Sami Çöteli

Cyber Public Sphere and Social Movements

Calling to Cyber Spaces

Nomos

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For my wife and daughter

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Preface

The diversification, politicization of mass media within itself and also societal pressure created by mass media at the social level has caused changes in the social structure. The first change began with the contextual changes of the mass media, and this change led to visible changes in the societies. The concept of the "public sphere" that is used today has highly removed from the definitions of Arendt, Habermas, Oscar, and Kluge and has gained a new form. This new transformation has almost abolished the distinction between the private and public sphere, especially as social media has entered into our life. The things occurred in the private sphere are easily transported to the public sphere and others' private sphere. Therefore, the virtual public sphere has emerged through social media and all other practices on the internet. It appears that activist movements either have begun in the cyber world or that existing activist movements have strengthened by finding supporters via social media and blogs (internet blogs). The public sphere and activist movements that come into existence in the virtual environment, such as social media, is a new experience in terms of societies and they are the sign of how the future will be drawn .

It is obvious that social media is now integral part of our daily lives. It is a place where political and secular ideas spread, as well as being a place where photographs of eaten food, visited places, special relationships and many other special events take place. In this social area each individual has the opportunity to make his own propaganda as if he were on the agora. Shared content represents the position within the virtual life that the individual has built for himself. Social media make it easier than ever to share ideas globally and many charity organizations and political movements use social media platforms to spread their messages and reach their goals. While some of these movements cannot make a lot noise, some can lead to large fluctuations. It even causes a real and positive difference in the world. This study defines the virtual public sphere together with the virtual activism and the network society additions in the light of the public sphere – private sphere debates.

Istanbul, in September 2013 *Sami Çöteli*

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Contents

Preface 7

Introduction 11

Chapter 1: Public Sphere 19

A. Arendt's Approach to the Public Sphere and Agnostic Public Sphere Model 24
B. Habermas' Approach to the Public Sphere 27
C. Negt and Kluge's Approach to the Public Sphere 30
D. Types of Public Spheres 33
I. Bourgeois Public Sphere 33
II. Proletarian Public Sphere 36
III. Political Public Sphere 39
E. Opposition of the Public Sphere - Private Sphere 41
F. Public Sphere and Mass Media 45
G. Civil Society and Civil Disobedience 49
H. Public Isolation with Social Media and the Concept of Public Isolation 52
I. Digital Civil Disobedience 55

Chapter 2: Network Society: The Role of Social Media in Social Movements and Public Sphere Organization Formed in Social Media 57

A. Virtual Public Sphere and Socialization of Social Media 73
B. Public Sphere Function of Social Media 79
C. Evolution of Mass Media Towards Social Media 85
D. Social Media Apolitics Who Create Virtual Public Sphere and Y Generation 87

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Chapter 3: New Social Movements 89

A. Arab Spring 94
B. Spain 15M Movement 98
C. Occupy Wall Street 99
D. Taksim Gezi Park Resistance 102
E. The Use of Social Media as an Information Tool 113
F. Formation of the Virtual Public Sphere and Contributions to New Social Movements 116

References 127

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Introduction

The definition and idea of the "public sphere" (Öffentlichkeit) was first presented by Jürgen Habermas in 1962 started to gain prevalence only in the late 1980s. With this concept, Habermas defined a space where individuals converse and criticize issues about the state without a case of restriction, whose accessibility for everyone, that is, whose freedoms of gathering, organization and expression and publication of judgments and are guaranteed. Arendt discussed the start of the public sphere model from the Ancient Greek "Police". It should be considered that what Habermas expressed as, with its first simple meaning we conceive, public sphere is not communities formed by individuals. The concept of public here is an institution, namely organization must be formed that may have a name. The lexical meaning of the word "public" does not fit the Habermasian definition. With its definition in the dictionary, public: 1) all, whole, 2. The whole of the people in a country, people, commons. Debates of democracy have revived after the 1968 events, spread throughout the world followed by rising neo-liberalism in 1970s, disintegration of the Eastern Bloc countries and polarization created by the Cold War. In time, Habermas' definition of Public Sphere and discussions of Civil Society that were aimed towards overcoming the political and economic issues in the global system were added onto these debates.[1] In his work named the Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere (Strukturwandel der Öffentlichkeit, 1962), Habermas defined the bourgeois public sphere, analyzed historical, political and economic developments, and moved from the bourgeois public sphere to the "differentiated public sphere" created in social life by civil society. In this work, Habermas emphasized that the "social state model" formed after the destruction of the bourgeois public sphere. The approach of social state that has been increasingly developing since the 19th century managed to draw the state to the economic area. In the social state approach, the state and the people are integrated. The thing that achieves the integration is the structural transformation of the public sphere. According to Habermas, structural transformation of the public

1 Özbek, Kamusal Alanın Sınırları, P. 27.

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sphere is actually the expression of the transition from the "bourgeois" public that focuses on the homogenous and abstract individual to the "differentiated" public that is created by civil society in real social life. The role of mass media is important in this transformation. The thing that transforms the public sphere in the broad sense is the comprehensive results of the role of democratization and the increasing role of the media.[2] Habermas defined this transformation as the "structural transformation of the public sphere". While Wolton talked about a broad sense by leaving technological advancement aside, democratization processes and the effects of the media on masses are strong enough to carry this transformation to new extents. Increase in the value of communication networks have, in terms of their political and financial functions, growth of the capital investment and expansion of communication networks through technology, have played an important role in the transformation of the public sphere and the media. "The political economy of the traditional mass media of Western societies has developed ironically".[3] The industry, which has been rising since the 17th century, has laid the groundwork for individualization of the society while at the same time has been promoting social life and preparing a suitable environment for the increase in the activity areas of the public such as cinema, theater, newspaper, entertainment club. Nevertheless, this newly created environment led to further separation of the public and private spheres.

A subject that should especially be discussed would be the near past, present and tomorrow of communication network technologies. Developed communication network technologies have had significant effects on the public sphere with each new qualified communication device invented. The public sphere emphasized in 1962 by Jürgen Habermas and the definitions and theories of the public sphere that evolved around it broadened their borders through each new communication device, and in some cases, changed the existing borders. The mission of technology to "democratize" the society associated with mass communication tools in the 19th and 20th centuries, is now being dedicated to new media. For example, the definition of Information Society, which emerged with prevalent usage of internet technology today and may be associated with the definition of the pub-

2 *Wolton,* Les Contradictions de L'espace Public Médiatisé, Hermès 10, 1991, P. 95.

3 *Dahlgren,* L'espace Public et les Médias, Hermès 13-14, 1994, P. 244.

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lic sphere, was opened for debate as the Theory of Network Society with Castells' suggestion. According to Castells, counter hegemony powers, for example, environmentalist movement, counter cultural movements and human rights organizations take part in activities within networks by combining what it local and what is global with the internet.[4] This discourse by Castells overlaps with Habermas's definition of the public sphere to some extent. With its Habermasian meaning, the idea of "public sphere" is an institutionalized discursive area of interaction where participants take part in discussions about their mutual issues. This space is one that is conceptually separate from the state; and in principle, it is where critical discourses are produced and distributed against the state … a space for conflict of ideas and debate[5]. An important point here is that Habermas defined the public sphere over locality, that is, each society has its own public sphere; Castells, on the other hand, described an activity on a global level, because the internet which is the most prevalent area of usage for communication network technologies provided speed up for the development of globalization. According to Bauman, "We are all on the move… Some of us do not need to go outside to travel: One can run from around on web pages in the speed of light, read messages from the furthest parts of the globe on computer screens and send messages… Space is no longer an obstacle; one second is enough to conquer it".[6] Global prevalence of informatics tools, information transformation and distribution made the citizen no longer an object of a single public authority. While the citizen has private communal identity on one hand, they have an identity of a territorial state and an international identity on the other hand. The phenomenon of international identity is as virtual as the information carried around, but at the same time, as real as the content of the same information.

The internet may facilitate action without leaving the chair in trade, meeting new people, seeing new places, home decoration and even shopping for the kitchen. The network society that emerged with globalization and development of the internet and is increasingly rising, mainly created new communication technologies and led people to establish virtual communication environments. "Platforms called Social Media" such as Face-

4 *Castells,* Globalization and Identity in the Network Society, P. 110.
5 *Özbek*, Kamusal Alanın Sınırları, P. 28.
6 *Bauman,* Globalization: The Human Consequences, P. 77.

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book, Twitter, YouTube, Google+, Hi5, MySpace provide the user with the opportunity to establish their own profile and open it up to other users. In their profile, the user is able to share their photos, biography, experiences and opinions. Social media users are able to interact with both their friends and people they do not know and also share texts, photos, videos and musics. According to Akar, communications on social media, which is an environment of peers, may be from one to many or from many to one, and it might not be possible to predict the real effect area of social media. With the help of social media, individuals gained the opportunity to publish their own opinions, points of view and experience on this global scale. Abundance of information on the internet, multiple options, means of interaction revived the dreams of "participatory democracy", "direct democracy" and "agora". This is the structure of the public sphere that was formed via digital environments. The most important advantage provided by the digital environment is the phenomenon of participation and plurality. Moreover, as monitoring posts is technically difficult and sometime the authors are not legally bound by their content, social media is promoted as an environment where people gather and freely share their opinions. Free sharing of posts and distance from censorship form a public sphere that is far from a totalitarian structure. It should be noted that, if the person is sharing with their own name and last name or if they are famous or known, it is possible that their posts will be found by the state authority and they will be held responsible for them. Indeed, according to Eric Dacheux, one function of democracy is the possibility of formation of a public opinion via opposing debates and establishment of a space of mediation between the state and the civil society. This space that is not found in totalitarian regimes is the public sphere.[7] It is possible to reduce the difference between the virtual public sphere that is formed via the digital environment and the real public sphere that arises from within the civil society to technological infrastructure and face to face dialogue. The main elements that make formation of the public sphere possible are equality, debate and freedom. As a representation of the communication conditions that will facilitate the establishment of opinion and will based on debate among a public group consisting of citizens, the political public has the potential to be the main concept of a normative theory of democracy. Ac-

7 *Dacheux,* L'espace Public, P. 14.

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cording to Habermas, the main issue is the freedom of opinion and association of the civil society. In the light of this, it may be argued that the virtual public sphere is just as valid as the real public sphere. In the structure of the real public sphere, there is the anxiety of encountering the state authority at any time. The state authority may intervene with or establish hegemony on the real public spheres when they contradict its interests. Just like King Charles II closing down coffee houses in 1675 as they had become common meeting points of the people where they were able to talk about politics and conspiracies.[8] As opposed to this, the internet has a complex structure that cannot be easily shut down as it is far from rationality. Nevertheless, governments that are trying to prohibit the public spheres for civil society are looking for ways to limit the internet, keep it under control and close it down for the civil society if needed. Just as the museums, newspapers, reading rooms, operas, coffee houses emphasized by Habermas in formation of the public sphere played an important role, the internet is playing a similar but stronger role, while the internet harbors various spheres that are parallel to each other. Easier experience of sharing opinions via the internet and increased participation played an important role in the increase of usage of social media. Especially Facebook, which was designed for finding friends and sharing daily content, is the most cybernetic example of the transition from the private sphere to the public sphere.

Thus, with the help of social media, you may spread your political opinions without getting up, reach like-minded people and form opinion groups. Increased number of users of social media brought about diversity of usage purposes. Some individuals are using social media with the aim of joining social movements, following these movements and organizing them. Of course, it would be a utopic expression to say that social media accounts are opened purely for these purposes. We saw the best example of these in the Arab Spring triggered by Twitter, Facebook and YouTube. The first example of internet-supported public revolts was seen in the Presidency Elections in Iran. The internet in Tunisia and Egypt became prominent with its function to accelerate politics. Especially the social networks of Facebook, Twitter and YouTube led to fast mobilization of masses and acceleration of revolution movements.

8 *Standage,* A History of the World in 6 Glasses, P. 156.

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Considering the Tahrir Square and Taksim Gezi Park Protests, it may be seen that the public sphere that fits the definition of Habermas was formed. "This is because the public sphere is a specific area that emerges from within the civil society. It is a cultural and societal space of organization that will facilitate an effective rational-critical discourse that aims to resolve political fights".[9] Such new social movements' emergence via social media, like in the case of the civil disobedience protests named the Arab Spring, is caused by the lack of adequacy and effectiveness of civil society organizations. Organization took place on new media in countries where civil society organizations are not adequate or capable. It is harder to see these examples in Western countries. The individual, based on their political opinion, may define the public sphere as "the place where public authority is valid", "the space where there are pluralism, colorfulness and freedom" and "the space where the public servant is".[10] The public sphere is a space formed via freedom, debate and action. We may associate social and individual freedom that is one of the many doctrines in the formation of the public sphere with Kant's "Principle of Publicity". This principle is based on Kant's "Transcendent Formula of Public Law". This formula guarantees all kinds of social freedom, and in a way, individual freedom may only be achieved via social freedom. Habermas, in his studies after the work named "Transcendent Formula of Public Law", associated his conceptualization of the public sphere with his model formed in the framework of the life-system universe, and stated that new social movements has qualities that will excite the public sphere. Arendt brought a preliminary condition to social movements, the public sphere must be isolated from violence.[11] The acts of violence committed by security forces against the public sphere that is formed in new social movements broke Arendt's preliminary condition. This condition does not exist among Habermas' definition of the public sphere.

With the movement of industrialization and modernization, while distances become close, the private becomes the public, the hidden becomes the showcased especially by the usage of phones, mobile phones, televisions, computers and the internet, social life was slowly replaced by individual life, and then loneliness. According to statistics, people living in

9 *Özbek,* Kamusal Alanın Sınırları, P. 27.
10 *Yukselbaba,* Habermas ve Kamusal Alan, P. 83.
11 *Onat,* Kamusal Alan Ve Sınırları, P. 28.

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crowded metropolitan areas feel lonelier. In modern urban life, families shrank, social ties were weakened, neighborhood, friendship, companionship relationships unfortunately lost their significance and value, some values were trivialized, and it became inevitable to be lonely among the crowds. Increased individualization in parallel to industrialization and globalization increased the need of social media for individualized people, and the need of individualized people for social media. An adventure of loneliness that started with the invention of radio gained a new group with television, while the internet and then social media created a different form of loneliness by allowing people to establish versatile communication.

One of the most important phenomena of today that lead the individual into loneliness and alienation is social media. Especially the long hours spent on Facebook and Twitter, and conversations had over these channels with close and distant friend, provided the users with a new experience of socialization. It is possible for individuals to participate in intense crowds and versatile communications in public or private places. However, the user of social media is physically lonely anyway.

While societies are increasingly becoming individualized, social movements can start on the other hand, they may reach large masses and find psychological support from foreign countries by crossing the borders of countries. The key point in this dilemma is absolutely social media, because if we consider Occupy Wall Street, Tunisia events that started the Arab Spring, 15M Movement in Spain and Taksim Gezi Park Protests, people received the news via social media and supported these events physically and communicationally with individual decisions. Indeed, although no news pieces were shared about the events on the mainstream media, people started to gain at places such as the Tahrir Square (2010), the Puerto Del Sol Square (2011), Wall Street Zuccotti Park (2011) and Taksim Gezi Park (2013) and organized demonstrations. For example, demonstrations such as 1 May Labor Day and examples that may be provided as mass movements were previously and usually carried out with the support and leadership of unions and civil society organizations. Most importantly, these were planned and announced beforehand. On the other hand, the events mentioned about did not start as union-organized or similar events, but they emerged with people on social media sharing information via text or visuals. In summary, new social movements had no leadership.In other words, they did not occur by the leadership of a political party, civil society organization, union or a leader.

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Groups of individualized people who use social media started a mass movement and gave rise to it, and with new social movements, a public sphere was formed by itself at squares and parks. The main issue here is whether the public sphere has undergone a new structural transformation with social media or not. Today, an individualized type of society emerged with the current economic and social life conditions. The members of this society are frequently following social media and new media and participate directly. Without any organization or prior announcement, they are able to leave their homes, disperse into roads, main streets and squares, and form crowded groups of demonstrators. This presents the equation of social media and its individualized metropolitan user starting mass movements without organization and creating a public sphere afterwards.

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Chapter 1: Public Sphere

The "public sphere"" is the domain of discourse and action as the basis and requirement of democratic politics. In order to understand the concept of the public sphere, it is also necessary to understand the "private sphere" associated with it and which is entirely different in terms of meaning. The concept of the private sphere, like the concept of the public sphere, is based on ancient Greek philosophy and lifestyle. In fact, the two concepts can be clearly understood if they are to be thought as a primitive phrase which means that public sphere is publicly owned (ie the public) and open to everyone's use, however, private sphere lives within the family and is far from foreign eyes. However, the corruption, metamorphosis, isolation where the societies have lived in the historical process, that is to be expressed in this and later parts, caused to extinguish of the clear line between the public sphere and private sphere. According to Arendt, the term "public" can be perceived in two different ways, and Arendt expresses this in the following way: "The first meaning, everything that appears in the public is visible and audible to everyone and has the widest possible openness. Second, it means a world that is common to all of us, belonging to us".[12] Dacheux describes the public sphere in three distinct definitions. In the first place, he declares the public sphere as a place of legitimation, that is, where citizens can debate, recognize political candidates, and collect the necessary information. In the second, it used the expression "place of political community". A symbolic area in which different religious, ethnically-rooted communities concentrate to form a political community. The third is defined as "the stage where politics gains visibility". The area where politicians came up and search for solutions to public problems. In total, he summarizes the public sphere as an open and developing area, not as an institution.[13]

In addition to this, another thing that needs to be known is the misunderstanding of the word "public" in our lay terminology. As mentioned before, in Turkish, the word "public" is used to correspond to communal,

12 *Arendt*, The Human Condition P. 92.
13 *Dacheux*, L'espace Public, P. 21.

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folk or community and its meaning is open to all. In another common use of the term, state and state institutions come directly to mind when public institutions and related institutions or public areas are intented to mentioned. The reason for this is that public properties and public domains are controlled by the state units. However, as Habermas pointed out, the public sphere primarly is formed within the public opinion in our communal living.[14] The word "sphere" in the concept does not exactly point to a certain place, that is there is no appointed place or geographical coordinate. This area is far from individuals' private sphere in an abstract manner and can be anywhere where individuals can freely speak, criticize, and oppose. In this regard, Habermas wrote: In the first place "By the concept of the 'public sphere' we mean an area where something similar to public opinion can be created within our communal living. Access to this area is guaranteed for all participants. In the case of private conversations where private individuals are gathered together as a public body, they become a part of the public sphere".[15] It is expressed as a space between the private sphere, the economy and the state, where the person with the ability to representation can express himself, discussed on the common issues of the society, the ideas are explained and a consensus is created. The public sphere has been widespread in the thought of the Renaissance, has expressed the political community, and has gradually become a special zone of societal. Habermas put forward the concept of the public sphere in 1962. But in the late 1980s it became widespread in Eastern Europe, Soviet and Western capitalist societies. The reason is closely linked to the general social transformations, conflicts and debates of political legitimacy that force the doctrine of public life in these societies.[16] Habermas also stated that with the collapse of the bourgeois liberal publicity, the understanding of the social state was established and also the state and the society were integrated. Changes related to welfare for 10 years as of the beginning of 1980 represent the Western cultural migration, social, economic changes and general confusion for new industrial economies. With the disintegration of the Warsaw Pact in 1989, the Soviet Union announced that they were abandoning their hostility to the western world, thus ending the Cold War. In the same year, the Berlin Wall was abolished. The 1980s were also the

14 *Özbek,* Kamusal Alanın Sınırları, P. 31.
15 *Habermas,* The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere, P. 28.
16 *Özbek,* Ibid, P. 24

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scene of a population explosion that was not even in the 1970s and 1990s. Computers and arcades, tv series, sci-fi cinemas, war films based on heroism, giant corporate organizations with central governments, nuclear reactors, technological items such as sending people to the sky have also become pioneer associations of cultural transformation. One of the most important elements that can not fit between the two commas is the diversity of mass media and access to widespread use. These kinds of diversity in all scientific and political fields are so numerous that the 1980s can be seen as the birth of a new world and cultural life from within the world. This newborn world has completed the transformation of previous societies. In the case of Turkey, as an example Ibrahim Tatlises, Ferdi Tayfur one of the pioneers of arabesque music and style, it can be seen how intense the influence of music industry in the transformation of social structure was in those years. The 1980s have been a decade not only for Europe and the Americas, but for all the other continents as well, for social transformations. In these years, welfare governments have also been established, while societies were trying to enter the welfare period.

It can be said that one of the keys to transformation for the American society for many years is the American heroes-like series of films even the heroism-based war films and U.S.A are ignored. US attempts to invade the Middle Eastern countries through government decisions and efforts to legitimize and justify these attempts have not only been limited to news broadcasts, but have also been supported by movies such as Rambo, and so a kind of residence of their own society and other countries has been taken. One of the established welfare governments, Ronald Reagan goverment, was declared war on Libya, and its election is not as simple a choice as shooting arrows to a board. According to Chomsky; "Libya is a defenseless country, Gaddafi is someone who is hated in one way or another, and he is a kind of bandit. At the same time there is a great wave of anti-Arab racism in America. And the Reagan administration had to create an atmosphere of fear.".[17] We can duplicate similar examples of war-invasion for the United States as Vietnam, Panama and The Gulf War which began in 1980 between Iran and Iraq and continued until the end of 1990 with the participation of countries such as the US, Britain and France. The main consideration here is, as emphasized by Chomsky, "to

17 *Chomsky,* Understanding Power: The Indispensible Chomsky, P. 103.

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create a fear atmosphere". Although efforts to create a "fear society" have begun as an established effort for the people of the United States, this efforts play an active role in defining the US as a great power by most of the people. The Falklands war, which Britain has launched with Argentina, can be remembered from such overseas warfare. The debate surrounding Habermas's public sphere definition, especially after 1980, is due to new ideas and trends emerging from the total of inter-continental and bordering hot and cold battles, technological developments, cultural and social activities in the whole of the world. Instead of criticizing the ruling neo-liberal understanding and raising the state for the purpose of producing alternative policies, a new field of policy production can be achieved, which must be characterized by the conceptualization of the public sphere and its critical nature.

In this way it is possible to bring the emergence of the public sphere definition to Greek antiquity through Hannah Arendt. Arendt's definition of public sphere is as important as the definition of the public sphere expressed by Habermas. In order to understand the public sphere, examine it under today's conditions and what form it is today, it will be necessary to go down to the Greek Police experience and examine its historical development because the basic distinction or paradox starts from beginning of the relationship between private life and public life. The distinction between private life and public life was first revealed by the Ancient Greeks and emerged parallel to the opposition of concepts such as public / private sphere, state / society, citizen / human, political society / civil society. The ideal of public sphere for Arendt is based on the tradition inherited from ancient Greece, which is an ideal organization of citizens with active participation, not a tradition that explains power by domination-submission. The public sphere for Arendt, therefore, is a political field of experience in which the citizen positions himself / herself as an active, self-determined, self-conscious, and most importantly capable of thinking in the place of others. Arendt looked for the real starting point of the public sphere in the Ancient Greek "Police", according to here the police is the criticism of the modern world and have made the public opinion. In the work "The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere" written by Habermans, he has placed bourgeois society at the center of the public sphere. In his preface to the 1990 edition of this work, he broadened his scope and touched upon post-bourgeoisie and the increase in the number of mass media as well as the societies that have started to seek freedom and struggle against censorship.A self-organizing idea that operates through the public communication of gatherd self-consciously united community members must over-

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come the "disintegration" drawn by Böckenförde between the state and society.[18] Nevertheless, according to Habermas in the pre-1990 edition of the book "The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere", the person who could participate in the public sphere in the process of formation of bourgeois society was the household head. Male, merged the roles of household head and property ownership in him own personality, and was accepted because of this roles. Similar situation was pointed out by Arendt. The people who live in the police are the educated and property owners of the society and the public sphere of Ancient Greece is the police. For Arendt, the police is the paradigm of real politics.[19] What Arendt wants to say in this sentence is based on a long critique and examination of Ancient Greece, which will be told in the section of Arendt's Public Sphere Model. It would be wrong, however, to say that Arendt only began to criticize and conceptualize public sphere starting in the field of the police. Especially it would be wrong to link Arendt's expression of "property ownership" to immovables such as houses, land in the present sense. Habermas described the structural transformation in public sphere by following the structural transformations in the police, liberties, politics, democracy, bourgeois and social state in the sequence of historical movements. Also, Habermas has clearly expressed the connection of democracy with the public sphere. Particularly, the end of the Cold War era in Europe, various student movements, unionization, increase in social consciousness and the dissolution of the Soviet Union prepared an atmosphere for the rise of democracy debates and increased the interest in Habermas' public sphere model. However, as mentioned earlier, Oskar Negt and Alexander Kluge also developed an opposite definition of the public sphere and gave it the name "Proletarian Public Sphere" because Habermas placed the bourgeoisie in the center of the public sphere. In order to better understand Habermas' model of public sphere, it is necessary to look at the concepts of civil society and private sphere. Özbek quotes Craig Calhoun's thoughts as follows; the public sphere is a specific area emerging from civil society: a cultural and social organization area that will enable the development of an effective rational-critical discourse aimed at the resolution of political conflicts.[20]

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18 *Habermas,* Further Reflections on the Public Sphere, P. 431.
19 *Onat,* Kamusal Alan Ve Sınırları, P. 21.
20 *Özbek,* Kamusal Alanın Sınırları, P. 27.

