

IS SOCIAL MEDIA A PUBLIC SPHERE IN TODAY'S SOCIETY?: EXAMPLES OF SOCIAL MOVEMENTS ON TWITTER

**GÜNÜMÜZ TOPLUMLARINDA SOSYAL MEDYA BİR KAMUSAL ALAN MIDİR?:
TWITTER'DA KI TOPLUMSAL HAREKETLER ÖRNEKLERİ**

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ABSTRACT

Based on the communication technologies developing together with globalization, the internet replaces traditional mass media for its free, participatory, easily accessible character that serves as a mean of constructing a social identity. These technologies, which have become as important as basic biological needs in our society, led to the differentiation of social structures and re-questioning of some concepts. For example, concepts such as "public space", "everyday life" "and participatory culture" are being questioned and increased their prominence.

Individual realities are perceived as social realities in social media. This leads primarily to questioning the status of social media, which also leads to a discussion whether social media is a public domain or not. From this point of view, this study will examine whether the social media is a public domain or not by basing its analysis on social movements on Twitter, which is one of the most widely used social media platforms, with references to relevant theories, ideas and examples.

Key Words: Social Media, Public Sphere, New media

ÖZET

Günümüzde küreselleşme ile birlikte gelişen iletişim teknolojileri temelinde geleneksel kitle iletişim araçlarının önüne geçen internet, sosyal ağlar boyutu ile iletişim kurmadan çok; özgür, katılımcı, herkes için ve kolay erişilebilir oluşu ile sosyal bir kimlik inşasına aracılık etmektedir. Çağımız toplumlarında temel biyolojik ihtiyaçlar kadar önemli hale gelen bu teknolojiler, kullarımlarına bağlı olarak sosyal yapıların farklılaşmasına ve bazı kavramların yeniden sorgulanmasına sebep olmuşlardır. Örneğin "kamusal alan", "gündelik yaşam", "katılımcı kültür" gibi kavramlar bu açıdan tekrar sorgulanmış ve önemli hale gelmiştir.

Sosyal Medyada bireysel olan gerçeklikler sanki toplumsal gibi görünmektedir. Bu durum, öncelikle sosyal medyanın akıbetinin sorgulanmasına neden olmaktadır. Ardından sözde özgür bir ortam gibi görüldüğünden dolayı sosyal medyanın kamusal bir alan olup olmadığı da tartışılmaktadır. Buradan hareketle bu çalışma, en çok tercih edilen sosyal medya platformlarından biri olan Twitter daki toplumsal hareketler çerçevesinde ilgili kuramlardan, fikirlerden ve örneklerden yola çıkarak sosyal medyanın bir kamusal alan olup olmadığını inceleyecektir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Sosyal Medya, Kamusal Alan, Yeni Medya

1. INTRODUCTION:

1.1. Social Network and Public Sphere

Social media web 1.0 is a concept that has made progress during to transition to web 2.0. According to Weinberg (Weinberg, 2009, Sari, nd, 2010:78), social media is an area of application that enables individuals to share information, thoughts and experiences at/in publicly-owned websites and places the world of the Internet quickly in our lives." Furthermore Mayfield, (2010: 6) defines the social media as "one of the newest ideas of sharing at the highest level, offering the opportunity as a new type of online media." On the other hand, "globalization" is one of the biggest factors that serve

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development/evolution to social media in this way around the world. In today's world, dependence on an economic sphere in a global sense is now a phenomenon. The concept of the global village that was put forward by McLuhan, communication theorist of the 21st century, came up with this idea in order to explain the using of mass media spread rapidly by the society and transform the world into a global village. If we look the transition of traditional media to new media, we can understand that McLuhan speaks positively about globalization. In his book, *The Medium is the Message*, he talked about the role of mutual support and strengthening communication that would result in the world becoming a global village. In addition, according to McLuhan, people have stepped into the electronic age with the invention of telegraph. With the founding of the printing press, books become portable thus everyone has a book and can improve the habit of reading individual books. Despite the remarkable increase in the habit of reading, people have become disconnected and interpersonal communication has begun to weaken.

