant increase in the use of the term "risk": the number of articles on "risk" published in the first 5 years of the period was one thousand, while the last 5 years this number has been over 80 thousand. (Furedi, 2001: 32)

It is worth noting that life has become more valuable since modern medicine is improved; life has become easier than before and fatalist thinking lost its influence over people so on. As we discussed in Foucault part, modern medicine keeps people who must have die before years alive. In this context people want to prolong their life expectancy as much as possible. We can argue that it's another reflection of fear of death we have argued during our thesis. In this perspective, life safety has become the first problem of people, the second one is propriety security for keeping life easier. In

risk society, we want to reduce many risks as much as we can. Thus, the drive to reduce risks conduct us to produce an economy of risk. This is the reason why the notion of risk has gone hand in hand with the rise of insurance companies. (Bayhan, 2002: 191) However, risk turns into an important dispositive in politics too. We can argue that Lawmakers use the concept of risk as consent generating mechanism. Politician can justify their policies by demonstrating possible risks in the case of no-actions. We can argue that even people can demand of authoritarianism in the cases they feel anxious about their life.

In this point, we can argue that one of technic of psycho-power is to get subject are neurotic. As emotions are constructed through socialization. Fear is an emotion that is artificial rather than natural. According to a scientific study, a normal child can face hundreds of thousands of negative suggestions by the age of 18. Hence, we can argue that the reason of our fear are generally our parents. In a scientific study, when a child whose mother is anxious is raised by another healthy woman, the child becomes a largely healthy individual. This shows that anxiety is a social construct rather than a genetic or natural thing (Erbaş, 2019: 187) of which example is a good point to remind us how fear is taught and how anxiety is a common 'psychological' disorder in our age. We can describe fear as a low-intensity and permanent type of fear in the format of anxiety. However, anxiety is one of technics of psycho-power model. There are other technics to be analyzed too. They can be subject of another study.

In this section, we studied psycho-power model of Steigler and psycho-politics of Han. After we introduced our perspective to psycho-power model. For that, we analyzed philosophical origins of psycho-power model and its use in historical background. Then, we analyzed possible reversal of power based on elites fear to lose the power. We discussed the fear as the main technic of psycho-power. Finally we discussed risk society and neurotic individual as subject of psycho-power model.

4.3. Discussions on an Era for Monde as Post- Society

In this section, we are going to discuss a new concept: post-society. Russell claimed that power is the source of society. In the same line, we claimed that society is a side effect of kings and bourgeoisie' will to power. Then society become a hindrance to political elites. The societies they built make them powerful and

dependent on them. In contrast, diversification in political elites, polarization and critics to perspectives that picture society as united and sacred entity initiated a new phenomenon that we can call it post society. In this section, we accepted that society is a just term that is constructed phenomenologically. The term of society is mostly used to illustrate unity, common interest and general will. In contrast, we are going to use post society to picture the decentralized and polarized communities as well as to describe a feudalized community. We are going to focus on political feudalization as the reason of post-society. Political elites is supposed to come together to secure each other presence by establishing an system within system since politics become expensive and who lose the elections or who stay out of parliament may lose everything, as told in the former chapter (Katz, Mair, 2008). In this perspective, their polarizing discourse would be contradictory in this case. But if polarizing rhetoric serves political elites to form their stabile community to rise votes and to stay in power. However, we described this phenomenon as feudalization of discourses based on different factors. Therefore, we studied firstly philosophical justification of society and the perspective over socialization. Secondly we tried to make a genealogy of society by asserting society are invention of 18th century. Besides we tries to explain the society as side-effect of will power of elites to criticize the perspective that claims society is established because of materialist reasons. Thirdly we are to examine the feudalization of social, political, economic sphere and the birth of an aristocratic classes that endangers the perception about unity of society.

4.3.1. The Naturalization of Society through Philosophy

The naturalization of society through philosophy has been a tradition. First of all, in *Cambridge dictionary*, the concept society is defined via philosophic words as:

“ a large group of people who live together in an organized way, making decisions about how to do things and sharing the work that needs to be done. All the people in a country, or in several similar countries, can be referred to as a society.”

Secondly in *Britannica*, society is defined by adding the adjective of civil as civil society: *dense network of groups, communities, networks, and ties that stand between the individual and the modern state*. However, we can argue that the concept of society is used to illustrate a union between single individual and groups. The concept of society, as we defined before, is source of legitimation of state institutions

and political elites power over them. In this respect, most of philosophers defined human as social animal to legitimate the existence of society.

Sociability of human. The notion of sociability is the key point of traditional philosophical perspective. Since Aristotle, human is a social animal. In fact, it is trivial to identify human as a social being. Nevertheless, we can argue that the famous Aristotle expression is the reference point of most of political philosophy. The concepts of community, people, nation etc. are legitimated through the supposed human sociability. In other word, that is called social instinct. However, there are a few philosophers who contradict Aristotelian school. J.J. Rousseau is one of these philosophers who contradict the concept of human socialness. In his natural state, human is a single living animal in nature. The altering conditions in nature required human being to be in touch with his fellow human. In Rousseau's thought, sociality is considered as something yields human alienation from his nature. Nevertheless, Rousseau also see the impossibility of reversing social formations that human have built. Hence, socialization is not natural phenomenon but a necessity.

