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

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

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

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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

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.

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.

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.

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

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-

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

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

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

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.

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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.

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

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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.

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

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

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

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

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.

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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.

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.

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 Kıızılay 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

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

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]

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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.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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-

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

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

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

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

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

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-

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

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 retweeted[196] 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)

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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.

> "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

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-

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

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

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

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

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-

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.

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

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

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

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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