In response to a vast flow of information in parallel to the permanently developing communications technologies, experts working in the areas of linguistics, computing and software have worked for many years to develop devices that provide ergonomic use in which information can move faster and more quickly. "The goal is to produce new communications and technologies that are as simple as television but can be instantly connected to the digital world" (Sager et al., 1996: 42). These devices are actually blogs, social media titles, YouTube, Twitter, Facebook etc. These applications are easy to reach, cheap and effortless. Facebook, founded by Mark Zuckerberg in 2004 when he was a student at Harvard University on February 4, 2004, became popular first among social media mediums. Twitter was known for its frequent use of Barack Obama in the election period in 2008 after Facebook, and soon after it has spread throughout the world. As it can be understood from these dates, social networks actually have only 10-12 years of development period. But it seems that for a long time now, as it is in the lives of individuals, an independent life from these circles has become unthinkable in today's society such as smart phone, tablet, etc. Thanks to free and easy implementations in portable technological devices, social media is now constantly carried by individuals. Therefore, social media has become a big part of the lives of almost all the individuals in the society.

Whether social media has become a "public sphere" or not in recent years have been a matter of debate, as individuals have easy access to the social media and many issues can be discussed in this area. The concept of public sphere, developed by Habermas, first emerged as a "bourgeoisie public" through the sharing of opinions in coffee shops and in public. In 19th century coffee shops, taverns, cabarets, pubs were all gathering places. These establishments had a regular and continuous customer base. Individuals with different ideas came together in these spaces. In these places, basics of basic communication have been laid. As the printed and written materials started to develop in this period, the people gathered in these places also make comments about them. The public sphere is an intermediary linking autonomous spheres (the state system, the economic sphere, the civil society) and allows citizens who are entitled to participate in the definition of general interest. According to Habermas, the political public sphere "cannot be regarded as an institution, nor an organization [...] It does not constitute a system; It accepts some internal boundaries but is characterized by open, permeable and moving views in the face of the outside" (Habermas, 1997: 254).

Apart from Habermas, the concept of public sphere is associated with Hannah Arendt and Richard Sennett, who propose different forms of public sphere. In the *Authority* (1979) Sennett, questions the uncertainty of the boundaries between the private and the public sphere. The British sociologist is shaped by the everyday specificity of the public sphere, becoming, for example, a place where politicians are increasingly judged on their ideas, but less on their psychological characteristics. Just as any idea is being discussed in the social media today; it actually expresses a situation in which the magazine and entertainment dimension of work is much more foregrounded. In the future, Sennett is concerned about that the public space will be occupied by dictators and these places will become where the dictator's own charities and special attitudes will be fulfilled. If we say that today's social media is also a public space, we can understand that Sennett's fear is not totally wrong. Sennett, on the other hand, is concerned about depleting of rational individuals and explains it by saying "Courtesy is an activity that protects the self from other selves and allows him to benefit from the friendship of the other. [...] Courtesy consist of behaving on others as if they were unknown person and developing social relations that respect them.

When it comes to Hannah Arendt, which has some very important determinations about the public sphere, she also questions the uncertainty of private and public sphere. Arendt makes this inquiry in the form of analysis of the ancient public sphere. In this case she defends that the public sphere was born in Athens by objecting to objects to the idea of Habermas about which the public sphere was born in the 18th century. Arendt refers an Athens democracy in which the public sphere and political area perfectly overlap in the Human Condition and oppose the private area: "The distinction between public and private life has been in accordance with the familial and political areas of separating and distinctive qualities, since the determination of antic site". According to Arendt, (Arendt, 1958: 35) there are two different areas: the province from these areas, the family life depending on necessity, and the political life; the area of freedom. According to Arendt, the public is not a pure abstract and symbolic operational phenomenon, but rather a concrete and sensitive form of action. However, in fact, the public space is not a theoretical concept but a place that has emerged with words and actions.

After the theoretical explanations of the concept of the public sphere, when we want to know if the social media will form the public sphere of today, there are various answers that are indefinite. One of those thoughts is that social media is becoming an area where individuals are able to comment and talk about the political issues that are freed themselves by the modern and increasingly isolated individual, and become an area where individuals are blindly supporting the ideas of the groups which they feel closer to their own ideas. Individuals are beginning to feel more psychologically strong with the existence of a group that is much stronger than them. Thus, groups are being followed by more people and getting more "like" and "retweets". This situation is, in fact, a public sphere in which Habermas and Arendt express freely the ideas expressed, as well as a phenomenon that is a phenomenon where individuals and groups who want to feel and accept themselves psychologically stronger wage war. Just as Jean Baudrillard said, (Baudrillard, 2011: 55) everyone in their society is looking for their own image. Thus, with their own likeness, individuals are creating not perhaps public spheres but "virtual communities". In this way, social media, often dominated by groups and communities, goes beyond an area where individuals freely share their thoughts. Another danger of social media is that people, who are parties to matters such as art, sports, religion and politics, try to hegemony over each other and try to defeat rather than understand the parties they oppose. It is unfortunately not possible that such an environment is also a public sphere, and sharing and developing ideas in a meaningful way.

