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THE VALUE OF POST-TRUTH IN POST-POLITICS:
THE CASE OF CLIMATE CHANGE

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ABBREVIATIONS

EPA	Environmental Protection Agency
EU	European Union
IPCC	Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change
US	United States
UN	United Nations
WWF	World Wildlife Fund
WWII	World War Two

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ABSTRACT

This study focused on the political value of the concept of post-truth, which was entitled as the word of the year by Oxford Dictionaries in 2016. In this study, considering the developing technology, economic relations in constant transformation and the reinterpretation of sociological paradigms in the second quarter of the 21st century, the political is defined as post-politics, which is frequently used by Mouffe, Ranciere and Zizek,. By creating a point of criticism for the works written about the concept of post-truth, in the shadow of post-politics, it was claimed that instead of referring to the discussions on the truth of the pre-modern or modern era, the concept should be understood by considering the current political, sociological, and psychoanalytic contexts. The ideas of Slavoj Zizek constitute the ideological background of this study, both to take into account the spatio-temporal precision and to discuss the effects of these three premises on the concept of post-truth. In this regard, it has argued that the concept of post-truth is not the insignificance of truth or the lies of individuals, institutions or political actors, but it is the production of discourses that would not harm the kernel of the dominant paradigm and that would protect its status quo, by individuals who are manipulated in the post-political sphere. In order to reveal how the post-truth concept is nested at the level of discourse, the climate change debate has been scrutinized. By conducting in-depth interviews, it is aimed to reach the opinions that individuals have developed on climate change in various ways such as news networks, social media, and environmental factors. To evaluate the position of these thoughts between post-truth and post-political tension, the theoretical discussion on the concept of post-truth is evaluated and questioned on the example of climate change by using the critical discourse analysis.

ÖZET

Bu çalışma, 2016 yılında Oxford Sözlükleri tarafından yılın kelimesi olarak ilan edilen post-truth kavramının politik alandaki değerine odaklanmıştır. Çalışma içerisinde politik olan, 21. yüzyılın ikinci çeyreğinde gelişen teknoloji, sürekli dönüşüm halindeki ekonomik ilişkiler ve sosyolojik paradigmalardan bu bağlamda yeniden yorumlanmasını göz önünde bulundurarak, özellikle Mouffe, Ranciere ve Zizek tarafından sıkça kullanılan, post-politika olarak tanımlanır. Post-politikanın gölgesinde, post-truth kavramına dair yazılan eserlere bir eleştiri noktası oluşturularak, kavramın, pre-modern ya da modern dönemlerin hakikat tartışmalarından azade olarak, ortaya çıktığı zaman içerisindeki politik, sosyolojik ve psikanalitik bağlamlar göz önünde bulundurularak anlaşılması gerektiği iddia edilmiştir. Hem zaman-mekansal hassasiyetin göz önünde bulundurulması hem de bahsi geçen bu üç sac ayağının post-truth kavramı üzerindeki etkilerini tartışmaya açmak için Slavoj Zizek'in düşünceleri bu çalışmanın ideolojik arka planını oluşturmaktadır. Bu minvalde, post-truth kavramının, hakikatin önemsizleşmesi ya da kişilerin, kurumların veya politik aktörlerin yalan söylemesi olarak değil, post-politik alanda manipüle edilen öznelerin, hakim paradigmanın özüne zarar vermeyecek ve onun statükosunu koruyacak söylemler üretmesi olduğu ileri sürülmüştür. Post-truth kavramının söylem düzeyinde nasıl yuvalandığını ortaya koymak için iklim değişikliği tartışması mercek altına alınmıştır. Derinlemesine görüşmeler ile bireylerin, haber ağları, sosyal medya ve çevresel faktörler gibi çeşitli yollarla iklim değişikliği üzerine geliştirdikleri düşüncelere ulaşmak amaçlanır. Bu düşüncelerin post-truth ve post-politika gerilimi arasındaki konumunu değerlendirmek için eleştirel söylem analizi kullanılarak, post-truth kavramına dair yapılan teorik tartışmanın, iklim değişikliği örneği üzerinde değerlendirilmesine ve sorgulanmasına yer verilmiştir.

INTRODUCTION

In 2016, when Oxford Dictionaries selected the term post-truth as the word of the year, they also had indicated the appearance of a deviant structure or, in essence, a surplus in social science. The reason to designate the post-truth as a surplus is that even though every year Oxford Dictionaries entitles a word as the word of the year, none of them has resounded in academia as much as post-truth. Why academia has perceived the term post-truth as a more important formation compare to others? Surely, with the help of post-truth studies, this question could be answered by being remembered the emphasis on the election campaign of Donald Trump and Brexit Referendum in 2016. However, these studies tend to delve into the term in order to evaluate its meaning, historical background and its contribution to the certain social sciences.

With that regard, three main inferences could be found about post-truth in the literature. Firstly, although most of the studies agree that post-truth is a consequence of the postmodernist contribution or interruption to reality, in order to understand the structure of the term, they refer to either the historical evolvement of the truth or analogies in the doctrines of philosophy and sociology. Secondly, the term post-truth is tended to define with the emphasis on lies or insignificance of truth. Moreover, these two terms are mostly used as a general term which contains the other negations of the truth such as bullshit, misinformation, fallacy, humbug, etc. And lastly, in the concept of political science, there are two interpretations. While one of them asserts that post-truth emerged after the events in 2016, the other one claims that post-truth is always/already embedded in the political sphere. Apart from that, for both views, there are disagreements about the role of the post-truth.

Nonetheless, this frame that it is drawn by studies on post-truth in the literature paves the way for a Zizekian inquisition. Why is there nothing where there should be something? The reason that this question becomes relevant for this specific issue is that the interpretations of post-truth create a chain of oxymorons. The argument which points out spatio-temporal metamorphosis as a cause of the post-truth falsifies the assessments which rely on discussions about the value of

truth in the fundamental writings in politics, philosophy or sociology, most of them written by Plato, Aristotle, Schopenhauer, Pareto, Nietzsche, Machiavelli, etc. Because if post-truth is a consequence of the alterations in the public sphere which is fueled by postmodernism, studies that create a bond or similarities between the value of truth and post-truth require to ask additional questions. Do negations of truth and post-truth address the same meaning? Was post-truth always there? And if so, why the negations changed their forms and they are replaced with the term post-truth? In this vein, there could be found the second point of critique of the literature review. Because the arguments about the meaning of the post-truth seem to suture the current alteration/split in the public sphere with reference to the former knowledge on the truth. If post-truth points out the opposite sides or manipulation of the truth, what is the role of the prefix “post” on the term? By considering this tendency of the literature review, the effect of the contemporary features in a sociological way on the structure of post-truth is still vague. As mentioned above, this vagueness that emerged with inconsistencies could also be noticed about the role of the post-truth in politics.

So that we have guidance to study post-truth, the first chapter of the study focuses on the value of the truth. The aim of this chapter is to create comparisons between the findings of post-truth literature and the structure of the truth. In order to do that, the truth has been investigated with the critiques that this study impels to post-truth literature. How the truth debate is shaped in different time periods? Are there any similarities or dissimilarities about the meaning of the truth that is discussed in these periods? How the truth is assessed in politics? With that regard, by relying on Foucault’s and Bauman’s thoughts, it could be stated that the form and the value of the truth ought to be evaluated with the conditions of certain time periods given that, particularly, from modernism to postmodernism, the premises of the truth debate is changed. On the other hand, between these two periods, the meaning or the negation of the truth does not follow the same pattern. Because the discussion witnesses a breaking point that demonstrates the abyss between the objectivity of the truth and the nonexistence of the truth. Lastly, one could realize that contrary to the post-truth literature, political science tends to understand the

truth in given spatio-temporal premises instead of focusing on the role of political actors.

To reflect the Zizekian inquisition to the post-truth debate, this study tries to scrutinize the critiques that have been raised against post-truth literature with Zizek's thoughts. Another reason to focus on this perspective is Zizek's emphasis on post-politics. According to Zizek, apart from postmodernism, today's world is experiencing a different spatio-temporal characteristic which is post-politics that it refers to a new form of subjectivity and new structure of the public sphere. Thus the research question of this study becomes palpable. What is the value of the post-truth in post-politics? By considering Zizek's thoughts and Lacanian psychoanalysis, this study claims that post-truth could be understood with two factors. One of them is the similarity between undeadness of the subjectivity that it expresses itself in daily life and the non-predicament of the truth which unveils the unique position of post-truth in post-politics. The other one is the relevance of the analyst's discourse to the post-politics. Even though the discourse which is presented by Jacques Lacan explains the relationship between analysand and analyst during psychoanalysis, it could be prolific to grasp how post-truth dwells in the people's discourse.

Nonetheless, apart from the theoretical discussion, we need to observe the term in the public sphere to question whether Zizekian expansion of post-truth functions in the discourses or not. In order to do that, in the last chapter of this study, we will particularly focus on the climate change issue. Because, according to Zizek, climate change is one of the catastrophic events that people experience in their lives but their tendency is to postpone the acceptance of these experiences. So the inquisition still stands with another form. Why people pretend as if there is nothing? In the first part of this chapter, we will discuss the discourse patterns of the different views in climate change debate to create the background of the discussion. In the second part, on the other hand, we will try to trace these discourse patterns in daily lives by using critical discourse analysis. The aim of pursuing this path is to understand how people respond to a catastrophic event in their reality by referring

to post-truth. To acquire these responses, we will use critical discourse analysis as a method. In this vein, we conducted in-depth interviews. The interviews based on two main categories, one of them is for climate change deniers or skeptics, the other one is for the people who acknowledge the negative consequences of climate change. Considering that climate change debate is not limited to these two categories, the questions have prepared to observe different arguments and discussion points. With that regard, the aim of these interviews is not only to focus on people who contradict scientific facts but also to witness a glimpse of post-truth in the discourse of people who rely on the facts.

METHODOLOGY

As one could notice from the introduction, even though the fundamental part of this study relies on a theoretical discussion, it also refers to qualitative research methods in order to observe the function of this study's implications. In this research, we will use critical discourse analysis. The reason to use this method could be justified by referring to Wodak's theoretical works on critical discourse analysis. According to her, this approach could answer questions about what is the role of words for people to obtain or pursue the power and how ideological reality shape the public sphere.(Wodak 2001, 12) Given that, in this study, post-truth is defined by focusing on the effect of the shadow of post-politics in the words of the individuals, it is embraced that critical discourse analysis is the correct method to observe this shadow and its functions. In order to understand the structure of post-truth and how post-political power dwells in the discourses, we will benefit from Ruth Wodak's and Siegfried Jager's understandings of critical discourse analysis. Concerning these understandings, on the one hand, we will try to understand the relation between power and knowledge in the discourses, how the respondents position themselves in this frame, and how the respondents vocalize the knowledge of power, on the other hand, we will focus on the impact of non-discursive instruments of the power and how these instruments of the post-political power may affect the respondents daily life experiences or their realities.

Furthermore, since there is no single way to approach the discourse analysis or to collect the data, the true way to collect the data should be determined by taking into account the patterns of the study. (2001 : 30) For that matter, coherent with this study's post-truth definition, to reach these words, we decided to conduct in-depth interviews with fieldwork. Nonetheless, during the process of the research, the world faced with COVID-19 pandemic and it became impossible to continue the research with fieldwork since most of the countries(including Turkey) tried to cope with the pandemic by imposing lockdowns, moreover, the governments suggested self-quarantine to people because of the virus's characteristic of quick radiation with close contact. Therefore, in-depth interviews were conducted with virtual applications which make possible to contact people with video conference such as "zoom", "Skype", "WhatsApp" and "facetime".

In the beginning, five people were determined to conduct pilot in-depth interviews. These were not included in the outcome of the research. At the end of every pilot interview, we asked the interviewee whether she or he could recommend potential participants. This snowballing method was also pursued in every interview to expand the research. The expansion, on the other hand, does not aim to reach the general representativeness of any given region or country. On the contrary, it constructs the validity of the research by aiming to observe prevalent discourse structures of post-truth in the climate change issue.(Small 2009) In this frame, twenty-eight in-depth interviews were conducted. The interviewees consisted of thirteen women and fifteen men. Seven of the female interviewees are over forty years old. Six of the female interviewees have a job, two are students, one of them is retired, and the rest are not employed. Moreover, while five of the female interviewees are university graduates, two continue their education, one of them is primary school graduates and the others are high school graduates. Five of the male interviewees are over forty years old. Ten of these interviewees have a job, two of them are students, one of them is retired and the rest are not employed. While ten of the male interviewees have completed their university education, the three of them are middle school graduates and the rest are high school graduates.

FIRST CHAPTER

LITERATURE REVIEW

This chapter of the study based on a plain question that also paves the way for diving into the deep of the social science which dictates to deal with ambivalences and ambiguities. What is post-truth? Considering the focus of this study, the answer to the question could help to draw both the theoretical and technical background of the discussion. Nonetheless, one should not expect that this background of post-truth painted with harmonious colors of ideas, Because what one will confront is the asymmetrical reflections of the thoughts on the horizon of social science. This chapter aims to observe these reflections via focusing on the studies about post-truth in the literature.

If the term post-truth is traced back to find the initial point of the discussions, Ralph Keyes's book "The Post-Truth Era" could be designated among the studies which embrace the term itself as an object of the study. Moreover, since this work is published before the post-truth comes to the fore of both media and social science in 2016 with references to the election campaign of Donald Trump and Brexit Referendum, it preserves its deviant characteristic in the literature. In the book, Keyes creates an argument by relying on personal observation. He claims that there is a shift in the perception of people about the truth. According to him, while in the past, people were approaching the estimations by questioning their possibility to represent the truth, now their responses to the estimations are changing toward the hesitations which focus on revealing the lie.(Keyes 2004, 171) This observation prompt Keyes to understand the cause of this shift. Because he thinks that the effect of this change could be noticed in every corner of contemporary life.(Keyes 2004) However, the emphasis on contemporary points out a contradiction. Because Keyes accepts that lies have always embedded in society. Furthermore, one could find numerous texts which try to explain the position of the lie in political science, sociology, and philosophy as an instrument or a necessity. In order to explain this position of the lie, Keyes indicates the contributions of thinkers such as Plato, Cicero, Machiavelli, Kant, Nietzsche and so on in their books. Not only these

specific areas, but Keyes also demonstrates that the usage of lies is permitted in the sacred books in certain circumstances.(Keyes 2004, 30) Nonetheless, he claims that, with the effect of technological advancements, lies become a different ethical problem in postmodernity. Because, according to him, the possibility to facilitate lies in technology and the discourse of relativization in postmodernity help to remove the ethical burden of lies on the shoulders of people.(Keyes 2004, 10) In the vein of this reasoning, Keyes names the era which to telling lies does not need to be sanctioned and the value of the honesties becomes vague and questionable as the post-truth era. In his frame, post-truth or the post-truthfulness is the postmodern trend that gives the dishonesties a chance to be rationalized.(Keyes 2004, 15)

Even though Keyes explains the post-truth as decaying of the ethical stance in postmodernism, the emphasis on the temporal characteristic of the post-truth is also articulated with different interpretations in the literature. Bruce Mccomiskey's book, *Post-Truth Rhetoric and Composition*, could be evaluated in this sense. In the book, Mccomiskey suggests a specific definition of the post-truth. According to him, post-truth signifies a state in which language lacks any reference to facts, truths, and realities.(Mccomiskey 2017, 6) The importance of the language in the definition of post-truth is where his temporal concerns nest in this context. Because he thinks that the post-truth could be understood with the narrative of Aristotelian rhetoric. There are three pillars that construct the rhetoric; ethos, pathos, and logos. Mccomiskey explains that in the Aristotelian philosophy, ethos pertains to both personal characteristics and social status of the narrator, pathos signifies where the emotional connotations show themselves in the discourse, logos, on the other hand, stands for the logical path which leads the argument to the conclusion.(Mccomiskey 2017) The study claims that the post-truth emerges when either ethos or pathos is manipulated at the expense of logos.(Mccomiskey 2017, 44) By exemplifying this vision particularly in the case of Donald Trump, the author observes two general motives in his speeches. Firstly, Trump uses his credibility which stems from the social status, even though this credibility is an empty-signifier, in order to create the post-truth that compose of lies, fake news, fallacies etc.via eliminating the role of logos in the discourse. Secondly, he articulates both implicit and explicit

associations to urge the emotions, in Trump's case it is mostly anger, to paralyze the logical path of the truth.(Mccomiskey 2017)

In this frame, one could deduce that in order to designate the post-truth in the rhetorics it is not obligatory to embrace the term with interruption or the contribution of the postmodernity now that the Mccomiskey's study tries to understand the post-truth with the Aristotelian rhetoric. According to Mccomiskey, the post-truth is an emblematic form which explains the reign of bullshit, fake news or fallacies over the truth. Additionally, Montgomery reaches similar conclusions with the view of the Aristotelian approach to the post-truth in his article. Nonetheless, he also states that the appeal of ethos and pathos in Trump's speech could be met as a sincere act by his supporters. In order to make a thorough evaluation of post-truth, one should not only focus on the rhetorical power of the narrator over people, but it should also be scrutinized the role of the masses on the formation of post-truth rhetoric.(Montgomery 2017, 638-639)

Although the temporal tension between Keyes's and Mccomiskey's works could lead us to re-think the structure of the term among contradictory arguments, there could be found a study which coherently assesses these two visions in the post-truth literature. The work of Yalın Alpay proposes a modernist vision which claims that it is possible to reach an objective truth that frees from the relativity of human perception. According to him, what causes the rise of the post-truth is the postmodernist interruption to both social and political life. He thinks that postmodernism precludes the production and transmission of the objective truth by degrading the credibility of experts and intellectuals. Therefore, this vacuum initiates rationalization and diffusion of beliefs, fallacies or prejudices with the help of technological advancements.(Alpay 2017, 18) Nonetheless, these discourses which emerge with the absence of truth have their own characteristics. Those characteristics could be summarized with the Aristotelian rhetoric which is also covered by Mccomiskey and Montgomery in order to demonstrate the methods of hindrance against logical reasoning. As one could notice, according to Alpay, it is convenient to think about the historical reference of deceiving the objective truth

and the postmodernist shift in social life together. Because he thinks that the post-truth is the insignificance of the truth which is fueled by these two factors.(Alpay 2017, 36-40)

Nonetheless, Steve Fuller raises an objection to this frame of post-truth. He claims that the explanations which propose a rhetorical shift in the history of politics or sociology are the post-truth definition of 'post-truth'.(Fuller 2018, 1) To reach the real kernel of the post-truth, Fuller finds a bond between the teachings of Plato and Pareto. He states that Plato's Janus-faced truth which signifies the multiplicity of the truth between elites and masses teaches that the truth always exists with the attributions of personalities.(Keyes 2018, 32) These attributions are represented with other symbols in Pareto's thoughts: lions and foxes. According to Pareto, in the political sphere, whereas lions, as being a possessor of the power, try to preserve their potency, the foxes, as being opponents of the power, try to unseat the lions and capture the power for themselves.(Fuller 2018, 2) It could be recognized the resemblance between elites and lions, and naturally masses and foxes. Furthermore, for Fuller, this frame is the dwell of the post-truth. Because he argues that the difference between truth and the post-truth is that while truth represents the power of the elites in terms of determining what is going to be believed by subjects, post-truth is a counter-argument which is created by the masses in order to eliminate the discourse of the lions. In this vein, the post-truth should be assessed neither with the postmodernism nor with the rhetorical methods of deception. In the view of Fuller, post-truth reveals whenever a dominant knowledge is challenged.(Fuller 2018, 181-182)

Contrary to the Keyes, McComiskey, and Alpay, Fuller thinks that post-truth is not a failure of the political sphere but it is an agalma which heralds the utopia of western democracy. He says:

"I believe that a post-truth world is the inevitable outcome of greater epistemic democracy. In other words, once the instruments of knowledge production are made generally available -and they have been shown to work- they will end up working for anyone with access to them. This, in turn, will remove the relatively esoteric and

hierarchical basis on which knowledge has traditionally acted as a force for stability and often domination.”(Fuller 2018, 61)

On the other hand, Ari Rabin-Havt in his book *Lies, Incorporated: The World of Post-Truth Politics* defends a conception which has both similarity and difference with Fuller’s study. Rabin-Havt and Fuller agree that post-truth embedded in the political sphere. However, Rabin-Havt does not think that post-truth is a counterargument against the truth of power. According to him, post-truth has a very similar meaning to lie. Moreover, the post-truth represents a culture that political leaders bend the system in order to preserve and enhance the profits of certain groups. In this culture, while the obligation to serving people is overlooked, the priority is determined as an ideological victory.(Rabin-Havt, 2016, 29) With that regard, Rabin-Havt focuses on regulations about different issues such as climate change, health care, immigration, voting, abortion, gay rights, etc. But what is the meaning of ideological victory? If one focuses on the examples which are covered in the book, this ideological victory does not just indicate the main political cleavages. Because each issue confronts different incorporated lies. For example, according to the author, regulations to reduce the effect of climate change have hindered by the oil and tobacco companies, protection acts to create a standard to immigration have struggled with the xenophobic politicians, the effort to legalize the abortion has to fight with the dogmatic allegations of some Christian communities and the harassment of masculine mind, etc.(Rabin-Havt 2016) In this frame, ideology signifies an interest of certain groups and the post-truth is the domination of these groups over the politics in order to cripple the progress of the society through a democracy by using lies.(Rabin-Havt 2016, 29)

Naturally, since each one of these issues is analyzed between the triangle of politics, business and the media in the US and the relationship between these actors are peculiar to the US, it could be misleading to reach a general deduction about the post-truth as an abstract term. Nonetheless, this study may contribute the discussions about the leading actors of post-truth in the literature.