Socialization is a mechanism of reproduction of society. It is possible to argue that socialization is considered as necessity by all kind of discourses like cultural, political, religious, scientific ones. To illustrate this, firstly prier of Friday in Mosque is a necessity in İslam for protecting the integrity of community, secondly from the Foucauldian perspective we can argue that in psychological realm, social phobia is defined as psychological disorder since human need to have enough contacts and to express himself clearly for enduring his private and professional life with success. That is to say that capitalist relation of production necessities normalization of socialization. Anyone who are outside of norm is supposed to have a disorder or phobia. Moreover, socialization is a mechanism that homogenize people's thinking. In this perspective, socialization is encouraged by political power as long as socialization is profitable for political elites. In contrast, we can argue that the points where political elites cannot control people's socialization channel. They are supposed to externalize or to marginalize these channels of socialization. We can argue that socialization is an oppressive mechanism since people are exposed to cultural and political signifiers that subject them and alter or form their thinking way. We can argue that social phobia or social anxiety disorder can be classified as the result of this normalization of

socialization. In this perspective, social norms become so crucial to test mental health of individual.

Furthermore, in *Hobbesian* thought, society is not a natural unity but composed by atomistic parties moving disorderly. Especially natural state is supposed to be a total war since everyone is naturally equal. People make their law to the extent of their force. This endless war ends only after contract is done in Hobbesian imaginary. In this manner, contract is creator of a political system and a social system. Besides, in Marxist thinking, history is reflection of endless war between classes. Therefore, society is nothing but an ideological apparatus to cover this endless fight. That is why, the narrative about the oneness, unity and *naturality* of society are always promoted.

4.3.2. The Genealogy of Society

As we studied in Nietzsche and Foucault parts, genealogy is a research model to reveal out the artificiality of notions we accept them natural. The notion of society is one of the notions that is supposed to be natural in our imaginary. Nietzsche took the notion of morality as a case to demonstrate how morality is constructed and how it has naturalized over time. What was the moral understanding of ancient people? Nietzsche saw morality as an ideology that covers the entire world. Besides, he saw no difference between different political ideology since every of them support a kind of morality. That's also our perspective as we tried to show rationalist and empiricist schools had supported a kind of ethics. This section of society claims to be a genealogical work. Thus, it is possible to call this section as genealogy of society.

Society as invention of 18th century. It can be said that the concept of 'society' started to exist in the political thought with the 17th -18th century. As, population become an object to know for powers because of rising necessity of manpower in the fields of production and protection. The governments had subjected to form a new kind of power technics to control and gather the decentralized bunch of people under a united form. As told before in Foucault's part, Discourse is indeed the results of the relations of power. However, in 17-18th century the games of power necessities the apparition of discourse over decentralized populace. Hence, populace become the object of states to expand their power even more. However, political elites needed to understand the populace and formulate it under a desired form. In this perspective,

bureaucracy, police, education, social sciences etc. come to exist as control mechanism. Then, we can argue that society is forged; shaped and centralized through these state institutions.

We can argue that society is side-effect of will to power of elites. That is, political and economic elites have started to increase their power in the country and international level through forming the population like an army of worker, defender, consumer etc. But we can argue that while the governments tried to build their own society with educational and cultural agents, they actually created their own ties. Because in the ancients' regimes, people were considered as subject of king but the single tie between king and populace was the taxes. Kingdoms wouldn't care about the needs of populace unless they rise up because of taxes. Even king would ignore differences between people and encourage the diversity. Because Kings who considers themselves as shadow of God, hesitated to have similarities with people. Besides, the concentration of similar people would be a possible danger for king.

Therefore, state introduced public services to reproduce populace in format of society with technics of powers. However, public's services become requested by people after a while. We can take the case of education to express how people turned into 'demanding subjects'. Education which is technic of power for political elites had become also a way of promotion in the state. That means, thereafter education became a mean to have places in state ranks as well as to acquire wealth. Parents started to conduct their kids to school since school is considered as valuable thing in the imaginary of people. As result, we can argue that people's will to power made the school demanded by larges masses.

Although the control mechanisms such as education, bureaucracy, and health are introduced as technic of power. They had side effects too. At this point, we can parenthesis that Foucault's maxim that an increase in power causes an increase in freedom. In this perspective, elite's desire to power have created a mass that would oppose their own power in future, we can argue that this *massified* people who took their place in politics as society. In other words, we can say that until that time, politics was perceived as a plotting game against each other among the nobles, but by supplementation of populace as society in relations of power, modern politics come to exist.

4.3.3. The Impasse of Society for Neo Liberalism

The concept of society can be considered as impasse for Neo-liberal system that externalizes social policies. The concept of social state was an important legitimating point of modern state. The resources which is oriented to public from wealthy taxpayers to people who live under or around poverty line or hunger limit was a crucial source of strength for state. In contrast, there is a new phenomenon rising as we studied in the case of Aristocracy of middle age. That is, the richest classes pay less percentage taxes than the middle classes and lower classes (Rogers, 2019; Maldonado, 2020; Kızılot, 2012). This can be called the feudalization of taxes. We can argue that neoliberal system has struggle to justify itself in contrast to the concept of society. Indeed, the ideological operation of it is based on individualism, careerism and especially crisis management rather than a strong philosophical basis. Besides, the concept of society in people's imaginary has still impact on people's political decisions since marginalized parties took profit of abandoned people by neo-liberal state. Especially the rise of nationalist movement in Europe can be placed in this category. To exemplify that in Britain Worker party's new success is an important case to understand the side effects of neoliberalism for its supporters. However, the emergence of 'marginalized' parties and their success in polls can be pictured as impasse of neoliberalism. We can argue that the strategy of Neo liberalism to overcome this impasse is feudalization of society and institutions and legitimation of this feudalization through a polarizing discourse.