As a result, there is a big problem already in every part of the society, such as alienation, hegemony to the other side, intolerance, has now jumped to social media. As a matter of fact, social media is now becoming an area where people are inclined to share ideas and to do so, rather than a public space where people exist with their differences. On the other hand, as public topics spoken in the social media are also consumed in the form of "top topic" in the form of "soap bubbles", almost no action developed through social media is successful. As the influence of today's fast-consuming cultures is seen at this moment, the agenda is consumed very quickly, and it is renewed without any more problems being resolved. The evolving attitude of the social media in this way makes it very difficult to be a dialogical and democratic platform in the public sphere or in the term of Antony Giddens (Giddens, 2004: 110).

Globalization is perceived in every corner of the world, as communication in today's society, which is called "network society", is provided bilaterally (Castells, 2008: 96). Nowadays, it is now possible to have internet access quite easily with laptop computers, tablets and even smart mobile phones and to communicate with the people on the other side of the World, in anytime of the day. On the other hand, it should be kept in mind that this new society structure brings about many negative situations in terms of secrecy, freedom and the surveillance of individuals. If the situation is evaluated in this respect, it is easier to reach all kinds of information about the people through the social media circles, including confidential information, as well as the conveniences of the new technologies in the field of communication and information at the same time.

As a result, a communication medium can never be considered as good or bad by on its own. As a result, social media and new communication mediums need to be evaluated both in terms of their positive and negative aspects. On the other hand, for the purpose of evaluating each medium as good or bad, it is primarily concerned with the human factor that uses mediums naturally, by determining the intended purpose. That is precisely why social media, which is perhaps the most important communication media

of our times, the usage of it for which purposes and with which conscious will play a key role in determining its impact area and function.

1.2. Twitter and Twitter Revolution as a Social Network:

Twitter is considered as a macro blog and social networking site. The blue bird on Twitter's logos is a male bird and named Larry. Twitter has become a popular communications environment that allows users to write up to 140 characters of tweet (meaning "chirping" in English), enabling users more effectively with various tools.

After the development of Twitter by Jack Dorsey in California in 2006, it soon became popular throughout the world and has come to be referred to as the short message (SMS) of the new media world with the possibilities that the programming interface of the applications it contains has developed with regard to sending and receiving text messages. As of 25 April 2011, Turkish language application has been added and became more and more popular among Turkish users day by day (Webrazzi, Access: 21.04.2017)

Twitter has not been able to reach a remarkable number of users from 2006, the year in which it first appeared, to the first quarter of 2007. On the contrary, nowadays it is preferred for various announcements including the political issues that deeply affect the country's agenda. Besides, politicians, celebrities, news agencies, magazines, newspapers, writers, and almost everyone that can come to mind have twitter accounts now. According to Social Media Statistics, at the end of the first quarter of 2016 there are about 317 million Twitter users in the world, and the average number of users exceeded 500 million per a day. According to the Monitera Company's 2016 data, which provides social media tracking and computation services, there were approximately 10 million Twitter users. On average 53% of these users were female and 47% are male. While an average Twitter user had 320 followers and tweets on most Wednesdays, the most active hours of the day are between 22:00 and 23:00. Most of the shares made from Istanbul. Again according to the statistics of the company; In Turkey, an average of 8 million tweets were tweeted per day, the tweeting of the picture is ranked first with 61%, followed by video, location and news contents respectively. While Hürriyet is at the top in the category of news sharing, it was followed by Radikal, Ntvmsnbc, Haberturk (Koca, Access: 21.04.2017).

There is a fairly close connection between virtual nets and networks that is available throughout life. The resulting movements usually begin as social networks that established on the Internet, but then become a constant occupation of public squares, a persistent street demonstration, or a movement that occupies the urban space. In this way, developments happen on both the local and global scale (Castell, 2013: 192, 200).