At this point, the agreement which pointed out above between Fuller and Rabin-Havt should be reconsidered. Because, although both of these authors indicate that the post-truth in-itself exists in the political sphere, the roles of this existence are different. Whereas Fuller thinks that the post-truth is a positive gain of western democracy, for Rabin-Havt post-truth is what undermines American democracy. Apart from Rabin-Havt's non-figurative approach to US democracy, there could be found studies which cover the post-truth discussion in the democratic systems in a more theoretical way. Sheila Jasanoff's and Hilton Simmet's article criticizes the other studies in the literature for two points. Firstly, they think that the post-truth has not discussed with a historical approach. Secondly, the study claims that the production process of the truths and norms in the nature of democracy has been ignored.(Jasanoff&Simmet 2017) This emphasis on the production process of the truth could connote the Habermasian dialogue in the democracies. Moreover, the articulation of the dialogue process in the post-truth debate reveals an unorthodox definition. Because the study claims that to overlook or undermine the facts do not solely explain the term, post-truth appears when the facts and values are not supported by the equal consensus of the democratic institutions. Facts should be co-produced.(2017, 764) Therefore, the authors not only deny the idea that sees the term as an achievement of the politics but also argues that post-truth is a symptom which indicates the failure of the democracies. In order to cure this failure, they cast a key role in the concept of transparency. Because, with that regard, if the governments accomplish to be more transparent to the institutions and the people in terms of their practices, the tension between facts and the consensus of the democratic dialogue could be abolished.(2017, 764-766)

Stuart Sim's book could be seen as another critical approach to Fuller's study in the literature. Because one of the conclusions of his study is that post-truth should not be considered as a part of democracy.(Sim 2019, 155) Nonetheless, to avoid creating a blank in the chain of reasoning about Sim's study, the motives of this conclusion should be discussed. In the book, Sim tries to find an answer to a question. What is post-truth? But he thinks that it is a daunting task to come to an agreement about the definition of truth.(Sim 2019, 21) Instead of this, he shifts the

question to what helps to determine the frame of post-truth. According to him, there are two major factors that could assist to answer this question: conspiracy and religious belief.(Sim 2019) For the former one, Sim claims that just as post-truth, conspiracies or conspiracy theories do not solely compose of lies, there is always a part of truth in them. Moreover, conspiracy theories need a reciprocal engagement with an audience. Because the study shows that the audience fills the blanks of these discourses. Therefore, people's tendency towards the preserve their reality and dismantle the inconsistencies in their lives becomes a tool of the conspiracies which warn about the possible threat/alteration to their daily routines in the future. In this vein, Sim argues that the post-truth has also similar characteristics which create a link between irrelevant factors by appealing hesitations of masses.(Sim 2019, 4462) For the latent factor, Sim claims that the key to understanding the relevance between post-truth and the religious belief resides in the notion of faith.(2019, 63) According to him, just as religion, the post-truth also demands to bear faith. Because it could only be possible to rely on post-truth which is built on irrelevant causality by dictating to have faith in a judgment that does not base on proofs.(2019, 69-70) With that remark, one can understand the frame of post-truth in Sim's thought. Apart from that, he proposes antidotes to not getting caught in this frame and he asserts that skepticism and relativism shall be embraced as ways to deny the post-truth. Because, while skepticism forces us to interrogate the structure of the truth/post-truth, relativism provides a curiosity to see other dimensions of the truth.(Sim 2019)

Lee McIntyre, in his book *Post-Truth*, asks a different research question. Why post-truth appear? Before working on the answers to this question, the position of McIntyre's thoughts should be detected in this literature review that has been debated so far. On the one hand, contrary to studies which conduct their research via focusing on the political actors, the author claims that post-truth shall be sought in the behavior of the people. Because, according to him, post-truth signifies the probability of changing the truth with the intervention of people.(McIntyre 2018, 35-63) On the other hand, although there have been opposite ideas, McIntyre thinks that postmodernism is what leads the post-truth.(2018, 150) Now that, the second

premise of his assertions has similar patterns with the Keyes's and Alpay's studies, it could be prolific to focus on the first one. McIntyre claims that one of the causes that trigger the post-truth is hidden in human psychology. What is referred to in this context is the conception of cognitive bias.(McIntyre 2018, 35) Among the contemporary research on the cognitive bias, McIntyre underlines particularly two of them to understand the post-truth. Firstly, he demonstrates that with the backfire effect which is coined by the scientist when evidences are shown to the supporters of certain political groups in order to prove that one of their beliefs is false, the supporters have a tendency to insist on their beliefs and reject the evidence.(2018, 48) Secondly, with the Dunning-Kruger effect, humans have an incorrect judgment about their limit of ability. In other words, humans do not know that they think they know what they do not know. This overrated sublimity of the people about themselves causes the ruling out of the mistakes in their realities.(2018, 61-62) With this respect, one could presume the answer to McIntyre's question. Post-truth appears with the behavior and discourse of the people in that their cognitive bias is shaped by the effect of postmodernism.

If the remarks of the studies are followed from Jasanoff to Sim and McIntyre, it could be noticed that three fundamental conceptions are on the center of these studies: democracy, democratic dialogue, and postmodernism. Derek Ford, in his book *Politics and Pedagogy in the "Post-Truth" Era*, tries to understand the positions of these terms in the post-truth discussion. According to him, the prefix of "post" on the post-truth and postmodernism should be scrutinized with the same vision in that the prefix has the same function in these terms. He claims that by considering the Lyotard's thoughts, postmodernism is neither a continuation of the modernism nor the rejection of it. Postmodernism represents the crack in modernism which believes that it is possible to gather people around a universal narrative. In other words, postmodernism demonstrates that it is not possible to find an objective ground to observe the definitions, they always gain their meanings with the interruption of external structure.(Ford 2018, 2) In parallel, Ford argues that post-truth is also the crack in the definitions of truth. Because, even though modernist vision, as also discussed above, advocates the objectivity of the truth,

post-truth proves that the concept of truth could not harbor any objectivity as expected to can since references to the truth always ignore to see the spatio-temporal background behind it.(2018, 57-75) The emphasis on the pedagogy in this frame is basically a demand to adequately understand and challenge the post-truth. In order to observe the contradiction, we should remember the Jasanoff's solution to erase the post-truth in politics. He suggests strengthening the role of democratic dialogue in society. Nonetheless, Ford argues that to demand more communicative democracy means to caught up by the modernist mistakes again for a reason that communicative democracy overlooks the antagonisms which are always/already embedded in the political sphere.(2018, 9) With that regard, the study concludes that so that the post-truth is properly assessed, the relation between education and pedagogy should be re-considered. Because the only way to understand the frame of the post-truth is to study how the post-truth signifies the antagonistic structure of the truth.(Ford 2018)

Ignas Kalpokas, on the other hand, focuses on the same point as McIntyre. Because he also reaches the conclusion that the audience must be a part of the formation of the post-truth. However, he claims that postmodernism should be erased in this equation. The reason for this argument is that contrary to the McIntyre's thoughts, post-truth was already leading the masses to reach the easy assumptions or conclusions whenever they face with the missing link in reality.(Kalpokas 2019, 127) Therefore, there should be other motives behind the production and exploitation of the post-truth by the masses. For the purpose to find these motives, Kalpokas focuses on the term hegemony that is brought up to discussion by Laclau and Mouffe. The study articulates that in the frame of hegemony when people confront the chaos or sense a deficit in their reality, they want to re-order the chaos by fabricating an empty-signifier. Namely, a particular disagreement in the political is dismissed by assigning universal structures such as freedom, security, democracy, etc. The essential role of these structures for people is to create the order again in reality by neglecting the essence of the problem. In this vein, hegemony represents a chain which is deployed by people in order to fulfill their desire to stability with the help of major definitions or empty-

signifiers.(2019, 109) Relying on this background, Kalpokas claims that the development of social media enlarges the area of hegemony. Because the contribution to the privatization of the information helps people to easily reach and exploit the empty-signifiers in a wide range of options.(2019, 53) According to Kalpokas, the post-truth is this mediatization of the hegemonic illusions of the people through media. Nonetheless, a question could be revealed about this definition. If postmodernism is not a necessary condition to understand the post-truth, why the effect of social media is pointed out? Because the author claims that postmodernism has no contribution to influence on the people's desire to hegemony, in fact, this desire could be observed without the concept of postmodernism. (2019, 104)

In the book of Kalpokas, one could realize the references to the Lacanian psychoanalysis in order to define the concept of hegemony. Thus, the shift from behavioral psychology which is debated with McIntyre to the Lacanian psychoanalysis in the interpretation of the post-truth is noticeable. However, there could be observed that different psychoanalytic contributions on post-truth debate reach different conclusions. Jason David Myres, in his article, reads the post-truth as a symptom.(Myres 2018, 392) According to him, what Jacques Lacan taught us is that the truth always harbors a lack in-itself and it is impossible to tell the whole truth. Myres sees a similarity between hysteric's approach to the truth and the post-truth. He argues that the symptomatic behavior of the hysteric begins with hysteric's incessant interrogation to the position of the truth. In essence, this interrogation does not directly address the truth, it tries to reveal the master behind it, a master who determines the truth. In order to deny the position of the master, hysteric tries to reveal the lack or void in the truth as Lacan pointed out.(2018, 396) Myres interprets that the post-truth is the symptom which aims to reveal the impotence of the truth. With that regard the difference between the psychoanalytic remarks of Kalpokas and Myres is that whereas Kalpokas assesses the post-truth as a way to find a hegemonic illusion or master which decides what is the truth for people, Myres thinks that the post-truth is a hysterical masculine discourse which undermines the hegemony of the truth.(2018, 405-409) There could be found a

study which pays attention to the tension between these two interpretations of the hegemony, even though Kalpokas and Myres are not directly addressed. The book which edited by Rosemary Overell and Brett Nicholls focuses on the issue that how the post-truth is structured in the new conjuncture. Referring to the ideas of Stuart Hall, the book focuses on three premises of this conjuncture. Firstly, it tries to understand where the post-truth shows itself, secondly, the crises of the post-truth are discussed and lastly the symptomatic meaning or characteristic of the post-truth is tried to be analyzed.(Overell&Nicholls 2019)

In order to make a critical reading about the post-truth, now, it could be helpful to go back to scrutinize the studies which argue that the involvement of the power or it's discourse is what matters. David Block begins his book, *Post-Truth and Political Discourse*, with a thorough discussion on truth and post-truth. Especially, with thoughts of Nietzsche and Foucault on the truth, he interferes that the truth in-itself represents a mask which hides spatio-temporal characteristics of the power relations.(Block 2019, 23) Therefore, Block thinks that it would be wrong to believe that the objective truth preserves itself in the discussion of the post-truth. The rebuttal of the objective truth leads the author to confront with the definition of the post-truth in Oxford Dictionaries. According to the dictionary, post-truth is relating to circumstances in which people respond more to feelings and beliefs than to facts.(Oxford 2017) In this context, Block argues that if the spatio-temporal characteristics are pivotal to grasp the truth, it might be misleading to explain the post-truth by referring to the feelings. This is why he is critical about the studies that only focus on cognitive bias or psychoanalysis.(Block 2019,57) On the other hand, Block claims that the key element to understand the term is the concept of manufacturing consent which is presented by Noam Chomsky to social science.(2019, 74-78) The concept of the term points out the ability of the state bureaucracy to convey the message or the propaganda of the dominant elite by either using censorship or creating pseudo-facts through the media in order to manipulate the society.(2019, 75) By using critical discourse analysis, he tries to understand the relation between manufacturing consent and the post-truth in the case study which issues the discourse of Partido Popular(People's Party) in Spain.

In this vein, the study demonstrates that post-truth has appeared as an instrument of the manufacturing consent in the discourse of the Partido Popular in that it is observable that the declarations of the party in the Spanish media contain the traces of anti-expertise, anti-intellectualism, misleadings, lies, humbugs.(Block 2019)

Nonetheless, Ylä-Anttila in his article, *Populist Knowledge: Post-Truth Repertoires of Contesting Epistemic Authorities*, remarks an inadequacy in the studies which assesses the post-truth as an instrument of the power in the political sphere. The motive of the study is to focus on how the post-truth is positioned in the populism. Because Anttila states that the rise of populism in the democracies coincides with the new era which is specified with post-truth politics.(Ylä-Anttila 2018, 1) In order to conduct the research, the author approaches Finland as a case study by claiming that the disputes about immigration in the Finnish parliament provided a chance of consolidation for the right-wing populism after 2008. Therefore, he analyzes the online discussions on anti-immigration via peculiarly focusing on the concepts of knowledge, counter-knowledge, and conspiracism. The reason that the author determines these three concepts is that he thinks that the discourse of the post-truth circles around these definitions. According to him, as also mentioned above, as an outcome of the power relations knowledge creates doubts on itself now that it is capable of manipulating reality. Thus the knowledge itself could be one of the instruments of the post-truth.(2018, 5) In the opposite way, counter-knowledge could also be an instrument of the post-truth. Because, if the counter-knowledge refuses the knowledge for the sake of different knowledge authority, it should be questioned whether it represents a postulate or not.(2018, 4) Lastly, just as Stuart Sim, Anttila thinks that now that conspiracy theories or conspiracism are shaped with the hesitations which are not ignited by the facts in the political sphere, the concept could be seen relevant to the post-truth.(2018, 6) If there is a bond between populism and the post-truth, there could be observed that these three pillars of post-truth also structured in the discourse of populism. However, at the end of the study, Anttila demonstrates that the pillars of the post-truth could not only be embedded in the discourse of power. Both opponent of the power and the people who are not part of the state bureaucracy uses the post-truth

in order to state their arguments in the online discussions. Thus, the author concludes that the utilization of the populist discourse by different actors leads to be recognized the reification of the post-truth by these very same actors. Namely, the post-truth is not only the instrument of power, but it also helps opponents and people to advocate their interests.(2018, 22)

Another empirical research which tries to understand the patterns of the post-truth in the discourses is the Marius Gudonis's article. The focus of the study is online discussions about genocide denial, in particular, it is about the Jedwabne Massacre which is committed by Nazi Germany in Poland during WWII.(Gudonis 2018,152) Nonetheless, one could realize two differences between Anttila's and Gudonis's studies. Firstly, while Anttila's research question drags him to the conclusion about the roles of actors about the post-truth, Gudonis tries to understand how the post-truth shows itself in the discourses. Secondly, whereas Anttila's reference to the post-truth coincides with the rise of populism, it seems that Gudonis associates a historical context to the post-truth discussion in the issue of genocide denial even though he specifically focuses on the online discussions. To conduct the study, the author picks four articles about the massacre on the news website that in this research, it is Newsweek Polska. By scrutinizing the comments on these articles, Gudonis determines five characteristics of the post-truth. The first one is the explicit indifference. This characteristic which is quite similar to the definition of the post-truth in the view of Gudonis, explains the belief that the statement of the truth is unnecessary. The second one is the unsubstantiated fabrication which signifies the allegations that not even rely on myths or misjudgment but come out of the blue. The third one is unconcerned contradiction. This feature demonstrates the religious belief of the commentators to their narratives or truths whether they are true or not.(2018, 162) The fourth one is the political instrumentalism that it is the effort to tacitly or explicitly fabricate a historical or political reference to the narrative.(2018, 166) The last one, on the other hand, is gratuitous perversion. This characteristic points out the provocations which aim to urge the audiences without any purpose or just for mocking.(2018, 170) In this frame, Gudonis claims that the

issue of genocide denial could be a prolific way to understand the structure of the post-truth rhetoric in the discourses.(2018, 175)

Remembering the comparison which is mentioned above between Anttila and Gudonis, another study should be discussed in this picture. Just as Anttila's study, the article which is written by Lewandowski, Ecker, and Cook argues that post-truth is a recent phenomenon. Nonetheless, the authors have not seen the populism as a key object of analysis. According to them, the growing trend of the post-truth should be explained with the amalgamation of the effect of the new media landscape, changing human behavior and the new characteristics of social order.(Lewandowski et al. 2018) If this amalgamation is taken into consideration, the authors draw a disconcerting frame to the post-truth because they claim that:

“We suggest that a better framing of the post-truth malaise is through the lens of the political drivers that have created an alternative epistemology that does not conform to conventional standards of evidentiary support”(2018, 356)

However, this frame can not be enough to understand the rise of post-truth. To understand this phenomenon, the study claims that there must be alteration patterns in the responses of the people to the misinformations. With that regard, five societal trends that might help to the emergence of the post-truth are proposed. The first one is the decline in social capital and shifting values. This point of view claims that from the 60's to the recent days, while the rate of people who feel happy and people who feel trust in the others decline, social isolation demonstrates an increasing pattern. The second one is the growing inequality which indicates the expanding rift between income groups in the new form of capitalism. The third one is the declining trust in science that as similar to some of the studies which are covered in this literature review vocalizes the hesitations of the people and political actors towards the scientific findings. The fourth one is the politically asymmetric credulity. This feature explains the effect of the political divide in the people's tendency to believe the misinformation. Finally, the last one is the evaluation of the media landscape that pays attention to the role of technological advancements, in particular the development of social media, in the spread of the post-truth.(2018,

357-359) At this point, one could be more specific to frame this study. Although the concept of postmodernism is not directly involved in the assessment of the post-truth, with the contribution of Keyes's, Alpay's McIntyre's thoughts, the implicit existence of postmodernism is traceable. Because according to the authors, as of a certain shift in history, the post-truth has obtained a suitable environment to rise. Therefore, the post-truth becomes apparent when the misinformation which is articulated by political actors confronts the people who are re-shaped by the structure of social reality.(Lewandowski et al. 2018)

Considering Lewandowski's remark, at this point in the literature review, the role of social media in the post-truth debate should be exhaustively examined. In order to do that, James Ball's study could lead to the discussion. The book begins with the author's explanations about how he frames the term post-truth. If the patterns of the discussion which try to underline the effect of the post-truth with the Donald Trump campaign and Brexit Referendum are taken into consideration, one could realize that, instead of grasping the post-truth as an abstract term, he describes the post-truth as an era which indicates a certain shift in the course of the history, just as Ralph Keyes.(Ball 2018, 17-53) Moreover, he claims that in that there are too many expressions to address the misinformation in the language, there is a need to find a catch-all term that for Ball, it should be "bullshit".(2018, 10) In this vein, Ball tries to understand how bullshit becomes widespread in the post-truth era. According to the study, there could be two pillars of the answer. The first one pertains to people who are exposed to bullshit. Similar to the McIntyre's contribution, Ball also thinks that the reason that people fall for the post-truth is the psychological characteristics of human beings.(2018, 130) Nonetheless, behavioral psychology is not enough to explain the post-truth era. Given that it should also be understood how people confront bullshit, the second pillar focuses on the role of the media. On the one hand, the study argues that as a main instrument of communication, the traditional media -Tv, newspapers, and radio- become more fragile to fake news. Because while the duty to verification the news is being overlooked, the partisanship of the media institutions to a certain political ideology is enhancing. With that regard, broadcasting or journalism is begun to define with

gatekeeping rather than impartiality.(2018, 66-70) On the other hand, Ball thinks that social media also ignites the post-truth era to a large extent. Because he demonstrates that social networks and social media companies create a different ecosystem. In this ecosystem, while the user has the opportunity to reach every flow of information, the provider procures a mirror of identity which is determined with the preferences and clicks for each user. With this mirror, social media gains information about user's tendencies, habits, daily routines or what user likes or dislikes, etc. Contrary to the idea that the internet liberates the people from the fake news of the traditional media, social media have the power to confine the people in a filter bubble that bombards and manipulates the user with the contents that it is wanted to be seen based on user's mirror. In this frame, according to Ball, social media becomes a dangerous place for people who do not question the accuracy of information. Because it has a major role in the circulation of bullshit in the post-truth era.(Ball 2018, 106-112)

As the last study which is issued in this literature review, Akin Unver's interpretation of the post-truth must be acknowledged. The article begins with the general definitions and features of the post-truth. Unver states that the journey of the post-truth has been related to the rise of anti-intellectualism and anti-expertise and these two terms find their ways to be heard with the technological developments.(Unver 2018, 45) Nonetheless, by considering the definition of the post-truth in the Oxford Dictionary which points out the priority of the emotions over the facts, he thinks about the question that what differentiates the post-truth from lies. With references to Aritoteles's rhetoric and Spinoza, Unver claims that not only post-truth but also lies could be triggered by the emotions. Moreover, another aspect of the definition seems questionable to the author. Is it possible to determine a hierarchical relationship between emotional and logical inferences in human psychology? Unver argues that there could not be found enough pieces of evidence to separate the emotional and logical structures from each other.(2018, 50) In this vein, the study claims that the post-truth is a misnomer since the Oxford's definition of post-truth derives from negligent assumptions. If it should be summed up in three sub-heading. Firstly, the definition relies on a wrong information about

human decision process, secondly, it based on a false presumption which claims that facts could seamlessly represent the reality and lastly instead of assessing the rising patterns of lies and fake news with the systemic conditions which a society live in, the definition consider this behavior as a natural tendency of the public.(2018, 53-54)

With the light of these studies, it could be noticed that the discussions on post-truth revolve around three main arguments.