As discussed before, polarization is a remedy to stabilize the power. Polarization is briefly a boundary making strategy used by political elites. Also, we argue that polarization is based on imaginary perception of the dichotomy between us and other. However, as Foucault asserted that politics is a productive concept. The political discourses over polarization may shape a new sociology. Especially polarization is a strategy to exclude socialization. Since polarized communities reduce their communication with each other or retire to their private sphere. People are canalized to 'safe' social sphere where altering effect of others discourse no longer exist. Besides, polarization can be reproduced through cities construction plans. Polarized people chose to live in their comfort zone instead of living in mixed neighborhood where social exchange is more operant. Therefore, this willingness to

live in comfort zone as well as to exclude people who is considered as marginal produce in reality in the field.

Feudalization of capitalism. The notion of promotion and principle of equal opportunity can be considered as essential legitimating strategy of liberal economic and political system. We can argue that the dominant perception of people that society offers equal opportunity to every of his member can be thought as the tie making belief between people. We are acquainted with stories of people who is poor but become rich by using opportunities strategically. In contrast 'failed people' or losers are convinced that the reasons of their failure are their low capacity. In fact, as we discussed before the concept of individual is produced as a hole where social problems are thrown over. However, we can argue that the inequality of income is about to reach a point to break this perception. However, Thomas Piketty who is a major Marx scholar in 21th century discusses that the return of a "patrimonial capitalism" based on the hyper-concentration of capital in the hands of a new oligarchic wealthy class (Piketty 2013, 541; Neckel, 2019: 12). According to Pikky:

Today's patrimonial society contributes to the organization of economic power like a dynastic structure in which inheritance and marriage again play an essential role, and where getting hold of a high heritage brings ease that studies, work and performance cannot assure (Piketty, 2013, 546; Neckel, 2019).

In the same line, we can claim that neo-liberalism turned into the movement of privatization of public services. These public sectors have served indeed to connect society to state and assure a perception of equality between people. However, these public sectors still exist but their private alternative especially in education and health are considered to be classier than public ones. However, we can hypothesis that the decline of quality in public services or the perception in the decline in contrast to private school or hospital make people feel different from who has the access to more services. Nevertheless, this private sector schools can be supported ethnically or religiously. In the context of social polarization, the phenomenon of schools that close to certain ethnical and religious groups can reproduce the polarization in the field too. However, the most important thing is the case of school. As known that monopolization of school helped political elites to forge a nation. In contrast, today we have witnessed the process of de-monopolization of education. It is considered as risky for nation-state. However, we argued that polarized communities are not separatist

movements. They have rivalry with each other to have moral supremacy over the others. In this context, religious ethnical or other kinds of school are not supposed to feed separatist movement. Nevertheless, it is obvious that they shape the population.

We can argue that the delegation of public services to private companies yields also a kind of feudalization in the scale of state since richer companies are more likely to win state tenders. It ends up by the concentration of state tenders in the hands of some patrons. Furthermore, the winners of tenders may delegate their contract to another sub-contractor. This can remind us a vassal alike relationship. In feudal age, lands were given to vassal as contracts are given to patrons according to their loyalty today.

Neo-liberal state also delegated public help to NGO's or authorized them to operate in the field. It can be considered a progress for empowerment of civil society. But the criteria according to which NGO's receives resources from state and the criteria according to which they help people are an important point to discuss about it. However, the parties supported NGOs are so efficient on building a community. This NGOs are so close to community than party is. Their first step relation with individual may prioritize individual role before political elites.

The feudalization of public sphere. The concept of opinion public implies the concept of consensus of people on certain topics. In the same line, the concept proposed by Rousseau which is general will is always employed to illustrate the interest of whole society in given subject. However, both are used to make a perception of unity in society for given policies. Public opinion is mostly forged through media. Nevertheless, the concept of public opinion raised over the concept of public sphere that is mostly identified with Habermas. Public sphere consists of forming an opinion by participation of all people or enough people to form an opinion behalf of the rest. Or even the output of debate doesn't yield a common opinion. It can yield a generalized opinion alike opinion public. However, philosopher like Bourdieu asserted that opinion public doesn't exist. He justified it that

“ In short, I needed to say that public opinion does not exist, in any case in the form given to it by those who have an interest in asserting its existence. I said that there were constituted, mobilized opinions by the help of pressure groups that are mobilized around different kinds of interests ”

Furthermore, Bourdieu added that *‘opinion public is reductionism by part who have the interests to do polls. Besides, these polls through formulate ideas serves to homogenize people’s thinking by having simply a small scale between approval and disapproval.’* In the same line Habermas argues that the public sphere exists now only as a promise. It can be remembered here in his view with these words that:

“Party politics and the manipulation of the mass media have resulted in ‘a “re-feudalization” of the public sphere, where representation and appearances outweigh rational debate’ (Holub, 1991:6; Sonia and Peter, 1994).”