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A. Arendt's Approach to the Public Sphere and Agnostic Public Sphere Model

Arendt searched the public sphere in the Agoras of the Greek Antiquity and expresses that the property owner man in the private sphere of the family is emerged from the public sphere and is the building blocks that make up the public sphere. By the term "the rise of the society" mentioned in his work "The State of Humanity", Arendt wants to explain the modern societies divided into a narrow political space and family concept by institutional differentiation and economic market. According to Arendt, the public sphere is an area in which people's differences have emerged and co-exist as interactions, public and political entities. Arendt developed his model of public sphere inspired by the experience of the Ancient Greek "Police" and the Athens Pericles period, the American Revolution, the working class actions of 1848 followed by the revolutionary councils created with the actions of civil society movements in the post 1960 USA.[21] Arendt bases his thought of public sphere on the philosophy of Ancient Greece, Aristotle and the lifestyle of the time, as Onat said. Based on political and social life data in the "Police", it classified human activities as labor, work and action.[22] The place of "Police", which is regarded as public sphere in the broadest sense, is a manifestation place. In ancient Greece, the public sphere was experienced in the city state called Police, and in the Greek cities, places located at the bottom where agricultural activity was done was called "Asti", and the other place where the Greek people gave importance because it was located more superficial and central to politics was called "Police". It has become possible for the people took place in this space to perform the activities that can demonstrate that it is different from other beings as well as other beings in its own kind. While Arendt’s model of public sphere is based on, she has used the distinction and contradiction of the private sphere and public sphere in Police life. The most important distinction between the private and the public sphere is that the man, the householder, has the right to participate in the political world. As Arendt puts it, according to Greek thought, the organizing of man from politics is not only different from this natural unity

21 *Onat,* Kamusal Alan Ve Sınırları, P. 27.
22 *Yukselbaba,* Habermas ve Kamusal Alan, P. 121.

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where the house (okia) and the family take place in the center, but directly opposes it.[23] Aristotle describes the family as a necessary and naturally occurring community to reproduce and to survive.

The most distinctive feature of the public sphere and the private sphere in ancient Greece is sex discrimination. While the woman is a member of the private space, the male is a member of both the public sphere and the private sphere. The dynasty administration, which is a form of organization based on accepted inequality, is based on one-man administration. She has become a part of the private field by undertaking the tasks of reproductive and domestic work. In this respect the private sphere of the household labor were made to resolve the mandatory requirements and is considered to be the domain of activities, such as business. While the male is part of the private space due to his share in the household work, it is also part of the public sphere, including in the market (agora) and other gathering places. What is important is that man's presence in publicly open spaces does not make these places the public sphere that we are trying to describe on our main issue. The situation that makes agoras public is that people (women and slaves outside) can concentrate here and freely express their ideas. The keeping of women and slaves is caused by their inability to enter politics. Participants were free men who lived in the police and had certain rights, but women were free, but not citizens, and slaves; they did not have the citizenship status because they did not have freedom rights. The prerequisite for entry into public sphere was through being citizens. The next condition was that the householder was a man and that he was a good manager at home. He had to protect the power in the male house and use force when necessary. Despite he was known as a defender of freedom and equality, Arendt’s this way of thinking has led her to be critisized. We understand that the most important circumstance here for entering the public sphere- regardless of the fact – is to own a household. A person from the Greek people, who is free and owns the property, could enter the public sphere. The citizen who owns the property could find the time to deal with the problems of the state and the country, since she had women and slaves to do things in private. To repeat a warning in many sources; Being a property owner of Ancient Greece and having wealth understood today are different things. Being a property owner of the present

23 *Arendt,* The Human Condition, P. 24.

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day and acquiring wealth requires protecting it and adding more. However, in order to prevent the individuals from using the public sphpere for personal economic interests, there is enough amount of ownership in ancient Greece.

According to Arendt, which can be regarded as a representative of the agnostic public sphere understanding, the public appears to be the field of excellence, the visibility of humanitarian actions and sharing them with others and the manifestation of one's immortality.[24] Arendt's view of the public sphere is defined by the term "combinatorial" because it occurs wherever and whenever people act together and is a place where freedom can manifest itself. In order for such an area to emerge, people must move together in a free environment for a common purpose, and in doing so they must be in harmony with each other. On the other hand, conveys Arendt's viewpoint based on the public sphere; In the police, the concerns of individual life were overcome, and a political scene was opened. The police were on high, surrounded by high walls, the Acropolis. This position of the police symbolizes the place Arendt wants to see the public sphere. The public sphere for Arendt should be above the sphere that surrounds the modern world. The public sphere must be absolutely protected and free from all pressures. For this reason, she identifies the necessity of keeping the public sphere intellectually above, by establishing Police as high in territorial terms; because the public sphere is an area of independence and freedoms that is acted jointly with pluralist participation as mentioned before. Arendt, however, argues that according to her model of public sphere, wherever the participants can speak and act, they have the possibilities to create the public sphere.[25] Arendt suggests that freedom in the public sphere is also the first to begin in a household, and that it is possible to learn how to struggle with the difficulties experienced by the household.[26]

There are two important dimensions of Arendt's understanding of public sphere, and the first of these has been expressed combinatorially. On the other side, the public sphere is an agnostic which is an area of moral

24 *Köroğlu and Köroğlu,* Classical Public Sphere Models and a General Evaluation on Turkey's Experience of Public Spheres, P. 919.
25 *Onat,* Kamusal Alan Ve Sınırları, P. 28.
26 *Arendt,* The Human Condition, P. 32.

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and political size, heroism and exclusivity that are revealed, shared and exhibited. In the combinatorial model, the agenda is ambiguous. The concerted action of the participants creates a "combinatorial" model. There is no clear explanation here on how the day is to be determined by who.

B. Habermas' Approach to the Public Sphere

According to Habermas, the public sphere is an area in which participants argues about the common issues related to them and criticism, struggle, and negotiation takes place against the enforcement of the state. Habermas' concept of public sphere has made it possible to make a distinction betwee the state apparatuses, the network of economic relations and democratic institutions. Habermas' concept of public sphere provides a solid basis for analysis and political activities necessary for the reconstruction of an appropriate communication and representative democratic system for the present. According to Habermas, modernism was allowed industrial development to meet some of the needs of individuals but the civil society has not been sufficiently democratic because civil society has been separated as a private sphere and the political society has been separated as a public sphere, and democratic demands for the rights and freedoms of individuals have been incomplete.[27] The concept of the public sphere allows us to consider the distinctions necessary for democratic theory. Again, according to Habermas: "Participants behave in the form of a public body only in an unrestricted manner, that is to say, freedom to express, gathering, organize, express their opinions and to publish their opinions about general recourse"[28]

Essentially, Habermas, in his 1961 edition of the book "The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere", constructed the public sphere on the bourgeoisie public. He considered the ideal public sphere to be the bourgeois experience of England, France and Germany in the 18th and 19th centuries. However, in the new edition of 1990, a second and a long preliminary reminder received a renewal in the framework of transforming publicity for thirty years. In this new edition, the public sphere is redefined in the context of power, labor, production, media and cultural trans-

27 *Coskun*, Social Movements and Proletarian Public Sphere, P. 144.
28 *Habermas,* The Public Sphere, P. 198.

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formations. Habermas, in his preface to the 1990 edition of the book "The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere", stated that social reality is a more complex structure in the thirty-year period that has passed and its markers have to be stylized again[29] The work of Habermas focuses on the critical evaluation of the collapse rather than the development of bourgeois publicity, as it points to the transformation of the consumerist society rather than the reasoning of publicity.

The public sphere emerges from civil society and is an area outside the private sphere and the state public in the spatial context. Previously, it was mentioned in the simple sense that the private sphere is a confidental space created by family members. Civil society, on the other hand, is defined by Özbek based on Wood: "Civil society is certainly outside the public sphere of the state and sometimes outside the private or public sphere. Also, it is a network of human relations and activity area with its own unique labor force and economic network".[30] Marx defined civil society as the domain of economic relations. The fact that civil society is out of private sphere due to being far from the state public and theirs' opposition leads to the mention of civil society and public sphere concepts together. Habermasian public sphere is a area in which communication with the state and also critiques against the state takes place for civil society. Civil society is an organized community based on law, independent from the state, autonomous and on the basis of volunteerism. This community is in the labor-work cycle that maintains its existence in the public sphere. It is outside the political domain of the state, but it criticizes the politics of the state. Habermas indicates some points in public sphere conceptualization such as publicity, being open to everyone, having responsibility to society, private and common benefits. According to this idea, the authority that created within the public sphere must be absolutely rational and legitimate. This idea means that the sub-other groups have opposed the rhetoric of the authority and must move to a wider public sphere in case of thinking that they have changed or destroyed them.

Habermas, like Arendt, has turned to the concept of the public sphere that centered on the private sphere, and Habermas seeks the reasons for the collapse of the public sphere in the structural transformation of the relationship between the public sphere and the private sphere; because the

29 *Habermas,* Further Reflections on the Public Sphere, P. 423.
30 *Özbek,* Kamusal Alanın Sınırları, P. 24.

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private space represented by the family is a field that preserves privacy and has normative values. This area is free from all social coercion, repression and violence. In the 1961 edition of "The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere", Haberman searched the roots of the bourgeois public sphere in the private sphere. According to Habermas, "In the bourgeois society, the public reveals itself in by means of private individuals who first come together as public societies".[31] Because private individuals maintain a stance against the rules of labor and trade that the state legislates for public. Habermas, like Arendt, supported the involvement of the property owner household head in the public sphere. Habermas, like Arendt, supported the involvement of the property owner household head to the public sphere. In some critical texts both cases, the bourgeoisie orientation and masculine management, have been criticized extensively. But it is important to remember that the differences between the concept of class management and male-domination before and after the 60s and the concept of male-domination which has continued since 1990s. Habermas also expressed that, although he shared ideas with Arendt, it is not necessary to go down to Ancient Greece. Habermas thinks that actors are involved in the public sphere with abstract identities and escaping from all kinds of partiality and status. Thus, on the basis of this principle, it can not be mentioned about the publicity in pre-modern times. The most important reason for this is the feudal domination in the Middle Ages and the feudal nature of the public sphere. The most concrete example is the "public" word is used synonymously with the "publicus" in the meaning of "domination, ruling" in the medieval edicts, and "to confiscate for the ruling" was expressed as "publicare".[32] Although the churches could be thought of as the public sphere, the priest who was the leader of the church met the demands of the feudal lords, that is, the churches addressed and managed their congregations under the decentralisation. After the Middle Ages, the concept of public sphere and public opinion first emerged in the 18th century. Nevertheless, the concept was used ifor the first time two centuries ago by Montaigne in 1588 and it refers to "l'opinion publique" in French.[33] The word "kamuoyu (public opinion)" in Turkish was formed by the use

31 *Habermas,* The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere, P. 27.
32 *Yukselbaba,* Habermas ve Kamusal Alan, P. 62.
33 *Yuksel*, "Forming Public Opinion" and "Agenda-Setting" Concepts Where Do They Cross, Where Do They Separate?, P. 573.

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of "opinion" in English and French and the use of "opinion" as "public opinion" in Latin. According to Habermas, the development of the "public opinion" which is associated with the reasoning of a public community with the ability to decide "opinion" in the late 18th century. According to Habermas, the development of "public opinion", which is associated with reasoning of a public community with ability to decide, from "opinion" in the late 18th century has not had a straight line.[34] Because while public opinion can be formed under a democratic and libertarian state power, it can also take place in the shadow of totalitarian and repressive state. In both cases, shaping of public opinion and finding a direction will be in the opposite directions. According to Bektas, public opinion that far from repression is the product of an environment in which ideas, opinions can freely spread and be discussed, and can be realized in a legal system in which all fundamental rights and freedoms are provided especially communication and expression rights.[35] Protection of the principle of publicity is necessary for the existence of democracy with respect to Habermas's conclusion in his "The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere" study. Habermas, thus, provided a decisive momentum for debate about public sphere and democratization of civil society, and helped to create productive debates for public sphere and democracy at the normative level. The demand for democratization is the basis of social movements that rise outside the economic sphere and rise with the civil society, and criticizing a persistent mistake done by the state.

C. Negt and Kluge's Approach to the Public Sphere

Oskar Negt's and Alexander Kluge's approach to public sphere is based on the working class. They have a sense of the world from a Marxist point of view and have made evaluations in this direction. They have improved the proletarian public sphere model. They have endeavoured to take the public sphere from the bourgeoisie in the liberal system and hand it in to the

34 *Habermas*, The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere, P. 90.

35 *Yuksel*, "Forming Public Opinion" and "Agenda-Setting" Concepts Where Do They Cross, Where Do They Separate?, P. 573.

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working class. Because, according to them, it is the task of the proletariat to state an opinion over the cycle of labor, profit and production relations and to govern political life with demands.

Negt and Kluge divide the public sphere into three: 1. Dominant political public sphere, this issue will be examined under its own title. 2. The alternative public sphere derives from the words and actions that try to solve the problems arising from globalization in the nation-states in favor of the oppressed. The alternative public sphere is out-of-class, but it can be party to class relations with its opposition to inequality and domination and it can give democratic struggles in this sphere. Counter public sphere is the being created by anti-capitalist, collective and constitutive political words and actions on the basis of class struggle rising on labor-capital contradiction. Counter public sphere is opposed to bourgeois public sphere. This sphere creates relationships of contrast and collective solidarity as a result of marginalization and exclusion of bourgeois public sphere.

Negt and Kluge's definition of the public sphere and the discourse they develop within this definition have an important place as they include a different theory and practice than class expressions like Habermas and Arendt's property ownership. While Negt and Kluge described the public sphere, they came out of the bourgeois public discourse of Habermas in particular. In the book titled "Public Sphere and Experience: Toward an Analysis of the Bourgeois and Proletarian Public Sphere" written by Miriam Hansen, whose studies were related to public sphere, they have addressed the problems of structural change of public sphere and mass media, media cartelization, and organization of working class in the communicative dimension. The introduction and preface of the study was translated and published in the book titled Public Sphere, which is authored and edited by Meral Özbek.

Just as Habermas's "The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere", published in 1962, was re-read and discussed after 1980, Negt and Kluge's "Public Sphere and Experience" published in 1972 were read and discussed again after the 1980s. Both studies are important for comparative reading and analysis. According to Özbek, firstly, a critical dialogue was introduced especially in the context of democracy and public culture after Habermas' and than Negt and Kluge's public sphere model.[36]

36 *Özbek*, Kamusal Alanın Sınırları, P. 10.

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Negt and Kluge provided a historical analysis of the borders of bourgeois public sphere and made the premise of the concept of "counterpublics".[37] Negt and Kluge has provided a historical analysis of the borders of the bourgeois public sphere and pioneered to the concept of "counter public".[38] Whilst Negt and Kluge put forth the counter public, they were referring to Habermas' public sphere model and critically approaching it. According to Yukselbaba, publics that are 'competitors' with the bourgeois public sphere take place in counter public sphere such as nationalist public, popular village public, female public, working class public.[39] The question that Negt and Kluge have directed at the beginning of their work, -could there be any kind of counter public sphere models that could be effective against bourgeois public sphere? - formed the basis of their work.[40] In can be concluded from here, public sphere of Habermas also involves a common statemen with Negt and Kluge's counter public sphere which describes a combined area of discourse where opinions can be freely communicated and where they can express themselves. However, concept of counter public sphere is contrary to public sphere of Habermas and to liberal world. "In their work 'Public Sphere and Experience', Negt and Kluge first dwelled on proletarian public sphere as counter public sphere. Second purpose of this work has been to find out the potential of advanced capitalist countries in creating counter public sphere."[41] The concept of counter public, in a concurrent response with bourgeois and industrial-capitalist publicity, addreses a modern phenomenon in a certain way".[42] Counter public can be briefly summarized by Negt and Kluge as the state of dissent. According to Negt and Kluge, progressive content with ideas and rhetoric based on counter public sphere, opposing virtual united elements, public sphere and public power can not develop effective weapons. In this case, when compared with public power relations, the compensation of classical bourgeois public space becomes increasingly ineffective.

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37 *Negt,* The Production of Counter-Publics and the Counter-Publics Of Production, P. 1.

38 *Negt,* Ibid, P. 1.

39 *Yükselbaba,* Habermas ve Kamusal Alan, P. 156.

40 *Negt and Kluge*, Public Sphere and Experience: Toward an Analysis of the Bourgeois and Proletarian Public Sphere, P. XLIII.

41 *Yükselbaba*, Ibid, P. 157.

42 *Hansen,* Public Sphere and Experience: Toward an Analysis of the Bourgeois and Proletarian Public Sphere, P. XXXVI.

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The antidote to the production of the virtual public sphare is only the counter-products of proletarian public sphere, the opposition to the idea, the opposition to the product, the production sector that is opposed to the production sector. It is impossible to conceive it in any other way, but constantly changing forms that have fluctuations in between social power, capitalist production, virtual public sphere, and the monopoly of public power.[43] In this vein, the advanced stage of counter public sphere idea is defined as the proletarian public sphere.

D. *Types of Public Spheres*

Since the main objective of the book is primarily to reveal the path of the virtual public sphere that has formed in the digital environment, three important types of public sphere will be emphasized. As new social movements include political discourses and dissident politicians support these movements, it is possible that to talk about some kind of public sphere is formed no matter how the events begin. Although it will not provide exact identity, it will be beneficial to understand other types of public spheres that are essential when talking about virtual/cyber public sphere. Whatever the divergent points are, the most important point is that all types of public spheres to be examined have a stance of being dissent. The belief that people can govern their democratic rights, such as struggling with the oppression of the ruling forces over society, freely criticizing and opposing the wrong decisions of rulings, is existing in all three types of public spaces. In addition, there is a definition of a sphere that is common to the all public spheres mentioned, that is, being free from all kinds of profits, independent of the authority and commandments of the state authority and capital sovereignty.

I. Bourgeois Public Sphere

The bourgeois public sphere, or in other words the liberal public sphere, emerged chronologically in England and later in Germany and France. In

43 *Negt and Kluge,* Public Sphere and Experience: Toward an Analysis of the Bourgeois and Proletarian Public Sphere, P. 79.

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the UK, the bourgeoise gathered in places such as coffeehouses, salons and associations. The transformation of their conversations from literature to politics played a role in the emergence of the bourgeois public sphere. This created a new world of "political sociability".[44] The public community producing political thought first found a space for itself at special meetings of the bourgeoisie.[45] The reason behind the late emergence in France is that the French dynasty prohibited places like coffeehouses and people's discussions about politics. Until the French Revolution... Three years after the beginning of the French Revolution, the public community that produced political thought saw the acceptance and approval because of its public criticism function as a result of Fox's speech in the House of Commons.[46] This was followed by the freedom to coexist in cafes and parks, to discourse and criticize the state. Although we are talking about a spatial situation here, it is wrong to think of the public sphere in the physical context; because it is an abstract public sphere that is at the level of the idea of the public sphere that interests us.

Habermas indicates that in the 1990 preface of his book "The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere" the book's first goal is to describe the ideal type of the bourgeoisie publicity, starting from the historical context of the developments of England, France and Germany in the 18th and early 19th centuries.[47] "The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere" is a critical work for expressing the emergence, transformation and disintegration of the bourgeois public sphere. The book has two basic analysis of the historical origins of the strong positions of economic union of rising state capitalism, cultural industries and increasingly gigantic corporations in public life and the bourgeois public based on the definition of the structural position of the public sphere.[48] According to Habermas, the discursive nature of the critique of the bourgeois public sphere reveal itself in three forms as an mediator between the state and society: (a) absolutist state criticism, (b) democratic state criticism, and (c) public sphere

44 *Yükselbaba,* Habermas ve Kamusal Alan, P. 69.
45 *Habermas,* The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere, P. 72.
46 *Habermas,* Ibid, P. 65.
47 *Habermas,* Further Reflections on the Public Sphere, P. 422.
48 *Kellner,* Habermas, The Public Sphere and Democracy: A Critical Intervention, P. 261.

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criticism.[49] The idea of public sphere is the gathering of private persons tı discuss about public concern or common interests in reference to Habermas.[50] In early modern Europe, with this idea, the allocation of the "bourgeois public sphere" has gained strength and reality predominantly against the absolutist states. The bourgeois concept in the public sphere was based on a social order distinguished by a new market economy that denationalised the state sharply. The bourgeois public sphere functions as a mediator of public opinion between the state and society.[51] This clear distinction between society and the state excluded private interests as a form that underpins social negotiations. After the democratic revolutions, Habermas put forward that the bourgeois public sphere institutionalized constitutional orders that these constitutional orders were guaranteed by means of broad political rights, a judicial system was created which mediated between various individuals or groups or between individuals, groups and government.[52]

The bourgeois public sphere has normative certainty, and it stems from the fact that it has liberatory potential. Of course, this bourgeois public sphere does not suggest that social co-operation and human liberation are idealized as an intact sphere.[53] Most importantly, the bourgeois public sphere is not an open field, and is open only to the bourgeois class. The bourgeois class did not differ from other classes just only by their economic structures. The most important thing that gives them the distinctive identity, bourgeois class identity, is being an intellectual. While characterizing the bourgeois public sphere, Habermas was limited to "public benefit" and excluded "private interests" from the debate.[54] Habermas's dialectic was to mediate the bourgeois public sphere that began to appear around the 1700s, the individual's family, economic and social life contradiction, and the demands and concerns of social and public life.[55]

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49 *Susen,* Critical Notes on Habermas's Theory of the Public Sphere, P. 45.
50 *Fraser,* Rethinking the Public Sphere: A Contribution to the Critique of Actually Existing Democracy, P. 58.
51 *Yukselbaba,* Habermas ve Kamusal Alan, P. 68.
52 *Kellner,* Habermas, The Public Sphere, and Democracy: A Critical Intervention, P. 264.
53 *Susen,* Ibid, P. 45.
54 *Fraser,* Ibid, P. 129.
55 *Kellner,* Ibid, P. 263.

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While Habermas idealized the bourgeois public sphere, he concentrated on the triangle consisted of society, bourgeois and dynasty that lived after the Renaissance. However, after industrialization and capitalist economic developments since the 18th century, the bourgeois public sphere has collapsed and the ideal structure has deteriorated. Because industrialization has wiped out the clear line separating the public sphere from the private sphere, causing both fields to mix. The "economy" within the duty of the householder until the 17th century has begun to gain modern meaning in the practice of commercial enterprises which can now be held in accordance with the laws of profitability. Modern economy has no longer focused on Oikos (household - dwelling). Marketplace has taken the place of the household and the economy has turned into a trade science. The foundation of this situation, which brought about the collapse of representative institutions, was formed by commercial relations in the 16th century.[56] In another case, Habermas gave the bourgeois class all the political criticism and the right to publicize which did not involve other classes in the idealization process.

II. Proletarian Public Sphere

The concept of the proletarian public sphere was introduced by Negt and Kluge as a counter public sphere theory. Oskar Negt and Alexander Kluge's (1993) conceptualization of "proletarian counter public sphere" did not receive much attention. Despite the fact that his work was published in German in 1972, full text of the study in English was published in 1993. At the very beginning of Negt and Kluge's study, they have stated that all forms of public sphere must be examined around the question of "how the working class can benefit from this sphere" and "what interests of the dominant classes can be sustained through public sphere". This sphere has been developed in response to the view of Habermasian bourgeois public sphere and has brought a new perspective to the public sphere. Despite the fact that bourgeoisie was the first who provided the first action in the public sphere, for the second time public sphere has be-

56 *Köroğlu and Köroğlu,* Classical Public Sphere Models and a General Evaluation on Turkey's Experience of Public Spheres, P. 916.

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come the struggle of the oppressed working class under the dominance of bourgeoisie.

According to Negt and Kluge, since the proletarian public sphere can not exist as a dominant public sphere under given conditions, it must be established from crisis situations and from historical crises such as war, revolt, submission, revolution and counter-revolution. According to Özbek's translation, "the weakness inherent in almost all forms of bourgeois public sphere arises from this contradictory: they think that they represent society as a whole, even though it excludes the actual existent, essential elements of bourgeois public sphere and the real life interests. However, is eventually obliged to become allied with more tangible interests of capitalist production owing to the fact that the basis of bourgeois public sphere does not sit well on these essential elements and real life interests".[57] The main importance of proletarian public sphere approach lies in both creating opposition to the organized interests of the bourgeois public sphere and enabling alliances that can be established between old and new social movements. Habermas has limited his study to the predominant features of bourgeois public sphere, proletariat and public activity, which are expressed as counter public sphere, were almost ignored. According to Habermas, "the proletariat is described as a category of social assistance with pure negativity in terms of social positions in bourgeois society".[58]

According to Negt and Kluge; in order to create a proletarian public sphere -the first form is a counter public sphere-, it is necessary to work together with three factors (a) interests of the producer class should be the driving force; (b) it should be possible to establish a relationship environment, which, as a whole, relates to the specific interests of the production sector and society; (c) obstruction and destructive effects that spread in a fragmented bourgeois public sphere should not be destructive during the development of a proletarian public sphere.[59] For Negt and Kluge, the distinction between dead and living labor is of great importance; according to Negt, labor is a historical category and not an anthropological category, that is, labor of workers in developed industrial societies refers to general labor, because science and technology applied to production eliminate in

57 *Negt and Kluge*, Public Sphere and Experience: Toward an Analysis of the Bourgeois and Proletarian Public Sphere, P. XLVI.

58 *Habermas,* The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere, P. 122.

59 *Negt and Kluge,* Ibid, P. 91.

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dividuals by effacing the labor requires skill, removes the efficiency of workers who monitor the system and becomes the official manager of the machine. For the development of proletarian public sphere, it is necessary to use bourgeois organizational forms that prevent real proletarian interests and experiences. This inhibition leads to intensification in a special phase of proletarian public sphere. The elements to be separated from the bourgeois public sphere are external forms of organization such as workers' associations and labor unions. The articulation of proletarian public sphere begins with the use of bourgeois society's language and culture to exemplify the bourgeois family model since the marriage of the workers. Negt and Kluge have objected to the fact that public sphere is presented to a limited group like bourgeois class; because of the fact that according to them, the place where the real producer and consumption rate is most experienced is the working class. They want to transfer the entrance of public spare from the educated bourgeoisie to the working class. They have based their work on Marxist ideas. Especially the power of the capital and the ability to direct the media and state organs of those who hold the capital have changed the position of the bourgeois in public. In this position, Habermas argued that the "bourgeois class, creates a boundary in front of the domination of the state in the public domain" principle has been blurred. In order to express the proletarian public sphere more clearly, we will compile a translation from Negt and Kluge's study "Public Sphere and Experience: Toward an Analysis of the Bourgeois and Proletarian Public Sphere";[60]

The working mechanism in the production and reproduction of the bourgeois public sphere can only be described after the character mask of personification of the bourgeois capital has been examined in relation to the public sphere. This interest can be explained as follows;

1. The form of bourgeois production should express itself as a social order related to public. This is *"founder public sphere"*. The political execution of bourgeois order can not be under considerable control by the separation of all forces or during the procedural rules. Economic power relations that bourgeois production has in the field of non-public production constitute extra economic power associations. Likewise, founder pub-

60 *Negt and Kluge,* Public Sphere and Experience: Toward an Analysis of the Bourgeois and Proletarian Public Sphere, PP. 91, 92, 93, 94.