The freedom movements of social media, which started with "Jasmin Revolution" and in Tunisia on 14th January 2011, and which started with "Twitter Revolution", spread to North African countries and the Middle East. The common feature of all these revolutions and revolts was that it was against long-standing dictatorships and organized by educated young people through social media. According to Alan Badiou, this process is referred to as the rebirth of history. Slavoj Zizek, on the other hand, contributes to Badio's words, especially considering the year 2011 as a "dangerous dream" (Zizek, 2013: 112).

The development of technology, the simplification and alternation of many things now opens the doors to the fact that the events that people imagine can now become real. Manuel Castells said, it became clear that individuals became conscious through social networks and that many people began to use public space as an area of objection (Castells, 2008). It is also remarkable that there is a linear communication between the rise of collective consciousness and the increase of political protest, with the political information being technically accessible (Çoban, 2014: 132).

1.3. Social Movements and New Social Movements:

The concept of social movements has been tried to be defined by various sections. But the first trying to explain the concept of social movements was the conservative intellectuals of the system and the elites. With this explanation, the most prominent feature of the social movements is the struggle against the

existing system and the elites who are trying to maintain that system. In other words, the social movement in general can be defined in the form of collective efforts for the purpose of resisting or encouraging the alteration in the society in which it is situated (Önder, 2008: 596). In general, the common feature of all social movements is that members who have the same viewpoint in a certain way act on the basis of a feeling of social injustice. On the other hand, in order to bring the quality of social movement collective movement to acquire the quality of a social movement, it must also contain three elements (Önder, 2008: 596):

1. Being based on solidarity,
2. Being contain a conflict,
3. Forces the limits of the system in which it is located.

In general, it should be noted that if social movements were to establish in a historical context, these movements belonged to "modern society". Social movements in the early periods of modernity; have come to the forefront as movements organized centrally in order to seize political power, with members of a single social class, who come together on the basis of economic interests in particular. For this period, a worker movement identified with the idea of a revolution and developed in the shadow of a political movement can be considered as a typical example. In this period, such movements are conceptualized as "old social movements" in order to reveal that they belong to the old society type, that is to say it belongs to the industrial society (Önder, 2008: 597).

The social movements that emerged during the early periods of modernity and during periods when global technological, economic transformations have not yet been experienced, have emerged to seize or influence economic interests or political power over a certain class. They must be explained in accordance with time and postindustrial type of society in parallel with the transformations and changes that started with globalization (Çopuroğlu and Çetin, 2010: 72). At this point, the concept of new social movements comes out.

The collective actions seen in the political life of developed industrial countries in the late 1960s and early 1970s added a new paradigm to the literature of social movement (D'Anieri et al., 1990: 445). The new social movements belonging to this period were regarded as a "challenge" against the social-political order organized according to the welfare state model, which was built after World War II and agreed upon states and social classes (Önder, 2008: 591). The problems and crises that are ignored by the modern states were put forward through new social movements.

According to Beuchler (1995: 441), the theory of new social movements has been raised and supported as a reaction to the deficiencies of Classical Marxism. The left tendencies seen in the student, environment, women and peace movements support this idea. Thus, it is clear that the neo Marxist view created by the utopian and non-contemporary parts of the Marxist view is influenced by new social movements. The concept of "new social movements", which is used to express all these movements, is widely accepted among social scientists. However, although the movements do not have the consensus on what the "new" is in reality, the more or less "new" qualities can be categorized as follows (Önder, 2008: 598):

1. New social movements are more concerned with the quality of life in advanced industrial societies rather than with economic and political power.
2. These movements take their social base from the well-educated footpaths of the primary after the war and also go to coalitions that change marginalized social groups,
3. The new movements do not actually develop a coherent and new ideological system. On the contrary, they defend the "right to be different" and post materialist values in a pluralistic and secular culture,
4. These movements emphasize autonomous and centralized forms of organization.

It is easier and more meaningful to make a distinction between new and old social movements when it is based on the basic themes and values of new and old politics. In the old politics material values are more valuable. Representative democracy is seen as the main mechanism of politics, and the center of organization consist of working class movements and political parties. The new political era that

emerged in the 1960s was a new middle class organized outside the institutional politics as bearers of post material values such as identity and freedom, the goal of participatory democracy, the environment, freedom of expression, gay / lesbian rights, peace, feminism, and Young people and educated people (Demiroğlu, 2014: 136).