Therefore, we can argue that public opinion and general will whose supposed existence serve to justify existence of society. They are manipulated phenomenon as much as they are idealized by politics, Medias and academy etc.

In today’s polarized societies, public sphere can be described as a battlefield more than a space to open debates. Every parties in society tried to form their proper public sphere within their community. Even social media apparatus which are supposed to contribute to mix people and to make people meet different individual is used in a restricted way.

Feudalization of politics. In the former chapters we discussed the emergence of communities by technic of polarizations as well as the polarization served political elites to forge or to homogenize their community. Therefore, politics consists of guiding community and of keeping them within boundaries. We can argue that these facts carries out feudalization of society that operates in all field of social life. On the other hand, the marginalization of each other feeds the culture of *revanchism* that belongs to middle age. The political rhetoric has become vulgarized. Politicians try to damage each other’s reputation since they cannot damage each other body through a hard fight. It is trivial to say that people’s reputation is crucial as much as their life in the age we live.

In the former part, we also claimed that society is formed through dyadic relationship between communities. Foucault also saw society as the consequences of struggle between communities. However, after we studied polarization and marginalization as community maker strategies, we proposed that polarized communities which is represented by political elites or parties needs each other to capture the power. In this perspective, politics become a kind of bargain between

parties. Besides we can claim that political elites support the polarization implicitly to stay safely in the head of their party. The revanchist rhetoric between leaders can be considered as feudal battle between leaders to mobilize public support.

Furthermore, the profile of politician have changed since politics become professionalized. There are a fewer people who are deputy or marry in any political ranks than the past. Politics come to be an affair of wealthy people or people whose family has political and cultural capital are to be future politician in time. However, we can say that this results in formation of politician classes. Hence, this supported a kind of feudalization of politics too.

Polarization of space and New citadels in metropolis. Neoliberalist reformulation of public interest provoked a new way of policy doing that reduces public services or delegates them toward subcontractors. It's a global phenomenon that there is a weaker service oriented towards people or the services had become subjected to profit. However, neoliberalist economical perspective that served the rise of inequality in incomes. It encouraged also a socio economical polarization in an inconsiderable way. Then, we have witnessed the apparition of this social economical polarization in spatial manner. Social polarization is to be concretized through formation of private neighborhood. Such processes of socio-economic polarization tend to have a specific spatial dimension, and a large body of research has shown how cities are segregated along socioeconomic or ethnic lines). (Zwiers, Kleinhans, Reinout, Ham, Maarten, 2015). Furthermore, it was genrally stated that

“Neo-liberalist policies caused the formation of gated communities that are a part of the trend of suburbanization that is based on the creation of self-contained, separate communities with carefully constructed identities as well as the typical patterns of the rapid spread of proprietary urban communities of the 21st century (Webster, 2002; (Baycan, Akgun, Aliye, 2012).”

Gated community concepts become a global phenomenon (Blakely and Snyder, 1997; Baycan, Akgun, Aliye, 2012). Also gated communities in Istanbul emerged as a demand of a new social class appearing in the liberalization period after the 1980s. Today, they, as being the driving force of the Istanbul's housing market, do not only address the demands of upper income families but also the demands of middle-income families (Baycan, Akgun, Aliye, 2012)

4.3.4. Collapse of the Perception of Society

The term of society was mostly used by leftist movements to encounter the concept of nation. However, the term was employed to point out the general interest when authorities' demands people to be accordance with policies they introduce. As results, the term of society is the term to conceptualize all living people in the same territory as a single entity. While the term of nation is mostly monopolized by rightist movement, the other one is used by leftist movement. Nevertheless, both is used to identify a single and united community. In the former section, we analyzed the *naturality* and oneness attributed to the concept of nation are result of a construction process. But even concepts of society and nation appeared to be constructed by political elites. That doesn't mean society and nation are going to collapse. Because we can argue that the concept of society and nation are still necessary rule or tricks to use within political discourse. As we discussed that sub-political communities are not separatist, but they aim at having moral supremacy to rule. In this context, the existence of others is still profitable.

Nevertheless, as we discussed above, the process of polarization is going on. There are already concrete outputs of this polarization process. We can hypothesis that if political elites can't introduce any new technic of power, the trend of feudalization is going to be operant. In this manner, post-society is a need of political elites as once they need to build a society. However, politics .as Foucault told us, is a productive phenomenon. In this respect, Terrorism, financial, social, political, sanitary crisis can be objects to stabilize society as before. Especially, in the light of Foucault's bio-power model, we can argue that sanitary crisis like epidemic or pandemic can be used to homogenize society and to establish authority. Since discourse over human life is strongly operant and people avoids dying and try to extend their life as soon as possible by medical technic. That's not to say that epidemic is produced by powers. As Foucault would say that there are spontaneous facts in the field. But the discourse let us see and define these facts. Besides, through the relations of power, people can try to re-define these facts according to their interest. Anyway, these definitions would be still dependent on the present discourse. Nevertheless, as Rousseau claimed that we had a gigantic cultures and societies. It is almost impossible to reverse this trajectory. Even people choose to separate them from the others. We are tied up with the same

problems as we are subjected to society we live in. Most of time, the solution is to be united against problems. Nevertheless, it must be remembered that these problems are most of time the result of these gigantic societies and cultures too.