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lic sphere towards this establishment of public sphere, all purely removes all personal barriers, privileges, special rights, genes and features.

2. *Public sphere as a form of organizing the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie.* The code of this organizational network, legitimacy, restriction, the procedural rules and division of powers which impedes political public sphere once established, it nullifies the rule of bourgeois production.

3. *Public sphere as the imaginary synthesis of all of society.* Power of the lower social groups seen in founder public sphere does not need to be compensated. "The dictatorship of the bourgeoisie" is not the rejection of all public sphere and sociality. This aspect of public sphere has a collective will management, which implies the whole world with the illusion of participation in the name of all members of society. This is one of the bases of social teaching.

4. *Public sphere as a form of expressing the values of use determined by the bourgeoisie.* Real human beings are occupied with values of use at every stage of the construction and deterioration of this public sphere created in bourgeois and post-bourgeois public spheres. These are the forms of social relationships and intellectual structures that contain human needs which are effective in producing human relationships.

The proclamation of existence of antagonist public does not mean the blessing of civil society or pluralism. On the contrary, it means defending the existence of public spheres that have formed under the conditions of dominance, and thus creation of the conditions to fight against the domination of bourgeois public sphere.

III. Political Public Sphere

The political public sphere is the field of, historically and in principle, democratic opposition that critically controls and transforms the arbitrary and repressive power concentrated through the state apparatus". Institutionalization of the educated public sphere into a political public sphere took place thanks to the coffeehouses in London and its surroundings, which numbered more than three thouhand in the 18th century in England. They have expressed the public sphere in which the dominant class power exists as the dominant political public sphere. Negt and Kluge define dominant political public sphere (national and supranational levels) as an area containing complex structures and means where social struggles are contolled to ensure the reproduction of the system (exploitation and domination). The dominant public sphere emerges as a result of articulating the

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tensions between the weakening bourgeois public sphere and the strengthening industrial-commercial sphere. Negt and Kluge point to the working class as the dominant class. However, in order for the political public sphere to be formed, democracy must be valid in principle. Because, the opposition can have the ability to criticize and interpret against dominant power under democratic conditions. Under appropriate democratic conditions, the dominant class (working class) can form the political public sphere by showing a stand against dominant power and directing politics. Based on the expression of the Özbek, this tense area can be expressed as the area of the opposition. On the other hand, it is not wrong to include the civil society, which is the owner of the critical area of society, in the political public sphere. In this case, the political public sphere could create a "public opinion" within its own body if it would be able to depend on the democratic demand related to openness of the information about goings-on of the society and by this way, if it could have an impact on governance through legislative bodies. If so, it could create a public opinion from within its own community and it would be able to fulfill its task of criticizing and controlling it in an informal way (and formal way in the electoral period) against the organized dominant structure of state in the form of the public stance formed by the participants. The political public sphere created by the multiple functions of coffeehouses has the potential to provide a critical atmosphere at some point as Habermas built for the European environment in the 17th and 18th centuries.[61] This potential is in the field of civil society, which is far from the network of civilian economic relations. Habermas defines the political public sphere in this framework in at least two processes that cross each other: On the one hand, the communicative formation and development of legitimate power, on the other hand, the propagation of directing effect of media power in order to provide mass loyalty, consumer demand and obeisance to system's demands.[62] The political public sphere will become more important in the case of the instru

61 *Eşitti and Işık,* Assessment of The Uzbek Village Quarry Action in The Context of Habermas's Public Space Conception, p.37.

62 *Kejanlıoğlu,* Medya Calismalarinda Kamusal Alan Kavrami, P. 692.

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mentalization or politicization of the above-mentioned powers separation principle and the consolidation of the judicial organ by the mechanisms of controlling, limiting and braking political power through the efficiency of the rule of law according to the principle. When the classical state-civil society distinction of liberalism is examined, it is observed that the state sphere is the political public sphere. Political public sphere can only exist with citizen identity. All the differences and identities that can not be moved into the political sphere are manifested themselves within the civil society that exists between the state and the family. Habermas formulate the political public sphere in a different way. Civil society is definen as a political public sphere in which the subjects interact, negotiate and consensus take place over these.

E. Opposition of the Public Sphere - Private Sphere

Location is important in comparing public sphere and private sphere. While public sphere does not require a certain geographical coordination, private sphere is mainly hidden in the privacy of the dynasty. Outside the household, there is a special dimension of communication between people. Arendt has stood with more on the divides between private and public sphere, while Habermas, Negt and Kluge often talk about the confusion of private and public sphere and emerging new forms. For this reason we will more often address Arendt's descriptions of public and private spheres.

The architectural approach to the construction of houses, the narrative structure and content of paintings, narrative styles of statues in the sculpture and many other artifacts can make or separate the distinction between public and private spheres. As an example of this, Habermas stated that between the 16th and the 17th centuries the borders between public and private spheres have become more evident resulting from changing architectural forms of the houses of bourgeois living in the English countryside. The courtyard has been moved from the middle of the house to the rear facade, a room for each family member has been planned and living rooms have been shrunk and closed the door to the large family structure.[63] According to Habermas, this situation; has removed the distinction between

63 *Habermas,* The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere, PP. 44-45.

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public sphere and private sphere when compared with the extended family structure and unveiled life a few centuries ago.[64] Despite not specifying a clear date, according to Arendt, the fading of the imaginary line that separates public sphere and private sphere is based on the social structure which has been rooted in the birth of the modern age and formed by the understanding of national state.[65] The lifestyle of this social structure has lifted the distinction between private and public sphere. Arendt, as mentioned earlier, found the best of the public sphere in the Ancient Greek Police two thousand years ago, as Habermas found it in the 17th century. The dynamics of Police have made it the social structure in which the private sphere (Oikos) separated most prominently from public sphere (Koiné). The decisive common factor in public sphere and private sphere is male household head. As mentioned before, only free participants who are property owners were able to enter public sphere, in other words to the political life sphere. Freedom means that the individual has independence from work and labor, and has the convenience of taking action. Citizens, who are free, proprietors and males, had dominant roles in public sphere. Basically, this practice also implies that public sphere and private sphere were separated by gender identity. In a similar vein, Polat wrote: "Traditionally in many cultures, domination of men in public spheres has led to the creation of areas that are unique to men."[66] The agora, where political activities and general exchanges of free participants were made, was the place to spend time. Households outside the common areas were representatives of private sphere; because the house is a private area. Public sphere represents intellectuality and visibility, and private sphere represents darkness and privacy. It is bright and visible; because, as expressed in public sphere "place" is a concrete place, so agora. It is the field of action of political life. In private sphere there are obligations and necessities such as reproduction and. Experiences of love, suffering, peace or unrest of the houshold remain hidden there, do not come to light. Harmony and clear separation between the two areas ensured freedom and stability. However, emergence of the political economy leads to the separation of economy and politics and the relationship between public and private were also subject to a difference in nature. This situation began to express the

64 *Habermas,* The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere, P.44.
65 *Arendt,* The Human Condition, P. 25.
66 *Polat,* Gender and Venue: Male Coffeehouses, P. 147.

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relations between unequal constituents of the political society. Labor provided for human needs expresses private sphere and has begun to break away from political structure which also means liberties. Freedom for Arendt is handled in connection with the action of an individual in political field.[67] As the public and private inhabitants began to become collective, problems in private sphere began to move towards public sphere. For example, 20th provision of the constitutional law of the Republic of Turkey "A. Confidentiality of Private Life: Everyone has the right to ask for respect for his private life and family life. Confidentiality of private life and family life can not be touched"[68]

Early liberal theorists such as Hobbes and Locke defended that the difference between public sphere which also refers to the socially constructed area of power and oppression that sphere of political liberty and private sphere which is a natural liberty without pressure and power can only be protected by the people themselves. They also stated that freedom of a person depends on his own will. The private sphere is a natural place for people to involve. It is based on continuing life and preserving it without political activities.[69] This area is dominated by a basic job sharing, men

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67 *Onat,* Kamusal Alan Ve Sınırları, P. 55.

68 *Article 20 of the Turkish Constitution:* ARTICLE 20- Everyone has the right to demand respect for his/her private and family life. Privacy of private or family life shall not be violated. (Sentence repealed on May 3, 2001; Act No. 4709)
(As amended on October 3, 2001; Act No. 4709) Unless there exists a decision duly given by a judge on one or several of the grounds of national security, public order, prevention of crime, protection of public health and public morals, or protection of the rights and freedoms of others, or unless there exists a written order of an agency authorized by law, in cases where delay is prejudicial, again on the above-mentioned grounds, neither the person, nor the private papers, nor belongings of an individual shall be searched nor shall they be seized. The decision of the competent authority shall be submitted for the approval of the judge having jurisdiction within twenty-four hours. The judge shall announce his decision within forty-eight hours from the time of seizure; otherwise, seizure shall automatically be lifted. 10 (Paragraph added on September 12, 2010; Act No. 5982) Everyone has the right to request the protection of his/her personal data. This right includes being informed of, having access to and requesting the correction and deletion of his/her personal data, and to be informed whether these are used in consistency with envisaged objectives. Personal data can be processed only in cases envisaged by law or by the person's explicit consent. The principles and procedures regarding the protection of personal data shall be laid down in law.

69 *Onat,* Ibid, P. 29.

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provide shelter, food and security, while women provide custody. For Arendt, this change of form in private sphere was related to the political and economic changes in public sphere. Habermas supported this idea due to the fact that communication technologies in the public sphere have the effectiveness and disclosure power on people's private lives. According to the thought of Negt and Kluge, the traditional public sphere is based on the characteristic weakness of the exclusion mechanism between public and private spheres, and today the realm tends to interlink production, production process and life especially in industrialized common areas.[70] Negt and Kluge have interpreted this as a form developed for the non-bourgeois public to stay away from bourgeois public sphere. They stated that the working class is the true owner of the real public sphere. However, this form interferes with the private spheres of the working class and distances them from the difference of private and public spheres. For Negt and Kluge, especially the 18th and 19th centuries, it is a period in which the private sphere of the working class begins to be deliberately intervened. According to them; 18th and 19th century capitalism; When it comes to the simple evaluation of labor power, the consciousness industry focuses on evaluating a person's libidinal activities, their own consciousness and fantasies in private sphere.[71]

In the self-criticism of the needs of the bourgeois society; it is not in practice, but ideologically present, to grow up in the private place of marriage with the experiences affection, freedom, and closeness that produce humanity.[72] In the light of the emerging views, Weintraub divides the basic ways of separating the public and the private into four models in social and political analysis. These are: The liberal economist model, republican virtue model, social interaction model and lastly feminist model. In the liberal model, the distinction between public and private is based on the state's efficiency and market economy. This distinction has the use most commonly in contemporary political analyzes of public and in eve

70 *Negt and Kluge,* Public Sphere and Experience: Toward an Analysis of the Bourgeois and Proletarian Public Sphere, P. 12.

71 *Negt and Kluge,* Ibid, P. 183.

72 *Johnson,* Habermas, Rescuing The Public Sphere, P. 26.

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ryday debates which are both legal and political.[73] In this model, public sphere is kept equal to sphere of the state administration while the private domain is kept equal to sphere of the market economy. The Republican virtue model is based on the Ancient Greek Police which has been stated by Arendt as public sphere. In this model, public sphere, sphere of political community and the free entrepreneurs are equivalent. In the same model, politics, debate, negotiation, collective decision making and social movements are kept equivalent too. Private sphere is the sphere of only the family and the economy by remaining out of political sphere. In the model of Social Interaction, all elements of social life are considered as public sphere, while private sphere is defined as confidentiality. The main social connections is considered as proximity, compassion, trust, romantic love, sexuality, love and friendship.[74] Finally, in the feminist model, while drawing a line between family (household), market economy and political sphere as a private-confidential sphere, public sphere is regarded as out-of-home and the public-private distinction is based on gender discrimination.[75] Also in this model, household is clearly excluded from public sphere.

F. Public Sphere and Mass Media

The number of newspapers and journals has increased in the 18th century and has become politicized with this increase, and the area of criticism and interpretation of the activities of state institutions in the bourgeois public space has expanded further. This politization has increased the effectiveness of literary mass media in the public sphere. The increase in the effectiveness of literary mass media in the public sphere allows for a dialogue between the public and the state. It has been the pioneer of mass media in the formation of a public dialogue about public events. When consider a large public sphere, the need for special tools to transfer information for communication and to influence the audience is gaining importance. Today, tools that provide such communication within the public sphere are

73 *Özbek,* Kamusal Alanın Sınırları, P. 44.
74 *Köroğlu,* Facebook as a Marketing Communication Medium: a Comparative Analysis of Advertising and Electronic Word of Mouth Messages, P. 452.
75 *Özbek,* Ibid, P. 46.

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traditionally consist of media, newspapers-journals and radio-televisions. Also nowadays, the means of providing such information flow within the public sphere are written and visual media; newspapers, magazines, radio, television, and today's alternative media; social media, blogs, and online publishing. In the period when the idea of public sphere was first adopted, the press became an important public sphere tool for publishing. Political newspapers, especially published daily, play an important role in the flow of political and everyday information to the public. But the fact that the newspapers have started to publish the politics and propaganda of the political parties consciously instead of publishing the news objectively, led to produce ideas that guide the public opinion apart from gathering and publishing news. At this point, the press has given itself a new function, lost its role as an institution that collects and publishes news, and has become a political forum for participants to follow. Reconstruction and institutionalization of journalism in this way led to a political transformation in mass media. The presentation of political and private interests in the form of bombardment to the followers has also transformed the public sphere itself. In this regard, mass media has become an important tool for influencing and directing masses in the formation and transformation of the public sphere. When the 20th century came, literary mass media left their places to cinema, radio and television. These tools, which are more audio-visual, have taken the role of mediater by carrying the public sphere to the private sphere. New mass media based on mutual interaction have also been influential in the shaping of societies and the emergence of a new form of socialization. According to Curran, media institutions that allow people to discover how other people with different experiences, perspectives, and cultures live on different conditions caused the development of empathy and understanding. What changes the public sphere in a broader sense is the holistic result of the growing role of democratization and media, and this contemporary public sphere can not be normatively separated from the role of the media.[76] According to Habermas, the media is ruinning communicative competence, because Habermas talked about the existence of a single type of public sphere, ignoring other public sphere. Wolton, however, refers to Mediatic Public Sphere and expresses that this is one of the symbolic places where the distinctive contradictions of con-

76 *Wolton*, Les Contradictions de L'espace Public Médiatisé, P. 95.

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temporary societies are governed.[77] The various functions of the media (such as cultural and democratization) support the public sphere and contribute to its development. Unless it is not taken into consideration that media causes cultural erosion, especially television has an important place in the propagation and adoption of mass culture. This is also true for political culture. Things that take place in the public sphere are moved to the private sphere through this function. From mass media, every program broadcasted on the TV, from news to entertainment programs, initiates a public dialogue with various values and perspectives within it. Socialization, an important task of mass media, supports the socialization of the individual in society and accelerates the socialization process. Therefore, the individual can be more easily adapted to the general rules of society and the life of society. It also gives the opportunity to acquire a broader range of social feelings and behaviors via mass media instead of acquiring them from their limited environment. According to Lazar, socialization involves a social process in which individuals internalize the rules, concepts and values of the society they belong to.[78]

The mass media also play an important role in creating a general interest in politics and public issues. The political information that the mass media put forward gives direction to the debates in terms of the public problems and these debates pave the way for more information. Technological developments spatially and temporally shortened distances to reach vast audiences.

Technological advances have made information accessible to the audiences quickly- the most important development in this regard is the live broadcasting. Internet technology, which has been emphasized as a new media, has made it possible to spread information at a rapid pace and to be multifaceted in communication unlike traditional media tools. The television conveys the private developments to the public sphere and allows public sphere discussions in private sphere. While the things occur in the public sphere are transported to the private sphere through the internet and social media, the things take place in the private sphere are carried to the public sphere with via sharings.

The transmission of mass media from the public sphere to the private sphere triggered the formation of a "mediatic public domain" according to

77 *Wolton*, Les Contradictions de L'espace Public Médiatisé, P. 97.
78 *Lazar,* La Science de la Communication, P. 69.

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Dacheux. According to him, the mediatic public sphere is a field in which print media and audiovisual media play a significant role about information and communication.[79] Mass media not only spread information but also enter into the field of politics and produce information. Unlike all other forms of public sphere, except the virtual public sphere, the mediatic public sphere in Dacheux's statement forms in the media and gets into the private sphere from there. Particularly, since it enters the private sphere of the family, the mediatic public sphere must adhere to the public interest, like other public spheres. Public interest is related to the balance between public and private media, general media and thematic media. This is, quite rightly, necessary to avoid the enormous imbalances of communication that take place in the public sphere.[80] The concept of the public sphere and the mediatic public sphere and the civil society relation provide a conventional public unity. The conventions provided by this unity become devices that serve the renewal of the principles of democracy through the possibilities of democratic participation and address the problem of inequality in society. In this way, mass media end cultural and political productions, enabling the society to have an organized and conscious identity.

The press is one of the most effective communication tools and it is a written communication tool that collects news and ideas, making the art of public opinion possible through evaluating, processing, and communicating news and ideas to others. The social viability of mass media brings with it the result that these tools are the eyes, the ears and the brain of the society. According to Habermas, as the mass media evolved in the 19th and 20th centuries, the public sphere narrowed and the mass media imposed views on the audience as the subject of central control. The role that plays in every field of society is very fundamental. Political, economic, social, cultural, magazines and educational issues are an important part of these roles. All these roles do not concern the individual's social status or income, and they appeal to the whole society. For example, a purchased newspaper, especially a magazine, is selected according to interest and social status, because such printed media are being prepared for certain masses. The magazines are conceptual publications limited to topics such as sectoral, political, economics, sports, hobby, magazine. But television

79 *Dacheux,* L'espace Public, P. 30.
80 *Dacheux,* Ibid, P. 34.

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does not make such distinctions. Television viewing habits of the society, the viewing time zones and the social status of the audience group in these zones are determined. As a result of this determination, the programs to be prepared and their broadcast times are specified. Television is a one-way communication tool like other electronic mass media. Although it is possible, in part, to provide feedback to the various social programs via telephone, fax or e-mail channels, it is a fact that programmers are also rigorous and selective about opening the feedbacks to the public opinion. The objection or opinion statement on a disputed subject also depends entirely on the acceptance of the television. For this reason, the television audience is obliged to take receive and not to object.

The development of television has led to the reception of events in public and private spheres not in its original context but in spatial and temporal distant private living areas. With the development of mass media, especially television, our private sphere have become the basic space of public sphere. In the same way, the events belonging to our mediated private spheres are publicized. Depending on democratization and political discourse, literary media and audiovisual media are important in the formation of publicity, because all mass media are a common programme field for everyone and everyone learns from them at the same time. For this reason, mass media have a crucial influence in the formation of publicity. The essential power of mass media is seen in the social ideology created during the First World War. Mass media played a significant role in the brainwashing of large masses of people and in the birth and development of fascism in Europe in this period. Perhaps if we do not often come across such ideologies - not counting racism and religious incitements- spreading throughout the society today, we can often confront social life forms and produced cultural products that are trying to be created.

G. Civil Society and Civil Disobedience

The root of the term "civil society" is based on the Ancient Age. The concept of civil society has first appeared in the times of Plato and Aristotle, and been conceived together with the concept of the state. In the Middle Ages, in parallel with the characteristics of those times, concept of civil society has changed like every concept.

The rise of neo-liberalism after 1970 and the governments around it and debates about civil society and democracy have been revived. The most important reasons for this situation are that it has been about fifteen years

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since the Second World War and the Eastern Bloc countries have begun to dissolve. The economical structures of the countries that have emerged from the hot and cold war have almost been exhausted due to their defense expenditures. This burnout means that the state can not reach the social needs adequately. Therefore, by the neo-liberal system of thought, state has assigned civil society organizations and private individuals to the help of those in need of health care, education and social security issues.[81] Western societies define the concept of civil society as social sphere formed by the activities of central autonomous and self-governing institutions -yet unalienated from the state- emerging with a number of freedoms provided to the people of the middle class in urban life.

We can put political society on the contrary when it is called civil society. Of course this will be like dividing the society into two groups. However, it is not right to reach this conclusion due to the fact that the concept of society requires looking at all the individuals within it from a broad perspective. Contrary to the "civil" word here, military concept should not be perceived; because the civilian mentioned actually means citizen. Civil sphere corresponds to an abstract sphere where the participants carry out their work with their own free will. On the other hand, civil society is a form of organization consists of the groups whose members have a libertarian political culture that do not have a formal, bureaucratic structures or intendants (primary), and this group is represented by changing spokespersons. Civil society is a voluntary, self-supporting, autonomous and organized social structure that acts as an intermediary between private sphere and the state.

The opposite of civil society is the political society. Just as civil society, political society, is an organization mechanism. The reason why we can put it in the exact opposite direction is that the political society is not autonomous from the state, but is intertwined with the state. Public sphere that constitutes our main topic arises from this point in a very simple way: The intersection of civil society and political society is the public sphere. According to Wood by Özbek's transfer "Civil society is a market which is distinct from the state, neither private nor public, or perhaps both, that does not only involve a series of social interactions distinct from private sphere of the state as much as public sphere of a household but also repre-

81 *Özbek,* Kamusal Alanın Sınırları, P. 25.

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sent a web of human relationships, field of activity including the field of production, distribution and change."[82] Civil society follows the social problems experienced in these areas that it represents and makes an effort to correct them. This effort can sometimes reach operational dimensions with the exhaustion of consensus ground. If a group within civil society opens up a social issue to public debate, or takes a public protest or passive action to draw public attention to that issue, it means that civil society has gone into action.

The action process initiated by the civil society can be described as civil disobedience under some circumstances. Just as civil society, civil disobedience may exist under fair and democratic governance conditions. Henry David Thoreau, who brought the concept of "civil disobedience" to the literature, used in the first edition of his essay in 1849, and the effects of the book "Civil Disobedience" extended to Gandhi in the early 20th century, to Martin Luther King in the middle and to thousands of justice followers.

Civil disobedience is an illegal, peaceful act and does not involve violence. The main purpose of the civil disobedience action is to resist the domination of the powers and to overcome an injustice carried out by the state or state institutions. An action is considered as civil disobedience, all possible legal remedies should have been tried and no results have been obtained. Action is made publicly by calling out to the public conscience. According to Rawls; the theory of civil disobedience is valid only for societies that are fair in general, even if they have occasional serious injustices, and the precondition for a fair situation is the existence of a democratic form of government.[83] Since it is not a militant act and should not contain violence, the material and moral integrity of third persons should not be harmed. According to Arendt in this regard; a mistake to be made in persuading others and in the choice of the instruments used in the manner of presentation of the case will cause them to be described as "rebel".[84]

John Rawls begins with a paper on civil disobedience: "When civil disobedience is justified as normal, I reasonably think that in a fair and democratic regime, it must be understood as a political act that appeals to a sense of justice in order to ensure that protested situations are reconsidered and to draw attention to the fact that the conditions of social cooperation

82 *Özbek,* Kamusal Alanın Sınırları, P. 27.
83 *Rawls,* A Theory of Justice, P. 363.
84 *Arendt,*Crises of the Republic, P. 82.

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are not respected."[85] Civil disobedience is the act of embracing the sanction of the rule of law which is violated and the attitude of enduring this sanction. Before executing a civil disobedience, the aim and the way of the action are explained.

Some neccessities must have been formed for a protest action to be called civil disobedience. These are the existence of a democratic regime, the lack of organizing actions based on violence and a public unfairness. With these conditions, a number of important questions arise. There is a democratic regime, but if the government is not affiliated to democracy, is the action still civil disobedience? The protestors are not in a militant attitude and do not resort to violence, but if the security forces are on a violent basis and the protesters are forced to resort to violence in a non-militant way, is this action still civil disobedience? Another question; does resorting to violence at certain points due to an external provocative intervention in civil disobedience action take the action out of civil disobedience concept and make it militant?

We will look for answers to these three questions both here and in the next sections. For example, the Gezi Park Events have begun as an action to prevent the dismantling of trees, but with the transformation of a simple nature conservation action into a massive act, the public goods have been intentionally damaged by the activists. The reaction of the government to the actions was great, and the harsh approach of the police to the events was spoken by domestic and international press.

H. Public Isolation with Social Media and the Concept of Public Isolation

"Public" and "Loneliness" both terms refer to each other's antithesis. The two words that are meant to be physically present in the community and express the state of being independent of the community either physically or spiritually are connected each other through individualization in societies. According to a guide published by Anadolu University Psychological

85 Rawls, The Justification of Civil Disobedience, P. 185.

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Counseling and Guidance Center; The sense of loneliness is a concept that each person perceives differently and interprets differently according to location, situation and time.[86] Loneliness can be used to express both a state and a feeling. Perlman and Peplau describe loneliness as "It is an unpleasant experience that arises if one's social relations network is quantitatively or qualitatively inadequate".[87] Perlman and Peplau have linked loneliness to social life and have treated loneliness as a solitary sense that being away from social life gives both physical loneliness and emotional loneliness. However, loneliness can also be experienced in the crowd meaning that the person feels emotionally lonely. While Turan and Şişman are expressing loneliness, they regard it as social and emotional loneliness that comes to mind in modern societies as one of the most complained by people of the age.[88] Just under this heading and in the subheadings that follow, loneliness does not refer to the fact that people are physically distant from each other, but rather to the mental state and mood of individuals that are far from mutual concrete social interaction that is, being physical in the public sphere with being emotionally distant from the concrete public sphere, and being spiritually virtual. According to the researches, two types of loneliness are generally mentioned about people. One of them is social loneliness; and the other is emotional lonely.

Anadolu University Psychological Counseling and Guidance Center mentions an important distinction: "It is possible to stay alone, but at the same time not to live a sense of loneliness. Loneliness can also be experienced among crowds. While being alone new ideas, new emotions and new happiness can be produced whereas in loneliness, production in a vicious circle is transformed into consumption by making an inner journey".[89]

Particularly those born after 1980, expressed as Y Generation, were brought up during a time when the speed of renewal of technology was higher than that of the previous generations. This makes them advantageous over other generations in terms of using technological tools. How-

86 Anadolu University Psychological Counseling and Guidance Center.

87 *Çakır and Çakır,* Loneliness and Television Usage, P. 132.