- 1- Although most of the studies agree that post-truth is a consequence of the postmodernist contribution or interruption to reality, in order to understand the structure of the term, they refer to either the historical evolvement of the truth or analogies in the doctrines of philosophy and sociology. The other studies which see postmodernism as an irrelevant element, on the other hand, do not focus on the temporal side of the discussion.
- 2- The term post-truth is tended to define with the emphasis on lies or insignificance of truth. Moreover, these two terms are mostly used as a general term which contains the other negations of the truth such as bullshit, misinformation, fallacy, humbug, etc. Nonetheless, in the line of the first argument, it could be realized that the effect of the postmodernism to the definition of the post-truth still ambiguous because of the historical references.
- 3- In political science, there are two interpretations. While one of them asserts that post-truth emerged after the events in 2016, the other one claims that post-truth is always/already embedded in the political sphere. Apart from that, for both views, there are disagreements about the role of the post-truth. Is it an instrument of power? Is it a consequence of technological advancements? Is it a method to deceive the public? Is it a cultural phenomenon? Is it a new era in which people live in?

In order to create a background and observe the alteration points in the post-truth debate, in the next chapter, these three arguments will be assessed by putting the truth as a phenomenon in the center of the discussion. More

specifically, for the first part by interrogating the value of the truth in different time periods, the role of the temporal implications and their effects on the term will be examined. In the second part, the journey of the meaning and the structure of the truth from modernism to postmodernism will be issued. For the last part, it will be questioned that what is the value of the truth and how truth is evaluated in political science.

SECOND CHAPTER

THE REFLECTIONS OF THE TRUTH DEBATE ON POST-TRUTH

In this chapter, with the light of the discussion on post-truth in the literature review, we will evaluate the findings of these studies by questioning the concept of truth, in order to exhaustively look at the general inferences of the literature.

2.1. TRUTH IN THE TEMPORAL ASPECT

Although in the studies which try to understand the term post-truth scholars point out the effect of postmodernity to the formation of post-truth, they refer to the works of thinkers who study the value of truth in periods which are named as modern or premodern era. As we remember from the last chapter, Ralph Keyes claims that in that postmodernity creates a chance for lies and dishonesties to spread, truth is repelled in public space. Therefore he entitles the era which indicates the graying of sociality as a post-truth era. (Keyes 2004: 16) Nonetheless, in order to reveal the characteristics of post-truth, he focuses on the meaning of truth in the studies which is written before the postmodernity. Because Keyes defends that although lies are always a part of life, as different from the past, in current era lies are catharized from the feeling of guilt and shame with the help of postmodernity.(2004: 16) With the lights of this vision, in order to understand the structure of lies, Keyes conducts a study via focusing on meaning of the truth and lies in previous studies which includes thoughts of Platon, Aristotle, Schopenhauer, Machiavelli, Nietzsche, Kant and so on. (Keyes 2004)

On the other hand, there are also studies that discuss the post-truth by putting the effect of postmodernity out of context. One could notice Steve Fuller's study as an example of this vision. Because, according to Fuller, post-truth embedded in the tradition of political space in Western countries. He claims that just as we think the post-truth in the Brexit Referendum we could also trace the term in every power struggle in history. (Fuller 2018: 53) However, with the assessments of these studies, one could raise a question. If there is a link between the post-truth and the truth which is debated in sociology, philosophy, politics, art, and psychology from ancient Greek to modernity, do negations of truth and post-truth address the same meaning? Was post-truth always there? And if so, why the negations changed their forms and they are replaced with the term post-truth? We will try to scrutinize these questions by specifically focusing on the concepts of truth in the interpretations of modernity and postmodernity.

Descartes, in his book *The Search for Truth By Means of the Natural Light*, plainly reveals the view of modernity on truth with the help of one of his characters. According to him, in order to find the truth, one does not need anyone to ask the sciences in the world. He claims that one could reach the truth with the help of one's mind which preserves its roots in the nature in that sciences are always/already coded in the mind.(Descartes 1966) After more than a century, although Immanuel Kant, in his article *What is the Enlightenment*, does not specifically pursue Descartes's emphasis on the human mind, he also picturizes enlightenment and modernity as a relieve of the human being from the grand external directions.(Kant 2007) He begins his article with these words:

“Enlightenment is man's release from his self-incurred tutelage. Tutelage is man's inability to make use of his understanding without direction from another. Selfincurred is this tutelage when its cause lies not in lack of reason but in lack of resolution and courage to use it without direction from another. Sapere Aude!

"Have courage to use your own reason". This is the motto of enlightenment."(2007:29)

Although Kant emphasizes the individual's freedom of expression in public as a condition for the progress of society, he also realizes the paradox which reveals as a by-product of this condition. If everyone has the freedom to present their own reason, how societies are able to determine the truth? Kant thinks that there are always be thinkers who already release themselves from the chain of this tutelage and they spread this behavior of rational thinking in society. However, so that rational thinking does not become sanctions of a certain group of people, enlightenment should be slowly put into practice. (2007: 9)

Keith Ansel-Pearson, on the other hand, in his book *An Introduction to Nietzsche as a Political Thinker*, focuses on Nietzsche's position about truth debate in modernity. Pearson claims that according to Nietzsche, 'untruth' could be perceived as a condition of life. Therefore truth is not something to find or seek, it is something to create.(Keith 2011:34) The thoughts of Nietzsche on truth constitute a critical point to Kant's and Descartes's remarks to freedom and human mind in that while Kant and Descartes interpret the modernity as a triumph of reason over the traditional religious discourse which regulates the society in every sense, Nietzsche thinks that modernity is built on secularizing faith to truth. However, given that truth is not exist for Nietzsche, the truth that modernity demonstrates its faith ought to be created by a structure. (2011:70)

When Michel Foucault observes the flow of thoughts about truth in modernity, he pays our attention to the two points. Firstly, he claims that Kant's attempt to investigate the enlightenment does not try to understand the outcomes of enlightenment, on the contrary, it tries to understand how the process of enlightenment is shaping the human mind and morality.(Foucault 2007:50) Because, in the article, Kant specifically emphasizes that *"if we are asked"*, *"Do we live in an enlightened age?"* the answer is, *"No, but we do live in an age of enlightenment"*.(Kant 2007:35) With this contribution, Foucault argues that one could deduce that Kant's time perception which for this subject, it is condensed

around the enlightenment, aims to understand the conditions of the present time. Therefore we could replace the question of what is the enlightenment with the question of what just happened to us.(Foucault 2007:121) Secondly, Foucault claims that the contribution of Nietzsche to the truth debate could lead us to the place where postmodernity expresses its criticism to modernity. According to Foucault, the Nietzschean rebuttal of truth in modernity could reflect another light on Kant's and Descartes's truth perception. Both Kant and Descartes agree that truths which are produced by religious authorities to regulate the human mind, are nothing but the obstacles to the development of humanity. Therefore, to release oneself from the chain of religious reason, one should express one's freedom and mind. However, if the truth does not exist as Nietzsche points out, how can we sure that Kant's and Descartes's truths are not regulated by any kind of power machinery just like truths in premodernity are? (2007:51) With that regard, Foucault suggests that, methodologically, the truth ought to be interrogated by questioning the position of power on truth debate and how power imposes itself between individuals with the help of practices that consensus on truth in society apply. Moreover, with respect to the context of Kant's question, instead of pursuing a linear historical process, truth ought to be assessed in specific periods in order to observe the changing patterns of truth practices. (2007:110) This Foucault's standpoint on the methodology which is presented by him is coherent with his studies on confinement practices and history of sexuality.¹

Zygmunt Bauman, in his book, *Intimations of Postmodernity*, thinks about the tension which is pointed out by Foucault on truth debate. In the line of Foucault's contributions, he claims that with modernity, the existence of God as a legislative reason for truth replaced with the human mind and nature. (Bauman 2015:142) However, Bauman observes that although this replacement addresses the symbol of the freedom of the truth from the chain of religious reason, the

¹ For further readings, see. Michel Foucault, *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison*, Vintage Books, 1995 and Michel Foucault, *History of Sexuality*, Pantheon Books, 1978

replacement actually symbolizes the shift in the orientation of power to intellectuals for designating the truth. (2015: 16) Additionally, according to him, just as there is an alteration about the context of the truth between premodernity and modernity, one could also recognize the changing pattern of the truth between modernity and postmodernity because while modernity approaches the truth as a legislative element of society as we discuss with Kant's and Nietzsche's thoughts, postmodernity contains a deconstruction of truth from these legislative elements in order to find out the real truth behind it. (2015: introduction ix)

With regard to this discussion on the place of truth in the different time periods, we can remember one of the literature review's main points. It claims that although the post-truth is a postmodern term, it has archaic roots in history. From the view of Bauman, with the methodology of Foucault's studies, we could observe the contradiction point to this main argument and deduce that the study about truth ought to be concentrated on the conditions of certain times which in Bauman's book, it is modernity and postmodernity. Because he says that

"I suggest that a sociology bent on the continuation of modern concerns under postmodern conditions would be distinguished not by new procedures and purposes of sociological work, as other postmodern strategies suggest, but by a new object of investigation. As far as this strategy is concerned, what matters is that the society (its object) has changed; it does not necessarily admit that its own earlier pursuits were misguided and wasted, and that the crucial novelty in the situation is the dismissal of the old ways of doing sociology and 'discovery' of new ways of doing it."(2015: 111)

2.2. TRUTH WITH RELATED TO THE MEANING

With this remark, we can scrutinize another inference of literature review. As we remarked above, while studies that focus on post-truth try to define the term, they tend to explain the term with either plainly as a synonymous of lie or

the situation in which truth is repressed or become insignificant. One of the radical standpoints of these visions is presented by Joel Backström. In his article, contrary to the Keyes's arguments, Backström claims that the era that we live in could not be named as post-truth era, but it could be a pre-truth era. (Backström 2019: 103) According to him, the meaning of post-truth and the truth share a common ground and both of them are fragments of the collective life. This common ground is that what determines whether an argument signifies the truth or not, is the power of the representation of the reason in public space. Therefore, in Backström's view, what constitutes the post-truth is this impotent or insignificance position of the truth which gives every alleged reason a chance to become a truth (2019: 124) One could also remember Alpay's argument about post-truth. According to him now that postmodernity and technological advancements create a space for every individual to claim her or his own truths, the real truth which represents the coherence with the rational mind becomes irrelevant. (Alpay 2017: 31) By considering the previous discussion on temporal tenderness of truth studies, we should also evaluate the common and contradict points between the emphasize of the insignificance of truth and truth debate in postmodernity.

The book which is written by Bernard Williams in 2002, *Truth and Truthfulness*, could be a starting point of this discussion. In the book, Williams finds the Nietzschean understanding of truth as a pathfinder of his thoughts. He thinks that although there is no way to reach the truth, the truth should be perceived as a hope for a more liberal and virtuous society. (Williams 2006: 324) According to him, Nietzsche's interpretation of truth could lead us to this vision. Because he defends that according to Nietzsche:

“Consequently, “will to truth” does not mean “I do not want to let myself be deceived” but—there is no alternative—“I will not deceive, not even myself”; and with that, we stand on moral ground.” (Nietzsche 1974: 282)

Williams argues that this moral ground eliminates loss which is brought with the nonexistence of truth and begets a chance to create an order in daily life.

(Williams 2006: 20) However, the criticism of postmodernist sociology still stands, how can we separate the legislative role of truth from the machinery of power? This particular question which highlights the susceptibility of truth to be a pragmatic tool for a certain power circle renders the existence of the truth questionable.

Richard Rorty, in his study *Universality and Truth*, thinks about the value of truth in American philosophy. According to him, the efforts of the philosophers on truth debate which is also named as the universal desire for truth should be named as a universal desire for justification. Because Rorty argues that in that the truth is too sublime to study, the goal to reach the truth doomed to fail in political space. (Rorty 1996: 2) Nonetheless, he thinks that the justification is what is important. In this view, though the truth classified as unrecognizable, the justification could be recognizable. Because justification is what presents a coherence between the truth and the reality of certain individuals or certain audiences, in this angle and with this pragmatic sense if an argument is justifiable and it convinces, there is no need to make discussion in order to find the truth. (1996: 12) These two assessments of Williams's and Rorty's could be relatively seen as support for the studies which embrace the post-truth as a condition of the insignificance of the truth from different angles. Because while in Williams's view, the utility/orientability of the truth as a legislative factor in social life refutes the transcendental meaning of the truth, in Rorty's view, the unreachable characteristic of the truth makes the effort of the truth-seeking obsolete. However, this pragmatic lens of the truth debate has not an equivalent voice in continental Europe.

Jean Baudrillard, in his book *Simulations*, positions himself on a radical point in the truth debate. He claims that:

"The simulacrum is never that which conceals the truth -it is the truth which conceals that there is none. The simulacrum is true."(Baudrillard 2008: 15)

The context of this Baudrillard's thought could be considered as a critique of the studies which defend the insignificant position of the truth. According to him, the World, which we live in, that miniaturization or virtuality of certain things took the position of the real and the truth, entered into the era of simulation.(2008 : 129) In the view of Baudrillard, the current stage of the capitalist form of life put the pleasure/enjoyment in the center of social existence for individual and in this system which is also named as consumer society by both Baudrillard and Bauman, there is no way to reach this enjoyment but infinite consume.² However, the consumerist behavior of the individuals does not necessarily interest in the products. The only aim of this society is to consume no matter what. According to Baudrillard, in order to keep up with the pace of consummation of the products that it could be food, tool, information, thoughts or feelings, with the development of technology, the real existences replaced with the simulations and virtualities. With that regard, the truth is also dispelled by consumer society in that, as had been quoted above from Baudrillard, the simulations are the truth. (2008: 276) Therefore we could deduce that whereas Rorty and Williams, as we argue above, stand close to the exposition of the insignificance of the truth, Baudrillard states that in the current era that consumer society and the technological advancements drag people towards it, the truth is demolished.

However, in the line of this assessment, a question could be raised. If the truth does not exist anymore, how can we discuss the term truth? In order to answer this question, Baudrillard draws up a study which is named and built with a question: Why Hasn't Everything Already Disappeared? According to this study, the process of dissolving things reached its end. (Baudrillard 2016: 9) Nonetheless, Baudrillard claims that the disappearance of things itself what makes discussible the vanished phenomena and in order to experience the disappearance, certain terms and structures could be evaluated. (2016: 27) With

² See. Baudrillard, Jean. *The Consumer Society: Myths and Structures*. Sage, 2017. And Bauman, Zygmunt. *Consuming Life*. Polity Press, 2008.

regard to the truth discussion, Baudrillard remarks that when the representations begin to become a truth, it could also serve itself as an ideology and this blind alley what makes noticeable the disappearance of the truth. (2016: 12)

One could find Jeff Malpas's article, Modernism, Post-modernism and the Problem of Truth as a study which combines both the term post-truth and the vanishing of the truth. The article which is written more than a decade ago from the Keyes's book inspires the term post-truth and claims that "*the postmodern era is also post-truth – it is an era in which the possibility of truth has been relinquished, rejected or, perhaps, simply forgotten.*" (Malpas 1992: 288) According to Malpas, the enforcements of Nazism during the second quarter of the 20th century proved that the two different interpretations of the truth are questionable. Because, on the one hand, this experience shows that the transcendental power of the sublime truth died in Auschwitz, on the other hand the legislative role of the truth could become a tool for manipulating the masses in wrong hands.(1992: 291) Therefore, Malpas's conclusion is that the postmodernity as a reflection to the crisis of the truth moves further from the relativization or the insignificance of the truth. (1992: 295) If we remember the starting point of this part of the discussion, we could observe that while studies which focus on the term post-truth tend to explain this term as a lie or the insignificance of the truth, an argument which defends the nonexistence of the truth in post-truth studies remains overlooked.

2.3. TRUTH IN POLITICS

The studies which are written after the second half of 2016 commonly mention the event of Brexit Referendum and American Presidential Election in 2016 in order to assert the relevance of post-truth debate in politics. Nonetheless, as the last inference of the literature review in this study remarked above, there are counterviews about the position of the post-truth. Is post-truth a tool of power or legitimacy of the government? Is post-truth a material of critique of the opponents against the government? Do people produce post-truth? What is the role of media and social media in this debate?

In order to be specific, we could remember three different studies in the literature review. Firstly; while David Block's study focuses on the discourse of Partido Popular which is described as a conservative party in Spain, it emphasizes that Chomsky's term, manufacturing consent, could be a key to understand the term post-truth. Because according to Block's study, power uses the post-truth with the help of media in order to create a consent between voters. (Block 2019) Secondly, Ylä-Anttila, in his study, claims that although the post-truth is perceived as an element of populist power, its utilization by an opponent of the power is neglected. (Ylä-Anttila 2018) According to him conspiracy theories or fake news does not only embedded in the populist discourse of power, but they could also be the context of counter knowledge of the opposition. (2018: 17) Lastly; Ignas Kalpokas argues for different positions of the post-truth. He states that the post-truth has similar patterns with the term hegemony. In the vein of Laclau's and Mouffe's way of thinking on hegemony, Kalpokas interprets that even though post-truth is not specifically used by the power itself, it is produced by the masses with the effect of the existence of capillary power between them. (Kalpokas 2019) With the light of different views, how can we express the post-truth in politics? If we pursue the same method which is implemented on the other inferences, we could begin by problematizing the state of the truth in politics.

Hans-Karl Pichler, in his article *The Godfathers of 'Truth': Max Weber and Carl Schmitt in Morgenthau's Theory of Power Politics*, tries to shed light on the differences and similarities between scientific knowledge, truth, and opinion by specifically focusing on these three names. He begins the article with a summary of how Morgenthau assesses politics. The article highlights that Morgenthau argues that with political realism, truths and opinions are clearly discernable in politics. Moreover, this ability of political realism also makes possible to reach objectivity in international politics. (Pichler 1998: 188) Apart from this vision, the article points out the annotation which is attached by Weber about objectivity. Pichler shows that although Weber thinks that the idea which

alleges the objectivity of science is agreeable, one should reckon the subjectivity of social science. Because according to Pichler:

“The analysis of social reality, Weber now argues, is not only culture-specific, but also influenced by the personal value orientations and interests of the social scientist” (1998: 189)

Nonetheless, Weber points out the historicity of science and claims that the only way to render the social sciences objective is to be sure that all variables which are subjected in the analyses are stable and impossible to change. (1998: 190) In this angle we could deduce that although what Morgenthau addresses as a truth is the reflection of natural laws to the politics, references to the Weber in the article shows that the truth in social science could only be determinable with retrospective study. Given that the article discusses the Schmittian understanding of politics and the effect of human nature to the politics instead of Schmitt's argument on truth and opinion, this discussion could be maintained with the path of Schmitt's writings.

In the book, *Political Romanticism*, Carl Schmitt scrutinizes the concept of truth which is used in political studies. By specifically focusing on Adam Müller's thoughts, Schmitt presents a trajectory from Rousseau, Spinoza, Fichte to Schopenhauer, Hegel and Marx. He claims that although the thoughts which perceive the laws of God as a way to find the truth in politics and the thoughts which assert that truth functions out of the human capability of understanding, point out different concepts of truth, there is a common point between these two parties; it is romanticism. (Schmitt 1986: 152) Because Schmitt finds these two interpretations are equally naive in that both of them make a reference to the transcendental voice. On the contradictory point of these references, according to Schmitt:

“Every political activity — regardless of whether its content is merely the technique of conquest, the claim or the expansion of political power, or whether it rests on a legal or a moral decision — conflicts with the essentially aesthetic

nature of the romantic. A person of political or moral energy quickly perceives the substitution of categories and knows how to distinguish the romantic interest in a thing from the thing itself. Because the concrete point around which the romantic novel develops is always merely occasional, everything can become romantic”(1986: 158)

With the light of these words, given that politics prone to be occasional, Schmitt denies the position of the truth which predicts a permanent law in political studies.