CONCLUSION

This thesis is a Foucauldian study of ethics, power, society, self – subject etc. Even we can consider this work as genealogy of politics and power since we try to reveal the nature of politics that everyone knows consciously or unconsciously. Nevertheless people prefer to cover the relations of power through ethics. We try to reveal out the relations of power behind every social concepts. Although politics is almost unseen in public life. Politics is buried in every social phenomenon. That is to say that there are the relations of power behind every social fact. In this manner, the success of rulers of power is measured to their ability to hide their agenda behind different themes that everyone would agree on. To illustrate this, education, safety of public health or superiority of human rights can be the issues that everyone can agree on their critical importance without discussion since these are supposedly for interest of all. Nevertheless, these concepts are formed through past relations of powers and naturalized through discourses as we discussed in Foucault's part. In the same line, we discussed ethics, as a technic of power through which powers can hide their agendas. However, the most of social phenomenon are accepted as neutral and natural. Which is the reflection of will to power. In this respect, power or politics tuned into phantoms. Even politics is decisive in every doing of people. it is not anymore, a part of conscious, since it turned to be part of unconscious. That can be resumed as discourse in Foucauldian sense. Therefore, it has become hard to make political analysis based on the relation of power since we don't issue politics but ethics. Society, unity, individuality, ideal, progress are the concepts supposed to be natural. We discussed how relations of power played an important role in their appearance. If one talks about the construction of society as the consequences of relations of power, his /her ideas are supposed to be rejected since majority of people believe in *naturality* of society.

As an emphasis for future researches at the axis of ethics and power, this thesis focused on Western philosophical traditions. However, Eastern and Islamic philosophy can also be a mind opener field too. Indeed, Greek philosophy which can be counted as the basis of Eastern and Western philosophy is firstly revived by Islamic world on the discussion of ethics and power holding to draw the perception of sovereignty in middle

ages in human history. It is mostly forgotten that modern Western philosophy made itself exist by help of Islamic philosophers who kept and revived the Ancient Greek philosophy. In this respect, it is accepted in this thesis study that Eastern philosophy could also be needed to be revived for understanding Western philosophy ethical understanding, also upon the discussion about whether it has reflected manners. In the case of research, it can be founded that philosophers in the Islamic world had introduced many philosophical perspectives which is mostly used by Westerns after enlightenment as well as new perspective. In this respect our analyses were tried to be limited only by looking at the Western philosophy world's discussion. For further studies, comparing western and eastern world of philosophy and related additional perspectives to discuss ethics and power holding in interpreting sovereignty can be advised with the occasion of the outputs of this thesis study.

It is true that post moderns assert that the truth appears through relationships. That is, if people believe that society is a natural fact, we are supposed to accept the concept of society as a natural for this groups and while we analyze them we should consider this a reality for them. Because this believe has become a priori notion in their thinking way and it affects their behaviors in their daily life. Nevertheless, political science should be tasked to reveal the relation of powers behind formation of these a priori notions. We can call them either habitus or a priori or discourse. Social sciences engaged itself to find out these essential logics behind every social formation either through speculations or experiences. In contrast, Empiricist, rationalist (or other schools that are affected by both) have their method to analyze society. These methods are formed through epistemology and ontology that are peculiar to these school. However, we can argue that empiricists and rationalist schools are supposed to fail for revealing out the wanted responses about society since they don't see the concept of power as the basis of their ontology and epistemology. However, we discussed that there is a power mechanism that operate behind and normalize every inch of social tissue through a pertinent struggle. In this perspective, they are supposed to fail to understand the nature of social phenomenon as much as both school didn't use the concept of power (the will to power) as the research tool and they try to introduce their speculations about society as truth. Even we can argue that both school didn't appear for finding response to politics or society which are lately developed concepts. Nevertheless, they had become the basis of political ideologies except Hume's

skepticism since political elites or political subjects didn't have enough tool to analyze newly emerging social realities except these philosophical traditions.

In this point, we can introduce an alternative model to rationalism and empiricism and their siblings. It is indeed the tradition that starts with Machiavelli, passing through Hobbes and Nietzsche and ending with Foucault. However, none of them had proposed a strict research method or tried to establish a school that put the concept of power besides reason and senses. Nevertheless, they are all agree that power is the basis of society. Even their analysis and philosophy acquire their originality through prioritizing the concept of power by the way of Nietzsche who claims that the *causa prima* of philosophy is the will to power. However, we discussed throughout our thesis the relation of power behind every shields (as ethics, society) that cover the powers. We can call this tradition as power first approach in politics. Especially our discussion about the concept of society in the post-society section is a useful base to speculate that power is the essential factor in every social formation before reason or sensations.