88 *Şişman and Turan,* A Study of Correlation Between Job Satisfaction and Social-Emotional Loneness of Educational Administrators in Turkish Public Schools, P. 119.

89 Anadolu University Psychological Counseling and Guidance Center.

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ever, this advantage has caused them to become isolated in society. Another drawback of this generation is the children raised in the fear society created by the September 12th military coup. This fear has caused them to be raised far from politics by their parents. The Y generation, made up of a combination of the seeds of the fearing society and the expert users of technological devices, made it possible for them to be within individual attitudes. Their connection with mobile communications systems and social media has led them to build an alternative virtual world. Even when they are in groups of friends, they are disconnected from the real world by connecting social media through their mobile devices due to the influence of individualization. The result is a different attitude through following developments in the virtual world and chatting with friends in the virtual world with the mental or emotional processes while they are actually in the crowded in real space-time. Thus, social media emerges as a means of isolation from real places in terms of users. The users live this isolation in their social environment and business life. Social media networks have become an important part of individuals' personal and professional lives. People who dedicate their emotional and social lives to social media need to be involved in the effort to serve mobile devices to themselves, their experiences (private sphere) are instantaneously moving to social media through these devices. Innovations created by mobile devices, especially on social platforms, have made it possible for individuals to get more effective outcomes in regulating their social lives.[90] Users can communicate with their old friends and make new friends through social media. However, the consumption of easily acquainted friendships is also fast. Users benefit from almost all the features presented by new communication environments through social networks and they provide continuous sharing. In order to constantly make new friends and stay in touch with each other whenever possible, users are continuously forced to share something and write messages to one another. This force the social media user to spend time in the network for long periods of time. These long periods of time mean to stay away from the real social environment. Or, while in a real social environment, it means to engage with social networks via mobile devices and to be abstracted from the real social environment. It becomes

90 The Biggest Innovation Social Media Brings Into Our Life: Loneliness.

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possible to connect to social media via mobile devices even when in a group of friends or in a working environment and to be isolated from the real environment and withdraw into public loneliness. While in a physically crowded real environment, by following a development in the virtual world in a mental or emotional process, a different attitude is reached by chatting with friends in the virtual world. As a result, social media emerges as a form of isolation from real places in terms of users.

I. Digital Civil Disobedience

Previously, it was mentioned that civil disobedience was an illegal, peaceful act and did not involve violence. The wrong practice of the state authorities living in the real public space and the mistaken decisions taken also reflects cybernation. The wrong implementations done or decisions taken by the state authority in the real public sphere are also reflected to the virtual sphere. Among social media users, mainly the erroneous actions of power are discussed, caricatures about the topic and meaningful funny photos are shared. However, sometimes, insulting and derogatory words can be used. Against this, legal action can be initiated against those who share. Alternative communication experiences are transformed into political challenges, in which participants' needs and desires as well as the world's images are demanded and broadcast.[91]

Just as in the real world, all possible legal remedies have been tried and no results have been obtained so that the event in the social media can be regarded as a civil disobedience act. Especially in the open groups constituted in Facebook, all users are clearly called to the public conscience and the digital civil disobedience action call is made. Users in these groups can engage in real civil disobedience by switching from social media to real environment. Just like Puerto Del Sol Square, Taksim Gezi Park and Tahrir Square, where people organize and concentrate and initiate anti-government actions. This is a transition from social media to real environment. The use of violence is one of the most basic features that distinguishes other forms of protest from civil disobedience, and the same is valid for digital civil disobedience. It is impossible for violence to wonted-

91 *Gravante and Poma*, New Media and Empowerment in the Indignados' Movement, P. 20.

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ly occur in the social media, but the insults that violating personality rights are also violent. The computable formation, which is one of the necessary conditions for an action to be counted as a civil disobedience which means the goal of the action is carried out and how it is to be realized before the action, can be observed again in open groups on Facebook. Indicating that digital activism can not go to the dimension of activism and in fact transforms it into pacification, that the importance of quantification should be weighed as long as the form of vision does not change. Of course, the level of consciousness of those who give unity messages with sharings, call for duty and take responsibility for these actions should be argued.

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Chapter 2: Network Society: The Role of Social Media in Social Movements and Public Sphere Organization Formed in Social Media

It has been observed that with the Internet-based new media experience and social networks, public-private domain oppositions have eroded and that "private publicity" has evolved. Because, though social media has a sense of belonging to a public sphere, this feeling is lived in the private sphere and extends to the conversations take place in the private sphere. Both the print and visual press have taken advantage of the contribution of technology to communication, have had to adapt to technological developments and have entered the process of constant renewal. Internet is at the center of these technological developments. In this direction, newspapers and TV channels from traditional media tools, trying to adapt to changes in technology, primarily have created their own web sites on the online environemnt with the widespread use of the internet. Newspapers presented contents on paper, television channels daily news and broadcast streams are transmitted to these sites and make them publicly accessible. These obligations have gained new channels such as, newsgroups, e-newspapers and e-journals to audience-readers. In addition to that people have created web blogs where they can share their private life, private knowledge or thoughts related to life. Newsgroups are discussion areas where internet users from all over the world share news or articles. This discussion area is separated according to the subjects. There is no obligation to be a member of that group to read messages or news on any topic. Messages in the category of interest can be read and messages can be sent to that group.The stream over the newsgroups is uninspectable by no one. All messages are open to all internet users in the world. Electronic newspapers can be seen as an economic solution in terms of personnel use, paper, press and place. Journalists working for electronic journals sent the news they prepare to the journal's press pool and, if appropriate, they are published. The controllings are executed by the editorial department and editor. Morever, instead of waiting for the press time, important and last-minute developments can be instantly published. It would be useful to separate electronic newspapers from each other. Under the efforts made to transform the newspapers that reach the reader through the traditional way of printing into an "electronic newspaper", the advantages such as storage,

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archiving of news, re-use of this archiving could be seen. It is also aimed to accelerate the stages of news gathering, sending, processing (such as sorting and page editing), and to be able to enter the press later to provide news about the latest developments. Therefore, the "electronic newspaper" practice enhances the production speed and productivity of new media technologies in all stages of production, from news gathering to processing to print distribution. In addition to this, it aims to save the number of business entrepreneurs and the number of personnel employed with this ability. In this context, new media are used as a "tool" to reach the organizational flexibility necessary for the print media to adapt to the new communication environment.[92]

Electronic journals have the same economic characteristics as electronic newspapers. Especially when it is considered that printed journals' expenditures more than newspapers', publishing the journals electronically means that printing and working costs are reduced too much. The most striking difference between electronic journals and electronic newspapers is that published texts can easily be extended with a narrative expression, and long interviews can be published. Since as an obligation such as shortening the interviews to being ready for publication is removed, the editors do not have much work in this sense. In addition, the binding legal provisions of electronic journals are the same as electronic newspapers. A blog is a web-based publication where articles and comments are usually published in order from current the past. Usually the name of the author and the time of post are specified at the end of each submission. According to the choice of the publisher, the readers can comment on the writings or articles. Interpretations are a crucial dynamic of blog culture, so communication between writers and readers is provided. Apart from this, it is also possible to specify other writings/texts about a particular text/writing by means of a backtracking mechanism.

The digital media, which are new communication technologies in the light of all of these, tend to leave traditional media tools behind as multiple form of communication. Because alternative media allows users to share their own ideas and opinions. The influence of information and communication technologies on the state-citizen relation and the political processes are defined by concepts such as tele-democracy, digital democ

92 *Törenli,* Yeni Medya, Yeni İletişim Ortamı, P. 206.

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racy, virtual democracy, e-democracy. Regardless of the name or scope of the concept, the common point in these ideas is the belief that various features of new technologies - communication, feedback - can positively affect democratic mechanisms.[93] Social media is useful for continuous updating and easy access through mobile technological devices. It is more ideal than any other online channels in terms of being open to everyone, using easily and expressing themselves freely. People are able to write their own thoughts, debate on various issues and present their ideas on the social media. Users can experience the real world in a virtual environment by sharing photos and videos.

Facebook is a virtual environment that is one of the social networks where people can spend time together, share emotions, thoughts, photos, videos and music with each other. The most important feature that distinguishes Facebook software from blogs or forums is that you have the option of being able to find private or public open shares at permission levels. The most important feature that distinguishes Facebook software from blogs or forums is that you have the option to be open to public or private. The number of Facebook users has exceeded 1 billion all over the world as of October 2012.[94] Also, Facebook users have different psychological reasons for choosing this network. According to the researches, it was found that the communication established in the online environment reduces the anxiety caused by face-to-face interaction, thus shy or lonely individuals prefer these environments to communicate.

Among others, Twitter is one of the most influential new media environments that link ordinary citizens with "popular, powerful and influential" figures. Twitter is similar to Facebook in terms of substrucute, but with different content. While users on Facebook can create a sharing wall with their own information and shares, Twitter users' shares are limited to 140 characters and all shares are listed in a historically vertical order. On Twitter, users follow each other while add friends on Facebook. In order to see someone's profile on Facebook, you have to be friends with that person, on the contrary you can follow the person you want on Twitter and look at their share. The purpose of Twitter is to create a chat environment. Likewise, on the opening page of Twitter, the user meets the motto "Start

93 *Ligieza*, Active or Passive Citizen: The Influence of New Media Over Local Communities' Participation, PP. 111-112.

94 Wikipedia / Facebook: https://goo.gl/ni9Zsq

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a conversation, discover your interests and learn something mysterious". Facebook has a prominent and indispensable position in the networking community. Facebook is also playing an active role in shaping social life with relocation of communication to a virtual environment. As modern individuals equipped with technology in business and home environments, Facebook has become the most important part of everyday life. Videos and images, comments and links that shared on Facebook are increasingly playing a decisive role in the everyday life of the individual and bearing their activities from the virtual public sphere to their private spheres.

In our physical world when people come together in groups and for a specific purpose it is called a mass demonstration and constitute a crime, however, the internet has the freedom to come together in common ideas and purposes. That is why governments are immediately trying to limit the use of the Internet in the case of social movements or extraordinary situations. Likewise, we saw these prohibitions and restrictions in Syria. Another similar effort is experienced in Turkey. Filtering the Internet, fixed IP address for each person, recording the words that every citizen will write through the internet search engines are the precautions against a social movement that will come into existence in the future.

The Internet is an alternative media, and radical media according to mode of use. Downing describes alternative-radical media as alternative point of view in a small-scale againsts hegemonic politics, priorities and perspectives and the media with many different forms. Internet-based socialization platforms strengthen people's sense of unity. The integration of individuals into communities leads to the formation of power structures in society. The alternative media is a non-profit-making media that does not have extensive financial resources and its main objective is to be the voice of "others" against local or global powers' media. Downing defines radical media as a social movement media and has established a theoretical framework in relation to social movements.[95] The places where social movements such as Arab Spring are organized in social networking sites like Facebook and Twitter. At this point, Facebook and Twitter are used as radical media tools within the context of all organizations.

Social media and its forms of communication are innovations brought about by being a network society. The step towards becoming a network

95 *Ceyhan*, An Alternative Status in Media: AHALI and Counter Public Sphere, P. 6.

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society is emanated from the desire for globalization and the desire for globalization to have a new world order. Network society theory is an approach that is put forward by Castells and expresses the shaping of new world order by networks, and today's network society is using widespread and intensive interaction and interaction system based on networks. Network society is a society where social morphology is superior to social action.[96] Manuel Castells calls the new type of society as "network society" which is emerged through technological paradigm by analyzing the economic, political and societal multi-faceted transformations created by the current information age on people and institutions. The milestone which will be used while explaining social media and network society will be globization. Because globalization is a new economic structure that allows capital to be distributed and transcended beyond the border, whereas the network society is similar in quantity and, and in quality it is a completely different capital structure. And while globalization is a modern perspective, the network society has a post-modern point of view. It would be correct to state this with a simple example, marketing action on the global economic market is achieved by continuous circulation of individuals. While marketing action on the global economic market is providen by continuous circulation of individuals, "network marketing" brought by the network community is based on making profir from local marketers who are connected to each other under a small number of auditors, rather than circulating country-by-country marketers. The striking element here is that corporate organizations are freed from their geographical dependence in addition to freed from the traditional way. styles of. In other twords, it is noticed that different parts can be easily distributed but still managed from a center. In particular, housewives and students participate in this marketing network, and in this way, companies reduce staff costs altogether. One of the most important factors in here is that the necessary information flow to the marketing network can be done simultaneously and at an incredible speed. Whereas in the other sale system, plenty of marketers have to work under the roof of the company. This is merely an example of transation from the globalization to the network society in terms of marketing. The more global the capital here, the more the labor is local. Nevertheless, since globalization can not be explained simply by cross-border travel and

96 *Castells*, The Rise of the Network Society, P. 500.

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getting rid of locality, it would be incomplete to reach a broad concept like network society with network marketing method. because nets constitute the new social morphology of our societies. The spread of the logic of creating networks also seriously changes the processes of production, experience, power and culture, and the consequences of these processes.[97] To explain globalization with the beginning of the spread of capitalism throughout the world as a system means to consider it as an economic structure as well as to take into account the cultural and political content of this structure.[98] According to Bauman, the most important technical factor that enables information to be carried is mobility, and it does not require the physical movement of a person apart from simple and non-tiring movements.[99] Bauman explains globalization through the rapid transfer of information, and the ability of a privileged person to travel. Mass communication, which has gained an international dimension with globalization along with the unlimited movement and circulation ability, involves the flow of people, symbols, meanings and myths apart from the products and services of the capital.[100] Thanks to the World Wide Network established by means of computers, it is not necessary for a person to move too much because information can reach a person much faster than traveling speed.[101] Bauman's thoughts overlap with McLuhan's expressions and have given a futuristic perspective to the subject with the concept of "Global Village". McLuhan's point of this formation with the "global village" is the globalization of information and information in a communicative sense.[102] Television, from the technological toolsi pav the way for globalization and has integrated communities in communication and cultural level through their subconscious or direct perceptible messages for many years. Since it is a one-way communication tool, viewers have only received messages that have arrived at them and have no area to provide feedback in the direction of the message. This also applies to the radio. Television integrates with day-to-day routines in the west. Television,

97 *Castells*, The Rise of the Network Society, P. 500.
98 *Taylan and Arklan*, Media and Culture: Globalisation of Culture by means of Media, P. 68.
99 *Bauman*, Globalization: The Human Consequences, P. 14.
100 *Aytaş,* Küreselleşme Teknolojileri Üzerinde Mekansızlığın İnşası ve Nesnenin Dönüşümü, P. 5.
101 *Bauman*, Ibid, P. 15.
102 *Aytaş,* Ibid, P. 4.

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which has an effective place in purchasing and painstaling attitudes, may also be authority in the decision-making process of the audience. In terms of globalization, television and radio are very important devices. The world with the new actor of globalization, the internet, has moved from being global to becoming a network society. The main difference that separates the Internet from television and radio is that communication is multifaceted. We have the possibility to report and to warn the unauthorized advertisement mail in our private e-mail address. However, on television we do not have a chance to say "I do not want to see this anymore" for an advertisement in front of us.

In the broadcast stream, you will not have a chance not to see it without changing the channel or switching off the TV. Especially since the 1990s, the internet has become popular not only in the field of communication technology but also in the center of academic and popular interest.[103] McLuhan has described electronic media as a kind of return to the collective ways of perceiving the world for the individualized human condition, and the world that becomes "Global Village" according to McLuhan will become a single consciousness. People of the Global Village, especially those outside the Western world, have been thrown into the world of news, imagination and imagery of electronic media since 1980, but contrary to the claims of global corporations, globalization and transformation have not made people a citizen of the world by going beyond political, economic, social and cultural differences.[104] The structure formed by connecting several computers together is called network. Computers connect to each other via cables or satellites. Within these networks there are probably millions of hosts named servers, and these hosts represent places where information is stored and open to the user. For example, the Wikipedia website, which is considered a virtual library, has a very wide range of servers, and those entering the Wikipedia website get their information through their hosts. This network system is generally called "internet". In this way, a large number of computers are connected to this network and they are provided to communicate with each other. In 1971, the first e-mail was sent. The English term "Internet", which began to be used in 1985, is an abbreviation for "Interconnected Networks" which means

103 *Timisi,* Yeni Iletisim Teknolojileri ve Demokrasi, P. 121.

104 *Çelik,* Social Changes in The Globalization of The Media and Consumer Control, P. 119.

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"networks connected to each other". Being open system to the public has displaced the internet from being chat or personal communication environment. It has become an enormous repository of information that is shaped by encyclopaedic or personal experiences or become an area where companies sell and promote their products. Castells' "Network Society" theory offers new perspectives on the world's reconstruction within the framework of some of the world's networks built on the basis of advanced communication technologies. The concept of "Network Society" is a concept developed from the concept of "Information Society" by Manuel Castells and Castells defines the network as a series of knots linked to each other.[105] Each knot represents a different network, that is, a node represents a financial structure, while another node represents a cultural structure. The disciplines, which are different in meaning and in practice, are interconnected by an unlimited network structure. These nodes are: television systems, entertainment studios, computer graphics environments, news team, signaling-transmitting-receiving mobile devices in the global network of the new media, which is culturally expresion in the Age of Information.

According to Manuel Castells, "A network society is a social structure made up of networks, more precisely of information networks".[106] The main argument of the theory is that in the organization of the processes of the basic structures of all areas of the society, we witness a shift from hierarchies to networks. Network society has the speed that will respond to the production methods of new technologies. Today's network society uses a system of interaction and communication based on networks in a widespread and intense way. There is such a rapid consumption in the face of rapid and mass production. Every produced meta or feeling is condemned to be consumed very quickly. Because of the rapidity of consumption, the characteristics of the network society's individuals have been quite different from those of their predecessors. When talking about the network society, social relations that actually operate on the basis of economy, politics and culture are pointed. The network of these relations has a dynamic structure that changing and transforming constantly, but it can also be referred to as the historical processes through which fundamental transfor

105 *Castells*, The Rise of the Network Society, P. 501.

106 *Castells*, Globalization and Identity in the Network Society: A Rejoinder to Calhoun, Lyon and Touraine, P. 108.

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mations take place. From this point of view, the information is referring to a process in which the modern economy, politics, cultures and practices are reshaped and restructured through networks. In network society, individuals are connected to each other by networks. Trade, political propaganda, advertising, news and socialization can be provided through the Internet, as well as cultural and religious missionary work. Being a network society also leads to having a new culture on the local culture. The cultural structure in real life changes when it comes to virtual life, and a new form of culture emerges. For example, In the Turkish culture and in Islam, the feeling of privacy has developed very much and has been accepted as a rule by the society. According to this common rule, we do not put a photograph of a leash or a bikini drawn on the beach to the head corner of the room. However, we can use it as a profile photo in social media, for example on Facebook. Citizens of the network society have built a common culture and this new form of culture is far from local culture and it is a common culture of the global world and the networks world. Individuals from different social structures have had a common cultural language. It should be noted that the upper culture that is mentioned should not be confused with the upper culture which contrasts with the higher culture. This is because the upper-middle culture that contrasts with higher culture includes simpler and more banal public reading in terms of literary and other arts.[107]

The most primitive form of social media is "IRC" (Internet Relay Chat). Today, IRC is software that enables people to chat with other people by entering the various chat rooms via a computer with internet access. It was first initiated by Finnish Jarkko Oikarinen in 1988. It was effectively used for communication by the American army during the 1991 Gulf War.

In the face of continuous progress of technology with new discoveries, mankind reproduces its social, cultural and everyday experiences through technology. Some researchers describe social networks as web-based environments that promote mutual interaction among people, increase the sharing of individuals with common interests, and give everyone the chance to create their own personal profile and a list of friends they want to communicate with.

107 *Gans*, Populer Culture and High Culture, p.116.

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Social media is an electronic-digital communication environment created through web-based audio-visual storage based websites, blogs, podcasts, content networking sites and social networking sites.[108] Social media creates groups through the web and creates opportunities for social interaction and relation. Social media is created by the user via designing the web content. Users are active in the social media sites on the web and they have the control at certain times. In social networks, logic is to create a virtual "community" and by this way they can act with them, share ideas, produce new solutions, and so on. Tiryakioglu and Erzurum defined social networks as an online service in which communication and social relations can be established and personal information such as ideas, activities and interests can be shared on their own networks. Unlike passive audiences in the traditional media equation, social media users are able to produce content in an efficient way, share it with other users, and get feedback on shared content more efficiently and quickly. Social media serves to a specific community or interest, and also non-professionals can have active participation in media production, organization and management.[109] Boyd and Ellison refer to social networking sites as "web-based service sites which is for individuals to construct fully open or semi-open profiles in a restricted system, to make a list of users they share with and to allow them to review and compare the link lists created by themselves or others in the system".[110]

Networks, defined as social media, provide mutual communication between people and groups. In addition, political conversations and sharing also take place. Social media users have the opportunity to express their political thoughts freely and to share their writings and visuals in this direction with the political dialogue that occurs in social environment. Political dialogues in social media can sometimes turn into activist actions in the light of political developments of the period and virtual movements can emerge. Virtual or digital activism is one of the phenomena that points to the participatory democratic structure of social media. A strong democratic social movement is always the task of civil society processing in a

108 *Yılmaz,* Recent Arguments on Use of Social Media: Relation Between "Privacy" and "Public Sphere" - Based on a Modeling With University Students, P. 247.

109 *Işık,* Sanaldan Sokaga Toplumsal Hareketler, P. 53.

110 *Köseoğlu,* Facebook as a Marketing Communication Medium: a Comparative Analysis of Advertising and Electronic Word of Mouth Messages, P. 75.

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repressive political environment.[111] Social movements are regarded as a necessary and positive means of expressing the concerns of the participants and ensuring social change in a democratic society in which encourages mass participation in all social and political problems.[112] Various interest groups in society can concentrate and protest for one or more common problems, such as democracy problem. This is the common and legal right of the oppressed by same problem in society. At this point, the phenomenon underlying the definitions of public sphere and new social movements is similar. Just like the popular civil rebellions in Tunisia, Morocco, Egypt and Libya, which are called "Arab Spring" and led to regime change, people from all over the world in the 21st century recognize the concept of social movement as a loud call, a wide-fledged call for action against a wide range of problems and a power against oppressive states.[113] These are social movements called "new". It is seen that the most important feature that distinguishes the new social movements from their old ones is that they are not based on labor movement and social networks are used. New social movements are more democratic and open to participation for all with richer content and demands and independent from narrower economic interests.[114] Charles Tilly criticizes previous approaches to the theory of social movement to place individuals as the primary unit of social movements. Instead, he argued that the primary unit is interaction between individuals. The primary unit is the motivating and driving effect of the social media interaction between individuals by reducing the level of the previously mentioned macro social structure to the micro structure. Individuals are involved only in collective actions when they recognize the members in the community - the objective and psychological reasons that drive them to social movement. This change in public opinion, that is, the change of communication and action, was expressed in Habermas's "The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere" and the development of communication technologies and the establishment of a social media-centric communication system have also led to a new transformation. At the beginning of this transformation there were three important

111 *Tilly,* Social Movements, *1768-2004*, P. 1.
112 *Sen,* Social Movements and Media: The Representation of "Occupy Wall Street" Movement in The Media, P. 138.
113 *Tilly,* Ibid, P. 3.
114 *Çetinkaya,* Tarih ve Kuram Arasında Toplumsal Hareketler, P. 35.

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elements that caused social movements; social welfare level, economic welfare level and political welfare level. The balance of these three elements was an important influence in the beginning of the social movements. In addition to this, it was also necessary to find a person or a structure to initiate and direct the social movement. In the new social movements, the driving force is social media. The disturbance created by the imbalance of the three old elements is united with the driving force of the social media. Unlike the old social structures, social media not only integrates the whole world, but also creates big networks where the coordination of individuals or groups at low cost is fast and ideas are easily expressed to public. Emphasizing the relation between social movements and social change, Castells points out that social movements emerging in the face of urban and environmental problems will become one of the basic elements of social change in developed capitalist countries by presenting new cultural models.[115] At the basis of the new social movements, there are certain common points that are seen in Arab Spring, Taksim Gezi Park Resistence and Spain 15M Movement. Common points are to establish an organization for common demands against the targeted authorities, to establish associations have special goals, to organize public meetings, official demonstrations, guardings, and shows, to send a petition and make a statement to the media.[116] Today, we face a much more important common point: making use of internet networks to make calls and spread the social movement. In the hegemony of the traditional communication process and understanding, places where people can express themselves, their demands for change, their demands for rebellion against their surroundings, governments and the world are limited to streets and squares. This process ensures the development of Internet and communication technologies and the rapid spread of them, also the increase in the relationship between internet and democracy.[117] At this point, using internet technologies and especially social media effectively is the lifeblood of new social movements. New social movements, mainly by using the communicative

115 *Yeniçıktı,* Communication Action and Facebook: The Power of Social Media on The Gezi Park Event, P. 272.

116 *Tilly,* Social Movements: 1768-2004, P. 4.

117 *Çaycı and Karagülle*, Organizational Forms Which Covaries With Mobile Communication Technologies: Social Movements Which are Organized in Networks, P. 6375.

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field, have also shown that radical media can be used in a new way against the dominant media by using discourse and actions that affect social public opinion.[118] Especially social media has had an important role in new social movements. All the declaration, sharing and information about the social movement is spreading among the users in the form of snowballs and determining the form of organization. For example, the virtual environment was shown as the organizing place of Arab Spring. The information circulating among the users has moved from virtual public sphere to both real public sphere and private sphere. In particular, there has also been a mass audience who sitting only in front the computer and spreads online sharing of social media accounts to their own environment.

Social movements are strengthened by common action to achieve the goal, and the formed common identity helps to mobilize other individuals of the community who are outside the movement. The most prominent aspect of a social movement is the dominance of non-formal forms of open organizations in the first place. New social movements first emerged in the late 1960s as the student movement in western Europe and North America due to the slowing of parliamentary opposition. In the first months of 2011, after public movements, which started in the Middle East and North Africa, used social media tools as an organizing and communication tools, social movements were defined as "social media revolution" and lead to increase in the debate about the importance and effect of social media.[119] In the developing countries in the 1990s, new social movements took place with the acceleration of anti-globalization movements. Political new social movements act as opposition to the power. These movements reported their opposition to the mistakes in the public sphere from their alternative media tools that they established over time because of their underrepresentation in the mainstream media.