When new social movements are examined independently from class culture, it turns out that the values, interests and ideas of these movements are insufficient to explain the mutual dependence between different masses. But class culture offers a framework for interpreting the complex relationships between the interests and interests of masses (Rose, 1997: 461). Moreover, even if the new social movements are said to be "a homogeneous movement in which a particular class take a dominant role", it is not only bourgeois, workers, peasants, student's movement that are meant by it. These movements are the movements of heterogeneous organizations, created as a middle class, in harmony with the differences within it. In other words, the new social movements include a disengagement from old-style movements that put economic demands, conquest of the state and organizing the working class, and move towards the movements that are organized in civil society which are not targets of power, are defensive, pursuing partial demands, and are focused on identity and lifestyle (Çetinkaya, 2014: 483).

1.4. Twitter and Social Movements:

Modern media has always created a channel that enables social movements to engage both in the realizations of communication and in organizing their actions and in activating their bases (Gerbaudo, 2014: 6). Because of developing technologies and the rapid increase in the use of social media, the new "area" of social movements has evolved into social media. Especially, "Twitter" has created a communication environment that forms in terms of social movements with the examples that it creates. Since its foundation in the US in 2006, Twitter has been actively used both in the world and in Turkey since 2009. In the beginning, Twitter users often did not care much about social issues and often shared their personal experiences. Political events on the agenda of the countries or interesting events in sports competition suddenly become a "top topic" on the Twitter agenda, but it was not overdue. In this way, Twitter is an area in which people spent their leisure times and used to have fun. But with the "Arab Spring" in Tunisia and "Gezi Park Events" in Turkey, the purpose of its use has explicitly changed.

As you can see, this transformation experienced by Twitter is far from being influential on the society, it is a transformation affected by the society. The preliminary acceptance that Twitter is creating new social movements by way of events such as "Arab Spring" and "Gezi Park Events" is taking a big share to Twitter. However, this issue should be considered in a comprehensive and bi-directional way. Since Twitter is in an affected position, not actually affecting social media. One must not forget that Twitter can also overtake the movements that can occur from creating new social movements.

In addition to prominent social movements such as the Arab Spring and Gezi Events, especially in recent years, "social women's movements" are also active in Twitter. Some feminist movements have created news networks on Twitter, and have found violence against women, mobbing against women, women murders, and etc. In this way, it is aimed to increase the awareness of the individuals in the society by these movements. The most important example in Turkey regarding this subject is the reactions on Twitter about the murder of Özgecan Aslan. From Friday, February 13, 2015 to February 17, 2015, 3 million 455 thousand tweets were shared under the # ÖzgecanAslan hashtag in just 4 days. On the agenda of the world, the most important topic of Saturday and Monday according to the instantaneous accusations, Özgecan Aslan murder was on the front page as the third most talked about world on Twitter between 9-15 February, according to the weekly data. Under the #sendeanlat (you tell too) hashtag launched after the murder of Özgecan Aslan, women have continued to tell about the sexual harassment incidents that they go through. Many tweets from women who aim to show how common the harassment is, are also drawing attention to the partnership of experiences. Although the #sendeanlat (you tell too) tag is partially used now, but it has been used about 640 thousand times until now (Aljazeera, 2015). All these examples are a sign that Twitter is being used to strengthen the social women's movements.

2. AIM AND METHODOLOGY

Taking all this information, the question of whether Twitter is a public space for contemporary societies within the context of Social Movements seems to be very important. For this reason, the examples of

social movements on Twitter are aimed at trying to question whether social media is a public sphere or not.

From social movements that have emerged on Twitter; Examples of social women's movements, Gezi Park movement, and Arab Spring Movement constitute a method of our search the theoreticians who have emphasized the concept of public space based on the views of Jurgen Habermas, Richard Sennett and Hannah Arendt. Within the scope of the research, the following questions were sought:

1. In today's society, is Social Media a public space?
2. Do social movements on Twitter contribute to social media in being a public space?
2. How did the relationship between Social Media and Public Sphere come about?