We can call the power first approach briefly as school of power. One can say that this school can be classified as the subset of empiricist school because the will to power is a sensation at the end. However, there are different dynamics to explain how this sentiment (the will to power) appears. It can be explain with evolutionary psychology as Nietzsche tried to do it. Besides, Rousseau explained the lust of power as the consequences of obligation to live together. However, the origins of the lust of power is not subject of this work. We mostly argue its consequences and its relations with social environment as David Hume would propose us to do so. Besides, to find its origins is the work of natural science. Nevertheless it worth noting that Aristo claimed that every substance has an essence that needs to appear itself. Which can be a philosophical explanation of will to power. However, there is also nuances with empiricist school. Because the will to power has unpredictable force of creativity. Thus, human cannot be just composed of his senses. Because human has capacity to manipulate the universe and his nature through his creativity.

However, politics cannot be discussed in the absence of the concept of power. There are different reasons that pull researchers back to analyze social event at the basis of power. But an analysis of political and social events through power can conduct us to have a larger perspective in our analysis. As we told during the thesis, economic or

ethical reductionism are hitherto a priori in social science. We can argue that they lack of tools to understand social event as they are. To illustrate this, any people's behaviors out of their narrative in social science are named as deviation. But a power approach couldn't name any behaviors as deviations since power is target of all, and any attempt to reveal out the will the power is accepted natural. Hence, people are fluid, that is, they don't have a stabile self, and people can change through relations of power. Many can criticize this fluidity as non-ethical. In fact, we can have a new phenomenon that can be called social schizophrenia. Traditional schools are not able to discuss this phenomenon outside of an ethical basis. In contrast, our power-oriented politics is to analyze the fact outside of an ethical basis. However, Power is accepted as productive phenomenon especially by Foucault. That is, in the power first approach, people are not reduced to their cultural baggage neither to their communities nor to their history. People are not considered to behave in the way their cultural baggage conduct them, or the dominant norm force them. From ethical point, any unusual behaviors are considered as deviation. But from our perspective they are variations that make culture richer. Therefore, power-oriented politics is neither against nor for to moralize social life and to fix life in a certain point. School of power would understand any variation as the reflection of will to power. Nevertheless, younger member of school of power as Nietzsche and Foucault would contradict any attempt to domination of society or individual. In contrast, they would encourage openness in the relations of power. It means that everything is permitted in the absence of no domination. For them, relations of power are a kind of game for power. Thus, people can reveal their creativity by entering this game. Also, the game of power would be improved all the time by the player. This improvement cannot be thought as progress. Because the concept of progress has ethical consequences.

In this point, we can illustrate our perspective by mixing the linear time perspective of Roman and cyclic time perspective of Greek. It is well known that Roman linear time model proposes that time moves in linear way from the past to future briefly. Hence, it implies the notion of progress as we can't return to past. In contrast, Greeks cyclic time model proposes us that time is nothing but repetition. We experience the same facts as moon and sun follow each other or as spring and falls follow each other. These two-model had different political consequences for sure. That is, the where cyclic model are a priori in thinking way there is less institutionalization as Ancient Greek

have never institutionalized their democracy in contrast Romans who have linear time perspective forged a great empire in the past. However, the modern world is raised upon the linear model since Greek's one is more spiritual and the other one is more secular. However, the model of power first analysis is supposed to mix these concepts by claiming that we move in circular way but by not following the same structure all the time. We develop the circle. That means that the will to power is hitherto prima cause of all social life, but its reflection was different in each period of time as there was a different discourse. Thus, we can claim that this is why history repeats itself with different personage and stories but the same essence.

In the context of this thesis we studied forth major philosophers that open the way for an alternative model. There are also thinker or philosopher as Bernard Russell, who prioritize the concept of power that we didn't have enough place since our subject requires a multiple focus not just power. Hence, our alternative model required to be improved. However, the fact is that all social formations are reduced to a construction. To name them, artificial concepts are not a kind of misprizing them. Society, ethics, state, nation are the reflection of human creativity that is derived from his will to power. However, power first model are supposed to have a genealogic method upon them since these concepts becomes omnipresent in people thinking. Thus, school of power has no ethical dictate just the notion of anti- domination. Because domination excludes power outsidess of relations. Power school supports openness in society naturally. In this perspective, the quality of democracy can be measured with its supports to improve the relations of powers as well as his externalization of any kind of domination. Hence, the school of power can be counted as the arbiter between the rulers of power. Its task is to reveal out the rationality of elites or rulers of power. The same as Foucault claimed that the task of philosophy is to make extremities of power appear since power hides itself behind discourses that are considered superior to politics (nation, state, law, human rights, public security etc.) Thus, the task of school of power is to reveal the relations of power in the construction process of these institutions. In fact, it is a way to make a hole in the discourse. For sure, Foucault's archeology and *Nietzschean* philosophy are crucial tools to reveal these relations. However, we try to make an alternative model which prioritize the relations of power whose Foucault conceptualized and the will to power whose Nietzsche developed.

The concept of power is the key concept in our analysis. Nevertheless, ethics is examined during the first two parts from the perspective of our power first approach. We have used the ethics in broad understanding. That includes society, nation, law, union, humanity, and the process of reasoning, plus the item as self which also represent, indeed, the moralization of speaking creature. Nietzsche's genealogy of morality was a useful source. Besides, in the light of Foucault's genealogy of power, we attempt to describe ethics as technic of power since it assures maneuvering place to rulers of powers. This is another important output of our thesis. We had a large place to explain how ethics is a technic of power.