As Habermas refers to the concept of public sphere: the public sphere, where the participants can concentrate, debate, think, critique, organize, and act in ways that they can freely express their thoughts and ideas; it is possible to say that the social media used by large masses in the whole world can be transformed into the public sphere due to freedom sphere that social media has. In addition to the conceptualization of Habermas, the fact that there is no geographical coordinate of the public sphere from

118 *Çoban,* Toplumsal Hareketler ve Radikal Medya, P. 55.
119 *Babacan, Haslak, and Hira,* Arab Spring and the Social Media, P. 77.

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Arendt's point of view also supports this thesis. Hannah Arendt's thoughts on political action and the public sphere provide some clues as to the process of acting as a recovery of a situation in the form of a spatial distribution. The action that takes place in this process always requires a sense of unity among the actors.[120] At this point, social media responds to a sense of unity. From new communication technologies, social media has led to the change of social organization concepts such as community and society which are based on criteria such as human will and common space, and has caused to reconsideration of social units.[121] Because, people who are not physically able to get together can have the opportunity to get closer and dialogue through social media. The fact that time is lost its significance in the communication process and communication can be realized in every environment, increases the diversity of the mass that the individual interacts with. Also, the problems underlying the organization change with reaching to the global dimension of the participant. According to Habermas, old labor-based movements leave their place to societal-based global movements. Within the new period, the individuals organized through networks gather in the framework of issues such as quality of life, environmental movements, human rights, internet freedom, violence against women, democratic participation.

First of all, it should be noted that the networks referred to as social media have facilitated organization and have introduced a new kind of activism. These people, who can be expressed as virtual activists, carry the actions taken in the real environment to the virtual environment with the help of the social media and the networks around it. Sometimes this process is reversed by them. An important fact should not be overlooked in this regard, not social media or other virtual networks but virtual activist that launch the activist movements that are fired in virtual environments and took place in real environments. Social media, and especially Facebook, serves as a springboard for the protesters and an exercise area for youth who politically inexperienced but with internet mind.[122] The use of social media as a tool for action and communication by the social movements that appear in our country and in various regions of the world makes us need to understand the importance and effectiveness of social

120 *Gerbaudo,* Tweets and the Streets, PP. 38-39.
121 *Haberli,* Virtual Communities as a New Form of Organization, P. 121.
122 *Gerbaudo,* Tweets and the Streets, P. 48.

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media.[123] Arab Spring, one of the greatest social movements of the 21st century - the most important is the Egyptian Revolution, also called the January 25 Movement - (December 2010 Tunisia, Algeria, January 2011 Lebanon, Jordan, Mauritania, Sudan, Oman, Yemen, Saudi Arabia, Egypt, Syria, Djibouti, Morocco, February 2011 Iraq, Bahrain, Iran, Libya, Kuwait, Western Sahara).[124] Again in May 2011 the 15M Movement started in Spain, the September 2011 Wall Street events, and Taksim Gezi Park events that started in Turkey in June 2013 are organized activist actions through social media. Such new social movements and social media are important in terms of enabling the representation, right seeking and organization of some communities that are marginalized and alienated by power, dominant discourse and system. Social media takes its power from the masses and openness to the user. Moreover, in the face of all these events, social media has made it possible for participants to announce what is happening and reach the necessary information. The main reason behind the use of social media as tool for information flow during Taksim Gezi Park Resistance is that the mainstream media sometimes serve events from a government perspective and sometimes be indifferent to events. In all these activist actions, the events taking place in the streets were shared instantly on Twitter and supported with photos and videos via Facebook. With the use of new communication technologies in the creation of radical media, local movements have organized international solidarity through a global network, and these organizations have served as an example by establishing reference points for the next activist actions.[125] Especially when you look at 2011, the dates of the activist actions organized in social media and took place in the real environment are very close to each other. Thousands of high-school students who participated in the CHE (the council of higher education) events in Turkey were able to protest by walking in the streets, although they were composed of individuals who came together in virtual environments and saw each other for the first time. It is possible to say that social media and other online media point to a new field in the name of socialization. When this area is considered with economic, political, cultural and social aspects, it is clearly seen that the field penetrates into every phase of our lives. Facebook, blog pages, social

123 *Babacan, Haslak and Hira*, Arab Spring and the Social Media, P. 73
124 Arab Spring / Wikipedia: https://goo.gl/WfWgzT
125 *Karagöz,* Toplumsal Hareketler ve Dijital Aktivizm Hareketleri, P. 143.

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networking sites provide to emphasize individuality by bringing the private sphere to the public sphere thanks to digital technology. It can be argued that the new media tools, which also provide the opportunity to organize in new ways, have relocated discussions about the distinctions between the public and the private sphere to a new platform.

From the examples in the world, when it is considered that social movements in Tunisia, Spain or America, and Taksim Gezi Park in Turkey the claim that social media indicated an important point in the context of new media is inarguable. However, what kind of influence it has on the point of taking action in socialization process is being discussed today. To say that all these "revolutionary" movements have taken place thanks to social media has played a big role in new technologies and includes an exaggerated style. To say that all these "revolutionary" movements are realized through social media aggrandizes the role of new technologies and contains an exaggerated claims. As a matter of fact, Paolo Gerbaudo explains the Tunisian, Spanish and American movements in his book entitled Tweets and Streets (2012) and states that social media has an important role in creating a sense of unity and coordinating people but also indicates that the revolutions become fact when people stand up from their computers and go out into the streets. Recep Tayyip Erdogan's definition of social networks as a field for criminals, punkers, and deviants and Hüsnü Mubarak's internet closure, the authoritarian response of Erdogan and Mubarak-like politicians, in the last instance, is an indirect acknowledgment that social networking sites are important for today's protest movements. Participants in the M15 Movement, which began on May 15, 2011, in Spain, identified themselves with the tools of communication and social media became a collective part of the movement.[126] In general, at the core of the public sphere which is formed in the social media is the virtual protest experiences of virtual activists. This applies both to the public sphere formed by the cyber-space, and also to the public sphere formed by the cyber-space and take place in the real space. Users have become political subjects with all the activist practices. They have shown consistency

126 *Gravante and Poma*, New Media and Empowerment in the Indignados' Movement, P. 26.

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in decentralized and horizontal organizations by choosing to combine social media with traditional communication mechanisms (such as whispering newspapers and social relations), taking into account the inability of everyone to reach the internet and social media in the May 15th camps established by the 15M Movement.[127] This situation happened in the same way in Taksim Gezi Part events. Not just those who can only be online, but just about everyone who has something to say in the real public sphere and who has a reaction to the government's decisions participated to the events. This is the reflection of the social movements happened in many parts of the world in Turkey. Social movements, for many reasons, are a reaction against the oppression of societies by their own governments and take place many parts of the world.[128] Online people turn social media into a channel to publish news about events and information about instant events. People who came together by organizing online groups for the same purpose and created an environment that speeds up their actions in social media.

A. Virtual Public Sphere and Socialization of Social Media

The mobilization of information to the internet, the formation of chat environment where we call social media, the expanse of information and the creation of discussion areas in the social media provide the ground for the formation of a new kind of virtual (cyber, digital) public sphere. According to Robins-Webster, the information plays a central role in transporting the political debate takes place in public sphere into a democratic process.[129] In the twenty-first century, the internet is the fastest-spreading and constantly renewing tool of information. Even the number and diversity of news of channels trying to broadcast are insufficient against the internet. That is why the internet and the information it carries are fundamental for democratization. Primarily, along with Internet technology, the boundaries of public debate and expression have expanded. The boundaries of the in-

127 *Gravante and Poma*, Ibid, P. 28.

128 *Clark,* Social Movement and Social Media: A qualitative study of Occupy Wall Street, P. 2.

129 *Aydoğan,* Ikinci Medya Caginda Gozetim Ile Kamusal Alan Paradoksunda Internet, P. 6.

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fluence of a verbal or debate in the virtual environment have extended beyond the nation-states to an extension including the entire humanity. The Internet is facing the masses as the widest scale of socialization. According to some people, besides the "electronic democracy" environment, the internet has a very important aspect, an activist aspect, above all, even though it represents a cold sociality and an emotional freezing area against its same advantages. In this sense, the internet, which has the power to organize public demands and transform it into an effective public pressure, has a significant influence on the pro-active orientation of the people, which means has an influence on claiming rights for the demands. The Internet offers the opportunity to carry out the principles of "interaction" and "division of responsibility" that one of the most influential dynamics of alternative publishing.[130]

McLuhan's point of this formation with the "Global Village" is the globalization of information and knowledge in a communicative sense. According to Larrain, this can be defined as "processes that operate on a global scale and transcend boundaries, bringing societies and institutions together in new time-space compositions and connect the world together within reality and experience".[131] Virtual public sphere, like the real public sphere, means to publicly owned (ie public) and open to public use. In addition, the present status of the public sphere, independent of the imposition of the state and market conditions, is of vital importance at the level of macro and micro politics as a cultural and political field in which an enlightened debate improves democratic processes. The fact that such dynamics are also available in the virtual public sphere can be seen Taksim Gezi Park Resistance, Spain 15M Movement, the Arab Spring and in other protests take place in the real environment organized through social media. It is useful to note that the prerequisite to be able to access the virtual public sphere is to have access to the internet, that is having a computer or smart mobile device and internet connection with it. This seems to be the property owner which is the precondition for entering the public sphere in Ancient Greece, as indicated in Arendt's theory. A virtual public sphere is a legitimization area where citizens can discuss, criticize the power, can access the necessary information. Politicians, not just citizens, benefit

130 *Köse,* Küresel "Akıntıya Karşı" Sivil Arayışlar Alternatif Medya, P. 271.

131 *Aytaş,* Küreselleşme Teknolojileri Üzerinde Mekansızlığın İnşası ve Nesnenin Dönüşümü, P. 4.

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from this area. They accept the principle of legitimization of the virtual public space by making propaganda for themselves and their party through their social media accounts. It also shows up as a scene where politics gains visibility. The virtual public sphere is an area of the visibility of civil society through social media, blogs, personal web pages. The virtual public sphere, like the real public sphere, is a region in which the state is less active and citizens are more active.

The word "sphere" in the real public sphere does not exactly point to a particular area or place. Likewise, the "sphere" in the virtual public sphere does not point to a specific area or place or geographical coordinate. However, while the real public sphere basically points to a distant place from the individual's sphere (abstractly), connected to social media the virtual public sphere and the private sphere are almost intertwined. Hereby, it is observed that a re-expansion of the real public sphere definitions, especially with social media, is actualized. Also, it can be seen that social media users share even the food they eat with their friends as news.

By the concept of 'the public sphere' as we have seen on the previous pages, we mean, firstly, an area in the social life where something similar to the public opinion can be created[132] Access to this area is guaranteed by all participants. This also applies to the virtual public sphere. However, it can be prohibited to enter the virtual public sphere by laws and court decisions. However, it cannot be prohibited to enter to a street by any law or court decision, that is, it is easier to implement the dominions in the virtual public sphere that cannot be implemented to the real public sphere. Authoritarian political systems try to manipulate the virtual public sphere like the public sphere as well by the court decisions prohibiting access to various sites and blogs and closing social media accounts of people.

Time and space have been surpassed in cyberspace. An article written at any point in the world can reach the user at another point with an incredible speed and be answered by interpreting. This is a summary of a multifaced transformation. Surpassing time and space in cyberspace is a new parameter of the human condition. This freedom of movement in cyberspace and the virtuality of the space almost completely overlaps with the public sphere models. Public sphere's pluralism, objective relations, action, speech etc. features also constitute the transformational dynamics

132 *Habermas,* The Public Sphere, P. 198.

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of the new social structure. Nevertheless, although bodies are not essential in cyberspace, cyberspace has certain and indispensable importance in the life of the bodies.[133] The bodies are linked to each other by nets and information.

Bauman notes that the Internet has created a new controlling environment and takes advantage of a surveillance approach called "Synopticon". Synopticon is an up-to-date version of relocated Panopticon to the cyberspace. Mark Poster, in his essay on the electronic database, suggests that "our bodies are drawn into networks, databases, information corridors," so that our bodies are connected, so to say, informatically, and none of these places of information storage is no more a shelter where we can protest or escape from observation.[134] Synopticon, such as Panopticon derived from it, defines an observation mechanism that is used to preclude flight and to prevent free and random movement. If the cyber public sphere is an area where the users (cyber public opinion) can freely roam and participate, it can be also seen as an area where the control mechanisms (which can be called the state) are in this circulation to control the every possible sharings. The state has absolute control and restrictions on this area in the crisis period. Those who share the antithetical things are either blacklisted or judged by the appropriate constitutional elements.

The virtual public sphere is an area that belongs to the public and is open to everyone's use, supports democratic processes as independent of the imposition of the state and market conditions in its current status. As a cultural, social and political field in which an enlightened debate is experienced, is of great importance at the level of macro and micro politics. Also, it is a field where mixed social values have a common identity and can produce politics, socialization and cultural activity, criticize and organize demonstrations. This area is an important place to open the debate on the democratization process, political enforcement, or management mistakes of democracy. Controversies, especially in the context of social media transparency and publicity conditions, have an important role in the regulation of political life by creating public opinion. While Negt and Kluge's public sphere belongs to the working class, and Habermas's public sphere representatives are the bourgeois class, the virtual public sphere does not make these distinctions. In other words, the virtual public sphere

133 *Bauman*, Globalization: The Human Consequences, P. 20.
134 *Bauman*, Ibid, P. 50.

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provides equality in terms of current statutes. Representatives of certain layers of society are stripped of these statues as they enter the virtual public sphere. While opinion leaders and celebrities in the society enter into a dialogue with the individuals in their own statute in real life, they enter into a dialogue with people in different statute and exposed to criticism when they connect to the virtual public sphere. This means that the virtual public sphere can exclude the statute identities of real life. The virtual public sphere can exist without needing a democratic environment, and it is possible to establish it in governments where democracy does not exist or is supposed to exist because the virtual public sphere has its own autonomous democracy. Virtual identities provided by the Internet, VPN (Virtual Private Network) and IP (Internet Protocol) diverters are used as tools in the virtual public sphere. This software provides access to internet sites and social media networks that are prohibited from being accessed by the government. Democracy is needed when virtual actions, that are started in order to democratic demand for rights or similar demands on the internet, are moved to real environment. Otherwise, there may be faced with the intervention of the security forces of the state. Taksim Gezi Park or other social-media-supported social movements have brought the virtual public sphere to physical spheres with openness to democratization, publicity, openness to criticism, and locomotive power. In particular, the "wall" system which is a Facebook-shared structure, Twitter's tag (hashtag) and trend topic feature and the use of blogs manifesto-like enable people outside the local to follow events, developments, to participate online in social movements and to congregate announcements and masses. Today, access to digital devices and internet protocols is not expensive. The fact at the core of the subject is that individuals can express themselves, criticize, disseminate information through electronic devices and internet technology and congregate in physical spaces via these opportunities. The ability of traditional mass media to relocate the public sphere experience to the private sphere and to keep it alive and be discussed in the private sphere reveals the importance of mass media devices in terms of socialization at first glance. According to Mills, who put forward the idea of "cultural reflection" in this regard, mass media act as a mirror on the experiences of modern societies. At this point, information flows in a wide circle from social life to mass media and from mass media to social life is provided. The political context of the mass media also means that mass media in this circle generate the control over the social life. The politicization of the mass media and the act based on the received information without generating thought has been accepted as a critical factor in transforming the pub-

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lic society into a mass society. While working on the effects of mass media, Berelson has focused on what kind of influence which tool has on what type of people. Especially since the second half of the 20th century, studies have progressed over the micro-scale impact instead of macro-scale impact studies of Mills and Berelson. When examined, because of the diversity of mass media- including the quantitative multiplicity of television and radio channels- and effects of different political structures, diversification and dissociation in the context of socialization can be seen. The uses and gratifications approach, which is one of the current research methods in this field, investigates the objective relationship between the contents of the messages given by the mass media and the satisfaction arising from the intrinsic motivation of the individual. Or, it can be thought as choosing among the messages given according to the psychological and the theatrical gratification of the individual. While choosing the message that will lead to gratification from the structure existing in the traditional mass media which mostly move in one direction from the public sphere to the private sphere, the individual mostly make contact with the groups of friends he has formed from his / her social and political environment and is satisfied with the messages received from these groups in the social media experiences. While traditional mass media have the power to create a model of socialization according to the desired structure through pre-planned messages, social media has the power to destroy this model's power. Social media users can establish their own socializing and socialization environment. While things take place in the public sphere are able to enter the private sphere with social media just as they are in the traditional mass media, information can flow as social forum characteristic from the private sphere to the private sphere through social media and this situation cannot be observed in the traditional mass media. Nonetheless, if the profiles created by social media users are open to every user, there is also an information flow from the private sphere to the (virtual) public sphere. This versatile flowchart allows for the transfer of information from the virtual sphere to the real arena by sharing, discussing and acting on the information through social media without exposure to the limited and biased information flow of traditional mass media in any societal event. The most important point here is the fact that the received information is thought as reliable as if it were the firsthand by users because of the discussion with and sharing to large friend groups. One of the most important points is whether the information to be paid attention is confidential. But

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the biggest mistake is that even if the information received is disinformation, if it is shared by another close friend, it will be accepted correctly and instantly served to other groups of friends.

B. *Public Sphere Function of Social Media*

Traditional media tools and online publishing (which has an identification tag) depend on constitutionally specific provisions. The news made in these mediums can be censored and imposed a broadcast ban on. Sometimes it may be exposed to editorial censor as a political strategy, even if it does not constitute an illegal problem. Yet, as in the definition of Habermas, the public sphere has defined as an area without any restriction in which individuals freely converse and criticize issues related to the state on an equal basis and publicly accessible, that is freedom to congregate, organize, express and publish opinions are guaranteed in this area.[135] In the context of the transformation of the technological substructure, it is clear that when socialization is taken into account in relation to time and space, the definition of publicity needs to be expanded to include technology. In the 21st century, both the private and public spheres lost their spatial dimension. The new areas created by the public opinion in return for the lost are confronted as virtual environments. The roles in the public and private sphere are left to virtual identities. As the technology of traditional media tools have evolved and a new device has replaced by the previous one, the role of information technology has changed throughout its history. At the point reached today, as mentioned earlier, the roles have left their place with virtual identities. Whilst the capitalist corporations, the effect of state and the power of mass media are increasing, gradually they degenerate, which Habermas described as re-feudalism. In this new case, public opinion polls or media experts' opinions are taking the place of the previous communication type which is a rational sermon among free-will individuals, at this point the rise of new media technologies, in Habermas's expressions, are creating possibilities for a new golden age of the public sphere.

135 *Onat,* Kamusal Alan Ve Sınırları, P. 12.

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On the other side, according to Arendt, the public sphere is the field of visibility and everyone in this area has the right to speak liberaly and express himself. However, when the virtual domain is examined it is clear that the principle of visibility is distant from the physical context, but the right to participate and the right to self-expression are at the initiative of the individual. Social media symbolize a common world at this point. According to Geray, although the view that new communication technologies create a different type of freedom from traditional means of communication is accepted from a liberal approach, critical approach is intensively discussing the possibilities and limitations of these technologies to create a new sovereignty, power sphere and functioning.[136]

It is not possible to observe the direct and indirect influence of the traditional media in a transparent manner, mostly in a direct political process. Social media, however, gain transparency through the freely made sharings by every user. The attempts of censorship for social media in the periods of intense activist movements by goverment constitute a serious threat to the media. The state authority on the press can be seen in constitutional provisions and press articles.

Radio and Television High Council (RTHC/RTUK), which emerged as a control mechanism, also emerges as the authority of the state over the press with the will of constitution and press law. According to the 26th article of the constitution, everyone has the right to express and spread his/her thoughts and opinions either individually or collectively by means of words, writing, painting or other tools. This liberty includes the freedom to receive or impart information or ideas without the interference of official authorities. The provision of this paragraph does not preclude to link of radio, television, cinema or similar broadcasts to the authorization system.[137] With the regulation of this article dated 03.02.2001, the use of these freedoms, national security, public order, public security, the basic qualities of the Republic and protection of the indivisible integrity of the state and the nation, the prevention of crimes, punishment of the criminals, for the purpose of preventing the disclosure of information, the reputation or rights of others, the protection of private and family life or professional secrets prescribed by law or the fulfillment of the judicial task, can be re

136 *Yılmaz,* Recent Arguments on Use of Social Media: Relation Between "Privacy" and "Public Sphere" - Based on a Modeling With University Students, P. 252.

137 *Article 26 of the Turkish Constitution*.

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stricted with these goals.[138] This article is expressed as freedom of expression and spreading in the constitutional. As thought and opinion can be expressed freely, certain restrictions are imposed on this liberty. 27th article, which immediately follows the 26th article, is considered as freedom of science and art.

Article 27 of the Constitution reads as follows; "Everyone has the right to freedom of learning and teaching, explaining and spreading science and arts and all kinds of research in these fields. The right to spread cannot be used to ensure that the provisions of Articles 1, 2 and 3 of the Constitution are amended. The provision of this Article shall not prevent the entry and distribution of foreign publications into the country by law".[139] This article is under the title of freedom of science and arts in our constitution. In Article 28 of the Constitution, the press is not able to censor. Establishing a printing house or press cannot be tied to obtaining permission and depositing financial guarantees. The State shall take measures to ensure freedom of the press and information. In the limitation of freedom of the press, the provisions of Articles 26 and 27 of the Constitution shall apply.[140]

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138 *Legislation Information System,* P. 135

139 *Article 27 of the Turkish Constitution:* ARTICLE 27- Everyone has the right to study and teach, express, and disseminate science and the arts, and to carry out research in these fields freely. The right to disseminate shall not be exercised for the purpose of changing the provisions of articles 1, 2 and 3 of the Constitution. The provision of this article shall not preclude regulation by law of the entry and distribution of foreign publications in the country.

140 *Article 28 of the Turkish Constitution.* ARTICLE 28- The press is free, and shall not be censored. The establishment of a printing house shall not be subject to prior permission or the deposit of a financial guarantee. (Repealed on October 3, 2001; Act No. 4709)
The State shall take the necessary measures to ensure freedom of the press and information. In the limitation of freedom of the press, the provisions of articles 26 and 27 of the Constitution shall apply.
Anyone who writes any news or articles which threaten the internal or external security of the State or the indivisible integrity of the State with its territory and nation, which tend to incite offence, riot or insurrection, or which refer to classified state secrets or has them printed, and anyone who prints or transmits such news or articles to others for the purposes above, shall be held responsible under the law relevant to these offences. Distribution may be prevented as a precautionary measure by the decision of a judge, or in case delay is deemed prejudicial, by the competent authority explicitly designated by law. The authority preventing the distribution shall notify a competent judge of its decision within twenty-four

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This article mentions that the press is free and that it can broadcast uncensored, and also it is mentioned that measures will be taken when it is deemed necessary. The precautions to be taken are not explicitly stated. It is a news ban of the Istanbul State Security Court after the attacks of the synagogues and HSBC in 2003, one of the defeats of freedom of the press and information.

Another article that restricts freedom of the press is article 30 of the Press Legislation No. 5680. According to this article, it is forbidden to publish the preliminary investigations before the decision of non-prosecution is made before the readings of the demands and claims of criminal proceedings, decisions and all kinds of documents and documents in public hearing. It is also forbidden to publish a judge's decision and the judgment, proceedings of the court in favorable or unfavorable terms.[141]

Penalties such as warning, correction, suspension of broadcasting, closing, monetary penalties or suspension of publishing are determined according to the degree of publication or infringement made by Article 33, which is one of the binding provisions of Radio and Television High

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hours at the latest. The order preventing distribution shall become null and void unless upheld by a competent judge within forty-eight hours at the latest.
No ban shall be placed on the reporting of events, except by the decision of judge issued within the limits specified by law, to ensure proper functioning of the judiciary.
Periodical and non-periodical publications may be seized by a decision of a judge in cases of ongoing investigation or prosecution of crimes specified by law; or by order of the competent authority explicitly designated by law, in situations where delay may constitute a prejudice with respect to the protection of the indivisible integrity of the State with its territory and nation, national security, public order or public morals and for the prevention of crime. The competent authority issuing the order to seize shall notify a competent judge of its decision within twenty-four hours at the latest; the order to seize shall become null and void unless upheld by a judge within forty-eight hours at the latest.
General provisions shall apply when seizing and confiscating periodicals and non-periodicals for reasons of criminal investigation and prosecution.
Periodicals published in Turkey may be temporarily suspended by court ruling if found to contain material which contravenes the indivisible integrity of the State with its territory and nation, the fundamental principles of the Republic, national security and public morals. Any publication which clearly bears the characteristics of being a continuation of a suspended periodical is prohibited; and shall be seized by decision of a judge.

141 *Text approved by the Justice Commission.*

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Council. Furthermore, according to Article 25 of the Radio and Television Legislation of Turkey, the Prime Minister or the minister appointed by him/her shall have the right to remove a news or publication in the case of national security (Law No. 3984 on Establishment of Radio and Television Enterprises and Publications).

Alternative media will provide critical media content and destroy the ideological character of the capitalist media, making it possible to recognize emancipatory potential.[142] Despite all censorship and broadcasting bans, social media from alternative media tools is freer. Shared content only concerns the sharer. The banned broadcasting or new for traditional media can spread on Facebook and Twitter. Publishing a banned new can take only minutes to spread among millions of users. Especially with the trending topic of Twitter, the publication of banned new is spreading rapidly among users as well as interpreted by users. While this is the case, traditional media tools are increasing the direction to the news, especially in terms of censorship and publication prohibition.