On the other hand, Hannah Arendt, in her article Truth and Politics, defines the different understanding of truth in the political sphere. When she analyzes the value of truth in modernity in the article, she realizes that there is a milestone which separates two different truth debates from each other in modernity. Arendt claims that the Kantian understanding of truth shows that this context has shifted from rational truth to opinions.(Arendt 2005: 299) According to the article, as this study also discussed above, while the former one believes that one could reach the truth with the help of one's reason, the latter one argues that one's reason could be fallible and a reason may only functions if it is accepted by the public.(2005: 299) However, Arendt claims that both of these interpretations about the truth have disappeared. According to her, on the merging point of the politics and the truth debate, there are factual truths. In this vein, that being different from the lies and opinions, the factual truths signify the truth which is promoted with pieces of evidence, records, documents or monuments even though it is not particularly noticeable that whether they represent the fallacy or not.(2005: 304) With this contribution, we could observe that there is a similar point between Baudrillard's and Arendt's understanding of truth. Because Arendt also claims that in political view factual truth does not represent the domination of lies, but it informs that the category of truth which we experience in the real world is on the process of being destroyed. (2005: 309)

Apart from these thoughts which discuss the position of truth in politics, Michel Foucault presents a different understanding of the truth. What Foucault signifies with the term truth, unlike Descartes's and Kant's interpretations, is not an isolated phenomenon which could be embraced by purifying the term from the chains of transcendental discourses, it is a practice which already related to the power relations.(Foucault 2002: 132) According to him;

“The important thing here, I believe, is that truth isn't outside power, or lacking in power: contrary to a myth whose history and function would repay further study, truth isn't the reward of free spirits, the child of protracted solitude, nor the privilege of those who have succeeded in liberating themselves. Truth is a thing of this world: it is produced only by virtue of multiple forms of constraint. And it induces regular effects of power.”(2002: 131)

Nonetheless, in Foucauldian sense, the word power does not point out a specific subject in politics like incumbent parties, opponents or people. He explains the power as relations which peculiarly functions in every capillary of the society In that sense, Foucault claims that in history the usage of truth in power relations has three different characterizations which are discovering the truth, being enlightened by the truth and telling the truth.(Foucault 2000: 178) For the first characterization, Foucault addresses the premodernity. He thinks that the discovery of the truth in the sense of this context connotes practices of a sublime truth which forces the individuals to surrender by this truth. (2000: 178) In the second characterization, as this study also discussed above, the truth is embraced as an element of enlightenment. Foucault claims that, in this period, the truth is tried to be released from the discourse of sublimity and it's role as a legislative factor comes forward. In this vein, the truth could be revealed with reason or by the knowledge of intellectuals. (2000: 44) Lastly, the third characterization of truth indicates the subjectivization of the legislative role of the term. Moreover, Foucault states that the subjectivity tries to purge itself from the all involvements of the Others and declares itself as a possessor of the truth.(2000: 195) According to Foucault, although these three characterizations

do not connect themselves with a relation of cause and effect, it allows us to observe the meaning lapses of the context of the truth. Because he claims that these characterizations represent the changing patterns of power relations in different time periods. (2000: 281) In that with this vision the unsteady structure of the truth is embraced as a tool to evaluate the practices of power relations, Foucault names these relations as truth games in politics. Therefore, Foucault positions the truth games as a facade which represents the regulating part of the power relations.(2000: 281) With that regard, we could assess that while studying on truth Foucault does not points out a term which interrogates what is true, false or commanded, but he focuses on how the truths function and have been structured in the politics of certain country in certain time periods.(Foucault 2002: 133)

From this point of view, we could make a comparison between the value of post-truth in politics in the literature and the characteristics of the truth in politics. Although there are studies which evaluate the post-truth by designating a subject in the political sphere, we could observe that neither Schmitt and Arendt nor Foucault approach the truth with similar patterns. On the contrary, from different angles, they embrace the truth as an element that it's meaning should be assessed in politics. Apart from that, with the light of Pichler's article, we can observe that Morgenthau and Weber discuss the term in the context of determinability of the objective truth in the politics instead of references to the subjects. On the other hand, there are also studies which do not seek any subjectivity in the context of post-truth in the literature as we see from Keyes's and Backström's studies. However, in that Keyes's study try to identify the meaning of the truth by searching the roots of the term from premodernity and modernity, and there is a discrepancy between the Backtström's assessments of the post-truth and the truth discussion in postmodernity, these studies preserve their question marks.

In this chapter, we tried to observe the reflection of the truth debate on the post-truth studies. In order to do that we, separately, focused on the three

inferences which we remarked above in the literature review. To the first part, we began by raising a question with respect to the first inference. If the term post-truth is a consequence of postmodernity, why studies which discuss the post-truth claim that the term has archaic roots? By considering the thoughts of Descartes, Kant, Nietzsche, Foucault, and Bauman, we observed that the context and the interpretations of the truth exhibit changing patterns in premodernity, modernity and postmodernity. Therefore, by relying on the thoughts of both Foucault and Bauman, we claimed that the form and the value of the truth ought to be evaluated with the conditions of certain time periods. In the second part, on the other hand, we focused on another inference which states that post-truth studies in the literature tend to explain the term as either opposite of the truth or the position which truth becomes insignificant. In this vein, we scrutinized the discussions on the meaning of the truth so that we clearly investigate the meaning of the post-truth and what differentiates these two terms between each other. For this part of the study, we traced the Williams's, Rorty's and Baudrillard's thoughts on truth. With the help of these thoughts, we realize that although Williams's and Rorty's study could be found as an emphasize to the insignificance of the truth from different angles, Baudrillard argues for different meanings of the truth which is the disappearance of the truth. Thus, we stated that although the post-truth as a lie or the post-truth as the insignificance of the truth are considered by the studies in the literature in order to understand the meaning of the post-truth, an approach which claims nonexistence of the truth does not have a voice in the literature. Lastly, we studied the other inference of the literature review. According to this inference, there are several different counter ideas about the position of the post-truth in politics. When we assessed the position of the truth in politics with the visions of Weber and Morgenthau with the Pichler's article, Schmitt, Arendt, and Foucault, we emphasized that although post-truth studies in the literature conduct a subjectivity-oriented works, studies which try to understand the position of truth in politics focuses on the value and the meaning of the truth.

Therefore, we deduced that the questions about the position of post-truth are not clearly determined.

Consequently, to proceed further in this study in order to understand the structure of the post-truth, we will focus on Slavoj Zizek's thoughts. The reason that this study considers Zizek's contributions relevant is that compatible with the conclusions of this chapter, Zizek's line of reasoning pursues the unique conditions of time periods, suspicions to the existence of certain factors and the value of these factors in the political sphere.

THIRD CHAPTER

LOOKING AT THE POST-TRUTH AWRY

In this chapter of the study, we will discuss the post-truth with the theoretical vision of Slavoj Zizek. In order to do that, firstly, we will try to determine the standpoint of Zizek on truth debate. Secondly, by focusing on the concept of the term "untruth" which is used by Zizek in his studies, while we will try to emphasize the patterns of alteration in the meaning of the truth, we will also try to evaluate the structure of the post-truth with the traces of these patterns. Lastly, to capture the systemic ground of the post-truth, we will focus on the value of post-truth in post-politics.

3.3. TRUTH

In his book, *Sex and the Failed Absolute* which is published in 2019, Slavoj Zizek observes that with the rising concerns about the fake news in recent years, liberal media highlights three different backgrounds which indicate the death of the truth. The first one is the ascending fundamentalist ideas which help the political groups to shape the justifiability of their interest. The second one is social media which gives every subject to express their narratives. The last one, on the other hand, is the deconstructionist characteristic of postmodernism that it defends the subjectivity of every truth.(Zizek 2019b : 103) However, Zizek raises an objection to the last pillar of this view. He asserts that the concern of the discussion which claims the death of truth is not the pervasion of the lie or

the disintegration of the reason in the public space, but it is the void of ideological hegemony which regulates and stabilize the society whether it represents the truth or lie.(2019b : 105) In order to clarify this position of the truth which is read with the hegemony of the ideology by Zizek, we should refer to the distinction between the reality and the Real in his philosophy. In the studies, Zizek uses the terms, reality and the Real -with a capital R-, in Lacanian sense. Zizek argues that the Real in Lacanian sense remarks the kernel of life. However, this kernel has an antagonistic structure. Because, although the Real could be acquired with brief appearances, it could not be symbolized or signified in the realm of language. (Zizek 1994 : 26) In the seminar XI, Lacan confronts this question: where do we encounter with the Real? Lacan states that the place of the Real could be designated on a range which is traced from trauma to the phantasy. However, the Real only evokes itself with a sudden small element of reality that it might be a noise or an accident.(Lacan 1978 : 60)In this frame reality gains a meaning which both masks the traumatic kernel of the Real and makes enunciable the Real with symbolic references. With this respect, we could embrace the Zizekian understanding of the ideology. Because he asserts that contrary to the view that assesses the ideology as a deception or misrepresentation of reality, ideology is a specter which fills the void of the Real.(Zizek 1994 : 21) According to him, ideology does not represent the main principles of certain political groups or a condition of illusion that it deceives the reality, on the contrary, he argues that reality which is experienced in daily life in-itself is functioned with ideology. (Zizek 1989 : 15) He claims that:

“Ideology can designate anything from a contemplative attitude that misrecognizes its dependence on social reality to an action-orientated set of beliefs, from the indispensable medium in which individuals live out their relations to a social structure to false ideas which legitimate a dominant political power. It seems to pop up precisely when we attempt to avoid it, while it fails to appear where one would clearly expect it to dwell” (Zizek 1994 : 5)

If we remember the Zizek's criticism to the idea which points out the deconstructionist behavior of postmodernism as one of the causes of rising fake news, we could deduce that, in his view, the truth signifies another dimension of reality which pursues the hegemonic character of the ideology to avoid the chaotic structure of the Real. Even though we notice the resemblance between Zizek's stance on the truth debate and the Foucauldian understanding of the truth in politics in that both of them positions the truth inside the world or within the reality in order to have a thorough assessment about the Zizek's understanding of the truth, we should elaborately focus on the teachings of Jacques Lacan about the truth.

In Seminar XVII, Lacan gives an answer to the question that what is the truth and he states that truth is the sister of the jouissance.(Lacan 2007 : 67) With this argument, Lacan points out two characteristics of the truth. On the one hand, for Lacan, the truth has a relation with jouissance which is coined by him in psychoanalysis, on the other hand, the truth signified as a woman. So that Lacanian truth could create a background to understand the position of the Zizek on the truth and the post-truth debate, these two characteristics should be scrutinized.

What the jouissance represent in Lacanian psychoanalysis? Although Lacan did not want to translate this specific term for the english editions of his seminars in that he did not think that the translation of this word quite corresponds with the context of the term, jouissance is translated as "enjoyment" in order to help to explain the concept. In Lacanian psychoanalysis, Jouissance is the enforcement of the superego which orders the subject to enjoy.(Lacan 2014 : 107) However, this appeal of the superego connotes an impossibility. Because according to Lacan the privilege to have possession on jouissance belongs to the primordial father who is murdered by his subjects in order to dispose of his prohibitive laws. Nonetheless, Lacan argues that although in this narrative the primordial father is murdered, his name or his ghost could not be relinquished and his Law which is remembered as an abstraction bans and

marks the subject with symbolic castration so that he preserves his privilege on jouissance.(Lacan 2013) With that regard subject doomed to oscillate between superego which drags the subject to jouissance and the Law of the father who says no to the jouissance. In this frame, although the Jouissance represents the impossible, for Lacan, the only way to reach the pleasure/enjoy(jouir) for a subject is this oscillation. According to him, pleasure(jouir) is experienced for a brief moment when the subject's desire to the jouissance of the Other or the Law of the father is castrated by the Law itself.(Lacan 2007 : 77) As we remember from Lacan's definition of truth in seminar XVII, he finds a relationship between truth and jouissance. In Seminar XX, he repeats this relation. He states that:

“The truth sought is the one that is unavowable with respect to the law that regulates jouissance.” (Lacan 1999 : 92)

In Lacanian sense, just as the Jouissance signifies the impossibility, it is also impossible to reach or say the whole truth for the subject. According to Alain Miller, for Lacan, the truth is inaccessible in that there is void which truth does not apply(Miller 2016 : 9) Lacan argues that this void is the dwell of the Jouissance. In this vein, one could recall the castration of the subject's desire by the Law of father to say no to jouissance. Because for Lacan, it also limits/castrates the truth from the whole revelation of the truth. Therefore Lacan claims that the truth could only be indicated with a half-saying(mi-dire).(Lacan 2007 : 51) With that regard, we could embrace the relation between jouissance and the truth since both of them carry the castration which disrupts the integrity of these factors with themselves.

If we remember Lacan's definition of truth from the beginning of this discussion, apart from the relation with Jouissance, we should also study the other characteristic of the truth which is the truth as a woman. One could notice that Lacan thinks about this feminine characteristic of the truth again in seminar XX. Because, in this seminar, he states that truth, no more than woman.(Lacan 1999 : 109) The reason that this connotation to femininity is important is that

Lacan remarks that this characteristic of the truth is not determined for in vain. According to him, this attribution to the truth could be studied in the hysteric's discourse³.(Lacan 2007 : 67) Being one of the four discourses of Lacanian psychoanalysis, hysteric's discourse could clarify the effect of castration on the truth. According to Lacan's schema, in this discourse, truth takes a position below the subject who is castrated by the Law of the name of the father. Lacan argues that the subject of the discourse interpellates what signifies the Law, Other or Father in that it is impossible the reach real kernel of jouissance of the father. By virtue of the interpellation, the subject tries to find a position to oneself.(Lacan 2007 : 37) With Zizek's interpretation, the subject's curiosity about oneself asks for the signifier of the Other that why am I what you are saying that I am.(Zizek 1998 : 79) Nonetheless, in this frame, the subject confronts the impotency of the signifier of the Law. Because, in Lacanian psychoanalysis, a signifier or a symbol of the Law/Father can not utterly represent these definitions. What makes this representation fail is the very same thing with the castration which limits the subject's desire from whole truth/Truth or Jouissance.(Lacan 2007 : 94) Therefore, we could deduce that what hysteric holds in the position of the truth is this information of the impotency and castration of the truth. In other words, in hysteric's discourse, truth is what veils the incompetence. This point is where Lacan finds a similarity between the woman and the truth. According to him, truth, like woman, can not be told all.(Zizek 1998 : 86)

From this angle, we could assess the Zizek's objection to the liberal media which alleges the postmodernism as one of the causes of the fake news. There is a resemblance between Zizek's standpoint which criticizes this vision by claiming that the idea which bemoans about the death of truth nothing but a search of hegemonic ideology which regulates every part of life and the truth

³ In seminar XVII, Lacan introduces four discourses in the psychoanalysis: hysteric's discourse, university discourse, analyst's discourse, and master's discourse. Each discourse represents different relationships between master signifier, knowledge, objet a, and subject on a schema. In Lacanian psychoanalysis, for each discourse, truth is represented by the different elements of the schema.

which veils the castration in Lacanian sense. Because, as we observe from the Lacan's teachings, Žižek also thinks that what signified as the source of the truth, always preserves a fail/castration in-itself. According to him the truth what sets the proper ground for the justifiability of the reasons no matter they represent the truth or lie. Nonetheless, as Žižek sums up his position with an ironic intimation, beneath the veil of the truth there is always disorder just as beneath the wars which take place for the promotion of democracy there are always human rights violations.(Žižek 2019b : 105)

Nonetheless, a question could be recognized in this frame. If although, as we discussed above, to attain the *Jouissance/enjoyment* represents the impossibility, there is a brief moment that subject could confront with the pleasure/*jouir*, is there an evental moment to confront with the truth? This question creates a dispute between Alain Badiou and Slavoj Žižek. Badiou, in his book *Ethics: An Essay on the Understanding of Evil*, claims that although to reach the whole truth/Truth represents the impossibility, one could refer to "a truth". According to him, this a truth is the same for all.(Badiou 2001 : 27) To arrive this conclusion Badiou thinks about the relation between *jouissance* and the truth in Lacan's teaching and he interprets that if the only way to experience pleasure/enjoyment(*jouir*) reside in the brief moment which points out the castration of Sisyphean task of subject's desire to the *jouissance*, truth also has a connection with this event.(Badiou 2001 : 52) According to Badiou, when an event that has the potential to change the flow of a certain definition's history such as an evental invention in science, innovation in technology or an event that shapes the politics, a truth emerges with respect to this event. For Badiou, this is the fidelity of a truth to the event.(Badiou 2001 : 42) Because he claims that such events are the disengagement from the opinions of the past and a truth shape itself with the information of this event until another event makes it impossible to be loyal to the former a truth.(2001 : 51) To clarify his position, Badiou uses an example and states that one could not continue to study on classical psychics after Einstein's work in 1905. Although before this event

there is fidelity to a truth which directs the works of physics, after Einstein, there is a new truth which emerges based on his findings.(2001 : 42)

However, Zizek claims a difference between Lacanian truth and Badiou's understanding of the truth. According to Zizek:

“While, for Lacan, Truth is this shattering experience of the Void - a sudden insight into the abyss of Being, "not a process so much as a brief traumatic encounter, or illuminating shock, in the midst of common reality" - for Badiou, Truth is what comes afterward: the long, arduous work of fidelity, of forcing a new law on to the situation.”(Zizek 2008a : lxxxii)

He elaborates his ideas about the position of an event in truth debate in the book, *Event: a Philosophical Journey through a Concept*. In this book, Zizek agrees with Badiou about the idea that truth is evental.(Zizek 2014 : 11) Nonetheless, he thinks that Badiou's definition of a truth which requires fidelity to an event has similarities between the truth-seeking as a hegemonic ideology. Since, according to him, in Badiou's frame, subject who bears a fidelity to the event as the condition of a truth does not have the real information of the event, this fidelity becomes a belief or an ideology which regulates daily life.(Zizek 1999 : 141) What Zizek problematizes in this frame is not the place where the truth shows itself, but it is the condition of fidelity. He claims that the event, as Badiou puts it, is the disruption of the reality which veils the kernel of life. In other words, it is a catastrophic change in the hegemonic ideology.(Zizek 2014 : 42) However, this change is not pursued by the fidelity of the subject. On the contrary, even though the event is realized by the subject, a subject rather pretends as if the event did not take place to avoid -as also stated above with the quote from Lacan- this shattering experience of the change itself.(Zizek 2014 : 119) In this vein, Zizek draws a circle which begins with the occurrence of the event and turns back to the beginning with the undoing of the event for the subject. Therefore, we could infer that the truth which reveals and vanishes in the same moment with the event lost in the oscillation between the occurrence of the event and the avoidance from the consequences of the event by subject.

Concerning this discussion about the concept of the truth in Zizekian sense, in the coming part of this chapter, we will focus on how post-truth could be read with this concept of the truth and what would be the difference between the truth and the post-truth in Zizek's philosophy.

3.2.POST-TRUTH

There could be found a study which tries to understand post-truth with the teachings of Slavoj Zizek. Sunčana Laketa, in her article *Even If It Didn't Happen, It's True': The Fantasy of Geopolitics in the 'Post-Truth' Era*, assesses the production of local discourses which is associated with post-truth with the Zizek's definition of fantasy. In order to conceptualize the definition of fantasy, she interprets one of Zizek's example in this debate. according to her, although nobody believes that Santa Claus really exists, people are pretending like there is a Santa Claus to maintain the tradition or keep the ancestors happy. The fantasy in this frame functions as if an implicit consensus on certain truths and this consensus is what makes the fantasy a hegemonic ideology that augments the reality in Zizekian sense.(Laketa 2019 : 159) In this vein, Laketa claims that the term post-truth could be grasped with this definition of fantasy which reveals in the narratives of geopolitics in that though they create a common point between people in the sense of believing, these narratives are questionable in terms of the truth.(2019 :160) Nonetheless, if we go back to the concluding remarks of the first part of the first chapter in this study, we could notice that the inferences of Laketa's claim are inquirable. Because the emphasis on the fantasy of geopolitics could not explain the question that why the truth changed its form to post-truth if certain definitions did not change. If we accept that there is always a fantasy which becomes a target of the local narratives, how can we differentiate the post-truth from the truth?

By considering these remarks, this study claims that the term post-truth could be understood with two breaking points which are pointed out by Zizek in terms of current discussions on truth debate. One of them is the concept of untruth, the other one, on the other hand, is the relevance of the structure of the

analyst's discourse which is presented by Jacques Lacan in psychoanalysis. In order to embrace the meaning of the post-truth, we will respectively discuss these points.

Although being one of the definitions which is discussed through years, the term undead or undeadness was studied by Slavoj Žižek in his earlier books, he claims a different angle to this term during the second decade of 21st century. Because he thinks that this term undeadness or undead could be a new monument of a crack in social life. According to him, with the advancements and innovations in technology, a new form of subjectivity is emerging. This subjectivity is what represents the post-humanity.(Žižek 2019b : 178) We should begin with the basic definition of the "undead". Žižek thinks that undead is the third definition between "dead" and "alive". For him, if a person is not alive that means this person is dead or if a person is not dead that means this person is alive. Nonetheless, undead means a living-dead or in a way, a living person who can not be able to dead. To exemplify this term, Žižek proposes zombies or ghosts as living-beings who have immortality. What is interesting about this concept of undeadness for Žižek is that an undead subjectivity dispels the symbolic castration.(Žižek 2006 : 110) If we recall this term from the first part of this chapter, we could notice that the castration has two functions. Firstly, it limits the subject's desire to the Jouissance of the Law, secondly, it prevents the subject from shattering confrontation with the real kernel of Jouissance. Lacan reads this notion of castration as a necessity of the subjectivity's formation. Because, he argues that with the process of interpellation between Other/Law's Jouissance and subject, subjectivity finds itself a place or a gap to shape its characteristics.(Lacan 2015)

Nonetheless, Žižek argues that with the new form of subjectivity these functions of castration have abolished. One could find the context of the advancements in technology in recent years as a manifestation of this new subjectivity. To clarify his positions, Žižek focuses on video games. According to him, players in the video games are exact definitions of the non-

castrated/undead subjectivity. Because, no matter the players die at a certain point in the games or how many mistakes these players do, the players always can begin the game all over again. The players are trapped in infinitude.(Zizek 2019b : 171) Zizek states that one could read this effect of infinitude perception which carries the idea of undeadness on the new form of subjectivity. For Zizek:

“Suffice it to recall the conditions of our surfing the Internet or participating in a virtual community: first, there is the gap between the “subject of enunciation” (the anonymous X who does it, who speaks) and the “subject of the enunciated/of the statement” (the symbolic identity that I assume in cyberspace, and which can and in a sense always is “invented”—the signifier which marks my identity in cyberspace is never directly “myself”); the same goes for the other side, for my partner(s) in cyberspace communication—here, the undecidability is radical, I can never be sure who they are, are they “really” the way they describe themselves, is there a “real” person at all behind a screen- persona, is the screen- persona a mask for a multiplicity of persons, does the same “real” person possess and manipulate more screen- personas, or am I simply dealing with a digitalized entity which does not stand for any “real” person?”(2019b : 172-173)

In this vein, although, as we also mentioned above, Jouissance of the father which could be pointed out with Law or Other is an abstract definition which needs a signifier to be represented in reality, Zizek argues that with the new form of subjectivity the Law /Other leaves its position from abstraction and become palpable in technology. Because, now, the new advancements of technology can restrict us from unwanted content, it can offer us choices based on our preferences or it gives a chance to a person to be whatever this person wants to be by opening a space for infinite living between/with wires. It functions as an agent of the Law of the primordial father.(2019b : 168)

If we recall the literature on the post-truth debate, we could remark that there are a noticeable amount of studies that focus on the post-truth find a direct relation between new technology -particularly in social media- and the post-

truth.(Lewandowski 2018)(Block 2019)(Kalpokas 2019) Can we read the post-truth with Zizek's claim about non-castrated subjectivity by considering that both of them are discussed with the new technology?