Ethics oriented politics is also a technic to intervene in the politically rival groups. Ethics can be a useful card either in interior politics or in international sphere. On the one hand, our power oriented model can be used as theoretical basis to criticize moral domination of developed countries over underdeveloped countries. It is known that developed countries have the moral upper hand in international realm since these countries are supposed to have sophisticated democratic regimes and to apply human rights in a perfect way. However, we can argue that democratic values are *instrumentalized* by these international powers in order to moralize international scenes. These moralization of international space serves ultra-power to have right to intervene in the interior's affair of supposedly underdeveloped countries. It is true that it is not an original claims since there are a lot of paper about the second Gulf War. Nevertheless it is possible to categorize the intervention of developed countries as the outputs of ethics oriented politics.

On the other hand, the dominant group in interior politics can set what's valuable culturally and politically. Thus, dominant groups have place to intervene through consciousness raising activities. Dominants consider themselves virtuous to govern people since they have supposedly moral superiority that we discussed broadly before. In this perspective, ignorance and consciousness are the words that are used frequently in the context of ethics oriented politics. Elites legitimate their intervention by claiming that they bring conscious to ignorant. In this manner, to name people as ignorant is indeed making them object to be ruled. It is known that enlightenment's famous maxim is that *sapere aude*. Indeed, it urges people to liberate their self from their environments thinking way as well as any manner of thinking which is not

appropriate to universal reason. Thus, this perspective created a formation of intelligentsia who are supposed to help people in their liberation from the ancient regime's ties. By this way, the eternal debates between conservative and modernist can be explained under the model of ethics oriented politics. However, although both try to capture the power, two sides support their claim at the basis of ethics. That is because of ethics is the essence of the order as the consequences of *Platonian* philosophy.

However, we can argue that ethics is also the reason of rigid social structure and failure of democracy in most of countries. Although human rights, freedom of thought are supported by the dominant discourse in the world as well as people are encouraged to speak up before injustice why modern societies and democracies are still fragile and why authoritarianism can be still a valid choice? The reason of failure of democratic regimes can be ethical code that operates in unconscious level. As people heard folk tales that shapes their thinking, they unconsciously willing to feel weaker before people who are favorited by cultural codes. That is because of ethics is mostly normalized by folk stories. It is also possible to analyze proverbs, folk tales, fable etc. to reveal out how ethics gets its strength. They become a priori notion in our minds as we are acquainted with them since our childhood. Furthermore, the content, themes and characters of stories can change according to degree of development of countries especially according to tolerance of discourse. Nevertheless, ethics-oriented politics is still valid where *Platonian* philosophical traditions is still operant.

Ethics oriented politics explains how the politics is exercised in our days. However, we claimed that ethics is not nature of politics; it is just one perspective of the will to power (power-oriented politics). Ethics was a power technic and that is maybe why Kant urged people to act non for a secondary purpose or a secret agenda just for pure goodness since he was aware of relations of power in the consequence of his texting with Rousseau. Besides, our critics about ethics is almost in the same line with Marxist papers. *Post structuralist* also share the same point of view about ethics in the context of dominant bourgeois morality. Nonetheless, Marx didn't just criticize bourgeois morality. He invented an alternative morality at the basis of class solidarity and ascetic ideals. Especially, as we discussed in Marx section, according to Foucault, the concept of class is an artificial structure as Marxist scholars claim the same for society.

Indeed, it is where Marxist school and *post structuralist* differ since *post structuralist* is against the idea of establishing a rigid system of thinking or a new ideology. In this manner, power-oriented politics model is supposed to criticize the categorization and *subjectivation* of people by ethical codes that claims to be natural and universal as they are just a perspective of the will to power.

The other important focus of this thesis is to criticize the maxim that economy makes the power or as once sophist declared might makes the power or else truth makes the power in *Platonian* traditions . It is largely accepted that economical motivations are the only catalyst of history and societies. We can call this as economical reductionism in the context of social sciences. Many falls into such as reductionism. That is maybe because of lack of a consistent power theory or because of dominator character of capitalism. However, we discussed the economical reductionism in the context of Marx paper's that played also considerable role in this manner of understanding and analyzing social facts.

The one of important discussion in this thesis is critics to Marxist school who externalized the concept of power in the favor of relation of production in their analysis. The matter is that Marxist school reduced power to capital. But the capital also takes its value from social relations since the holder of capital needs someone to recognize his capital considering the dialectic between master and slave. As Nietzsche put it that human is the first valuator and human is the one who gives the value to things. Nevertheless, it is also unavoidably true that production is the non-sine qua of human for his survival. Nevertheless, most of our industry is sophisticated to produce materials which is not necessary for our survival. As Rousseau claimed that they are objects which takes their value socially. Thus, the objects of production are also determined through social relations to satisfy cultural needs rather than our vital needs. Although in Marx thinking, material needs are essential and vital; it is so important that if they are not satisfied, humanity would stop to exist. Thus, culture, politics, religion, etc. have secondary importance. Furthermore, in Marxist language, the way production operates is conceptualized as a mode of production. Then, when this mode of production starts to yield a surplus (through the development of productive forces like technology, means of production, knowledge, how-know) a group can start to control this surplus and appropriate the means of production and forced people to work

in their profit.