Social networks have created a different world and lifestyle within themselves. Users express themselves with their profiles, with the content they share and the groups they belong to. Users create the public sphere with information that they reach and publish. Social media is shaped by the emergence of a new public sphere based on the claims that the plane of these new relations, organized on the basis of feedback, dialogue and interaction, is supported by intensive information flow.[143] It is based on the notion of the public sphere to establish a relationship between governance and management by emphasizing the flow of information. In the previous chapters, public sphere was expressed as common areas such as parks, coffee houses, squares by Habermas's expression, and Agora by the expression of Arendt where the public opinion was formed. However, everyone can be involved in molding public opinion debate. The public sphere emerges as a domain of emancipation, self-expression and the other's perception of the other.[144] In this context, the public opinion formed by groups and individual share in social media supports the public opinion in real life. The most obvious example of this can be seen in Facebook

142 *Işık,* Sanaldan Sokaga Toplumsal Hareketler, P. 52.

143 *Yılmaz,* Recent Arguments on Use of Social Media: Relation Between "Privacy" and "Public Sphere" - Based on a Modeling With University Students, P 256.

144 *Yılmaz,* Ibid, P. 249.

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groups where people are invited to protest actions in real places and notices on the pages of these groups. As a result, social media play a more integrative role between civil society and the political sphere than traditional media tools do. Traditional media, between the political sphere and civil society, has been at the center in molding public opinion about the social issues as a means of both communication and a translation of politics into the language of the people. Nonetheless, the role of the unity of the civil and political arena will be Internet. Because, traditional media tools, under the conditions of democracy, transmit information mainly from political field to civil society, whereas the direction of communication is reversed in social media. With this bi-directional flow, users can visually support their own ideas and criticisms and move them to the public sphere and then to the real public sphere. In addition, social media give rise to the high level of participation in terms of the direction of communication. Participation and pluralism are among the most important elements of democracy and are closely related to a series of processes connected communication and an access to social decision-making processes.[145] Therefore, if the alternative media are provided for ordinary people to broadcast their voices, the media's liberatory social influences can be mentioned.[146] Social decision-making processes are fast and effective with the groups established on Facebook and with tweets on Twitter. . The most obvious example of this can be seen in Taksim Gezi Park Resistance in Turkey in 2013 or in the activities of the M15 Movement in Spain in 2011.

Any public opinion formed by organizing through social media can not be moved to the real public sphere. One of the main reasons for this is that the virtual public sphere that is formed is only aimed at raising awareness of followers and participants. This can often be seen in virtual groups created for animal rights. The aim here is only to raise awareness and draw attention. Another reason is that followers and members consist of passive activists. In this case everything that is shared and reacted remains in writing and visuals. Anti-globalization virtual activist actions are also made by participating from the virtual environment and boycott calls are made to the companies which are on the globalization side. While petitions are

145 *Ligieza,* Active or Passive Citizen: The Influence of New Media Over Local Communities' Participation, P. 109.

146 *Işık,* Sanaldan Sokaga Toplumsal Hareketler, P. 52.

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acted over the Internet and are part of the virtual public sphere, they are moved to the real public sphere only through signatures sent to the competent authorities. The best example of this is change.org. Here, every user has the right to collect signatures for an application that they see incorrect. When the number of signatures reaches a sufficient number, the signatures are forwarded to the competent authorities of the state and the process of seeking the rights starts. The best example of this is change.org. Here, every user has the right to collect signatures for an implementation that they see incorrect. When the number of signatures reaches a sufficient number, the signatures are forwarded to the competent authorities of the state and the process of claiming the rights starts.

C. Evolution of Mass Media Towards Social Media

The political and cultural media productions that are living in the media public sphere and the media contents which are presented ready for the consumption of the society lead to profound effects on the participants. From this, it should be said that the anticipations of the counter-public spheres are totally transferred directly to the information in the public domain and not reproduced. Because counter-publicists who are aware of the responsibility for the realization of mass media completely refuse reproduction. The Internet transforms public opinion into public pressure by organizing public demands. Thus, it plays an important role in the proactive orientation of the people, in the struggle for their demands.[147] Where there is no democratization responsibility in the media public space, new media searches are made and communication is tried to be multifaced at this point. In other words, the need to change the traditional mass media with new ones in order to transform into a form where democratic participation possible.

The public sphere is based on the thought, the existence of face-to-face interaction in written and shared physical space, and the development of electronic mass media tools has also been transformed. Along with the end of the 20th century, developments in information and communication

147 *Köse,* Küresel "Akıntıya Karşı" Sivil Arayışlar Alternatif Medya, P. 271.

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technologies have led to changes in society at macro level and changes in the institutional structure of the media at micro level. There is an important contribution to raising the level of democratic participation of the Internet because it is thought that developments and changes in the public arena affect democratic values and elements very closely. Along with Internet technology, the boundaries of public debate and expression have expanded first. The boundaries of the influence of a verbal or debate in the virtual environment have extended beyond the nation-states to a time span of all mankind.[148] Traditional mass media have left their power to create publicity to the applications of the Internet, which are new media tools. The internet and its related social media, electronic journals and newspapers, websites that address specific groups, web-based encyclopedias, information dissemination and information access are more effective than traditional media. In this sense, traditional media do their own web adaptations to increase accessibility to them. According to Negroponte; "CNN, a television channel that can be watched in many parts of the world, and America Today's newest form of technology, along with America Today's leading newspaper, will reach more people."[149]

Social media, Internet-mediated information and information technology, along with the development of newspaper, radio and television features. It is even a structure that combines more in its own technological context. This change has been realized by the widespread use of audiovisual media tools. Likewise, since 2000, with the development of internet technologies and the addition of social media to the technologies that allow users to chat over the internet, a new stage of public sphere thinking has entered. Social media has provided a versatile communication environment that traditional mass media can not give to users as a social sharing and social envirement, at least as much as the use of television as a base. Parallel to the public opinion created by the traditional mass media, a public opinion was formed in the social media and each individual was able to share his or her voice in this public opinion. At this point, the social media's role in creating public opinion is important because participation, one of the principles of democratic life, is more functional and successful in the social media than in the traditional media.

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148 *Köse,* Küresel "Akıntıya Karşı" Sivil Arayışlar Alternatif Medya, P. 271.

149 *Negroponte,* Tomorrow of Technology. This article has been decoded from the tape record of the Guru conference Gegroponte attended as speaker.

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D. Social Media Apolitics Who Create Virtual Public Sphere and Y Generation

Y generation youth is a society that is away from politics, dislike the bureaucracy, based on rapid consumption and shaping their lives with technology. Y generation, that is those born between 1980-1999[150], are in a voluntary relationship with technology and consumption, and have acquired multiple identities, especially through specializations in the use of the Internet.[151] Their proximity to technology shows that almost all of them have a habit of accessing information quickly and easily via the Internet. One of the most striking features of the generation is the technological life thanks to social media is very good use. The virtual world of the Internet is replacing the real world perception and is the first generation to open the door to the world of consumption by creating a break in the world of production based world because people lead them to establish themselves and their relations through the symbols of this virtual world.[152] Their internet and social media life and other features provide the most important advantage is that they are conscious consumers. This consumption is valid for many cases, from the purchased goods to the service. In the global world, growing with television and game consoles youth is emerging as a new prototype of a new human protagonist of "insatiable, irresponsible, individualistic, cyber world" as a result of rapid consumption.

Marketers have faced an active mass of consumers who know and claim their rights when necessary since Y generation can follow all kinds of information and applications with mobile communication tools.[153] There is an important point here, as well as for the conscious consumers, for the expectations of goods or services that meet the quality and presentation, as well as for the political attitudes to meet expectations. It is also possible to see this in street actions in various countries as a result of the government's wrong politics.

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150 The issue of which date X generation covers is arguable in the literature.

151 *Altuntuğ,* The Consumption Phenomenon from Generation to Generation and The Consumer Profile of Future, P. 206.

152 *Altuntuğ,* Ibid, P. 206.

153 *Altuntuğ,* Ibid, P. 208.

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Y generation, entrepreneur, impatient, individualistic, focusing on the result, with high ego and self-confidence, who wants everything immediately and consumes immediately and does not want to pay a price, speed freak and who does not like bureaucracy and seriousness.[154] On the other hand; they are flexible, highly adaptive, well educated, have social status, and very fearless in many ways.[155] Y generation youngsters oppose the postmodernist paradigm, the rule of mind and the only truth. Accordingly, they have benefited from the voicing of differences and the globalization of an unlimited understanding of consumption based on this, and they have turned to different, private and personal consumption. Y generation is a generation that consider individual welfare instead of possibilities, focus on consumption, have desire to consume almost everything and are lack of empathy and have high level of ego. This generation unfortunately does not act as an actor of their own life, but prefer to talk instead of reading, watching instead of learning, holding on to life through parents.

Although they have been seen as apolitical in their definitions, this does not mean that they have no expectations from the politicians and the government itself. Because this generation is devoted to welfare and freedom. Restrictions and prohibitions related to the internet, environmental damage done by the state, reactions to their interventions in their sexual lives can be seen both in the Taksim Gezi Park Resistance and the 15-M Movement. Because according to Kuyucu; Y generation know they own rights, question authority and deal with the concept of justice.[156]

154 *Altuntuğ,* The Consumption Phenomenon from Generation to Generation and The Consumer Profile of Future, P. 206.

155 *Kuyucu,* Y Generation and Facebook: A Research on The Use Habits of Facebook of Y Generation, P. 59.

156 *Kuyucu,* Ibid, P. 59.

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Chapter 3: New Social Movements

In general, social movements are described as "collective actions that are carried out by individuals with common goals who are in solidarity in a permanent interaction with elites, other groups and elements, against elites, authorities, other groups of cultural codes".[157] New social movements have emerged with the 1968 Movement and been a sign of a concept and process. The most important of the common aspects of the movements that emerged in the field of politics after 1968 and are called new social movements is that they maintained the struggle in a different form and context in comparison to previous experiences. The difference in question here is completely related to the social context the movement defines change and itself. While new social movements included the dynamics of "old" social movements defined as social movements that were oriented around economic interests and emerged for obtaining/affecting political power over the working class in the first periods of modernity, in difference to the past, they exist out of being flexible and decentralized and being formed out of local reactions becoming collective. According to Touraine (1999), new social movements are based on a post-industrial societal structure by protesting against the industrial societal structure of 1970s. New social movements that exist in an area where new period conflicts and contradictions are determined are conceptualized in comparison to previous periods and they show a more heterogenous structure. The need for a comparative definition is the analysis of how new social movements emerged within a new hegemony and a conflicting cultural sphere and definition of this "new" sphere. While defining new hegemony relationships, Laclau and Mouffe (1985) discussed the development process new social movements which were shaped as the "new hegemonic formation" after the Second World War in three stages: Firstly, materialization of social relationships that emerged with transition from the economically widespread regime of accumulation to intense regime of accumulation; secondly, emergence of new forms of conflict as a result of the state's intervention in broader spheres caused by the interventionist char

157 *Tarrow,* Power in Movement: Social Movements and Contentious Politics, P. 7.

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acter of welfare state and materialization of social relationships; finally, formation of new hegemony relationships and therefore forms of conflict by a standardizing mass culture that emerges with advancements in mass communication tools. In a description of movements after 1968, Tilly noted that the new social movements are experiences that accept popular sovereignty, follow a course parallel to democratization demands, eradicate and institutionalize over time, and collect different demands under one roof.[158] In the same period, Arrighi, Hopkins and Wallerstein argued that the new social movements were the alternative forms of organization that responded to the movements of the workers' movement and the social democratic initiatives from being anti-system.[159] Munck defines new social movements as having a similar orientation to the traditional labor movement, but also as attempts to embrace the social field that is far from being a source of integration in the neo-liberal globalization process, more robustly than the traditional labor movement, but not fully ideologically shaped.[160] According to Touraine, the new social movements are experiences arising from a trend of thought, fed by cultural tendencies and possessing some identity features.[161][162] A deep and dramatic transformation happened in the late 1960s and it was clearly felt. The differences in civil rights, freedom of expression and student movements in the late 1960s and early 1970s, women, peace and environment movements in 1970s and nuclear disarmament movements in 1980s are known as the indicators of substantial transformation. These social movements which rose with various goals and actors against problems and dismays caused by widespread and deepened modernity were conceptualized as "new social movements". There are two main approaches that conceptualize the social movements that emerged since 1960s: the USA-centered Resource Mobilization Theory, and the Europe-centered New Social Movements Theories. Analysis in the framework of Resource Mobilization Theory are focused on social movement organizations. Accordingly, while the issues and actors that form a social movement are taken as given, the focus is on how the actors

158 *Tilly,* Social Movements: 1768-2004, PP. 16-17.
159 *Arrighi, G., Hopkins K. Terence, Wallerstein Immanuel,* Antisystemic Movements, P. 89.
160 *Munck,* Globalisation and Labour: "The Great New Transformation", P. 33-36.
161 *Touriane,* The Importance of Social Movements, P. 90.
162 *Touriane,* Critique of Modernity, PP. 245-246

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develop strategies and interact with their surroundings with the aim of following their own interests. Therefore, Resource Mobilization Theory uses a teleological model while explaining social movements and provides reference to the strategic-teleological aspects of movements.[163][164] In connection to this Resource Mobilization theoreticians, rather than considering the movements starting with 1960s as disengagement from the movements in previous periods, refer to similarities and continuities in between.

Unlike these, according to Fraser, the new social movements, with the vision of Gorz, regards members as a new form of organization consisting of workers, unemployed, poverty, in short, all those who are faced with social problems. Fraser claims that each individual involved in this form of organization is part of a concept called "global precarity."[165] While Chomsky describes the precarian as "a community formed by people who live their lives without being sure of their future at the periphery of the community".[166] Munck interpreted the concept of precarians as one of the most controversial concepts in the field of new social movements in 2002 with anti-globalization demonstrations in Genoa. In addition, Munck claims that the concept of prekarya should be considered together with the concepts of "becoming Southern" and "feminism" along with the change in the composition of the worker in the process of globalization.

The anti-globalization is one of the most controversial features of the new social movements. At the point of the anti-globalization nature of movements, two different views can be mentioned. According to the first view, the motto of "another world is possible", which is expressed by almost every new social movement example, expresses these movements as the ideology dominated and therefore the opposition to the neoliberal globalization process. The alternative view, which sees more support, acknowledges the fact that the economic, social, political and cultural consequences of globalization are now irreversible, even for the opponents of globalization. The alternative view, which receives more support, acknowledges the fact that the economic, social, political and cultural con

163 *Della Porta and Diani,* Social Movements: An Introduction, PP. 197-198.

164 *Tarrow*, Power in Movement: Social Movements and Contentious Politics, PP. 24-25-163

165 *Fraser,* Injustice at Intersecting Scales: On Social Exclusion and Global Poor, P. 369.

166 *Chomsky,* Occupy, P. 33.

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sequences of globalization, including opponents of globalization, are now irreversible. However, this acceptance does not mean that the negative consequences of globalization can not be reversed. New social movements do not demand a direct system change when demanding that the destructive effects of globalization be brought to light and to make the system more just by changing them. Therefore, the existence of claims that movements do not have the potential to change the system is also striking.[167]

When viewed from a narrow point of view, the protest against international organizations, seen as a source of inequalities in the capitalist system, may mean that the new social movements are totally anti-globalization. What is forgotten here is that new social movements have grown and developed in the process of globalization, especially in the development of communication technologies. In addition, the organization of new social movements in the axis of the World Social Forum (WSF) in the post-Seattle period points to a global dimension. The idea that new social movements are the driver of demands related to living spaces was explained by Habermas through making a connection between 'colonization of living spaces' and emergence of new social movements. Habermas stated that new social movements rise as a result of loss of meaning and freedom, issues that were not questioned by the previous tradition starting to be questioned irreversibly, and incompetence of the governing structure against these issues.[168] New conflicts that arise in areas such as cultural reproduction, social integration and socialization are triggered not by issues of economic distribution, but by issues that are related to regulation of lifestyle.[169]It is important in terms of Habermas' theory that new social movements are focused on cultural reproduction, social integration and socialization instead of welfare and economic redistribution issues. That is, these movements make demands for liberation of living spaces against the oppressive structure of the state and the economy and colonization of living spaces; however, they do not have demands based only on economic interests. Castells (2008), who analyzed emergence of new social movements by focusing on the effects of capitalist dynamics on transformation of urban space and actions that take place in this process, accepted

167 *Hardt ve Negri*, Decleration, PP. 10-87.
168 *Crossley,* Making Sense of Social Movements, P. 162.
169 *Habermas*, New Social Movements, P. 36.

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the role of both class-related and non-class-related actors/demands in urban social movements. Castells, taking the city as a social commodity, stated that this commodity is an outcome conflicting social interests and values.

Eder (1985), who discussed new social movements in the context of continuity without deeming them as complete disintegration from the parts, argued that new social movements have aspects that are similar to those in the parts and they cover two phenomena: cultural movements that oppose the existing form of social life and political movements that oppose the modern hegemony of the state.

One of the most outstanding features of the new social movements is the mass anti-violence of these movements. Mass anti-violence is seen as one of the main tools of new social movements to justify themselves.[170]

The mass anti-violence nature of the new social movements has manifested itself in many ways in the 1968 Movement and its subsequent process. It is stated that the social movements that developed in the countries following the 1968 movement did not resort to mass anti-violence and armed struggle outside Italy and Turkey.

The mass anti-violence trend in the past has continued in the new social movements in Seattle and after. It can be said that almost all the new social movements are the object of mass anti-violence when some acts as a reaction against the multinational businesses and financial institutions operating in various fields are left on the edge. The fact that such actions take place is largely related to the heterogeneous nature of movements. In addition, acts of violence are often criticized and tried to be avoided by other groups participating in the protests. There is also a suggestion that, in addition to all of these, the reflection of the act of violence instead of peaceful demonstrations on the mainstream media cause the actions to become publicly invaluable. Especially in the protests against international organizations and meetings, the main target to be shown to people is regarded as a "desecration attempt" in which marginal acts of violence are replaced by the fact of deregulated capitalism.[171]

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170 *Jordan,* Activism! Direct Action, Hacktivism and The Future of Society, P. 58.

171 *DeLuca and Peeples*, From Public Sphere to Public Screen: Democracy, Activism, and the Violence of Seattle, PP. 138-143.

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A. Arab Spring

The Middle East has not reached the status quo and has been the scene of constant conjuncture changes. The conjuncture has changed in the region approximately every 10 years. In the Middle East and North Africa since the 1960s, the Ba'ath Party began to become active. The Arab Baath party that began to organize in the countries where Arabs lived has come to the forefront by its character of Arab nationalism, secularism and anti-imperialism. The ideology that the Egyptian Leader Nasser has done as a regional leadership has begun to lose sight after the defeats against Israel and the Camp David treaty. At the same time, Islamic revolution was experienced in Iran and it was seen that the secular powers in the region could be destroyed. This fracture was followed by the disintegration of the USSR and the end of the Cold War, 1st Gulf War and 2nd the Gulf War which was triggered by the new conjuncture after the attacks of 9.11.

After these events that caused the conjuncture change in the Middle East and North Africa, the Arab Spring, which we still see today, has begun to be experienced. This is also regarded as the process leading to the most radical conjuncture change in the region.

The Arab Spring that lived in many countries ruled by "iron fist" so far is generally regarded as a public movement in the Middle East and North Africa which has been ongoing since December 2010. Every major development in history has a symbolic starting point. It was alleged that some of the Arab Spring caused a "tectonic" change in the Middle East and North Africa region. The Arab Spring started with the burning of Tunisian Muhammed Buazizi on 17 December 2010. Regional experts and political scientists has been drawing attention to the uneasiness of the public in long-term, accumulating tension and increasing legitimacy problems of the regimes.

In the process that is accepted by many that external dynamics as well as internal dynamics are influential to destroy the regimes and change political figures in Northern Africa and Middle East countries such as Muammer Gaddafi, Hosni Moubarak. The process developed rapidly at first. The government changed in Tunisiaho, the internal conflicts in Libya brought the end of Gaddafi, Hosni Moubarak resigned in Egypt, and there is still a tumult in the country after a painful constitution process. The spring mood which had an effect on other countries of the region, also turned to winter in Syria. Beshar Assad and the Ba'ath Party have suc

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ceeded in protecting their power, while the events that started on 15th of March, 2011 razed the country to the ground.

These movements which have led to unpredictable radical changes in the Middle East and North Africa has become the focus of the world. According to some people, moving secret plans of US and Western allies in this geography has led to these movements. On the other hand, according to some, the social, economic and political crises in the countries are caused by an expansion of the use network of the social media in the technological field. According to these views, the fact that the world has become a "small village" has already created the necessary environment for the people of the region who have come to the point of explosion.

The Arab Spring, which is one of the greatest events of the 21st century, is the biggest movement in the Arab world, spreading by creating a domino effect with a wave that started in Tunisia in December 2010. By the definition of the Arab Spring, a common name was given to the popular movements in the Arabian geography. The Arab Spring has emerged from some common demands of the Arab people. Leaders of the Middle East and North African countries have been subjected to popular uprisings because of the fact that they were far from reflecting the demands of Arab people, such as political reform, independent and fair elections, and the establishment of the rule of law.[172] With democracy, freedom and human rights demands, this movement is a regional, social, political and armed movement. There have been numerous protests and rallies as well as internal conflicts. During this movement, the people officially overthrew many Arab dictators. In Tunisia, Egypt, Libya, Syria, Bahrain, Algeria, Jordan and Yemen, there have been great demonstrations and conflicts; In Mauritania, Saudi Arabia, Oman, Iraq, Lebanon and Morocco, small scale conflicts were experienced. In other words, the whole Arab world is involved. Protest demonstrations, popular uprisings and armed conflicts have taken place in the region. With this movement, demands for Islamic democracy increased. With the Arab Spring movement, there was a revolution in Tunisia and Egypt, and the Gaddafi period was over in Libya. Muhammad Bouazizi, a Tunisian university graduate who has been marketing due to unemployment problems, started rebellion unintentionally by self-immolation and affected most of the demanding countries in the re-

172 *Sen,* Social Movements and Media: The Representation of "Occupy Wall Street" Movement in The Media, P. 101.

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gion. This condition resulted in administrative changes in Tunisia, Egypt, Libya and Yemen, causing the people to initiate protest against governance in many Arab countries as well.[173]

The transformation of the Arab countries, called the Arab Spring, could be followed instantaneously in the social media, which is connected to the internet network from the very first moment to the point where it is today. Those actively involved also carried out their planning and manifestos through social media. The speed at which all content transmitted via social media is even more than the speed of internet news. In a way, the agenda-setting power of the traditional media has changed to taking over the agenda from social media.

In the Arab Spring period, social media has been used extensively. The transformation of the Arab countries has been followed instantaneously by social media from the very first moment until today. The transformation of the Arab countries, called the Arab Spring, could be followed instantaneously in the social media, which is connected to the internet network from the very first moment to the point where it is today. Those actively involved also carried out their planning and manifestos through social media. The speed at which all content transmitted via social media is even more than the speed of internet news. In a way, the agenda-setting power of the traditional media has changed to taking over the agenda from social media. Although agenda-setting theory applies to traditional media, the use of traditional media theory and the theory of satisfaction have gained a new dimension with social media. Twitter and Youtube have been used as instant messengers and videos are shared. According to Ataç; "Undoubtedly, the Arab Spring has not started in social media; but it has been felt on Facebook, Twitter and YouTube as well as on the streets". However, after the Egyptian President Hosni Mubarak's resignation, he was an Egyptian protester stated that hey have used Facebook to announce the location and timing of their activities, used Twitter to coordinate the participants and used YouTube to announce their goals to the world. This process that resulted from the intensive use of social media, has been shaped, organized and streamlined through social media. Andy Carvin, the mainstream media outsourcer who has 107,000 followers on Twitter, has updated the news of the Arab Spring process instantly on Twitter. In the

173 *Orhan,* Arab Spring and the Future of Democracy, P. 18.

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week before Hosni Moubarak's resignation, 230 thousand tweets about Arab Spring were uploaded around the world, 23 videos uploaded to Youtube have been watched by a total of 5.5 million people, and atfer the first viral video of the first demonstration in Tahrir Square in Egypt was uploaded to Youtube have been watched by 600 thousand people.[174] Social media appears to play a very central role in shaping the political debate on the Arab Spring.

Carvin had an average of 100 tweets a day for 16 hours a day, 7 days a week while the rebellion continued. Being the most reliable source of the Arab Spring news alone, he became to be delivered private information. On this page, He posted 411 tweets through the shows in Tunisia, 191 of them with information that no one else has been able to reach, and 5290 tweets during the Egyptian rebellions, 1156 contain information specific to Carvin.

As onte said: "Digital life will gradually reduce the necessity of being in a certain place, and it will become possible to transfer the place itself". Negroponte emphasizes that the Internet will overtake geographical limitations and that individuals, even if they are not physically located in a place, can watch what is going on there from cpmputer screen as if it were there.[175] Of course this can not be a theory to explain how the Arab Spring is organized in the virtual environment or how the data flow is provided. However, this short discourse in the first analysis shows us; The internet is literally the other world. It is another world in which the physical is abstracted, even though they are not physically present, they actually exist, share, make decisions, and carry decisions to the physical world.

The Arab Spring activists or triggers, who began as Internet users and turned Internet use into a center of social movement after a while, used the internet as the intelligence unit and planning center of the social movement.

174 *O'Donnell,* New study quantifies use of social media in Arab Spring.

175 *Aktaş,* An Empirical Research Study on Internet Usage Patterns of Communication Faculty Students, P. 31.

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B. Spain 15M Movement

People from different sectors attended the first protest in Spain's capital Madrid, in Puerto del Sol Square. It has been shown that unemployment in the country and the reduction of unemployment salary which can be taken for 2 years as main causees of the protests. In this direction, in January 2011, people were organized to establish an unemployment chain within 5 kilometers between the prime ministery building and the parliament. From a narrow perspective, this movement is a reaction to the measures taken by the EU and the Spanish government in the post-global economic crisis. However, the 15M Movement is an initiative that has risen as a "burst" of successive events, not as a result of a single event. Anti-government protests that started in support of the war in Iraq in 2002, anti-Bologna processes in 2008 that spread throughout the country, general strike in September 2010, etc. have laid the groundwork for the rise of the 15M Movement. A movement that is not related to political parties is a social movement. It is known as the Anti-Saving Movement in Spain, the Anger Movement and the 15M Movement. Behind the events of Spain, which is called "15M" because it was organized on May 15th, there was a group called 'Real Democracy... Now' created by the unemployed and young professionals in the internet environment. In the words of Habermas, the system keeps a constant siege, without intending to seize itself. It is a civil society movement with a base of the plural, the middle and the working class. They also has built a defense based on the principles that plural, horizontal, non-party movement and violence were not appropriate.[176] A camp has been set up in Puerto del Sol for weeks. The movement spread over the whole of Spain and created local groups. The movement has a decentralized and horizontal management scheme. The difference between the camps established in each region comes from this feature. The 15M Movement reacts to the failure of political parties in economic and political areas and the failure of the government to cope with the economy. The general distrust of the political class has led to the rejection of the political

176 *Asero-Ripollés and Feenstra,* The 15-M Movement and The New Media: A Case Study of How New Themes Were Introduced Into Spanish Political Discourse, P. 7.