Zizek thinks about the third option between truth and lie in his book *The Fragile Absolute*. According to him, in a philosophical sense, there should be another definition to capture a statement which both partly related with the truth and not necessarily define with the negative association of lie, and proposes the term “untruth”. According to him:

"for Lacan, the 'untruth' which is not in this sense derivative of the dimension of truth would be simply the imponderable thickness of the pre-symbolic Real itself as the unsurpassable background of every symbolic universe"(Zizek 2001 : 81)

One could find parallel patterns between terms untruth and undead. Because, in this frame, just as the undead is a representation for the non-castrated livingbeing, untruth also does not confront with the symbolic castration of the Law in that untruth belongs to the pre-symbolic Real. With that regard, by relying on Zizek's inferences which proposes the undead subjectivity as a consequence of the new era, this study claims that untruth could be recognized as a characteristic of this new subjectivity in the post-truth debate. As this study stated in the first chapter, if one could not simply explain the post-truth with the terms truth or lie, post-truth should be pointed out outside of this circle. Two features could promote the argument about the structure of the post-truth as an untruth. Firstly, this definition of untruth could be a signifier to observe the alteration point between the truth and the post-truth in contemporary times since indicated as a characteristic of the post-truth, the concept of untruth is explained with the new subjectivity. Secondly, the untruth as a representation of both what is not truth or lie in cyberspace could be related to the concept of post-truth that it could be identified neither insignificance of the truth nor lie. Nonetheless, one should question the place of the new subjectivity in the technology. Does this subjectivity only discussable with the technology? Can

we observe this subjectivity out of this circle? In order to answer these questions, we should discuss the second premise of this study's claim about the post-truth which is the relevance of the analyst's discourse.

In seminar XVII, while Lacan introduces university discourse, he states that this discourse has a relation with the truth perception of their contemporary times.(Lacan 2007 :21) If we consider that this seminar was conducted in 1969 in France, we could notice what Lacan refers to when he says contemporary times. According to the schema of the university discourse, the knowledge as a product of the university is articulated as if there is no interruption from the signifier of the Law/Master. However, the truth which positions itself below the knowledge is held by the master signifier. Lacan asserts that in this schema truth is the possessor of the secret of this knowledge.(2007 : 183) Zizek interprets this secret with the following way:

“The ‘truth’ of the university discourse, hidden beneath the bar, of course, is power(i.e. the Master-Signifier): the constitutive lie of the university discourse is that it disavows its performative dimension, presenting what effectively amounts to a political decision based on power as a simple insight into the factual state of things.”(Zizek 1998 : 78)

For Lacan, this is the relation between his teachings and the movements which began with 1968: a hidden power/Other which prompts the students as an interlocutor of the university's knowledge.(Lacan 2007 : 148)

Nonetheless, in 2006, Zizek thinks about this relevancy of the university discourse to the today's world in his part of the book, Reflection on Seminar XVII, that composed of writings about the seminar XVII. He argues that in order to understand the current structure of civilization one should pay attention to the alteration from university discourse to analyst's discourse.(Zizek 2017a : 277) Moreover, one could also notice that he continues to work on this thought in his recent book Sex and Failed Absolute.(Zizek 2019b : 147) What is the role of the truth in the analyst's discourse? Lacan gives a challenging answer to this

question: in the analyst's discourse knowledge placed in the dwell of truth. To explain this signification, Lacan touches on the relationship between analyst and analysand. According to him, in psychoanalysis, analysand consults the analyst in order to reveal what s/he does not know. For Lacan, this is the basic appearance of the unconscious, although analysand knows that there is a problem, s/he does not know what the problem is. However, the analyst knows the problem based on the knowledge of science. Nonetheless, in this schema, although the knowledge of the analyst refers to science, it does not represent the objectivity. Lacan argues that the truth of the analyst's knowledge is related to the subjectivity of the analysts.(Lacan 2007 : 113)

According to the Zizek, this schema of the Lacan on analyst's discourse could be a key to understand the era of the "post"s. Because he thinks that what represents the analysand is the same subject who oscillates between enforcement of the superego and the castration of the symbolic father who says no to Jouissance. The subject finds the new formation of capitalism as the analyst which knows the subject better than the subject itself in terms of what subject needs to reach the pleasure/jouir. Although the analyst as a reflection of capitalism pretends as if its knowledge about the subject based on science -one could think about the numerous books on personality, nutrition, health, politics, ecology, etc-, the truth is that the aim is to provide a system which keeps the subject's desire manipulable.(Zizek 2017a : 277) With that regard, if we remember the question that is raised at the end of the first premise of this study's claim, one could notice that, for Zizek, there is a wide picture which also knows what subject wants. According to Zizek, this wide picture is the last formation of capitalism or in a sense the post-politics.(Zizek 2010) What differentiates this vision from the post-truth discussion in the literature? In the literature, we could observe that post-truth is discussed in the relation with either the subject's freedom in public space to express itself no matter this expression stems from the truth or a lie, or the pragmatic discourses of the political actors who want to preserve or gain the power.(Lewandowski 2018)(Alpay 2017)(Sim 2019)(Fuller 2018) However, with Zizek's interpretation of the analyst's

discourse, post-truth resides on the more systemic ground. Because, the new subjectivity is not simply commanded by the political actors, even political actors themselves just like the other subjects bear the burden of necessity to maintain the existence of post-politics.

With these remarks which are proposed as characteristics of the post-truth, the position of this study about the post-truth should be repeated. According to this study, post-truth is a consequence of the new subjectivity in Zizekean sense. This subjectivity is the product of the post-politics which knows the subject better than itself. If we remember the subject who oscillates between his desire and the signifier of the Law, post-politics is what regulates the subject by saying that this is your desire. Therefore, the discourses of the subject do not compose of what they think, they compose of the words which are manipulated by the post-politics to keep the system functioning. Namely, the post-truth is the discourse which is conveyed with the new subject in order to sustain the existence of the post-politics. To understand this structure of the post-truth, the term post-politics and its relation with post-truth should be scrutinized.

3.3. POST-TRUTH IN POST-POLITICS

The term post-politics problematizes the structure of politics and what is political. Slavoj Zizek, in his book, *The Ticklish Subject*, explains the political with the relationship between particular and universal in the political sphere. According to him, every structure which is accepted as universal contains a particular which is dispelled from the universal. In other words, particular is the slot of the universal. In order to clarify this frame, Zizek gives an example of the accusation against single mothers as a source of evil in the English society in the printed media during the late 20th century. (Zizek 1999 : 176) Zizek claims that universal structure -which in the example it points out the English society- could only continue to function with the existence of the particular - which in the example it is the concept of a single mother-. Since an empty-signifier is the veil of the real kernel of the inconsistencies in the universal, it survives by offering a particular as the cause of the problems. Essentially, the

universal always needs an excluded subject to allege this particularity. In this frame, a subject which dwells in the particular is addressed as a witness of the tension between particular and universal. Because only the subject realizes the hegemonic manipulation of the universal. For Žižek, what is political is the counter-argument of the subject against universal in order to undermine the hegemonic position of the universal.(1999 : 242) The contradictions between the subject and the universal are the reflection of the antagonisms in the political sphere in Mouffe's studies. According to her, these antagonisms are the *sine qua non* for the political.(Mouffe 1999 : 3)

Nonetheless, both Žižek and Mouffe agree that the political has lost this function in postmodernity.(Mouffe 1999)(Žižek 2010) Žižek claims that there is a new structure in the sphere. It is the post-politics.(Žižek 2010 : 30) According to Žižek, with post-politics, the antagonisms which create a ground for the defense of rights are relinquished with the disappearing of the political.(Žižek 1999 : 199) To explain this vision, Žižek focuses on the terms globalization and universalization which are positioned on different poles in his view. As this study discussed above, the universalization represents the antagonistic structure of the political. In post-politics on the other hand, globalization does not just pursue the characteristic of the universal which excludes certain definitions in the disguise of pseudo-equality, it moves a step further to this logic and makes it impossible to reach the real kernel of the problem. Žižek thinks that with globalization, counterarguments against the hegemonic structure stuck at the point of the particular. It could never confront the universal as a whole. Because he argues that globalization relies on tolerance based discourses which means that the disagreements which endanger the structure of hegemonic ideology have replaced with negotiation processes between parties. For Žižek, with this negotiation, demands which emphasize the alteration of hegemonic structure degrade to the particular demands which do not interrupt the existence of the universal. Žižek perceives this vision of globalization which relinquishes the possibility to alter the ideology as post-politics.(Žižek 2010 : 201)

As Diken also argues that this limitation/manipulation of globalization on the real kernel of inconsistencies aims to de-politicize the society. Because according to him, the eradication of radical antagonism in political means that it is impossible to create a radical change in politics. In this frame, the only factor that one could raise an objection is the particular which is addressed by the post-politics.(Diken 2009)

By relying on Žižek's arguments on post-politics, Swyngedouw assesses the postpolitics as follows:

“Post-politics reject ideological divisions and the explicit universalization of particular political demands. Post-politics reduces the political terrain to the sphere of consensual governing and policy-making, centered on the technical, managerial and consensual administration (policing) of environmental, social, economic or other domains, and they remain of course fully within the realm of the possible, of existing social relations. ‘The ultimate sign of post-politics in all Western countries’, Žižek argues, ‘is the growth of a managerial approach to government: the government is reconceived as a managerial function, deprived of its proper political dimension.’”(Swyngedouw 2011 : 266)

In this view, we could emphasize the relationship between analyst's discourse and post-politics again. If we remember the schema of analyst's discourse, by referring to the subjective truth which is veiled by the knowledge of science, the analyst knows what analysand does not know about oneself. It is the analyst who tells the analysand: this is what you need or this is your desire.(Lacan 2007 : 113) When Žižek argues that one could read the analyst's discourse in the new formation of capitalism, he refers to the structure of the post-politics. Because, in post-politics, the hegemonic ideology which dwells in the place of analyst anchors the counter-arguments of the subject in particular by saying that this is your desire. Additionally, although the particular is veiled by the knowledge of consensual management technics of the universal, the truth points out that the hegemonic ideology sustains its existence with the manipulation of the particular in post-politics.(Žižek 2017a : 277)

How the post-truth situates in the post-politics? Erik Swyngedouw argues that one could observe the value of post-truth with the example of climate change dispute in the post-political.(Swyngedouw 2019) By referring to the critiques of Badiou and Zizek on the idea of nature, he states that nature does not exist as an unimpaired uninterrupted transcendental form.(Swyngedouw 2011 : 257) Apart from the fact that nature always contains historical predictable or unpredictable transformations, he thinks that today, there is no way to escape from or fix the ecological catastrophe. Because, according to him, the ecological catastrophe is not a reversible condition if precautions are taken, the world is already experiencing the catastrophe.(2011 : 263) The post-political approach to this climate change discussion begins with the recommendation of solutions to the catastrophe. Swyngedouw argues that these recommendations which pay attention to the necessity to reduce the rate of CO₂ or importance of ozone layer etc. represent the particular in post-politics. Because these solutions have two features. Firstly, focusing on certain outcomes of climate change can not hinder the ecological catastrophe. Secondly, these particular elements are the reflection of what is served by hegemonic ideology to preserve its existence.(2011 : 267) Zizek supports this vision about ecology. According to him, in that capitalism only functions with current conditions, consensual debates on particular(CO₂, ozone layer...) becomes a tool of manipulation in post-politics.(Zizek 2008b : 38) We could point out the position of the post-truth in this frame. Post-truth is the words of the new subjectivity who carries the manipulation of the post-politics. In the vein of this issue of climate change, although the subject knows that there is a problem with ecology, it does not know the real kernel of the problem. With the effect of the post-politics, the subject is anchored on the particular, and it thinks that if one could pay attention to the gas emissions, rate of CO₂, deforestation, ozone layer... climate change could be prevented. Nonetheless, as Swyngedouw points out, the catastrophe is irreversible. In this picture, post-truth is the persistence of the post-political with the words of subjects who vocalize the particular.

So that we could observe the post-truth which is nested in the words of subjects, in the last chapter of this study, we will particularly focus on the climate change issue and by using the critical discourse analysis, we will try to understand how the post-truth dwells in the discourses of new subjectivity in the post-political sphere.

FOURTH CHAPTER

CLIMATE CHANGE

4.1. CLIMATE CHANGE DISCOURSES

In order to observe the role of post-truth in post-politics, this chapter of the study will be divided into two parts. In the first part, we will try to exhibit the trajectory of the climate change dispute. However, given that our main aim is to focus on the discourse structures, this trajectory will revolve around the main arguments about climate change. There could be determined five different views in this dispute. The first one is the argument which states that climate change will cause severe damage to the future of humanity unless some precautions are taken. The second one is the denial of climate change as a threat. This view claims that if there is a changing pattern in the climate, it could only be a result of the natural motives. The third one is the view of climate change skeptics. In discordance with climate change deniers, this view focuses on the question that why scientists claim that there will be negative consequences of climate change. The fourth one, as we partly mention in the last chapter, try to understand the climate change discussion in the frame of post-political. According to this discourse, the catastrophe of climate change is already happening and there is no way to prevent the damage of climate change. Therefore we need to understand the function of proposed solutions which do not affect climate change. This practice will also help us to observe the reflection of the post-truth in the climate change dispute. The last one, on the other hand, tries to understand the dispute with a political background. In the second part of this chapter, following the post-political assessment of climate

change, we will focus on the structure of post-truth in the first three views. Nonetheless, in order to understand, how post-truth becomes a voice of the people and how people carry the words of post-political to maintain its existence, we will use critical discourse analysis and we will trace these main arguments in the words of people with in-depth interviews.

4.1.1. Climate Change as a Threat

If one wants to investigate the discussions on climate change in history, this curiosity could lead an author to a few centuries back. Nonetheless, today's climate change dispute begins to spark after WWII. Around 1950's scientists reached a dataset which focuses on CO₂ level in the atmosphere and they expressed their concerns about possible dire effects of global warming.(Lewis 2015, 176) With years, the discussion on climate change that been sparked by these concerns become an international issue. In 1989, to study on climate change and its impact on the economy, Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change(IPCC) was been found under the United Nations. The purpose of the IPCC foundation is to conduct scientific studies on climate change and inform the governments about the outcome of these studies. If we leave aside the effect of climate change in politics and the objections that have been raised to the findings of IPCC in that these points will be covered in coming pages of this study, by relying on Michael Mann's works we could argue that from 1989 to the present day the research of IPCC could be summed up with three arguments. Firstly, climate change and its severe effects are real. According to Mann, climate science has an elementary claim. The rate of CO₂ has risen and the greenhouse effect hinders this risen CO₂ to go outside the atmosphere. Producing more CO₂ enhances the effect of the heat on the earth(Mann 2018, 15) Secondly, climate change is caused by humans. He claims that there is also a fact that human activities -oil consumptions, pollutions, urbanization, etc.-disturbs the balance of climate(2018, 6) Lastly the climate change is a grave threat and it needs to be taken decisive steps to hinder.(2018, 53) In this vein, the era which warns about the living forms that on the edge of extinction

because of the dire effect of climate change is named Anthropocene. Of course, the emphasis on the role of human beings to Anthropocene should not only be evaluated with the daily life of humans but it ought to be understood with the structure that includes the consequences of technological, economic and political competition.(Davis&Turpin 2015, 17)

With this brief introduction, we could begin to examine how the discourse which understands climate change as a preventable threat is shaped. One of the main pillars of this discourse based on an idea which defends that the balance of nature is disturbed by humans. According to this idea, nature has its own self-recovery ability to keep the balance in-itself against any interruption that perturb this balance.(Kaya 2019, 82) Frank Egerton in his article tries to understand the root of the concept of a balanced nature. He demonstrates that the trace of this idea could be found in the cosmologies that most of them formed in ancient times. Nonetheless, the belief in the harmonious nature did not only stem from the horror of people against the unknown or unexplained natural phenomenon that is thought as a response of mighty power to acts on surface. Apart from this theological intimation, the balance was claimed as an observation of natural science. Egerton exemplifies this stance with Aristotle's examinations on the reproductivity of organisms in nature.(Egerton 1973, 328) Even though the curiosity to understand the mystery of nature's order and to have reasonable explanations about the unknown part of it continues to be the subject of the science through years, the idea of balance was always a strong argument of the religious doctrines. Because the wisdom of God would not make any mistakes in the creation of nature.(1973, 332) Today, on the other hand, although there are no religious motives, the emphasis on the balance of nature still preserves itself in the climate change dispute. In this frame, in order to hinder the future damage of climate change, human beings ought to regulate their lives in line with nature. One of the arguments of the World Wildlife Fund(WWF) on global warming could be an example of this discourse. According to the argument:

“The species and places we love depend on intricate ecosystems, and even small changes to the climate can disrupt the delicate balance of nature. Like humans, every aspect of our life is reliant on the natural environment. This includes the food we eat, the air we breathe, the water we drink, the clothes we wear and the products that are made and sold to create jobs and drive the economy.”(wwf.org.au)

As one could notice from this indication, any excessive burden on nature may cause disruption on the balance. So that the ecosystem continues to function properly, the consumption of nature’s resources should be discussed by paying regard to this balance. This view defends that the blind actions of the people against nature are the cause of the threat of climate change and in order to prevent the negative effects of the climate change, the relationship between human and nature ought to be reconsidered and if the appropriate conditions are set, nature could self-recovered its wounds.

What could human beings do to regulate their lives? How is it possible to make peace with nature? According to Zizek, the answer to these questions could be followed by the solutions that it is offered to protect the environment by the capitalist market.(Zizek 2017b) At this point, we could find another discourse in the climate change dispute. This discourse claims that if people recycle their trash and aim to reach the zero level of waste, it could be possible to prevent the effect of climate change.(epa.gov) To get in the habit of recycling and accordingly shape the consumption are needed to pay attention to every detail in daily life. Because the discourse lists several precautions for people. For example, one should reduce the usage of paper and it ought to be used if it is necessary(Caunsell&Alwood 2007), color-coded bins have to be part of our lives to separate our wastes and make easier to recycle them(Garcia&Louise 2020), organic foods should be preferred in order to prevent the pollution of soil with pesticides, the role of sustainable energy in our lives have to be enhanced, from the clothes one wears to gadgets one uses everything that people could buy ought to be eco-friendly and animal-friendly, etc... In line with the argument of

balanced nature, this discourse presumes that as people begin to adopt these precautions to their lives, both the causes of more pollution will be hindered and it will create a chance for nature to reduce the negative effects of the climate change.(EU Youth Magazine 2018)

On the other hand, there could also be found another argument which is not quite based on the idea that nature has a self-recovering balance. This view claims that since the world has late to intervene in the damage of climate change, there is no way to eradicate the effect of it. Therefore, in order to avoid future catastrophes, we have to think about a different solution. In this case, it is pointed out as technology. According to this view, the advancements of technology could find a way to reduce the dire effect of climate change or help the adaptation of human life to the new realities of the earth.(Shellenberger&Nordhaus 2011, 16) Nonetheless, Frederic Neyrat discusses that the role of technology prone to be understood in different ways. He thinks that technology has always focused on enhancing the quality of human life. Naturally, it could be claimed that this intention not only makes a positive contribution to human life but also paves the way for to be constructed more developed surveillance systems in the world. This risk which embedded in technological developments represents a misunderstanding about the capability of the technology. Neyrat argues that, instead of this, technology should consider not only the human's environment but also non-human existence. If the non-human agents are taken into account and they could be discussed in the political and sociological ground, the beneficial part of the technology becomes perceivable. Because so that technology could help the earth to sustain it's life or provide a path to have an acceptable CO2 level in the atmosphere, it is necessary to abandon the thoughts which focus on the pragmatic usage of technology in human's life.(Johnson 2014) With that regard, the emphasis on technology in the climate change dispute becomes more clear. Even though there is a possibility that the advancements of the technology could be one of the causes of climate change, in order to prevent this threat, we need to love and trust our monsters.