3. FINDINGS

The Internet and social media have expanded social movements. In the Egyptian revolution, communication and face-to-face conversations, as well as sharing of information with social media, have played an important role. But it is not known exactly how many of them belong to the Egyptian users participating in the protest at Tahrir Square. Reflections of social media revolutions in Turkey are evaluated as protests in Taksim Gezi Park on 27 May-15 June 2013. The main issue in the creation of the procession is the provision of organization. "... social media; the creation of movement, the usage, maintenance, announcement, self-expression, etc. new forms of horizontal and open organization has been used effectively in this process. In the process, social media, especially Twitter, has been used effectively" (Çoban, 2014: 13). The Social Media and Political Participation (SmaPP) laboratory at New York University measured the tweet traffic created by Gezi protests in Turkey on Twitter. The survey, covering the 31st of May, revealed that at least 2 million tweets were made about the protest in 24 hours. Is Twitter, one of the social media medium, is a public sphere? In order to answer this question, we studied three different social movements within the context of our work, Jurgen Habermas, Richard Sennett and Hannah Arendt, who are public sphere theorists. In this context, first, it can be said that the internet and especially social media have increased the scope of social movements. Social media networks played an important role in the Egyptian revolution. The demonstrators recorded the events with their mobile phones and shared videos on YouTube and Facebook with the people living their country and the World; generally, with live broadcasts. Congregational solidarity, created on Tahrir Square by demonstrators who are gathered via Facebook, coordinated on Twitter, and using blogs extensively to convey their views and debate has become an example for the Occupy movements that broke out around the world in the following months (Castells, 2013). In the Arab Spring movement, information sharing on Twitter is also very important as much as phone conversations and face-to-face conversations. However, it should be noted that it is not known exactly how many of people having shared information on Twitter, were also had a place in Tahrir Square.

A hybrid public sphere of digital social networks and a newly created urban community lies in the heart of the movement as both an instrument of thought on itself and an expression of popular power (Castells, 2013: 53). According to Gerbaudo (2014: 9), social media is primarily responsible for the establishment of choreography, a process of establishing a symbolic public sphere, facilitating the physical gathering of a highly dispersed and individualistic entity and roles/acts as a guide. The revolutions in Tunisia and especially in Egypt, which also came to be referred to as the Arab Spring, actually created movements that included the anti-dictatorship individuals from various layers of the society. The common point of these movements, which include the large segments is the lack of a leadership and gathering through correspondence with the social media. Internet networks, mobile phone networks, pre-existing social networks, street demonstrations, occupations of public squares, Friday summits around the mosques, all of which led to the spontaneous, largely irreducible, multiform networks that started the Egyptian revolution. According to Allagui and Kuebler: "If we learned from the people's initiative from the Russian Revolution, the Arab revolutions in Tunisia and Egypt showed the power of nets" (Castells, 2013: 63).

The main social form of movement in the Egyptian revolution is the invasion of public sphere. The connection among social media on the Internet, the social media of the people and the mainstream media has been made possible by the presence of an occupied land, which locates the new public sphere as the

dynamic interaction between the cyber space and the urban space. This challenge against to the state authority has caused the termination of mobile phone networks and Internet access, but it is neither effective nor possible to close the Internet when it reaches a certain threshold in terms of the dimensions and effects of a social movement. When the movements move out of the space of flows and access to place of flows, many other networks will be too late to stop the movement because they are constructed in a multitude of forms (Castells, 2013: 68-71).

Social media, especially Twitter, has been actively used in the protests of the Taksim Gezi Park, another social movement that has been examined in the scope of the research, in the process of creating and sustaining the resistance. In this process, social media has been used in an effective manner, the creation of movement, the use, maintenance, announcement, self-expression, etc. of new forms of horizontal and open organization. In the process, social media, especially Twitter, has been used effectively (Çoban, 2014: 13).

The New York University Social Media and Political Participation (SmaPP) lab measured the tweet traffic created by Gezi protests in Turkey on Twitter, and the study covering May 31 revealed that at least 2 million tweets were made in 24 hours about the protest. Most of the 2 million tweets that have been taken are tweeted under three hashtags. The number of tweet topics and numbers that are taken between 16.00 on Friday and 16.00 local time on Saturday is as follows: #Resistance song: 950 thousand tweet, #occupygezi: 170 thousand tweet, #geziparki: 50 thousand tweet (Bilişimi Magazine, Access: 23.06.2014).