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institutions' participation to the movement from the beginning, the prohibition of their flags and the acceptance of a very individual cooperation instead of institutional cooperation.[177] Groups organized through a social network named "Real Democracy Now" (Democracia Real YA) were first gathered in Madrid, in Puerto del Sol Square, and directed the movement by gathering there. Real Democracy Now, have made around 200 displays in 58 cities by organizing via social media and other alternative virtual platforms (Anti-austerity movement in Spain, 2015). The protesters in Spain have demanded greater control of capital movements, greater taxation of the banks and wealthy individuals, and the preservation of public services. As a political extension of the 15M movement, in January 2014, a political party with the left views "Podemos" (We Can) was established. Podemos, who participated for the first time in the general elections held on December 20, 2015, came out of the polls as the third largest political party in the country.

C. Occupy Wall Street

Occupy Wall Street is a public action and social movement launched in New York on September 17, 2011 by the Canadian activist group Adbusters in Wall Street, the financial heart of the United States. Actions are peaceful and the majority of actors are educated young people. The aim is to protest social inequality and the influence of companies on US administration. Inequality in income distribution is the focus of Occupy Wall Street incidents. Actions began by being influenced by the Arab Spring. The motto of the protestors is "We are 99%". They spread this slogan through Tumblr, the social media tool they used the most. Despite the size of the action, the action does not take much place in the mainstream media organizations. Occupy Wall Street protesters have been steering their affairs by sharing their thoughts and thoughts through messaging on social media and social media. The Adbusters magazine marked 20,000 people on the internet at New York Zuccoti Park for a show on September 17, 2011, but only 300 people arrived at Zuccotti Park that day. However, immediately afterwards, this movement, which was supported

177 *Gravante and Poma*, New Media and Empowerment in the Indignados' Movement, P. 24.

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by over 1500 cities globally, including 100 cities in the United States, spread as a struggle against Wall Street, which created the destructive power and economic collapse of big banks and multinational corporations on democracy.

"Occupy Wall Street" resonated with a lot of people because it expressed not only economic injustice, but also and maybe more importantly, problems and demands. As the protests originated from Downtown Manhattan and spread into cities and towns nationwide, the reality and depth of the anger for the greed of corporations and economic inequality became clear. However, the thing that is at least as important as this is the protest against inadequacy -or failure- of political representation. The issue here is that inadequacy or failure of political representation was not the failure or corruption of this or that politician or party, but it was, in a much more general sense, the inadequacy of the representative political system. The Occupy Movement, which is the most important example of new social movements in the history of the USA, did not emerge independently of the social opposition in the USA. While the movement contributed to the experiences before itself, it also achieved criticism of those experiences. Thus, the Occupy Movement should be discussed along with the nature of the new social movements and social opposition in the USA.

The Democracy Now! platform which defines itself as a "New York-based, independent and global news initiative," makes oppositional publications online. This platform, which allows its users to participate and contribute in various ways, constantly updates the issues that it discusses. The issues that are discussed nowadays by the platform which reopened the antidemocratic attempts of the past for debate include: death penalty in the USA, civil rights, gun control, Wikileaks, the Occupy Movement, climate change, nuclear armament, history of the African-American movement, 9/11 attacks, the USA - Russia relations, the issue of Syria, militarism and American economy. It is also seen that the platform explains the issues it discusses through particular examples. For example, they referred to Chelsea Manning in discussions about Wikileaks, Troy Davis in discussions about death penalty, and the espionage program against Muslims by the New York Police Departments in discussions about 9/11. Likewise, while discussing climate change, they particularly mentioned the "oil leak" on the coasts of the Gulf of Mexico by a multinational corporation in

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2010 and the socio-economic damage experienced in Colorado in 2011 as a result of flood and storms.[178] USSF gathered for the first time in the city of Detroit in 2007. The Forum continued its meetings in different states of the country later. The goal of the forum is a multidimensional fight against economic and ecological crises. The objectives of the Forum are; forming a strategic area of discussion for social movements, facilitating communication among local opposition movements, improving social opposition to become a political power, achieving formation of relationships with international social movements, improving domestic spheres of opposition, and becoming a model by forming theoretical and practical spheres of opposition necessary for creating a different world. USSF, especially during the process after the crisis in 2008, also started to employ the particular objective of developing a strong political stance against the mass poverty, ecological and social destruction created by the crisis on millions of Americans (United States Social Forum, 24 September 2013).

The protesters who joined the Occupy Movement, which was ignored by the mass media and similarly by the institution of politics and considered to be "marginal" at first, were accused of "harming tourism in New York" by the former Mayor of New York City Michael Bloomberg. However, as the movement got increasingly stronger, Bloomberg also adopted a "sympathizing" stance about it. The protests which started in Wall Street were followed by supporting protests in other states of the USA and even in other continents. It was also seen that views that named the Occupy Movement "the American Fall" became prominent due to the interaction process which started with the visit of activists who took part in overthrowing Egyptian President Hosni Mubarak in the Arab Spring for purposes of supporting the movement.[179]

"Occupy Wall Street" has emerged as a result of many years of economic crises, social inequalities, social and economic policies of globalization and governments in the United States. The economic and social problems that started with the actions against the World Trade Organization in 1999 and increase in the global crisis in 2008 have been the cause of this movement.

New social movements rising with the crisis that started in 2008, first emerged in Greece, Spain, Arab countries and USA. In the case of the

178 *Democracy Now*, 21 September 2013.
179 *The Week*, Occupy Wall Street: A Protest Timeline.

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United States, it was stated that "As well as being widely used in the United States, developments observed in the financial process, such as borrowing mortgages on properties and depositing pension funds on the stock market, have caused the working class to feel" wealthy "as the stock market rises. Thus, the "paradox of consumption overtaking the income" appeared among the causes of the 2008 crisis.". As a result of Barrack Obama's becoming in charge and sanctions on the financial groups that caused the economic crisis, the public defended the necessity of establishing social justice and the Occupy Wall Street movement began to rise.

Heavy usage of alternative media tools is another distinguishing characteristic of the Occupy Movement. Usage of these tools in the Occupy Movement, in difference to the experiences in the early 2000s, happened not through cyber protest but via organization on social media similarly to the experiences of the 'Indignados' Movement and the Arab Spring. As stated before, even the first call for the movement was made via the internet. The driving force of the Occupy Movement in terms of new media tools consisted of the three globally most preferred social sharing platforms of Facebook, Twitter and Tumblr. The protesters shared several posts with the help of domestic and international pages and profiles created on these networks. These activities of sharing continued for a very long time even though the actual physical dimension of the protests ended, and they facilitated the institutionalization of the movement though in the virtual environment.[180]

D. Taksim Gezi Park Resistance

Taksim Gezi Park is located in Beyoglu district of Istanbul and within the decision of İstanbul 6th Administrative Court and 2 nd Protection of Cultural and Natural Assets, which is allocated to Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality only for use in public service. Taksim Gezi Park Resistance have started as an action to prevent the government from rebuilding the Artillery Barracks under Taksim pedestrianization project without permission of the zoning. The hard-line intervention of the police and the insistent explanations in the construction of the era's Prime Minister Tayyip.

180 *Gaby and Caren*, Occupy Online: How Cute Old Men and Malcolm X Recruited 400,000 US Users to OWS on Facebook, PP. 369-370.

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Erdogan turned things into anti-government demonstrations. During the events, the activists damaged public vehicles such as municipal buses, garbage containers, flowerpots, broadcast channels of special channels and automobiles in particular.

After Istanbul, it spread to other parts of Turkey, especially the big cities like Ankara and Izmir. The Trip Park Events were considered as an activist action aimed at protecting the trees for some, but as anti-government action for others. When we look at the first point of events, it seems that the real purpose is to prevent the trees from being removed and leave the Park as a park. However, despite the police' rigorous interventions the mainstream media remain indifferent to the events. This condition has laid the groundwork for the events to turn into a national-wide social movement, which has started as a peaceful resistion to preserve the park. The social movement, which started in the Gezi Park and then spread to Turkey as a whole, is the first time that demanded a direct democracy has been shown by public. The first 10-day timeline of the Gezi Park Resitance is as follows;

May 27, 2013 Municipal teams started working on dismantling of trees in Gezi Park at around 23:00pm. Members of the Taksim Solidarity association, which consists of a large number of professional chambers and associations that came together against the projects in Taksim, prevented the dismantling of the trees by stopping the construction machinery.

On May 28, people who came to the news via social media came to the Travel Park to prevent the trees from being removed. Among the arrivals, there is also a deputy, Sirri Sureyya Onder. The demolition was halted after it was understood that the demolition crew did not have demolition license.

The demolition resumed on May 29 and the activists, including the deputy Sirri Sureyya Onder, stepped ahead of the work machines and stopped the demolition. They camped in tents at night to keep the watch. During the opening of the Yavuz Sultan Selim Bridge on 29 May 2013, Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdogan said; "Whatever you do, we decided for it. We will do it" and showed everybody that he did not care about the resistance.

On May 30, police officers intervened in the park at around 05:00 and the tents were removed. Use of intense pepper gas by the police during this intervention caused more people to come to the park, and from the social media, 5000 people were announced to be waiting for Gezi Park; but it was estimated that participation was also above that.

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Deputy Sirri Sureyya Onder was injured for the second time on May 31 due to a gas bomb hit on his shoulder and CHP deputy Sezgin Tanrıkulu was fainted by the gas bottle.[181] Depending on the number of wounded and the fact that the hospitals in the region are not enough, the Turkish Medical association has established a temporary emergency response unit. The incident began at about 16:30 and continued throughout the day. Lobna Allami was injured by the police with a pepper spray bottle and was hospitalized until July 20th.

In the morning of June 1, 2013, some protesters gathered near Istanbul in Asian side and walked through the Bosphorus Bridge. In a group in Besiktas, police intervened with gas fuses and pressurized water. Things have jumped in other cities. In Ankara, Ethem Sarısülük lost his life by being shot from the head of a police officer's gun. Despite the fact that foreign channels announce the resistance, Turkish television channels have not mentioned events in the broadcast streams. Especially when a channel is published with a penguin documentary, the symbol of Gezi Park Resistance has become a penguin. Taksim Square and the police around it withdrew from 15:45 and then crowds waiting on the streets to Taksim entered Taksim Square. The demonstrations in Ankara continued on June 1st, and the police intervened with the tear gas and pressurized water to the demonstrators gathered at Güven Park in the afternoon, but the demonstrators began to recapture after 16:00.[182] Like Ankara, the protesters started to enter the Kızılay Square after the police withdrew from Ankara.

There was intense police intervention in Izmir and Ankara, especially in Istanbul's Beşiktaş district on 2 June. Mehmet Ayvalıtaş in Ataşehir Mustafa Kemal Mahallesi lost his life by staying under a non-stopping vehicle. Ali İsmail Korkmaz was beaten by a group against Eskişehir against the street. Demonstrations and police intervention continued in many cities. In addition to left-wing groups gathered in the Ankara Kıizilay Square, nationalist groups also participated. An international hacktivist group, Anonymous, published a statement explaining that "it will bring the Turkish government on the knees" with the cyber attacks.

On 3 June 2013, Stock Exchange Istanbul opened with a record drop of 6.43 percent, with a loss of 10.47 percent. Before the trip to Morocco, the

181 *Taksim Gezi Park Resistance Schedules.*
182 *Gezi Resistance Timeline.*

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prime minister said, "We have 50 percent of Turkey waiting at their homes forestalled" caused the tension to carry on. Abdullah Comert, who had a tear gas gun on his head at Antakya Armutlu, lost his life in the hospital where he has been taken.

On June 4, 2013, Taksim Gezi Park's activities went through nocturnal daytime conflict, and then Confederation of Public Labors Unions (CPLU) declared a strike and made a support march to Gezi Park. The excursion park has been transformed into a living space by tents set up by activists, where a library and a kitchen are set up.

Police intervention in Istanbul on 5 June 2013 was not much experienced, but police intervention in other cities continued. Confederation of Progressive Trade-Union, Turkish Medical Association and the Union of Chambers of Turkish Engineers and Architects participated in the quitting action initiated by Confederation of Public Laborer's Unions on June 4 at Kızılay Square in Ankara, Gündoğdu Square in İzmir, Taksim Square in İstanbul.

On June 6, 1st Administrative Court of Istanbul canceled the amendments to the zoning plan to open the way of Taksim Pedestrianization Project and to build Taksim Artillery Barracks. In İzmir, the ones in custody due to Twitter posts were released.

More than one statistics and researches have been done for Taksim Gezi Park Resistance. As of June 12, according to the statement made by the Turkish Medical Association, Gezi Park Resistance was organized by 79 million people around Turkey except Bayburt and Bingol. 2.5 million people participated, 7.478 people were injured due to pressurized water, short-distance tear gas and plastic bullets, 91 head trauma, 10 eye-loss and 5 people lost their lives during intense events for about 1 month.[183] A police officer who died during the incident died of a careless ending from an ongoing bridge construction. In another report of Turkish Medical Association dated July 2013; In the course of the Gezi Park Resistance (May 31-July 15), as a result of police violence 4 people died , 8.163 people injured, 63 were seriously injured, 106 were head trauma, 3 were seriously injured in 13 province.[184] [185]

183 *Gezi Park Resistance.*

184 Istanbul, Ankara, Izmir, Antakya, Adana, Eskişehir, Muğla, Mersin, Bursa, Balıkesir, Kocaeli, Antalya, Rize.

185 *Göktepe,* Rolun Reddi: Gezi Direnisi, P. 11.

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Taksim Gezi Park Resistance started with the demonstration of civil public who oppose the construction of artillery barracks and shopping centers and the cutting of trees. These small actions, which began on May 27, have become a social movement after three days. People from all walks of life have participated in this movement such as intellectuals, artists, lawyers, health workers, non-governmental organizations, trade unions, nationalists, supporters of soccer clubs, apolitics, homosexuals, students, pensions, religious rightists (Revolutionary Muslims) and left wing supporters. Although the Gezi Park Resistance began as a democratic action for the people to preserve their living space in the city, the movement's democratic character was not limited to this, and events soon evolved into a direct democracy movement questioning parliamentarism.

On the second day of the Gezi Park Resistance, following the withdrawal of the police by Taksim Gezi Park and Taksim Square on 1 June, the activists used public goods such as pavement stones, police barriers, flower pots and garbage containers belonging to close all the ways to Taksim Square and Gezi Park. They have created a public sphere of their own. In this area, the activists set up a library and a kitchen to live mutually. This area, which is free from violence and mutual; evokes the model of Agora which Arendt has used to describe public sphere. The situation that makes Agoras public is that people (except women and slaves) can gather here and freely express their ideas. The most distinctive feature that separates public sphere here from others is that it does not belong to a struggle of a certain class. The public sphere is an area of speech and debate activity independent of private, economic interests and public authority.[186] This definition of Kejanlıoğlu is close to recognizing the two-day public sphere formed in Taksim Gezi Park on 1-2 June. Although police intervention began around Beşiktaş on June 2, Taksim Gezi Park was able to remain under control of its activists. On June 3, the police intervention in Gezi Park started and the principle of violence in relation to the public sphere were breached. As a tesult of this, the sphere moved away from the definition of public sphere. Although the intervention of the state was hard during the events that occurred, the activists responded to disproportionate power by fleeing into the streets and responded passively to interventions. In this way they have shown the existence of violence as a result of harm

186 *Kejanlıoğlu,* Medya Calismalarinda Kamusal Alan Kavrami, P. 691.

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ing the activists and public property. Nevertheless, for Arendt's principle of violence in the public sphere, he did not give a clear answer to the question, "Are violence directed against the public sphere created by the civilian people of the security forces, or acts of mutual violence disturbing the creation of the public sphere?". This question was asked to Noam Chomsky in a special correspondence, and Chomsky stated that it is important that the activists respond to the security forces whether in a terrorist manner, or not. If the activists have something to support terrorism, public sphere principle disappears. The dilemma in this regard is important in terms of the formation of publicity and the continuation of publicity. In general, as long as the police or the army are ready to use weapons in a violent struggle, the supremacy of the state is absolute.[187] Besides, the actions started with peaceful demonstrations and the security forces continued to increase the dose of violence. As a result, the activists began to throw rocks and sticks to their security forces. The most common thing that the actors did was to create barricades with flower beds, benches and garbage containers belonging to the public. Nevertheless, every roadblock has been a simple obstacle for TOMA. According to Arendt; There has always been a gap between the state's tools to violate and the tools which can be captured by people.[188] Whether there is violence or not, necessary for the formation of public sphere; the struggle for freedom, the environment of common ideas, the criticism and the reaction to the misapplications (including the last 10 years) that have been made point to the existence of public sphere.

Freedom of assembly, freedom of expression, rights seeking, equality principle and freedoms of life are the freedoms that express the needs for democratic life at the beginning of the resistance. At points where human freedom (freedom of expression, freedom of person, freedom of assembly and association, gender rights, inviolability of dwellings ...) is restricted, problems are brought to the public sphere. When state intervention in freedom areas comes, civil public is free to use their democratic rights. This can turn into civil disobedience at times when no legal response is available. Gezi Park Resistance is also closer to the definition of this type of civil disobedience action. As mentioned before, civil disobedience is an

187 *Arendt*, On Violence*, P. 48.*
188 *Arendt,* Ibid, P. 48.

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illegal act undertaken after all means have been denied against an unjust practice. Such action was seen by government sources as terrorist or illegal organization, but the activists did not accept this description. Terror describes a situation in which violence does not recede after all the power has been destroyed.[189] Such non-violent social movements cause the mainstream media to misrepresent and mislead the social movement to reconstruct the power- government relationship with new meanings. According to the activists, the social movement in which they take place is seen as a democratic way of seeking a right, while the mainstream media have included expressions such as conflict, detention, police resistance, tyranny. In this case it loses its positive meaning as a democratic right and has a negative meaning.

Social media has provided almost unlimited communicative freedom to users. The ability to express ideas openly and freely, to transfer them to another person, or to share it with someone else has become its most attractive aspect. According to Lievrouw; Websites, mobile phones, digital photography, video and audio, blogs, wikis, file sharing systems, social media and open source software allow social groups to build and maintain their communities, provides a marginalized view, offers opportunities to produce and share their own DIY (do-it-yourself) sources of information, and provides resistance and response as well as stand against the dominant media culture, politics and power.

Social media takes its power from mass use. That is why it has been advantageous to hear those who participate in the actions during the events. Social media activism in the Taksim movement has become an area where new collective actors have developed, new communication channels have opened and new types of expression have been exhibited. Events happened in the streets are shared instantly, especially on Twitter. These shares were mainly shared under #occupygezi, #direngeziparki hashtags. The first shares on Twitter began in the passive action phase of the Gezi Park Resistance. Twitter is often used to inform people about the dismantling of trees and the construction that will be done in the Travel Park. As of the morning of May 29, when the first intervention of the police was experienced, the number of shares on Facebook and Twitter increased and local passive action turned into a massive active action. The first tweets

189 *Arendt,* On Violence, P. 55.

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recorded on the morning of May 29, when the resistance began, were published as follows;

> "A. Y. 29 May 2013 RT PLS! via @ ... The mobility started around the park. Everyone is standing at the park right now. The ones nearby, participate. #occupygezi" - Twitter

> Tweets that follow immediately include the severity of the situation and help calls. In the hours following the events, hundreds of Tweets and Facebook shares indicated where the policemen intervened and where they set up barricades.

> "A.E.Y. 29 May 2013, 5am! @ ..: The police are now prepared, mostly undercovered and all gas masks, the intervention will begin at 4:57 !!!" #occupygezi - Twitter

> "M. I. A. 29 May 2013 #SOSGezi #OccupyGeZi There is information about police intervention on guard in park ... :(Gas bombs are being thrown !!!" – Twitter

> "B. 29 May 2013 #OccupyGeorge We have difficulty breathing. People are dragged into the pit, gas clouds, cannot see anything!" - Twitter

> "M. A. 29 May 2013 Police burned the tents are down ... #occupygezi" - Twitter

> "D. E. 01 June 2013 Turkey is restarted in Besiktas and Taksim Square. Taksim is everywhere, resistance everywhere! #direnbesiktas #diregezi #ayagakalktaksim" - Twitter

> "C. M. 01 Jun 2013 Stadium has set up barricades at the exit to Taksim with barricades against TOMA. But the gas in the air is affecting some. #direngezi" - Twitter

In the process of Gezi Park Resistance, as well as social media was able to demonstrate the correct information flow, false news was produced. False news especially caused the actions to rise slightly.

Gezi Park Resistance is not a complete organization. It has not been done on the call of a union, political party or any formation in the known sense. In classical public spaces the opposite of this situation is present. The classical public sphere is organized by the announcements of free entrants, trade unions, non-governmental organizations or political parties as an area of political activity. Freedom requires a politically organized world in which every free person can put himself or herself into speech and act, in other words, a common public sphere where other people in the same situation can meet. Participants in Taksim Gezi Park Resistance are seen to participate without being part of any union, organization or political organization. Participants were aware of social media through conscientious action and moved to Taksim Gezi Park. During the Gezi Resistance, social media networks and participants tried to provide solidarity by communicating needs such as health, lawyer and food to each other. This shared identity has helped to mobilize other individuals in the com-

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munity outside the movement. Political differences, economic, age, sectarian and religious differences have ceased to exist under favour of common identity, and collective demonstrations against anti-democratic sanctions of the current government has begun. Many people who do not physically participate in the activities have communicated information from social media to their friends and groups. As a result of the sharing of messages, videos and photographs on the social networking sites, people have been organized and communicated with others through the internet, and have informed others about the events. Physical and virtual participation of the public was observed. Those who are not on-scene physically, have helped resistance by providing information flow.

> "C. D. June 2, 2013 • Friends, Fill a quarter of 5 liters of water bottles, throw the incoming bomb into it and close the door, the bomb dies!" - Facebook

> "S. Y. 01 Jun 2013 Gezi Park, Relax, Just wait, Resist, Do not destroy! Harbiye region Currently empty, no police #provokasyonaGELMEYELİM (Do not allow provocation) #direngezi." - Twitter

Participants using Facebook were generally influenced and organized by the participation of friends participating in the activities or supporting the events. Particularly, during the acts, it was announced in which region what was going on, where the police intervened in the activists and what points were comfortable. Moreover, wireless internet network (wi-fi) passwords have been shared among the enterprises in the regions where the events took place so that the activists do not leave social media. Some of the businesses have removed the internet network passwords during the events and opened them for everyone's use. Shares were made entirely by the self-control mechanism and the conscientious responsibilities of the individuals. Although the activists have organized protests against unfair events and state domination, supported each other by social media and have been in the call for participation, it would be wrong to say that they are organization or organization. Because, in fact, there is no organization. Organizing involves establishing a process that will accomplish their objectives, separating the work into departments as integration processes, assigning each worker or group a specific job, determining relationships among these departments, harmonizing the activities, and providing the

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necessary staff to these departments.[190] According to this definition, there is no horizontal or vertical organization scheme in the Taksim Gezi Park Resistance. Someone is not assigned a job or a task. Moreover, there is no division of labor in the actions. In other words, there is a random structure in the Taksim Gezi Park Resistance. It would be wrong to say that it is organized. The most appropriate word here is "the way of gathering". The resulting structure refers to the democratic participation process. According to Arendt's statement; "It is not personal needs that constitute the issue of political action and its value. It is information and worries about the world in common". Taksim Gezi Park Resistance have begun to protest the removing the trees in the park because of the construction. Later on, the repression of the state pressures on the society and the protests of democratic executions were also due to Arendt's expressions of concern to the common world. The protestors have experienced the virtual public arena and the real public arena simultaneously. Initially expressed as a virtual public space; They have carried the public space formed in the virtual place to the real places with the physical participation in the activities informed by Twitter and Facebook shares. In other words, the way of gathering in Taksim Gezi Park Resistance is to participate with social media sharing and announcements. This participation has come in two forms. The first is physical participation. The other is online participation on the internet. The media has allowed the events to grow throughout the actions and spread from Istanbul to other places. Thus, people from different groups such as Besiktas Carsı Group, Feminists, Kurdish Democratic Movement, Revolutionary Muslims, LGBT individuals (Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transsexual), Apoliticians, Turkish Youth Associations (TYA), Nationalists and many others are seen to be resisting together. These groups have also been able to reach other users through social media. In addition, during the actions on Facebook, many groups such as Gezi Solidarity, Platform of Violence in Taksim Gezi Park Resistance, Occupy Gezi Park, Banners of Gezi Park Resistance, Gezi Park's Art Collective, Taksim Solidarity Platform, Association of Taksim Gezi Park, Reality of Gezi Park Resistance were formed.

Social media is an important communication tool. Because news or a message spreads quickly. Friends lists or followers provide a certain set of

190 *Güz,* Organization and Attemps of Organization Model in Public Relation: Conception of Matrix Organization, P. 64.

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clusters. When the notification that each user sends to his or her cluster is socially or politically interesting, it is beginning to spread at an incredible rate among other clusters. The announcement of the Taksim Gezi Park Resistance also happened this way. It also comes from the fact that the actions are not a full organization. Research shows that physical and virtual participation in the actions is mainly through social media. This means that the structure that allows information to spread rapidly in the social media. It allows to be informed of inner circle. Moreover, it shows that the call is being heard.