In the climate change studies, there is also, in a way, counter-argument to the emphasis on the role of technology, which intends to designate the specific consequences of human's effect on the earth. How humans trigger climate change? What are the practical results of it? The answers to these questions contain several subjects such as CO₂ rate, deforestation, pollutions, greenhouse effect, melting ice caps, urbanization, population growth, drought, etc. This discourse states that if these causes and effects are tried to be solved, it could be possible to avoid climate change.(Williams&Booth 2013, 25) In the international realm, the Kyoto Protocol that had been entered into force in 2005 and the Paris Agreement that was signed in 2015 could be seen as the reflection of this discourse. In these two projects, by relying on the scientific research which demonstrates that CO₂ emission and greenhouse gases are the dominant actors of the climate change, countries are invited to reduce their emissions and improve energy efficiency.(Wurzel&Connely 2011) In the same vein, deforestation represents another delicate point which is issued in the concept of this discourse. Because, studies suggest that if the goals that have been determined by international agreements are wanted to be achieved, the rate of deforestation has to be reduced.(Santilli et al. 2005) It is the reflection of the concerns which claim that to provide a better ecosystem for animals and plants, to stop the melting ice caps, to have clean air or to rescue the soils which suffer from drought, the world needs to determine immediate precautions. This cause and effect relation between the symptoms of climate change and its consequences force the discourse to reach a pragmatic solution. If causes are eliminated, the earth does not witness the consequences.

4.1.2. Denying the Climate Change

Nonetheless, the dispute does not only composed of arguments which try to decide which way is the convenient one against climate change. Apart from the scientific contributions and international studies on the negative side of the dispute, there are also paradigms which assert that climate change is not happening.(Mann 2014, 39) Moreover, the denial is not only the expression of

certain beliefs but on the contrary, it is presented with scientific references and political rhetorics. Peter Lee claims that although there could be several economical, political or scientific motives that nurture the denial of climate change, the underlying reason of this idea is the elementary one which is although constantly scientists state that the end of the world is about to come, people are experiencing their routine every day.(Lee 2015, 50) However, this thought has to be reconsidered. Because even though any filmographic doomsday event has not taken place, as one could remember, what is argued by the scientists who warn about the climate change is that the effect of climate change is already there, polluting air and water, melting ice caps, warming the earth and causing aridification of prolific soils. Therefore, in order to argue that climate change is not happening, a discourse needs additional aspects. In this part of the study, we will try to evaluate these aspects of climate change denial.

One of the discourses that are defended by climate change deniers is that the changing pattern of the climate is not a unique event for today's world, the climate is always changing. According to this thought, climate alarmists who perceive this change as a threat do not account for the other changing periods of climate in past centuries, however, in history, there is always a changing climate whether it is cooling or warming.(Mann 2018, 56-57) U.S Senator James Inhofe, in one of his speeches in the Committee on Environment and Public Works, uses this argument in the following way:

“For the last several minutes I have been talking about natural climate variability over the past 1,000 years. But we can go back even further in history to see dramatic changes in climate that had nothing to do with SUVs or power plants... These cycles of warming and cooling have been so frequent and are often so much more dramatic than the tiny fractional degree changes measured over the last century that one has to wonder if the alarmists are simply ignorant of geological and meteorological history or simply ignore it to advance an agenda.”(Inhofe 2003)

With the context of this quote, one could notice the additional aspect of the argument to assert the denial. Because, just as the discourse that warns about climate change, Inhofe also constructs his speech on scientific knowledge which points out the other climatic changing periods in the world's history. Thus, according to this logic, there is no need to think about precautions and the consequences of climate change is a natural process. Moreover, there should be drawn another conclusion from Inhofe's statement. Even though one could not expect from the climate change deniers to constitute intergovernmental alliances to intervene in the dispute given that their stance ignores the necessity of immediate actions around the globe, the Inhofe's title as a senator signifies that the denial of climate change is also represented in the political sphere. Hence the main pillars of his argument could be found in Donald Trump's statements. Because Trump thinks that though climate change is not a hoax, it will change back again.(Tutton 2018)

Another discourse about climate change denial based on the idea that climate change has positive effects on the earth. The core of this argument could be found in the term "adaptation". According to Roger Pielke Jr., natural disasters become more costly in terms of both casualties and economy, not because of the threat of climate change but because today relatively wealthier countries compared to past have so many things to lose and it is easier to spread the news of disasters.(Pielke 2014) Therefore, the world needs to learn how to adapt to the conditions of climate change in order to achieve sustainable development and mitigate the effects of natural catastrophic events.(Pielke 2007) By trying to understand the motives of this argument, Michael Mann states that deniers think that with the high level of CO₂, plants find more supply for photosynthesis and this would get fertile the soils or if the ice caps melt in Greenland, that would cause a reappearance of a continent for people to live and prosper.(Mann 2018, 62-63) In the same line with the thought which claims that climate is always changing, the suggestion of this argument is that instead of investing money and labor to understand and hinder the alleged-dire effects of

climate change for in vain, people should benefit from the climate which tends to change in favor of nature.

When the main arguments of the climate change deniers are thoroughly examined, one of the inferences has to be that the deniers claim that scientific evidence demonstrates opposite facts than what climate alarmists argue. Do these two parties reach different conclusions with the same scientific research? Do they focus on different scientific methodology? At this point, we could discuss these questions with Michael Mann's "hockey stick" analogy. Mann uses this analogy for a graphic that shows the warming pattern of the northern hemisphere for thousand years period from 1000 to 2000. According to this graphic, the temperature was in a long term decline from the eleventh century to the nineteenth century. In the last half of the twentieth century, on the other hand, the graphic shows a sudden ascending trend until the new millennium. Relying on this graphic, Mann asserts that the rising trend of the temperature coincides with the industrialization period after WWII. Hence, there could be found a correlation between this trend and human action on earth given that industrial developments entail consuming nature and fossil fuel usage. If nature is disproportionably continued to be consumed in order to respond to the human's demands, climate change could cause severe events.(Mann 2014, 14-18) However, climate change deniers argue that Michael Mann's findings of the rising pattern of temperature are wrong in two ways. Firstly, Mann's hockey stick ignores the common knowledge about the medieval warm period which is between the eleventh and fifteenth centuries and little ice age which is between the fifteenth and nineteenth centuries. While the hockey stick demonstrates slightly cooling in the warm period, it also persists with this slightly cooling in the era that is named as little ice age. Secondly, the hockey stick graphic based on the wrong database. Whereas Mann studies on temperature and treelines in order to collect the data, a study that focuses on patterns of regional temperature through years falsifies the hockey stick and reaches different conclusions.(Michaels 2005) With the frame of this example, we could deduce

that the deniers not only claim that climate change is part of nature but also argues that scientific research does not reveal a future catastrophe.

4.1.3. Climate Change Skeptics

Although in some studies climate change deniers and skeptics are perceived as synonyms, this study approaches these two terms as separate signifiers. Because the difference between the arguments which propounds scientific references and the arguments which stem from hesitations towards the statements should be emphasized. Therefore, in this part of the study, we will focus on allegations against the discourse that warns about climate change threat.

One of the standpoints of the climate change skeptics is the curiosity that asks who is reaping the benefit from the precautions against climate change. Because, according to them, in that the discourse of struggle presupposes economic movements and necessary political sacrifices, there must be a body or a structure that pursues own interest. Matt Ridley in his article, *The Real Victims of Climate Change*, writes about this hesitation. He thinks that the actions which aim to left a better world to the next generations, actually, create suffering for the poor. Because having been placed under the Paris Agreement, the restriction of fossil fuel consumption causes losing jobs for many people and cutting the aids which are sent to developing countries in order to enhance the living standards. Ridley asks that if to provide a better life to our grandchildren is a moral duty, is it ethical to neglect the poor today. Therefore, by putting the Paris Agreement to the center of the criticism, he claims that the precautions only enable the rich to make sure that their capital will be protected in the coming years.(Ridley 2015) It could be noticed that this discourse based on two assumptions. First, there should be something behind the scene and second, there is something behind the scene.

We could observe that these two assumptions function in another argument of the skeptics. The argument alleges that the climate scientists who indicate

climate change as a threat are either creating their own evidence or constructing their claim with cherry-picking on scientific studies. We could trace this argument with the event called “Climategate” in the climate change dispute. According to Michael Mann, on the eve of a conference in Copenhagen in 2009, including himself, thousands of email accounts of climate scientists are hacked, and their conversations between each other are made public. But, the contexts were not original, they had been served after the hackers fiddle with documents.(Mann 2018, 103-104) Nonetheless, Andrew Montford who prepares a report on Climategate for The Global Warming Policy Foundation, claims that from the e-mails, it has been realized that Mann has a second file which contains a different calculating program to work on hockey stick graphic but he ignores to use the result of this program given that it does not match with the hockey stick graphic. Moreover, it seems that Mann had made fixations on the graph because the results of the first program also contravene the graph.(Montfort 2010, 353) Montfort concludes that:

“Although we do not know in what order the fixes were calculated, it is probably fair to assume that Mann started from the unfixed graph and ended up with the version that he finally published. If so, then it throws considerable light on the reasons for Mann’s multiple smoothing of the records and the strange restriction of the residual–carbon dioxide match.”(2010, 354)

With the help of this example, by focusing on the structure of the sentences *-fair to assume, throws considerable light-*, we could realize that Montfort as a skeptic creates their discourse with assumptions against Mann’s findings even though he states that he is relying on the emails. Thus, the allegations toward certain scientific research should be considered as another standpoint of climate change skeptics.

As we briefly mentioned when the argument of deniers about natural motives of climate change was issued, there is also a controversy on whether climate change is human-caused or not. The reason that this argument is assessed as a discourse of climate change skeptics is the overwhelming

rhetorical inquisitions in the discussion. Weingart studies on this conflict. He states that for climate scientists, there could only be one explanation to the sudden rising pattern of warming after a relatively balanced and consistent changing of temperature for nearly a thousand years. It is human impact. Because the warming trend of earth and the high level of CO₂ rates coincide with the industrial leap of human history. Nonetheless, he highlights that for an argument, if the threat of climate change is a risk that will be faced in the future, the human contribution could only be evaluated as a presumption. Because for the skeptics, if the catastrophe has not arrived, how one could be sure that climate change is not natural.(Weingart 2000) Remembering that according to studies on the dire effects of climate, scientists argue that the catastrophe is already happening, we could trace the structure of this discourse of the skeptics from a hearing of U.S. Senate in 2015. In the hearing, the skeptics defend that given that after the 1950s there is also a natural process of global warming, it is impossible to understand to which extent climate change is caused by human or natural motives because of the lack of measuring method for it. Moreover, the studies on the issue have always aim to reveal the human impact on climate change. For that matter, these studies are one-sided and they create prejudice about the human activities on the earth.(Senate Hearing, 2015) Certainly, the shadow of the rhetoric is perceivable between the lines. Because, as we underline above, we could observe that the skeptics construct their discourse on a danger which is expected from the future instead of focusing on the imprints of the climate change today. In this frame, the disagreement about the human impact on climate change appears as another front in the dispute.

The last argument that will be assessed in this part of the study, represents more systemic concerns of the skeptics. According to this argument, the real threat is not climate change, but it is the authoritarian voice of climate change precautions. Because the skeptics claim that the projected enforcements that have been proposed to the people threaten the main pillars of western society. The government which dictates a lifestyle is not the defender of freedom, but it is the sign of a power that equipped with control machinery. Therefore, the

climate change discussion may not only be about the environment but also have political and social agenda. George Marshall, in his book, sheds light on this discourse with the words of Myron Ebell who is a scientist and the adviser of Donald Trump in the Environmental Protection Agency(EPA). Marshall states that:

“ ‘The environment movement,’ Ebell tells me, ‘is not an objective, well-intentioned movement that cares about saving the planet.’ It emerges from the New Left, and regardless of the issue, it always proposes the same solutions: more government control, more power for the technocratic elite, and less material standards of living for people”(Marshall 2015, 42)

With this paragraph, we could observe the function of the two assumptions of the skeptics again. Firstly, the scientific evidence on climate change has not been involved in the discourse and it begins with the assumption that there should be a body that controls the climate change discussion. Secondly, this assumption ends with pointing clear target that, in this case, it is the movement of the new left.

4.1.4. Post-Political Veil on Apocalypse

Now, it is necessary to focus on a different argument that highlights the negative effect of climate change. However, although, at first glance, by considering the arguments which are discussed in the first part of this chapter, one would expect that this argument is shaped as an anti-thesis against the view of climate change deniers or skeptics, in fact, it could be observed that this argument falsifies the discourses which claim that it is possible to avoid the dire effects of the climate change and could be found solutions to it. Additionally, this feature of the discourse will help to clarify the role of the post-truth in post-political. According to this frame, there are three main pillars that are ignored by the thoughts which approach climate change as a solvable problem. Firstly, there is no nature. Secondly, the catastrophe is here. And lastly, there is no solution. In order to be more specific, we should elaborate on these pillars.

A statement which declares the non-existence of the nature sounds provocative. Nonetheless, Žižek, in his studies, asks a question: Is it possible to think of a balanced nature? Can we embrace the idea of nature as a sublime structure that functions with its own rules? According to Žižek, the answer to these questions should be “no”. He claims that the romantic nostalgia which craves for the balanced or uninterrupted nature is actually longing for something which never exists. Because nature in-itself is constantly changing which means that even without the grave effect of the human artefacts, nature which is today considered as balanced had witnessed big catastrophes to be formed. To exemplify this stance, Žižek indicates that when we think about the formation process of underground sources, oil, gold, coal, etc.-, they all the consequences of the big catastrophic events. Therefore, what is experienced today and what is aimed at from the past as nature is actually nothing more than fantasy. Because nature could only be discussed as interrupted.(Žižek 2008b, 56) Of course, this argument does not mean that Žižek thinks that climate change is a hoax, on the contrary, he states that climate change is one of the major crisis that human beings struggle against today.(2008b, 38)

Nonetheless, we have to re-think the extent of this crisis. If we remember the discourse that warns about the climate change, it is stated that even though the climate change began to affect the earth, it is possible to avoid the catastrophe that it dwells in the future, However, Erik Swyngedouw rejects this idea. Because he states that human beings are already experiencing the apocalypse. But, given that the unequal social and economic conjunctures cause the uneven confrontation with the catastrophe, the effects of climate change are remained as excluded by liberal discourse.(Swyngedouw 2010, 221) Moreover, Swyngedouw claims that this liberal stance benefits from pseudo-homogenizing intimations of the discourse. On the one hand, nurturing fear by locating the catastrophe in the future or emphasizing the catastrophe which is thought as not arrived yet, hinders to face the systemic failure of the political sphere, which for Swyngedouw it is a reflection of the depoliticization process of the post-politics. On the other hand, proposing solutions for the climate change ensures

the continuity of the capitalist market now that while it relieves the people conscious by making them think that changing the daily habits of their lives would be enough for the climate change, it also opens a new market for the new tendency of consumption trends.(Swyngedouw 2013a, 10)

With this remark, we already reach another standpoint of this argument. Along with the claim that the catastrophe of climate change has arrived, a question appears. How could we evaluate the role of climate change solutions now that they become obsolete in this reasoning? As stated above, this discourse perceives these remedies that have been proposed against climate change as the post-politicization of the subject. Because the solutions are used to avoid the formation of antagonism that could have the potential to threaten the pseudo-universal structure of the post-political. Techno-managerial instruments of this structure anchor the climate change dispute to these particular ways of recovery by aiming to appeal the desire of the people. In the end, people keep their distance from the real kernel of the catastrophe by focusing on the particular and the post-political discourse preserves its position without any major interruption.(Swyngedouw 2015, 616) As we discussed the role of post-political in the formation of post-truth in the second chapter of the study, we will continue to think about this logic while the post-truth is tried to be observed with critical discourse analysis.

4.1.5. Climate Change in Politics

On the radical point of the discussion that embraces climate change as a political problem, we could find a discourse that follows Murray Bookchin's studies. Being named as the political ecology or social ecology, this argument claims that people could not prevent the catastrophe of climate change with the current political and social order. In order to create a difference, the neoliberal world needs to be structurally re-shaped.(Roussopoulos 2017, 12) The essence of political ecology denies the necessity/existence of the state. According to this argument, the governance should only be organized as a confederation. The bureaucratic structure of confederate regions consists of local councils that have

been elected with the modal of direct democracy. Given that the emancipatory local administrations perish the reign of the capitalist market which is in every capillary nurtured by consuming nature, ecology would be freed from the excessive burdens that cause the climatic catastrophe.(Biehl 2016)

Nonetheless, the arguments of political ecology overlook the problem that has been pointed out by Zizek and Swyngedouw. Why people could not create a political front even though it is known that climate change is caused by the tools of capitalism? Therefore, in order to pursue this debate, we should expound their view in this frame. By remembering the revolutions and riots that had been placed in history as a reflection of a systemic conflict between rulers and ruled, Ulrich Beck asks a question, why there is no monumental event for the environment like Red October or Bastille if the climate change dispute represents a political fissure? According to him, climate change could only be examined with social inequalities. Because while the elites could avoid the consequences of climate change, the poor have no choice but to face catastrophe. Nonetheless, the social and economic abyss between these two is not issued in the climate change discussions. On the contrary, the discussion itself dissolves or castrates the essence of the tension by creating a pseudo-universal discourse. The poor who experience the apocalypse is invited to share the responsibility of climate change and stand side-by-side with the elites. However, this invitation aims to extinguish the threat of antagonism that may form between the poor and elites in the political sphere.(Beck 2010)

This remark of Beck is in the same vein with Sywendegouw's emphasis on the techno-managerial instruments of the post-political discourse. What is at stake is that the hypothesis which underlines the process of Anthropocene as the severe impact of human beings to nature should be analyzed with the history of capital.(Chakrabarty 2009, 212) With that regard, Haraway suggests using the term Capitalocene along with the Anthropocene in order to grasp the political background of the climate change dispute. Because, according to him, the capitalist economy ignores to consider the species which are on the edge of

extinction even though these species are human beings. As long as it does not disturb the rate of the profits, there is no need to intervene in the irreversible destruction.(Haraway 2015) The difference between this vision and the political ecology is that while the argument that focuses on the post-political discourse in the climate change dispute explores why an antagonistic structure could not be formed in the political sphere, political ecologists build their vision on a presumption that this problem is already solved.

Today, we could point out a symbol that signifies this tension: Greta Thunberg. Greta Thunberg is a girl who began a strike for climate change outside the Swedish Parliament at her fifteen. In two years, her attempt become a large scale movement which is named as Fridays for Future all around the world. She is also invited to Davos Summits and UN Climate Conferences to make a speech and explain the context of the movement (Thunberg 2019) Nonetheless, Zizek thinks that what Thunberg represents in the climate change dispute is deeper than it seems. According to him, Greta does not want to be part of the rhetorical games of the political gaze about climate change. Her Asperger Syndrom helps her to disavow these rhetorics. In her frame, if science shows us the catastrophe of climate change, we do not need debates or mild decisions but we need action to mitigate this effect of catastrophe.(Zizek 2019a) One could read this stand from Thunberg's words. According to her:

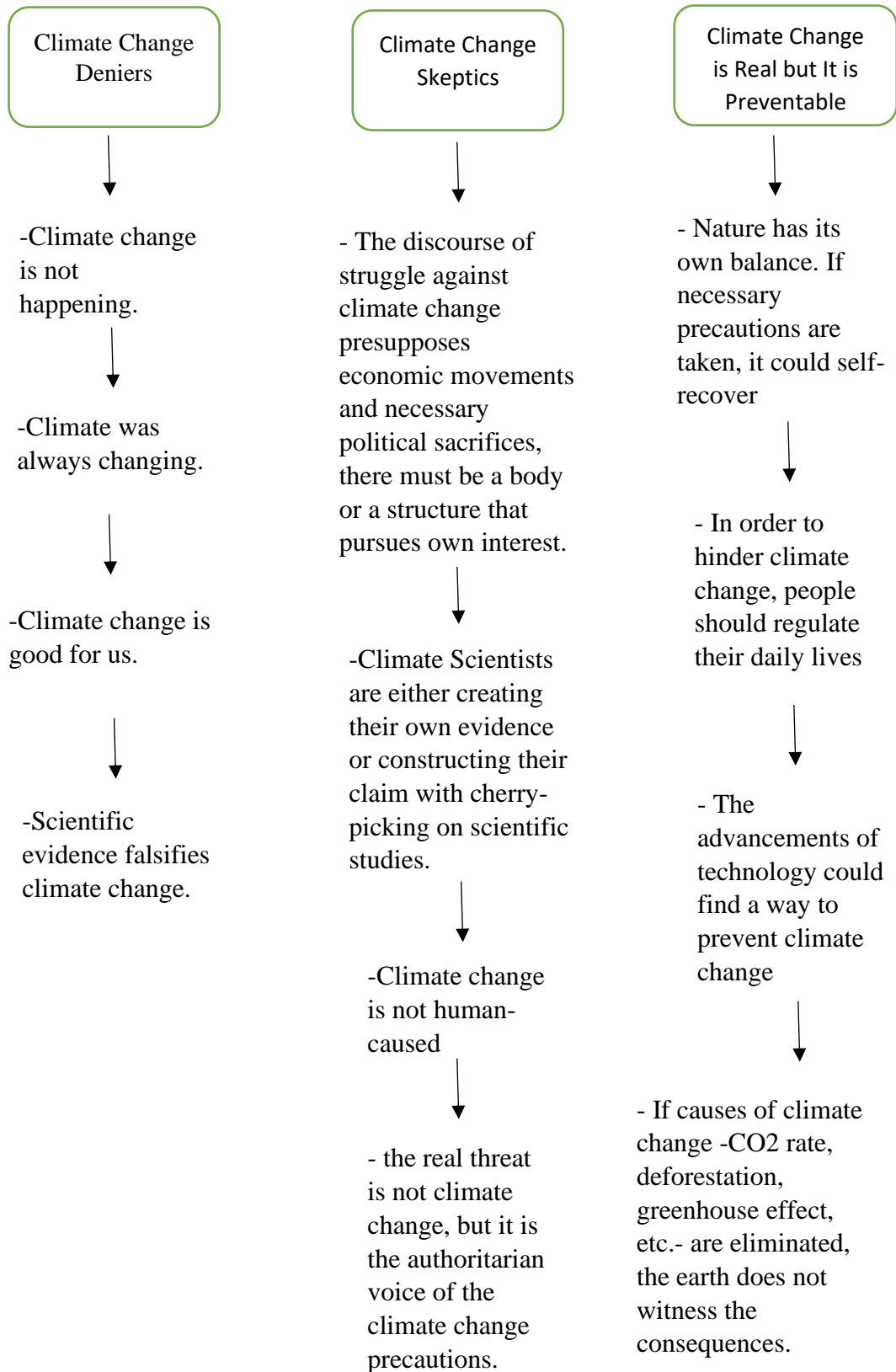
"I have Asperger's syndrome, and to me, almost everything is black or white. I think in many ways that we autistic are the normal ones and the rest of the people are pretty strange. They keep saying that climate change is an existential threat and the most important issue of all. And yet they just carry on like before. If the emissions have to stop, then we must stop the emissions. To me that is black or white."(Thunberg 2019, 10)

If we remember Swyngedouw's remarks, Thunberg rejects the techno-managerial instruments of the post-political and demands the strict antagonistic structure. At Davos Summit in 2020, she states that it is obsolete to agree on carbon taxes, it is obsolete to plant trees somewhere while forests are

slaughtered somewhere else and it is obsolete to determine targets for coming years, we need to halt all usages of fossil fuels and we need to act now.(Thunberg 2020)

If we recall the definition of the post-truth that is claimed in this study, post-truth is the words of the new subjectivity who carries the manipulation of the post-politics. With the discussion on climate change, we determined the post-political discourses of the climate change dispute. They could be summarized in the figure below. In the second part of this chapter, by relying on these post-political discourses, we will try to observe the reveal of the post-truth in the people's words by conducting in-depth interviews and to examine the outcome of the interviews we will refer to critical discourse analysis.