In this point we can claim that surplus can be also the consequences of ethics or moral understanding uploaded to people. Even productive forces have never been able to have surplus. Ethical codes would dictate people reduce their consumption for a more accumulation. This mode of production is supported by ethics first approach in politics. However, ethics is a part of superstructure in Marxist reading. In contrast, it is consequence of human creativity derived from will to power of human in our readings. We can also argue that it is not any more appropriate to divide social structure in two, since elements of both structures are the result of human will to live and will to power. As we discussed in the Marx chapter, Marxist schoolers mostly neglected the centrality of the will to power in the favor of relations of production and that is maybe why their calculation did not come to true about the possible revolution.

Furthermore, as we discussed in Marx chapter, working class power is derived from unity. The union of workers can make the effects of freedom even before the revolution since fragmented groups of workers come to understand their self like the same based on their solidarity. This awareness can result in the collective conscience which causes a struggle against the dominant class. This Marxian claim is indeed with the same line with our analysis. The workers who are supposed to weak can have power just based on their relationships with each other even material conditions are not fully satisfied. We can argue that the Marxist scholars who focus on the relation of production makes us not see this nuances Marx had in his paper. However, the concept of solidarity is supposed to create an effect of power psychologically.

The matter is that human who values his environment, can also disprize it. The empowerment of individual is not dependent on neither social nor economic conditions even on political environment. As we discussed ethics castrates people's will to power. Ethical codes make people weak to want. Even we can criticize *Nietzschean* concept of will power that suppose people to be weak in the initial point. However, as every matter in life have their values in the consequences of people's social exchange. People are neither weak nor powerful because of material conditions they have. The dominant discourse makes us classify ourselves and people as weak or powerful. That is why we discussed largely the relativity of power in the context of DPT and Psycho-power chapters.

In this perspective, the other important output of this thesis is to analysis the power with its psychological domain. Although there are studies in this matter. We can claim that our perspective to psycho-power model is original. In this respect, we tried to make a kind of genealogical work for revealing out that how powers operate upon psychic mechanism. Although philosophers were aware of this. They had not a theory on this topic. We discussed that Psycho-power model are applied through mechanism of fear which is the basic of all psychic process. However, there are new psycho-power technics that operate in individual level. These technics target the human psyche that is already constructed through provoking emotions. Especially, this new method works at unconscious level of human rather than conscience. We discussed that this is the technic of modern power technologies after enlightenment. In modern era people were subjected to awareness raising applications. People were being subjected to powers through uploading them a conscience. In contrast, the new method encourages a kind of personalization by focusing people to their self. Thus, a postmodern individual seeks his self by his like and dislikes while modern individual occupied his self with seeking enlightenment which is outside of his self. However, this dichotomy shows us political science should have a word upon psychology that claims to be an independent science. Especially, in this point, the claims of psychology to be an independent science and his method of treatment of individual by excluding social and political realities are another reflection of power technology. It helps rulers of power to hide politics or the relations of power behind neutral themes. In this perspective we propose that political science should enlarge his study field towards psychology. Because politics is mostly practiced through communication and psychology in our days. In the light of this proposal we tried to analyze every philosopher's subject understanding and how their subject model affected people's internal gaze in the consequences of political philosophy they introduced.

In the context of DPT and PP model, we also discussed the possibility of reversal of power. Although this thesis is not first to claim that power is relational and relative. We tried to enrich this perspective by analyzing the relations between president and advisers in the dyadic power theory as well as the relations between political elites and their communities are important cases to demonstrate how power can shifts in the favor of whom is supposed to be weaker in the relations. Besides, the accumulation of knowledge in grand quantity and alienations of elites can make it favorite the rise of

new powerful actor or the sharing of power in equal manner. However, that is why we carefully discussed that power doesn't derive from economical accumulation. The sources of power are multiples. But the hegemonic perspective is that wealth makes power as once it was largely accepted that might was supposed to make power. In contrast, we supposed that power appears through relations and psychologic process. For that, anything can turn into power generating tool in society. That is why economical elites have no total domination over people. Also, Bourdieu's capital theory can support our claim in this point.

We can also argue that the other important point makes the power relative is the intensification of relations. It can be said that human relations are intensified due to rise of population basically. Then, division of labor is so sophisticated. Hence, market requires people to have multiple relations for just one purpose. The matter is the intensification of relations and development of technologies of communication get people interconnected than ever. We can argue that the rise of interaction and face to face relations are an important factor that helps us to argue the reversal of power at personal and social -political level in the light of dyadic power theory and psycho-power model. The high interaction between people results in the intensification of relations of power too. As we discussed before that kings and aristocrats were used to have distance with their subjects. Because the distance is a sign of power for kings since they claimed to be shadow of god in the earth. We can also claim that there was still the distance between elites and people until a few decades ago. This distance was setting rulers in untouchable and sacred position. Which can be also named the reflection of psycho power technics. However, power tend to be reversed as much as distances get lost. This is the fact that makes reversal of power in favor of communities as we discussed in the former chapters.

As last word, people needs each other more than ever because of interdependence that is created by our sophisticated political and economic system. The high concentration of power makes people both feel strong and weak. Thus, this interdependence enlarges the relations of power and problematize the ethics. In this network, the fluidity is matter. Ethics is maybe replaced by social schizophrenia to have power politically, socially, culturally.

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