39.6 percent of the actors are between 19 and 25 and 24 percent are between the ages of 26 and 30.[191] The remaining 36.4 percent of the activists were born in 1965-1980 called X generations. 63.6% of the participant profile is Y generation and is mainly university students. They are social media apoliticians who know how to make life a joke, and who are ambitious and defend their rights. They also showed specific behaviors to their generation in the Taksim Gezi Park Resistance. Particularly, they have directed actions through social media sharing and social media participation calls. Taksim Gezi Park activists have taken state and state authority in social media sharing and wall writings. In other words, they refused to enter the role that the government had drafted for them. According to Göktepe; "Make love with me Tayyip, no war", "Do you want to smoke Tayyip?" "We are kissing all the time", "Yey! pepper gas", "Pepper gas makes the skin beautiful" , "we can not wash for three days, "Send TOMA".[192] Wall writings such as "we are here baby", "TOMA, I am very alone", "We killed the citizen who died in us with abortion", "Do not worry mom, we all walk together" are actually shows an activist profile who tease all the time, although the events are tough and the government does not approve the events.

On 3-4 June, after the second intervention, according to Kongar and Kucukkaya's research with about three thousand people; 39.6 percent of the protesters are between 19 and 25, 24 percent are between the ages of 26 and 30, and 75.8 percent of the activists are going to the streets and

191 *Kongar and Küçükkaya*, Gezi Direnisi, P. 31.
192 *Göktepe,* Rolun Reddi: Gezi Direnisi, P. 13.

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53.7 percent have never participated in any mass action before and 81.2 percent of the demonstrators are called themselves "Liberation".[193] In another research, which was dated June 6-7, after the second intervention and before the third intervention, with the transfer of Kongar and Kucukkaya; 50.9 percent of the activists are women, 31 percent have not left the park since the trees started to dismantle, 79 percent are not members of any association, 44.4 percent have never participated in any action before, 93.6 percent do not represent a group, they state that they are only citizens and the average age is 28.[194]

In both research data, the majority of the activists are Y generations which born after 1980. The most important participants, according to the first research, 53.7 percent, according to the second research, 44.4 percent participated in a protest for the first time. According to the field research; none of the participants said that they were not part of a group, they only showed their stand against the decisions that restrain the freedom that the government took over many years, which created injustice in the eyes of the activists,

The action, which advocates not cutting the trees and is against the construction of the shop mall, has been transformed into a massive movement, especially because of the anger of the Y generation accumulated during the administration of the ruling party. Participants who belonged to a group and individuals who did not belong to a group also participated in the resistance of the Taksim Gezi Park. These groups are Revolutionary Muslims led by Ihsan Eliacik, LGBT (Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transsexual), Taksim Solidarity and Taksim Platform, which is trying to stand in front of the cutting of trees from the beginning, TYU (Turkish Youth Union), Nationalists, Feminists, and Besiktas Carsi Group.

E. The Use of Social Media as an Information Tool

Activists who use social media have tried to inform people they can reach by sharing instantaneous information mainly on events starting in Gezi Park and later on in Turkey. However, what points did the police keep, where they barricaded and in what areas they were intervened were in-

193 *Kongar and Küçükkaya*, Gezi Direnisi, P. 31.
194 *Kongar and Küçükkaya*, Ibid, P. 32.

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stantly shared by social media. Also included are phone numbers of lawyers who provide professional support for the actions, where the infirmary was established for the activists, name and surnames of the detainees, and information about how much detention there was in the police station. According to some allegations; lawyer numbers and some of the infirmary's addresses have been reported by the police to social media, to capture or to tag actors. However, there was no evidence of its correctness. There has been a constant flow of information between passive and active activists on Facebook and Twitter. In the social media, the places where the infirmaries were established, the telephone numbers of the lawyers, the concentration of the police and the places where the barricades were established, the comments of the politicians on the subject, the artists supporting the events and the attitudes of the mainstream media were made.

> "M. I. A. 29 May 2013: Do not even have a single TV camera in there? Without twitter, we would not even have a single source of news." #occupygezi #SOSGezi" – Twitter

> "K. E. 1 June 2013: Only Ankara, Izmir, Eskisehir, Mersin, Berlin, Cologne, Paris, Lefkosa act support. These are all I know. Goztepe, Karşıyaka fans are on the road by bus. The conflicts are still on. Churches, schools, hotels and artisans open doors to the activists. You can not see these news on national channels. Because they give food programming and beauty contest. – Facebook

> "Y. A. 31 May 2013: It's not a park. The subject is deeper. To this system, to this man, this politics is actually anger." – Facebook

> "G._ 01 June 2013: The Italian Hospital in Tophane explained that the wounded would look for free. This hospital is waiting for the wounded in Besiktas." #occupygezi #occupybesiktas – Twitter

> "How did you use social media in Taksim Gezi Parkı Events" was asked to those who participated in the research done for this book study and close answers were received. An activist; "When I used social media, I was particularly careful to use quotes because there was a possibility that the social media accounts could be tagged or judged. I tried to summarize what events are happening through Twitter. I shared images which I took with my mobile phone and published some of the shares that my friends shared. For example, I learned from my friends the locations of police interventions on which streets, how many people were taken into custody, the telephone numbers of lawyers and the infirmaries established for emergency medical interventions on Facebook." (Men, 27, single, employee)

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"I used Twitter a little. I just wrote the feelings about my actions. I mainly used Facebook. I shared the photos I took with phone via Facebook. I shared the photos I took with phone via Facebook. I can say that I try to do citizen journalism by sharing photographs of police intervention moments, which I think is especially a crime to myself. I chronologically shared on which street there was police intervention minute by minute." (Woman, 30, married, employee, childless)

"I used Twitter often and shared photos of police interventions. I have retweeted RedHack and Anonymous'195 support. I have retweeted196 RedHack and Anonymous's support. I have shared news about the actions in Internet newspapers. I also tried to share where the police intervention was on the streets, where the police were gathered." (Woman, 19, single, university, student)

"I took photos of the helmet numbers of people who were injured and disproportionate by the police officers and shared them on my Facebook page. I have shot and shared videos occasionally. I instantly shared the information about the events that we had in the environment with my followers on Twitter and with the general followers via hashtag[197]." (Woman, 19, single, university, student)

"I took pictures of almost every event which I saw and wrote comments on the bottom to share on Facebook." (Men, 21, single, university student)

"I only shared photos on Facebook twice or three times. Because the number of followers on Twitter is quite high. For this reason, I shared a few photos about the events and shared my comments with my tweeter followers." (Male, 23, single, university, student)

195 Redhack and Anonymous are a group of hackers ie internet pirates. While the Redhack group is Turkish internet pirates, Anonymous is a multinational group working on an international scale.

196 Retweet is quoting a user's share on Twitter

197 A hashtag is the name given to many microblogs and social networks by adding a hash symbol (#) to a word or whole body. Connections created by microblogging and social networking services like Facebook, Google Plus, Instagram, Twitter, etc., are added in front of a word or group of "#" symbols to help categorize and communicate instantaneous information.

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> "I have a Twitter account but I do not use it. I published the photos and videos I took during the actions on Facebook without comment." (Female, 25, Single, University student)

From these expressions, we understand that activists used social media to inform the public about the events going on. The shares were the written form of the process of the actions. It seems that the common point of the posts was the locations of Police interventions. This kind of sharing shows that the activists were aiming the realization of events by avoiding possible conflicts with police force.

F. Formation of the Virtual Public Sphere and Contributions to New Social Movements

The public sphere's political, economic, social and cultural demands such as interests, relations, ideas that refer to reconciliation results from its arguable nature. The public sphere addresses us with lots of questions about what happens under what circumstances, what is the domain, what is covered and what is excluded, how the devices in the transformation are, how they go through the processes. The public sphere gains visibility in terms of participants as a common area of freedom of expression and opposition rights. The public sphere, which is the domain of discourse action and basis condition of democratic politics, is hosted to some common concepts such as publicity, freedom, common areas, and civil society despite several models. Thanks to commonality, the public sphere preserves its existence regardless of which community layer is reconstructed in because the democracy pre-requisites necessary to be able to talk about the existence of the public sphere allow free individuals to enter into and have the right to policy making in common areas. Participants who did not approve the governments and their political initiatives had the opportunity to express themselves in common areas such as Taksim Square, Puerto del Sol, Zuccoti Park and Tahrir Square in Occupy Wall Street Movement, 15M Movement, Arab Spring and Taksim Gezi Park Resistance. This form of expression and its aims bring out two different views. The events have been assessed from two different perspectives, trying to overthrow the government, or demanding direct democracy. 15M Movement has moved towards overthrowing the government, which began with demands for direct democracy, tighter control of capital movements, greater taxation of

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banks and wealthy individuals, and demands for the protection of public services. As a result of many problems such as unemployment, food inflation, political corruption, freedom of expression, political and social irregularities and bad living conditions, Arab Spring, as a whole of movements for both direct democracy and overthrow of governments, started with Muhammed Bouazizi's burning himself in Tunisia. These movements then spread domino effect in countries with similar problems. Occupy Wall Street Movement, differently from others, emerged as a movement against the financial environment. Taksim Gezi Park Resistance was a social movement in which a direct claim of democracy has been raised but allegedly aimed at overthrowing the government. The public sphere in the meaning of openness corresponds to an area in which everything can be seen and heard by everyone through social media and traditional media tools as a result of the actions in Taksim Gezi Park and in surrounding provinces. The same visibility and audibility have also emerged in the Internet-mediated new media in Arab Spring, 15M Movement and Occupy Wall Street. According to Arendt, being visible and audible, that is, what is seen and heard by others as well as us constitutes reality. According to Habermas, the public sphere is an institutionalized discursive interaction area in which participants are negotiating common issues. Participants in the definition of Habermas are the liberal bourgeois class. Aside from bourgeois rights and their discourse, it is useful to remind the precondition that the household head must own property in the model of Arendt in the Ancient Greek Police. On the contrary, it is important to note that only Negt and Kluge's proletarian class in the concept of the counter public sphere constitute the real public sphere, because according to Negt and Kluge, the proletarian who works and produces the true owners of the labor-work and the profit cycle. Taksim Gezi Park Resistance and 15M Movement seem to involve the working class as well. Particularly, CPTU (Confederation of Progressive Trade Unions) and CPU (Confederation of Public Laborers' Unions) provided physical participation in the events. At Taksim Gezi Park Events On 1 June, police officer Ahmet Sahbaz opened fire to protect himself from the activists and Ethem Sarısuluk wounded and died on June 14th and Ethem was a member of the working class. In addition, the feminists and gay-lesbians from the counter-public are also

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the people who support the actions both physically and virtually. Especially LGBT (Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transsexual) people felt their presence intensely during the actions. The unity in action has shown the existence of multiple publics. The effects of social inequality will be exacerbated where there is only a single, inclusive public sphere.[198] The place where the single public for many years has been established is the publicity which was constructed by government and increases the dependence on government. This single public type is formed by the votes of the AK Party, 49% in 2011 and 45% in 2015 in the general elections of the society. The counter publics and the social media, which are in opposition to this, have created a common discourse and field of action in the real sphere. The definition of the public sphere has now entered a new course of transformation. This course was mainly accompanied by the development of information technologies. Developments in the public arena can be easily accessible to citizens through written and visual media. Depending democratization and political discourse, literary media and audiovisual media are important in the formation of publicity, because all mass media are the common field of a programme for everyone, and everyone learns what's is going on with them at the same time. For this reason, mass media have an important place in the formation of publicity. There was lack of information and deformation in the mainstream media in Taksim Gezi Park Resistance. However, social media has announced its existence as a field of information sharing and organization. The same pattern of organization has been experienced by the efforts of Adbusters in Occupy Wall Street Movement. When viewed from the general frame of view, the social movements that have had an important place in spreading to the country and having virtual support from abroad with social media support. One of the symbols of the Taksim Gezi Park Resistance, the gas-masked penguin sketch was also caused by the fact that one of the mainstream television channels had been put into a penguin documented post while police intervention was taking place. The dilemma here is that the reality in the public sphere must be conveyed as it is, or never shown. In platforms such as mainstream media and social media, the deformation of information creates a pressure on the public sphere and constitutes a guide in the formation of public opinion. These formations lead to dissociation and mar-

198 *Fraser,* Rethinking the Public Sphere: A Contribution to the Critique of Actually Existing, PP. 9-11.

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ginalization in the social structure. In the period of Taksim Gezi Park, some protesters have appeared as tyrants in some broadcasting organization whereas some of them demonstrate protesters as young people in demand of democracy. The fact that broadcasting organizations are a side of the events that take place in the public sphere led to a formation of different opinions in the society. This spread of information in this way has caused the deformation of the public sphere.

The deformation experienced by the media tools has caused the transformations in the public sphere. The increase in the effectiveness of mass media in the public sphere makes it possible to create a dialogue between the public and the state. With regard to public events, mass media are pioneering in the formation of a public dialogue. Taken into account a large public sphere, special tools are needed that will enable information to be transferred for communication and affect the recipient or audience. Deformation traces in mass media cause the audience mass to move to alternative media. People are trying to reach the social media and the alternative media to get the right information, or the need to reach the news without embargo, created by the deformation. This situation has also been experienced in the countries where the Arab Spring has taken place and in Taksim Gezi Park Events. Those who are physically or online in the events and those who want to know the truth about the events have followed and used the sources and social media out of the mainstream media. Public spheres are transformed by features such as the spreading of information created by the media, the pressure it creates on the public opinion and the politicization of mass communication devices. During this transformation, the social and status identities of the people who constitute the public sphere have shifted and the distinction between the public sphere and the private sphere has waned. Although the clear line between the development of information technologies and the private sphere has begun indistinct, it has preserved the existence of the feeling of privacy in some societies. Looking at the public sphere, it is necessary to keep track of those who are constantly in the media, to analyze certain situations, and to consider the theoretical issues with a broad horizon. The transformation of the public sphere into information technologies involves processes that are interrelated, but different, from journalism, radio, television to internets. In this process, with written press things that are in the public sphere have entered to the private sphere. However, the information that moves from the private sphere towards the public sphere is scarce. It is an exception to the fact that people who are reputed in society and who are magazine worthy move from the private sphere to the public sphere through news. This

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similar situation shared the same fate with every new information device. This is only the case that bidirectional information flow has taken place with online chat and social media use. Of course, we do not count on some programs produced on television that connect viewers with the phone. It has become possible to transfer information from the public sphere to the private sphere of individuals, from the private sphere of individuals to the private sphere of another person, or from the private sphere to the public sphere through sharing in social media and chat environments. In this sense, internet-mediated chat software and social media have the power to organize public demands and transform it into effective public pressure. Social media has created a versatile communication environment that traditional media can not give to users as a social sharing and conversation environment that is as basic as the use of television. Parallel to the public opinion created by the traditional mass media, public opinion was formed in the social media, and every individual would be able to share in this public opinion. At this point, social media's function of formation of public opinion, one of the principles of democratic life participation is more functional and successful in social media than traditional media. The political and cultural media productions that take place in the mediatic public sphere and the media contents which are presented ready for the consumption of the society lead to strong effects on the participants.

These emerging new media have caused the spatial dimensions of private and public spaces to be lost. In response to the lost spaces, cyberspaces are emerging. It is seen that the cyberspaces are formed by the public and the participation is provided. The roles in the public and private spheres give place to virtual identities. As the technologies of traditional media tools evolve and replace the previous device, the roles have changed throughout the history of information technology. Social media symbolize a common world in which the freedom of participation and the right to express oneself are at their own initiative. Social media gains transparency by sharing freely by each user. The continuation of the spread of information and the creation of discussion environments in these environments paved the way for the formation of the new kind of virtual (cyber, digital ...) public sphere. The rapid spread of information flowing through social media and the transparency in the information has manifested itself in social movements. Citizens who keep the tree watch in Taksim Gezi Park have continuously reported their situation through social media and blogs and the first police intervention was also announced through social media. Although the first call was at 5:00 in the morning, those who heard the call made through social media went to the park. Past

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searches on Twitter support this; social media has been a platform where participants participate in events and thoughts and information flow are instantly shared, creating grounds for the growth of events with new participants. Citizens who are online have been affected by the severity of events and participated voluntarily. More importantly, in Gezi Parkı Resistance, the social media's power on to be get into the act on virtual activists is can be seen in it that they have participated in a demonstration for the first and they have never participated in any protests or events before and they are not members of any political organization. It is revealed by the interview that the underlying reasons for participation are the pressure of the current political order, the use of disproportionate violence by the police, and the silence of the mainstream media.

In the context of Taksim Gezi Park in Turkey and in the context of other social movements, social media has built its existence as a new public sphere. This new public sphere, in terms of participation and visibility, differs from the classical public spheres. Along with Internet technology, the boundaries of the impact of the public debate have broadened or the influence of a word or debate in the virtual environment has expanded beyond the nation-states to an entire humanity. It is possible that the social media used by the broad masses around the world can be transformed into a public sphere since it is a field of freedom where the participants can gather, criticize, discuss and organize and act in ways that they can freely express their thoughts and ideas. According to some people, besides the "electronic democracy" environment, the internet has a very important aspect, an activist aspect, above all, even though it symbolizes a cold sociality and an area of emotional freezing to the same extent to the advantages it provides. The wrong practices and decisions of the state authorities in the public sphere reflect on the cyberspace as well. Among social media users, the incorrect actions of power are discussed, caricatures about the topic and meaningful funny photos are shared. It has been seen that individuals responded to incorrect decisions and misapplications, which were taken by power, in social media as well as in real places. These reactions can sometimes turn into cyber activist movements. Just like environmentalists, women's rights advocates have done in social media, sometimes activist actions in cyberspace move towards real places and leave their place to real protest actions. Actions such as Spain 15M Movement, the Arab Spring, Taksim Gezi Park Resistance, Occupy Wall Street are examples of today's cyber activist movements moving into the real public sphere.

In Taksim Gezi Park, not broadcasting the events or incomplete or biased transportation of the events by mainstream media has increased the

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direction to alternative media. In this period, alternative media were used and the advantage of being able to interact was obtained. It comes from the power of social media and the openness of the users, and in the period of all these actions, it gives an opportunity to protestors to hear what is happening and access the necessary information.

Social media has a significant role in terms of finding a new identity of civil society and the multiplicity of democratic participation. Successful use of social media and other alternative communication tools has a fundamental role in the increase in the number of participants in the Arab Spring, Taksim Gezi Park and other social movements. The Y generation youth who use this kind of technology and enter into activist action has given serious messages to the community and politicians about what to expect in politics and what might be the case if freedoms are restricted. The qualitative research revealed the Y generation's experiences with social media, the ways of using social media in new social movements and participating in actions and according to results, Y generation youth can come together quickly through social media and still produce a political discourse although they are not politicized. According to the opinion of social scientists, Y generation youth is defined as a mass who is away from politics, dislike the bureaucracy, based on rapid consumption, and shaping the life with technology. Their experiences with internet and social media are getting Y generation into the conscious consumer class because of their habits of comparison product with another product, the product's price and quality policy, and other characteristics. These consumption habits affect not only the purchase of services or shopping but also the political expectations. Although they are apolitical, this attitude does not mean that they have no expectations from the politicians and the government itself. As a matter of fact, in Istanbul, the Y generation had to stand against the construction of the shopping center together with the Artillery Kışlası and the cutting of the trees, and the subsequent police intervention, in general the restrictions and prohibitions related to the internet, the environmental damage done by the state and their intervention in their sexual life and lifestyle, a simple action has become a mass social action for Y generation. A social movement is strengthened by the common motive to achieve the goal, and the formed identity is a trigger for activating other individuals in the community out of the movement. The Arab Spring, Spain 15M Movement, Taksim Gezi Park follow the definition of social movement. These movements can be described as a form of civil disobedience, because civil disobedience is a peaceful illegal act in the direction of common interests against the mistakes of democracy and nonvi-

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olent resistance. Nonetheless, civil disobedience is an illegal political action based on the concept of common justice which is applied as a last resort to the point where legal possibilities are exhausted and it is against serious injustices arising in a democratic system.[199] Incorrect practices and decisions taken by the state authorities in the real public sphere are reflected to the cyberspace, especially in Occupy Wall Street, Spain 15M Movement, Taksim Gezi Park. Within these social movements, there were some questions about civil disobedience. Violence in the period of the formation and progress of the actions, the provocative outcome by the activists or the intentional damage to the public properties, and the application of violence by the police, will change the way of civil disobedience? Looking at Gezi Resistance, it is necessary to remember that a simple nature conservation action has turned into a massive act, although it has begun as an action to prevent the dismantling of trees. However, as already mentioned, the resistance included the violence element in it have become massive in further stages. The fact that the activists did not respond to police warnings and did resist aganst them violated the law on assembly and demonstration walks. This has led to an illegal form of events. Civil disobedience is illegal as well. At this point, it can be said that the actions are civil disobedience actions.

The definition that emerges from the combination of the definitions made up to now about the public sphere is as follows: Public sphere is a liberal sphere out of governments' dominance where the individuals is free to express their ideas in the face of unlawful decisions and practices of the government. In this context, Gezi Park Events, Arab Spring (Tunisia) and M15 Movement establish reference points in the formation of a public sphere in the context of the beginning, purpose and method. Because these social movements are similar according to the recognition. First of all, the existence of civil society is the issue. The area in which civil society is located corresponds to an abstract space in which the participants carry out their lives with their own free will. The participants of the civil society of Puerta Del Sol Square, Tahrir Square, Zuccotti Park and Gezi Park have been closed down by this abstract space of civil society and public sphere, all of which exterminate the pressure of violence and power. The presence of civil society is necessary for the formation of a public sphere.

199 *Rawls,* A Theory of Justice, P. 375.

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The perfect use of the social media makes it easier for participants to hear and access the necessary information. During the resistance, events happening on the streets were instantly shared on Twitter and Facebook. It would be wrong to say that all the posts reflect the truth due to the fact that internet and social media are places where information pollution is too much. Some posts have been manipulated in order to make the resistance more resonant in social media. Almost everyone who had something to say in the real public sphere and wanted to react to the government's decisions participated in the resistance, including those who participated online. For example, there are also groups of different intellectual and social structures such as nationalists, homosexuals, leftist, revolutionary Muslims and supporters of different soccer clubs which participated in the resistance. In all social movements, people who participates events online have made social media an area where they would publish their own media productions and instant news of events and actions. People who come together with social media in new kind of social movements such as Gezi Resistance, organized for the same purpose and established online groups due to the fact that social media has the power to organize public demands and transform it into an effective public pressure. It is an important motivator in the pro-active direction of the public and in the point of insisting on their demands.

It is very difficult to link the public sphere formed in Taksim Gezi Park to any public sphere model. The main reason for this is that the participant profile is not homogeneous. In one hand, according to the model of Habermas, the bourgeois mass must be on stage for the existance of public sphere. In addition, in the approach of Negt and Kluge, there is a mixture of participants which are apolitical youth that breaks down all the models and the proletariat in the same actions. However, the most striking fact is the formation of a public community that produces political thought in the context of Gezi Park. In the public sphere of Habermas, the bourgeois class was the one that connected political relations with every level of society and had a role in public sphere. From Arendt's point of view; public sphere is the sphere of everyone. However, in the ancient Greek model, free entrepreneurs who were property owners could enter the public sphere and have the right to make policy. Another preliminary condition was that one was a household chief. In other words, only householder heads, the proprietors and the free citizens could enter the public sphere. On the second day of Gezi Park Resistance, following the withdrawal of the police by Taksim Gezi Park and Taksim Square, the activists closed all the roads to Taksim Square and Gezi Park with public properties such as

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pavement stones, police barriers, flower pots and garbage containers in order to create a public sphere. By setting up a library and a kitchen in this area, the activists entered into cooperation. This area, which is free from violence and mutually beneficial, evokes the "agora" that Arendt used to describe public sphere. When we look at the model of Negt and Kluge's proletarian public sphere model, it is seen that the real owner of the public sphere is the working class which is in charge of the production process. The interests of the labor class serve as a propulsive force and create relations in proletarian public sphere. The important thing is who does the job and the labor, not who provides the job. Thus, an automatic system appears between the direct relation of the individual to labor. Despite the fact that the size and functioning of labor have changed with technological developments, proletarian class has always continued its existence. Proletarian public sphere belongs to those who produce or control the automated state of production.

Every public sphere has its own preconditions and is oriented towards social distinctions. All public spheres have a homogeneous structure within themselves and therefore exclude those that are not similar to them. Regardless of the nature or the precondition of a public sphere, it is transformed by the technological developments experienced especially in the field of information.

Contrary to the homogeneity of each public sphere, the participant profile in Taksim Gezi Park Resistance, in Spain 15M Movement and in the Arab Spring are not homogenous. That is, we see the bourgeois mass on the stage for the Habermasian public sphere, and the proletarian mass on the approach of Negt and Kluge, and the members of the political party who represent the political public sphere and who support the actions in the virtual environment and in the real sphere have shown themselves in these actions, on the other hand, apolitical youth who has destroyed all the models participated in the same actions. This mixture has shown us the unifying role of social media from all walks of society. Participants with different political views, which were not covered by the social categorization in the context of public sphere models, also co-existed during these movements and organized actions in line with common interests. The virtual public sphere, which is the new type in the light of all these data, emerges as an area where a wide variety of social classes congregate without the form of organization together with the common identity that they unite under common discourses. Democratic participation of the participants in Taksim Gezi Park was not based on the call of a known union, political party or any formation, and it was the relocation of the real

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sphere from a growing public sphere formed in social media. Occupy Wall Street movement is similar at this point, and has started with a call from a non-governmental organization or a non-union group called Adbusters. In the Arab Spring, Mohammed Buazizi's self-burning video in Tunisia reached to millions in minutes on YouTube triggered the actions. At this point, there is dissociation in classical public space theories. In classical public sphere, as a field of view where political activities take place, free participants are organized with the announcements of, trade unions, non-governmental organizations or political parties. One of the advantages of classical public sphere from the virtual public sphere is that the time and space, which are the new parameters of mankind, have been went beyond by cyberspace. In this context, we can face with an international organization form when the public is formed against the mistakes of democratic operation of another country in the international dimension. With international common sense, the world's participants are making common policy production. In this way, public spheres, which bring prerequisites and elect their members according to the social categories, have turned their place to the existence of a new and single public sphere by dint of information technologies. It should not be taken for granted that all information produced and disseminated is correct, since some information may have been produced and published by individuals in political interests. Information pollution exists on the Internet and the social media around it. The deliberate production of false information is the disadvantage of communication systems via the Internet. There has been a lot of information flow between active and passive activists on Facebook and Twitter on public domain actions in social media. Shares have been made about the locations of police and barricade positions, infirmaries built by medical students and nurses who support Gezi Park resistece, telephone numbers of lawyers helping detainees.

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