Jurgen Habermas underscored that the existence of a democratic system, which is considered a sine qua non, must be sustained unless a democracy / liberal law state cannot be sustained unless this situation is changed, so that the existence of a cam that functions as a "set of colonial rape against the living world's territories" is emphasized. New media technologies have created the greatest power of the new media which takes the responsibility of this transformation (Türk, 2014). Through social media, people from different segments have become active, creating a democratic environment in one respect that is not the same in every group and sector.

The Mark Poster believes that the media has taken the place of the area as a means of gathering in today's society ... Social media creates an impression which is a society in which no one leads, because its nature is 'participatory', people using them 'simply' to communicate, share and create the impression. However, 'soft' forms of leadership have emerged into 'simple' communication, exploiting the interactive and participative nature of the web 2.0 environment (Gerbaudo, 2014: 55, 231).

Sennett, in the Authority (1979), discusses the uncertainty of the boundaries between the private and the public sphere. The British sociologist puts forward that the public sphere is shaped by a day-to-day model of the public sphere, becoming, for example, an area where politicians are increasingly judged on their ideas, but less on their psychological characteristics. Just as any idea is being discussed in the social media today; it actually expresses a situation in which the magazine and entertainment dimension of work is given prominence. In the future, Sennett feels that the public sphere will be seized by dictators, and these areas will become places where these dictators own charities and special attitudes will be fulfilled. If we can say that today's social media is also a public domain, we can understand that Sennett's fear is not totally wrong. On the other hand, Sennett, by saying, "Courtesy is an activity that protects the self from other selves and allows him to benefit from the friendship of the other. [...] and it is t act on others as if they were unknowns and to develop social relations that respect them. He is worried about, "As rational individuals melt in an emotional community."

According to another perspective, the situation of pluralism proved by the "Gezi Resistance" has given clues of a form of social relationship that can be highly original and rarely experienced. As Rancière (1995: 60) has noted that, the activist components are, of course, not phenomenon's that are created out of nothing. But political action takes place in a subjectivization process that transcends established and naturalized identities (Rancière, 1995: 60). None of the activist components has intervened in the resistance process, but has not escaped questioning himself, his opinions, and his intellectual boundaries. This particular collective existence also confirms what Hannah Arendt (1998: 123) calls "acting together

and in concert". Even though there is a very controversial relationship between components that are part of the "Gezi Resistance", it is important to emphasize the act of acting together and in harmony is much closer to a routine encounter, and that a common challenge is maintained for many days. Another hint of the "Gezi Resistance" on politics is that the process of political action, as Rancière and Arendt emphasized in different forms, is loaded with precise unpredictability and uncertainty.

Politics is conceiving the uncertainty. That is why Arendt associate's politics with only the last of the categories of labor, work and action, which she regards as three basic human activities. Because only the action is uncertain, spontaneous and unpredictable cause it takes place outside the scope of necessity (Arendt, 1998: 233). Rancière (2007: 23-40) relates the relationship between police process and uncertainty; with the concept of *apeiron* (without boundaries), which means unspecified, undetermined, and infinite. Police is the organizer of the art of measuring, limiting, and determining the *apeiron* (Rancière, 2007: 29-35). If politics go beyond the identities, relationships and positions, determined by order of the police, politic action creates processes that demolish scales and borders. In terms of political powers, the most dangerous aspect of social struggles such as the Gezi Resistance is undoubtedly the political direction in which consecutive social positions, inequalities, and domination relations, within consensus logic, are being broken in an indefinite period of time. On the other hand, talking about social action the thought of Gerbaudo (2014), "Social media can mobilize people's attention to specific places and events and collect symbolically scattered individuals around the same actions." is also important.

Berkday (2012: 207), which discusses Hannah Arendt's notion of democracy, gave remarkable warnings about Gezi Resistance and in terms of plurality and pluralism. Berkday (2012: 207) emphasizes that Arendt's concept of pluralism differs from the liberal pluralist understanding based on the rivalry of opposing interest groups, from the ideal of the identity based on identity politics to the radical pluralism of the existence of irreconcilable and incomparable differences. According to Arendt, the collective political action that occurs as a result of the unification of the differences in the common goal, rather than unifying around a common identity, creates pluralism (Berkday, 2012: 209). Both concepts of pluralism and plurality are close to each other because of the existence of different opinions. On the other hand, these concepts are different from each other in terms of the changes in the intellectual boundaries of different opinions. Ideological boundaries; is determined by the sum of the assumptions about what constitutes the environment and structure of an opinion, what is underneath what is expressed, and how it can be known. In addition, opinions; they occur in an orbit that directs them, even though they are thinkers about events and events. In contrast, intellectual boundaries; it is considered as a guiding map of what, how and by what extent it can be understood and understood.