Figure -I. Post-Political Discourses



4.2. POST-TRUTH IN ACTION

4.2.1. I Know Very Well But...

When Slavoj Žižek thinks about how ideology functions at the level of discourses, he refers to an expression: I know very well but... Having been proposed by Sigmund Freud in psychoanalysis, this expression explains the phantasmatic disavowal of the subject to avoid the shattering experience of the real kernel of the truth. As we mentioned in the second chapter, the subject prefers to live in a reality which is the exact place of ideology rather than to witness the subversion of their safe way of life. Nonetheless, this expression does not imply that the subjects are irresponsible for their denial because they are caught up by the ideology. On the contrary, the reason that Žižek finds this expression important is to emphasize that the subjects are persistent to escape from the eventual experience of the truth even though they consciously know very well that there is an illusion or ambivalence in their reality.(Žižek 1989, 12) We could realize that Siegfried Jäger agrees that discourse or words could not just be considered as the outcome of the distorted view of the ideology in critical discourse analysis.(Jäger 2001, 36) In the discussion of climate change, Žižek pursues this idea in order to exemplify it at the level of human discourse. He claims that although there is an awareness about climate change or global warming because of the infinite flow of information, people hesitate to believe it and take a step further to cope with it because they could not endure the uncanny characteristic of the unpredictable outcomes of alterations in the future. With that regard, they create a stance of disavowal which places them in limbo. *“I know very well that global warming is a threat to the entire ecosystem but I can not really believe in it... I do not see it, all I see is the same sky, blue or grey”*(Žižek 2008b, 58) Swyngedouw highlights the function of post-politics in this context. He thinks that techno-managerial instruments of the post-politics try to preserve the economic growth by anchoring the predicament of climate change to the variety of micro solutions which in fact deepening the problem, even though they state that climate change is a fact.(Swyngedouw 2015, 15)

4.2.1.1 Danger is in the future

Therefore, to study the dwell of post-truth in the discourses, we should first look closely at the second part of the expression. What comes afterward when someone says climate is changing? How they fill the dots in the expression? Our main aim is that by following the post-political discourses that are discussed in the last part, to try to reveal what constitutes the post-truth in the words of individuals.

We could begin with the argument that climate change is real but it is preventable. Being one of the fundamental presumptions of the discourses which perceive climate change as a threat, this argument based on a claim that human beings are not faced with the climatic catastrophe yet. By relying on some of the respondents' explanations about their position on the issue of climate change, one could observe this tendency.

Respondent S: *I have something to say. the world is not the old world. People are not like old times, they all rot because the world in which it lived was rotten. The world is tired. A healthy generation does not emerge. because we don't have the necessary healthy water for the human body, we don't have healthy air. So no. Life starts from here. Does not it? Doesn't it start with water and air? Without this, there will be an unhealthy generation. I feel very sorry for the next generation.*

If we go back to the Swyngedouw's position on this argument, he thinks that presuming the effect of climate change is a disaster which does not arrive yet is one of the de-politicization instrument of the new form of the liberal order. According to him on the one hand nurturing fear and on the other, setting the apocalypse in the future demolishes the possibility of antagonistic structure in the post-political sphere. Because while the subjects who are not experiencing the catastrophe of climate change express their attention on the issue and fulfill their desire, they also create a certain distance between themselves and the catastrophe. The emphasis on the future paralyzes the subject and postpones the confrontation with the real problem. Someone somehow will solve the problem in the future. *We can safely continue shopping!*(Swyngedouw 2013a, 10)

We could find these intimations in the words of this respondent. Whereas Respondent S agrees that, today, the world is changing and it is becoming a challenge to find clean water or fresh air and blames the people by referring to “we” as a subject, s/he also alienates himself or herself by envisioning the catastrophe in the future. S/he is sorry for the next generation because there “will” be unhealthy generations. We could observe the post-truth in this line. Although s/he knows that there is a climate change, post-truth interrupts this knowledge by defending the post-political and saying that it will show its grave face in the future, we are safe now. A similar pattern could be found in another interview as follows.

Respondent X: *Actually, I think it's because of people's selfishness. People think, for example, people who are older, think like that, yes, let's leave a better world for our children and find solutions to our problems. But we think that as a human being, I think I'll die by then. But we don't know when the danger will come.*

The last sentence of Respondent X would be a good way to revise the expression that it is used by Žižek. I know very well that the climate is changing, but we don't know when the danger will come. In this line we could witness the relation – in a way power relation- between post-politics and the individuals who bear the post-truth. We had mentioned about this relation as an analyst's discourse in Lacanian sense. Although the respondent knows that there is a problem, s/he does not know the kernel of the problem. This void that is formed by unawareness is filled with the techno-managerial knowledge of the post-politics. This knowledge is the knowledge that knows you better than yourself. This definition of knowledge is also akin to Wodak's approach to knowledge in critical discourse analysis. She states that:

“People derive this knowledge from the discursive surroundings into which they are born and in which they are enmeshed throughout their life. Knowledge is therefore conditional, i.e. its form depends on people's location in history, geography, class relation, etc.”(Wodak 2009, 45)

Thus the knowledge knows that human beings do not want to experience the catastrophe, they desire to pursue their life by putting a distance between themselves and the danger in order to relieve their conscious or consume this possibility of apocalypse in the public sphere.(Swyngedouw 2010) In a way, people are not addressing future apocalypse in that it really belongs to the future. they are addressing it in that they wanted it to belong to the future. This is the post-truth at it's purest.

In this context, it would be prolific to review the words of the climate change skeptics to present a more clear picture of post-truth.

Respondent I: I work in the aviation industry, I know that because I work in this sector, this sector is one of the sectors that pollute the air the most. As far as I can follow from the work done in our company on this issue, people do nothing to stop them, so we are doing harm. Air pollution or climate change is not something that one can deny. But there is no reason to say I can observe this. As I have researched in several places, climate change is not something individuals can experience in their own lives. Climate change is not something that can be noticed in an hour or a year. Very long observations, very long experiments have to be done about this. In other words, it is necessary to know the century before in the same region... There are no deadly problems, but if people are unconscious and the indiscretion in the industry continues at the same pace, we are pregnant with bad things. But there is no child born yet.

Although, at first glance, it should suppose to be a different pattern of reasoning between the discourse which defends that climate change is a threat and the discourse of climate change skeptics, with these words we could underline the similarities between these two. On the one hand, Respondent I agrees that it would be wrong to claim that the climate is not changing. Moreover, s/he also refers to use “we” as a subject, when s/he states that people are doing harm. On the other hand, just as the respondents who think that climate change is a threat, s/he places the danger in the future with a stipulation. According to him or her, if some precautions are not taken, the world may meet with the catastrophe as a child of the people's

impassiveness. Nonetheless, along with these similarities, the respondent defends an argument which signifies the opposite direction to the first respondent. S/he says that one could not know whether climate change represents a threat or not. Because it needs a long time to claim that.

If we recall the Zizek's expression in line with this discourse, we could observe that in both of the arguments, post-truth cling on the same assumption, which is that the possibility of the catastrophe belongs to the future but today we have time to pursue our lives the way as it is. Whether an argument constitutes a lie or it contains the facts in itself, post-truth emerges when the individual defends any idea which undermines the counter-argument at the expense of power or post-politics.

4.2.1.2. There Could be a Solution

Nonetheless, according to Wodak, knowledge is not a stable device that signifies the construction of the power in CDA, on the contrary, knowledge could shape and regulate the structure of power by referring to pragmatic instruments such as negotiation, sharing, excluding, etc. (Wodak 2009, 75) In climate change discussion, we could also observe this dynamic movement of the power through negotiation and how post-truth become a voice of this power.

When the interviewer asked what should be done to cope with climate change to interviewees who embraces the issue as a threat, the answers condensed around the three arguments. The first one pertains to the precautions that should be taken by governments.

Respondent C: In fact, at this point, what I think to myself and underline has always been that there should be awareness-raising activities, of course, but these awareness-raising activities should be done with individuals, rather than saving the day especially for these important future generations. In terms of sustainability. But I think that if we want to save the day now if we want to break the growth of this issue, I think this has to come up with impositions even on behalf of the communities. In other words, I think that this issue should be resolved before the rulers and the legislators.

The second one holds responsible individuals as a leading actor to hinder climate change.

Respondent F: *So there are actually simple examples. For example, if we are not using it, we need to turn off the electricity. We need to increase recycling awareness. We need to understand the importance of thermal insulation. We should try to use solar energy as much as possible. Whether energy-saving bulbs or street lamps, they should be used. Though they are too small for me, I think it might be a great thing if done all over Turkey and if they may be done consistently,*

The last one, on the other hand, defends that in order to avoid the apocalypse, the precautions against climate change should begin with companies, factories, or institutions.

Respondent H: *I think there is a great deal of human impact at the top of the causes of climate change. Moreover, I think that the interventions to nature are somehow reflected and the climate is affected. The measures may be to recycle industrial wastes or waste we do not use, however, if recycling is not possible, measures can be taken to destroy them. Besides, major measures such as the use of chimney and filter systems used in the industry can be taken.*

By following the Wodak's interpretation of critical discourse analysis, we should scrutinize what is the relation between knowledge and power in these three responses. In order to do that, we could begin by questioning the efficiency of the solutions that are proposed against climate change. In his article, Grundmann finds it problematic to discuss the governmental solution in climate change discussion in two ways. He claims that, on the one hand, although both the intergovernmental bodies such as IPCC and the intergovernmental agreements such as Kyoto and Paris are visualized as an authority which provides accountable knowledge about climate change, they could not create a power of sanction over the countries. Because the knowledge that is produced by these actors is always reshaped, negotiated, manipulated, or denied concerning the country's domestic policy. On the other hand, knowledge politics could not also permit to strictly follow a climatic plan in

the countries. Because to embark on a mission to create a consensus between interest groups in a country ends up with another negotiation process that eventually endangers the structure of climate plan.(Grundmann 2007) Therefore, we could deduce that any attempt to create an intergovernmental or domestic consensus on climate change is doomed interrupted by a structure of power that dictates itself with knowledge. In this vein, one could remember Swyngedouw's argument on the role of the discourse which puts the individuals at the center of the solutions. As we discussed above, he thinks that regulating or changing the daily habit could not be enough considering the scope of the climatic catastrophe. Claiming that individuals could hinder climate change could only cause to open up a new phase for capitalism to sustain their life by creating new consumption trends.(Swyngedouw 2013b, 10) Lastly, we could underline Zizek's objection to the arguments which is articulated in the third response. According to him, it is obsolete to produce mild precautions which target the capital. Because we know that the climatic catastrophe that the world experience today is the result of the immense industrial activity of capitalism. Imposing carbon taxes, creating an eco-friendly working environment, etc. could only provide justification for capitalism to continue to feed the consumption society. What we need is to know our enemy honestly and have an encourage to fight with them in every part of life(Zizek 2008b)

With that regard, the relation between knowledge and power becomes perceivable. Even though our respondents had proposed different solutions, with the objections of Grundmann, Swyngedouw, and Zizek, one could realize that in essence, the same structure of power tacitly performs in these discourses. As we stated in this study, it is post-politics. The post-political power which does not want any antagonistic structure in the public sphere to preserve itself from any major intervention creates different knowledge with different negotiations. That's why the knowledge of power demonstrates itself in different forms such as the precautions that should be taken by governments, reordering the daily habits, and imposing some regulations and sanctions on industrial activities. Individuals could accept that climate change is a fact, but they should vocalize the post-truth in return. Hence, while the individuals get what they desire by virtue-signaling towards climate change and in

the meantime by preserving their distance with the threat, the post-political maintains its power in that the solutions which are proposed in the discourses constitute the post-truth and they could not prevent the climate change.

A similar structure of the post-truth could be found in the discourse which predicts that the technology will be a solution to climate change in the long term. Swyngedouw thinks that this positive expectation towards technology in a wide range from minor innovations to the ontology of the post-human creates a deadlock. Because, on the one hand, it also postpones the confrontation with the threat and fulfills the humanistic desire to keep the apocalypse at distant. On the other hand, the process of immunization with technology is not only impotent to create a difference in climate change discourse but also enlarges the network of capitalism by creating a new arsenal of surveillance. This deadlock is the appeal of the de-politicization in post-politics.(Swyngedouw 2018) Post-truth emerges when the post-political power creates a futuristic knowledge which defends that technology will be good for us.

Respondent Z: If we only consider production, because technology means production, these developing technologies affect the climate negatively. For example, you are opening more factories, which causes more hazardous gases to be released or dangerous liquids to pour into lakes, dams, or seas, but there are also some advantages of technology. To give a very simple example, you install a filter in poisonous gases emitted from factories or put something cleaner and you remove these gases from being dangerous. Or air pollution decreases significantly, for example, with the use of diesel-powered vehicles and the introduction of electric vehicles. On the one hand, there is such a benefit. Human beings can turn technology into an advantage. I can say that the benefit of this outweighs.

4.2.1.3. Someone Will Benefit from Climate Change

We could carry on thinking about Wodak's emphasis on the pragmatic instruments of the power in the words of climate change skeptics. As this study discussed above during the discussion on climate change discourses, climate change skeptics tend to

construct their discourses on two assumptions which are “there should be something behind the scene” and “there is something behind the scene”. Nonetheless, we could embrace a more insightful analysis of climate change skeptics with Wodak’s perception in critical discourse analysis.

When the interviewer asked one of the interviewees his or her opinions about the concept of climate change, s/he replied to the question as follows.

Respondent V: The perception operation of the press drives people to fuss. It has nothing. Here, they create a perception of the world press, in order to add strength to the power of the three-five leading families, the economically influential families in the world. they also try to report it to people with bad scenarios. On this occasion, aid organizations increase, support organizations increase, countries allocate budgets for this. Countries that are forced to allocate the budget. So it is economic

Studying on the right-wing populism discourse in one of her books, Wodak underlines the exclusion practice of the discourses. According to her, the structure of power implicitly or explicitly creates this rhetoric of exclusion to engender a pseudo-consolidated facet.(Wodak 2015) We could find this exclusion practice in the words of our respondents. Because s/he does not only designates a discursive front to defend his or her thoughts, s/he also creates an “Other” by using the word “they” as a subject. Who are they? The concept of they signifies the people who hold the power in their hands and willing to use it to manipulate the people. In the coming part of the interview, the respondent provides a more clear explanation of the limits of this otherness.

Respondent V: Now it's okay, it's not global warming, but there's erosion. It is certain that the world is rapidly progressing towards completing its mission. People also contribute to this, those of us who live. But there is a group that wants to take advantage of this, it is not global warming, it is a group that tries to get rent from it by putting the name global warming.

Now, we know that the respondent observes that climate is changing in a certain way. Moreover, while in the first passage, the people who are under the effect of powerful families are narrated as passive actors, in the second one the people are signified as “us” who make a contribution to the changing. The families, on the other hand, are visualized as corrupted organisms among the people. The organisms that should be excluded. However, putting the individual, or in this frame, the people, to the position of power who perform the exclusion would be wrong. Because the respondent already implies that s/he is one of the impotent people who is influenced by the “*bad scenarios*”.

With that regard, one could recognize that the knowledge of the power is tacitly conveyed by post-politics. What is the function of the post-politics in this picture? To answer this question, we could recall the negotiation of power. While the subject is permitted to acknowledge that there is an erosion in the world, s/he is also convicted to vocalize the manipulation of power. Even though the subject creates a phantasmatic estrangement between people and corrupted families which benefits from the climate change discourse, in essence the post-political power excludes the subject from the real kernel of climate change discussion by making him or her vocalize the post-truth.

4.2.1.4. It is God’s Will

At this point in the study, it could be prolific to focus on another approach to critical discourse analysis. According to Siegfried Jäger, the exercise of power does not merely embody the production of knowledge. The knowledge has a problem to find a place itself in society to be persistent. This is the dwell of dispositive. In this frame, dispositive is the signifier for a variety of formation from commonly accepted implicit rules to the spatial configuration of thoughts, which takes place on the process of knowledge. Relying on Michel Foucault’s understanding of the discourse, Jäger thinks that the knowledge of the power and the order of non-discursive practices in a certain society reciprocally affect and regulate each other. (Jäger 2001, 38) Therefore we could infer that just as the power knowledge affects

the structure of the society, the structure of the society could affect the power knowledge.

This interpretation could help us to assess the arguments of one of the respondents about climate change.

Respondent Y: *It's a bit of a matter of faith. In other words, we say that there are certain limits in the world of mankind and God has drawn. When you go beyond this, the troubles come, they are called "slap of compassion" in Muslim countries. There are determinations that it will face such a problem (climate change). I think this is a fact. I speak on the basis of communities, I speak for the conservative section. Just as part of the society, which creates the agenda, is always referring to religion in order to put forward the argument that it wants. Something similar. I think this has too many spiritual dimensions. There is a danger coming if we do not prevent this (climate change), will we bring the apocalypse forward? Do we have to understand this? Are we pushing something that God knows? Or how do we postpone this? Can we postpone it? We can neither push forward nor postpone it. So this argument is not a very correct argument for me. I think the things to do to postpone it (climate change) are activities that will waste time because it is not true.*

At first glance, careful eyes could catch a different characteristic in this passage. Even though the respondent accepts that climate change is a fact, s/he does not only make references to the future, s/he also implies that climate change is just a part of an inevitable sublime order. Whereas humans might have a role to engender the "slap of compassion", they are impotent to prevent it or escape from it.

In this vein, another respondent drags this argument further and shifts the equation. Instead of pursuing the claim that climate change will cause the apocalypse, s/he defends that the inevitable doomsday causes climate change.

Respondent W: *The world is tired now, the signs of the doomsday are approaching. The melting of glaciers is another occasion for this.*

We could find similar patterns between one of the arguments of the climate change deniers and these passages. As we discussed in the first part of this chapter, this

argument of the denial based on the idea that climate is always changing. With that regard, there is no need to take precautions or worrying about the human contribution to climate change. In this chain of reasoning, the natural process is postulated as a sublime authority which acts with its own rules without any interruption. Nonetheless, in these two passages, one could observe that the identity of the sublime natural authority is replaced with another sublime definition which points out a religious order. Moreover, this alteration also causes specific changes in the context of arguments. While the climate change deniers connote a floating balance that will sustain infinitely which falsifies climate change, our respondents remark an inevitable end which sees climate change as a detail.

We could observe the function of the dispositive here. In the case of climate change denial, post-truth appears when the denial based on discourse which refers to a phantasmatic natural authority. Because, as we discussed with the arguments of post-politics, nature is always interrupted and the balanced nature without any intervention does not exist. In another case which emphasizes God's will, the knowledge of power is shaped with the religious dispositive to become persistent and post-truth emerges when the respondents declare the passivity of human beings before the sublime order. Because it represents another face of post-politics which tries to suppress antagonistic confrontation and keep the system functioning.

4.2.2. I Don't Know Very Well But...

Nonetheless, it would be wrong to claim that all the discourses that are observed in the interviews are suitable for Žižek's expression. Because some of the respondents have constructed their discourse on a premise which explicitly states that they do not have comprehensive knowledge about climate change. This is an exact representation of a fundamental twist in the expression, which the starting point of "I know very well but..." replaced with "I don't know very well but". Therefore, it should be tried to understand this fundamental twist in the expression and how this twist affects the structure of the discourse.

4.2.2.1. I See the Difference

During the interviews, although some of the respondents state that they do not have much information about climate change, they classified the issue as a threat by referring to their personal observations. We could clearly demonstrate this suture between the negation of awareness toward climate change and the personal experiences in the words of one of our respondents.

Respondent D: *We just hear something, I did not read an article about this, listened to a conversation, or there was no broadcast on the screens that we would be attractive in public service ads. In no way, as a person, I did not know about a visual publication. we are in a global climate and we have been living for years, we have students at home and we have to follow some things. Anyway it was snowing in the past or something like that, now there is no snow and the climate in Malatya is changing, and it all makes us think that global warming causes weather change. we do these chats. While we were living in the spring, summer, and autumn, winter we used to know, we have had a very cold day, for example, a very hot day until yesterday. We are experiencing such imbalance as a climate. That's why we have conversations like global warming or climate change.*

Another respondent mentions similar observations as follows:

Respondent G: *I am living, so I am experiencing those climate changes. I lived in Adana I lived here as well. So when we first came here it was a very beautiful snow, summer was very nice, it did not affect us. But every year, the climate is changing. You are looking at it, it is hailing, half an hour later, you are looking at the sun, spring has come. For example, this winter was like spring.*

With these two contributions, now, we are approaching different territories because while in the section of “I know very well but...” we were focusing on the transmission of post-political power through the climate change knowledge, now the respondents claim that their knowledge on climate change is not coming from any outside information, it is based on their personal experiences. Nonetheless, in the coming part of these interviews we could observe that the answers of the respondents have a similar pattern with post-political knowledge. When it is asked

Respondent D what should be done about these changings that s/he underlines in the interview, s/he stated that:

Respondent D: *I think the state, the press, the television, and the channels need to work a little bit, how to take precautions, and what can be done. I think that even if a hundred people do not, ten people do it and that would make a difference. Therefore, I think that if it comes to the agenda and goes into the books as a subject, the following should be done to keep the balance of the climate intact and if the children memorize it, a step from the new generation can be taken even if we do not do much.*

The same question was answered by the Respondent G and s/he said that:

Respondent G: *People use a lot. I don't know if they're being audited. For example, when I went to Hatay while in Adana, there was a steel factory, when we passed near the steel factory, that stench, a layer of a cloud of smoke ... when we passed through, for example, we were closing the windows, and we couldn't breathe inside the car anyway. I think people should be conscious, our people are not conscious. People act more carefully as they become conscious. I think the owner of that factory, I don't know if he is a money-maker, but he pays more attention. Wastes have thrown into the seas ... I don't know. I think people should pay attention to it. Even when housewives use the water, they say, some of my friends, I have to clean every day. Even if I said you did yesterday, she says no. Excessive consumption.*

Relying on the discussions that we pursued earlier, we could focus on the structure of post-truth in these two discourses. For the first one, the post-truth appears with connotation to the impotence of the people. According to the respondent, there should be an upper structure that already knows the scope of climate change in order to mobilize the people and take some precautions against climate change. For the second one, on the one hand we could observe the process of alienation between the words. Because the usage of “people” does not contain the respondent himself or herself. S/he hands over the responsibility of the climate change to the “our people”. This phrase of “our people” signifies the people who are behaving

recklessly about climate change. With that regard, the respondent puts himself or herself out of the threat of climate change, because s/he fulfills his or her desire by saying that I do my share and they(our people) should be the blamed one. On the other hand, the structure of post-truth which implies that regulating the people's daily habits could be the solution shows itself again in this context. Why we are confronting the same post-truth pattern even though the respondents built their discourse on "I don't know very well but..."? How the post-political power function in this frame?

To answer these questions, we should look more closely at the Jager's approach to critical discourse analysis and think about the formation of dispositive. According to Jager, dispositive signifies a dynamic movement of oscillation between the verbal appearance of power knowledge and the non-linguistic forms of power knowledge. Jager thinks that in Foucauldian discourse analysis, these non-linguistic forms of power-knowledge represent a wide range of object-like formations which intervene in the knowledge process from architectural plannings to implicit connotations of physical gestures.(Jager 2001, 41) Thus, discourse and dispositive are not merely reflections of the reality or exercise of certain ideologies, on the contrary, they construct the reality.(2001 : 39) With that regard, Jager underlines that the structure of the power which embedded in the discourse does not only function via the direct encounter with knowledge of power. It could also be transported through the manifestations of non-linguistic dispositive in daily life.(2001 : 56-57) In a way, dispositive creates a replica of power-knowledge in the reality of individuals.

In this vein, we could interpret the tension which emerges with the question of why the structure of post-truth has similar characteristics in the two forms of discourses. Although the respondents claim that they do not have comprehensible information about climate change, they are caught up by the post-political power. Because even though individuals do not directly involve with the discussion about climate change, their social life which surrounded by the non-discursive instruments of power imposes the words of post-politics. We could exemplify these instruments by

following one of the exercises of Jager in his studies. Assume that, a person goes out of the home to go to a cafe. The first thing that this person would probably be going to see is the color-coded bins right outside the home, which reminds people to recycle their trash. On the way to the cafe, the person passes near the signs or billboards which some of them advertise a new eco-friendly product. When this person arrived, s/he orders a coffee. When the coffee is served, s/he realizes another advertisement on the cup which says that they are protecting trees and serving this coffee with heat-proofed cups so one has not to use coffee sleeve which is a paper, etc. Even though this person does not know much about the climate change, s/he lives in a reality which surrounded by the post-political dispositive. We could assess the words of our respondents in this frame. Although they do not know very well, they vocalize the same similar post-truth structures. Because their reality already constructed with post-political discourse.

4.2.2.2. I Don't See Any Difference

Nonetheless, we should emphasize that the dispositive does not indicate the juxtaposition of permanent rules. Jager states that the structure of the power knowledge could only be recognized with a net of dispositive which is shaped with respect to certain spatio-temporal conditions. Because the power knowledge could be based on different structures of dispositive. Therefore, in order to properly analyze the role of the dispositive and how the power knowledge dwells in the discourse of individuals, one should pay attention to the specific conditions of the environment.(Jager 2001, 33) We could observe this characteristic of the dispositive in the interviews. One of the respondents expressed his or her view about the argument that the imbalance of climate could be observed in daily life as follows:

Respondent A: *It has existed since the old times, and since our childhood it has been hailing and something like that. Our elders say that in June of 20 it snowed. That nature thing is something else. What Allah commands is what Allah says. They disturbed the balance of nature with chemicals. There is a lot of change. Where are the old blessings? Where's the old yield? Everything has become a chemical. If you*

don't throw medicine, it dries up trees. If you do not throw fertilizer, it will not bear fruit. There is also this, but they did what is done in the seeds to give a good yield.

Another respondent tends to embrace the issue as a local problem:

Respondent Q: We do not have it (climate change), we are in the village, there everyone is destroying their own garbage, burning it. We try not to throw trash around. our place is clean, not like a city. Our air is clean and our thing is clean. Since we do everything ourselves and eat, there is no such thing there. So it is natural.

Even though the first respondent also notices the sudden changes of the weather just as the respondents who we focused on in the previous part, s/he does not think that these events are the consequences of climate change. According to the respondent, there is no link between them. However, the respondent explains his or her observation regarding religious authority. As we discussed above, while this authority signifies the impotence of the human beings before the sublime order, in essence, it also creates a chance for individuals to enjoy this impotence and freed themselves from taking responsibility. At this point, one could observe the role of dispositive. Although the respondent utilizes a similar structure of post-truth with the other respondents, the post-political knowledge has been conveyed with different dispositive. Whereas in the former discussions on the structure of post-truth which reveals with reference to sublime authority the respondents explain their personal observations with climate change, in this case, the changings that have been observed by the respondent have nothing to do with climate change, it is God's order and the changings are caused by chemicals. Therefore we could deduce that even though the post-truth is vocalized in the same way, the power-knowledge uses different non-discursive instruments, the net of dispositive, to reach the individual.

On the other hand, we could underline another form of alienation in the words of Respondent Q. Because s/he creates a comparison between city and village. When s/he mentions about the village s/he uses the word "our" as a subject. In this context, the city represents the dwell of Others. According to him or her while there is no

sign of climate change in the village(our), the city(Other) is not like the village. We could remember the function of the post-truth in the alienation that it emerges with the linguistic. Post-truth provides fulfillment of desire by saying that we are doing our share, the others should be blamed for climate change. Nonetheless, it could be noticed that the knowledge of post-political is transmitted with different dispositive. Because contrary to the previous discussion on this issue, alienation does not only emerge at the level of linguistic. Respondent Q claims that there is a place(which could be classified as a non-discursive actor) that has not been affected by climate change.

4.2.3. The Balance of Nature and the Pandemic

In the discussion that we outlined the general form of discourses on climate change, we pointed out the post-political characteristic of phantasmatic reference to the balance of nature. The hint of this connotation could also be observed in the words of the respondents which is analyzed so far. However, before we begin to elaborate on this issue by focusing on the interviews, we have to underline an intervention that is taken place during the process of this dissertation. Because we think that it may have affected the answers of the respondents.

In late 2019, the news was mentioning about a new disease which had appeared in China. However this early news was ignored, as similar diseases aroused many times and disappeared strangely again. Within a few months, it was realized that this disease is different from the others. Because the virus, which is the source of the disease, was infecting people via close contact and its spreading rate was very high. When the Chinese government declared quarantine on January 23, the severity of the disease began to be understood. However, the measures taken by other countries in order not to be affected by the disease were not enough because the virus continued to spread from the first date of the disease to the quarantine date. In a short time, disease news began to be heard all over the world, and many countries went to extensive quarantine practice to reduce the spread of the virus. The disease caused by this virus, called COVID-19, was declared as a pandemic by the World Health Organization in 2020. As a result of the quarantine implementation,

international travel has stopped, production has stopped in many factories and people have closed themselves into their homes. In many countries, urban transportation has been restricted. Restaurants, cafes, some public institutions, and businesses were closed under quarantine. Today, more than five million people have been diagnosed with the disease, and more than three hundred thousand people have died due to this virus. In addition to discussions about how the virus affects countries politically, socially, or economically and how the post-pandemic world will take shape, some news about the effects of the pandemic on climate change had been issued by the news bulletins as the quarantine period extended. According to this news, the pandemic was affecting climate change in a positive way. They claim that now that the human effects on the earth had decreased due to lockdowns and quarantines, nature finds a chance to recover itself. To be more specific, in Turkey, the news was claiming that dolphins are seen after a long time in Bosphorus, Bolu Mountains could be seen from İstanbul because the air is much more clear, etc.⁴

This news that is covered in the media could help us to observe the post-truth in action. One of the respondents expressed his or her vision of nature as follows:

Respondent B: *The world has a system and a systematic. The world works like a wheel. something like a bike, a pedal, a wheel, a handlebar, everything. If you remove the chain from this bike, you cannot ride that bike. Human beings also harm the balance of nature as if they were removing these chains. What do we mean by this chain? The trees are slaughtered, the mountains are shattered for marble for stone, there is no such thing as an animal habitat. This is more evident in our country... there is a climate change due to the destruction of nature.*

⁴ See. <https://www.mynet.com/doga-kendini-yeniliyor-karantina-sureci-havayi-temizledi-110106518890>, <https://www.milliyet.com.tr/galeri/bilim-dunyasi-sokta-kuzey-kutbunda-ozon-tabakasi-yok-oluyor-6188517>, <https://www.sozcu.com.tr/2020/gundem/candan-dogayi-tahrip-etmeyi-surdurursek-covid-19-gider-covid-20-gelir-5804981/>

Nonetheless, in the coming parts of the interview, the respondent exemplified these words by referring to the news that is issued the effect of the pandemic on climate change.

Respondent B: *The world has a wheel when we look at this wheel in the quarantine process, they show interesting images, whether, in social media or news media, dolphins come to the shores of Istanbul and pigs descend to the city center. Actually, we do not ask what the people do in the place of pigs, instead of what the pigs do in the city center.*

Another respondent pursues the same path when s/he expresses his or her opinions on climate change.

Respondent T: *The structure of people is not the same, did not care about agriculture, making easy money. It was urbanized. When urbanization, for example, the simplest example in Istanbul is not snowing, because the buildings are abundant, it starts to rain when it is going to snow. exhaust gases, etc... Believe me, we feel the world is changing because of the pandemic. Let me give an example from Istanbul. Even that neighborhood where I live has changed. The breath has changed, the color of the tree is lush. There is a lush tree in front of the house where I live, it turns out the tree was covered with dust. When we open the window with my husband in the morning, we hear a wide range of bird sounds. So we, people, polluted it.*

When we look closely at the words of Respondent B, we could notice the nest of sublime authority between the lines. However, in this context, the authority does not imply the impotence of the people. Because the respondent states that human beings disturbed the balance of nature. Therefore, to fight against climate change, it is needed to eradicate the human effect and let nature recover itself. Nonetheless, recalling the discussion on the balance of nature, according to Stavrakakis this appeal and yearn for the uninterrupted nature is nothing but the representation of green ideology.(Stavrakakis 1997, 125) Just as Zizek, he also states that claiming that nature which freed from the human intervention is possible, creates a distance

between human beings and the real kernel of the problem. Because, it is unimaginable to think nature without an intervention, imbalance, or fissure. The formation of nature itself based on big catastrophes. With that regard, the green ideology creates a fantasy by providing a pseudo-antagonistic confrontation in political space and proclaiming a truth in order to fulfill the human desire to be in order.(1997 : 127) This is the exact representation of Žižek's definition of post-politics.

In this frame, one could realize the structure of post-truth in the words of Respondent B, since s/he vocalizes the knowledge of post-political power. Moreover, we could realize that with the news on the positive effect of the pandemic, post-politics finds itself a new way to sustain the power and convey the power-knowledge. In the first passage, the respondent proposes a quasi-proof to explain his or her vision on nature which is signified as a wheel. Nonetheless, this quasi-proof also whispers that you could still save the world, you are safe now and so you can pursue your life the way as it is. In fact, as we stated above, these whispers are a structure of post-truth which aims to preserve the new form of the capitalist system by creating a distance between the people and the real kernel of climate change. In the second passage, on the other hand, the news on pandemic is verified with personal observations. The respondent remarks that the process of quarantine is the basic proof to show that climate change is a fact. Nonetheless, one could realize that the amalgamation of news and observations invite the respondent to share the responsibility of climate change at the end of the passage by saying "*we, people*". This is the exact reflection of the green ideology. Because the power knowledge implies that the post-political form of capitalism is not the only cause for climate change, you, as a human being, have to share the guilt. In this frame post-truth emerges when the respondent sacrifices his or her antagonistic stance against the system and declares oneself as a sinner for the sin that s/he does not really know what it is.

FIFTH CHAPTER

CONCLUSION

This study begins with the simple question that asks what is post-truth. The reason that this question was raised is to grasp the pivotal concept of the political studies which focus on the effects and the results of the election campaigns of Donald Trump and Brexit Referendum in 2016. When we look at both theoretical and empirical studies in the literature which examine the concept of post-truth, we realize that there are three main arguments in the literature. Firstly, even though some of the studies claim that the post-truth is a postmodernist definition, they refer to the studies which review the meaning of truth qua sociological, political, and philosophical frame, that had been written in the modern and premodern era. Secondly, following the first argument, it is argued that the meaning of the post-truth signifies either negations of the truth such as lie, humbug, fallacy, etc. or the insignificance of the truth. In the discussion on the meaning of the post-truth, we could notice the impact of the historicist approach to the subject. Lastly, there are counter-arguments about the function of the post-truth in politics. While some of the studies embrace the term as one of the newly emerging structures in the political sphere, the others think that the concept of the post-truth always/already dwells in the soul of the politics.

Yet, three questions revealed with respect to the discussions in the literature. The first one is that if one accepts that the structure of the post-truth takes inspiration from the discussions of modern and premodern eras, why do we need a different term to understand the concept of truth or the negation of the truth? In tandem with the first question, the second one asks that if post-truth means a negation of the truth, what is the role of the prefix “post” in the term? The last one, on the other hand, is that what is the function of post-truth in the political sphere? Was it always there? Or do we encounter with the new formation in politics? In order to scrutinize these questions, we tried to understand how the concept of truth has structured in modernity and postmodernity. The reason to focus on this question is to observe whether the value of the truth could be explained with the linear movement of the

historical process, which reclaims it as a transcendental structure. In essence, we attempted to interrogate interpretations of post-truth literature.

As one of the inferences of this study, we defended that concept of truth ought to be assessed considering specific spatio-temporal characteristics. Because this discussion leads us to a judgment that from modernity to postmodernity the concept of truth does neither trace a linear process of history nor it is shaped with causality between these two periods. On the contrary, the concept of truth represents a fissure in history. Because while in modernity, truth visualized as a sublime structure which is not subjected to any subjective definitions, postmodernity defines the truth as a veil of the power-knowledge. Therefore, rather than go back to the studies which think about the value of truth in modernity, we decided to understand the concept of post-truth in the era that the term born into. With this remark, one could realize that our questions on post-truth have been hunted by the ghost of Michel Foucault. Because, as we partly mentioned in the study, Foucault claims that the formation of the truth as a reflection of the relation between power and its transmission to the capillary of society could only be analyzed by considering the current configuration of this relation in the people's reality.

In this vein, in order to understand the term post-truth in this configuration and to assess the post-truth with the conditions of today's world, we use Slavoj Zizek's teachings as the background of the study. Regarding the theoretical discussion of the post-truth with Zizek's philosophy, we claim that the structure of the post-truth could be understood with the two premises of contemporary times. One of them is the emphasis on the new subjectivity. This emphasis constitutes the idea that technological advancements pave the way for a transformation in the perception of subjectivity. The other one, on the other hand, relying on Lacan's teaching on analyst's discourse, we argue that this new experience of subjectivity is not only related to the technology, it also signifies a new construction of power-knowledge in the public sphere. This appeal to the new construction of the power-knowledge conforms with the utilization of the term post-political as the last formation of the capitalist system which is mostly issued by Mouffe, Ranciere, and Zizek. As

defined in the study, post-politics is the replacement of the antagonistic confrontation in the agora as a fundamental necessity of democracy with the power's technocratic effort to create pseudo-consensus. The post-political power aims to preserve its existence by providing a chance for people to fulfill their desire of both to be a part of the democratic machinery in a certain way and put a distance between themselves and the possibility of a sudden confrontation with the destruction in their reality. With that regard, we underline that the question of what is post-truth should be answered as the vocalization of the post-political power's discourses, or its knowledge, by the new subjectivity.

In order to discuss how the structure of the post-truth dwells in the contemporary discussions, we focused on climate change and tried to reveal that what is the position of post-politics in the climate change discourses and how the post-truth is vocalized by the people. Concerning the idea that the post-truth appears with the people's words in daily life, we conducted in-depth interviews on climate change, and to analyze these interviews we referred to critical discourse analysis. The reason that critical discourse analysis is considered as a convenient way to analyze people's discourses is that on the one hand, this method tries to reveal the discursive and non-discursive formations of power and its reflections in the people's reality, on the other hand, just as one of the inferences of this study, specifically in Wodak's and Jager's approach to critical discourse analysis, this method also embraces the instruments of power and its reflections to reality with the conditions of a certain time and certain place. With that regard the structures of the post-truth in the climate change discourse could be summarized as follows. Firstly, although it is a fact that today's world is experiencing the apocalypse of climate change, the severity of climate change is described as an event that waits in the future. Post-truth emerges when the respondents create distance between their reality and the catastrophe of climate change. In addition to the references to the future, we observe that this distance also embedded in the linguistic structures of the discourse. Because, by using certain pronouns, the respondents alienate themselves from the climate change discussion. Secondly, although, as discussed above, the concept of nature could only exist with a fissure, destruction, or interruption, nature is pictured as a

balanced circle which could regulate itself if there would be no human interruption. In this narrative, post-truth emerges when the respondents declare their impotence before a sublime order and, ironically, blame themselves instead of thinking to create a front against post-political power. This connotation to sublime order has also demonstrated itself with another form in the narratives with the effect of dispositive in the respondent's reality. Moreover, we observe that how the news about the pandemic engender a new path for post-political power to convey the knowledge and support the idea of balanced nature. In line with the second point, thirdly, even though climate change represents a more systemic problem, it is argued that climate change could be prevented if some precautions are taken. Apart from the fact that the word "prevent" already signifies the postponement of the catastrophe and forms the post-truth, in this narrative, post-truth also appears when people fulfill their desire to convince themselves about they do their part even though their actions or ideas will not create an effect. Lastly, we observe that though deniers and climate change skeptics defend different arguments, they use similar structures of post-truth with the respondents who think that climate change is a threat. This remark clearly tells us that post-truth is not about defending lies or creating counterfeit truths. Post-truth is another form of the power structure in society and it emerges when the people willingly sacrifice themselves to this structure and vocalize the knowledge of post-political power.

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