On the other hand, Gezi resistance created the uniquely organized action in Turkey for the first time. Terminologies used by young people, especially through social networks to communicate through new communication technologies and to express the rebellion against the established political system, have created a different experience in terms of social movement actions. Gezi Park Resistance is an example of the youth of liberal global Y generation who are gathered and organized in social networks using new media environments and who don't need a leader. According to Castelles (2013: 201), social movements forming networks bear the traces of society like all social movements in history. These movements are largely formed by individuals who are well-versed in digital technology in the hybrid real world of reality. Values, goals and modes of organization directly express the autonomy of the young generation, impressing the young generation of the century. They cannot exist without the Internet. They have much deeper meanings. Contrary to the old-fashioned political institutions inherited from a historically ineffectual social structure, they are in this role as the agents of change in the network society.

In another respect; Shirky (2008) emphasizes technology with a dominant optimistic approach and social media facilitates group formation and gives them new revolutionary forms, suggesting that these new tools make our communication faster and better and easier than ever before. Accelerating communication and improving quality speeds up group actions and creates forms of effective coordination. According to Shirky (2008: 53-55), the issues in the public sphere are increasing because new communication technologies provide more access to information. This leads to an increase in participation in social events and therefore it helps to the development of conditions that contribute to the development of democracy.

The last example we examined in our study is women's movements. Twitter has various social women's groups. These women groups are particularly active in the feminist environment. Such groups are available via Twitter; women's violence, women's murders, mobbing against women, and the place of the woman's in working life. In December 2016, a woman named Ebru Tireli in Manisa was beaten in the park and the social women's movements on Twitter took an action. This action, started with the hashtag, #EbruTireliYalnızDeğildir, reached a very large amount of Twitter in a short time. Another example is #BenimBedenimBenimKararım. This hashtag criticized for the abortion prohibition, and the movement that started on Twitter, reach the large masses in a very short period of time. In addition, as mentioned in the first part of our study, approximately 3 million 455 thousand tweets were shared under the # ÖzgecanAslan hashtag. On the agenda of the world, the most talked hashtags were tweeted on Saturday and Monday according to the immediate datum, Özge can Aslan murder was on the front page as the third most talked topic of world on Twitter between 9-15 February, according to the weekly data. Under the #sendeanlat hashtag launched after the murder of Özgecan Aslan, women have continued to tell about the sexual harassment incidents that they go through. These examples are the most prominent and the most spoken topics. Apart from these, there are various examples. What is important here is whether these examples constitute a public sphere or not. As it is in the examples of the Gezi Park and the Arab Spring, this example does not in fact constitute a public sphere in a sense. Like Gerbaudo's statement, social media created many 'sphericules' (Gerbaudo, 2014: 58), rather than a single public sphere for Habermas.

Richard Sennett emphasizes that "in the process of the fall of public man ", "a new phase in which the city gradually fades away as an environment in which strangers are likely to encounter each other. As with the examples on Twitter, the masses no longer react directly on the streets, but rather they are organized through social media and maybe later protests started on the street later. On the other hand, the places of assembly are carefully categorized, and the fusion of the different classes is avoided. This blockage is not possible at Twitter (except to deny Twitter access), perhaps for this reason, individuals prefer social media to gathering at outside; because they can express themselves as they wish. On the other hand, according to Baumann, sterilized public spheres are "cold" places that are not suitable for social encounters or political organization. In this way the public sphere is increasingly purified from public problems. It is no longer possible to fulfill the roles of private gathering and dialogue in which private matters and public affairs are spoken (Gerbaudo, 2014).

According to Hannah Arendt (Arendts, 1958) action (with which Arendt means "work" and "political action" in front of the labor force), never happens in isolation. Action always requires the provision of a sense of "aura" among participants, and according to Arendt, this emotion represents itself in the "space of appearance".

The field of appearance emerges when people come together in the form of speech and actionUnlike the fields we work with ourselves, its authenticity cannot sustain its action, as seen in the great catastrophes in which the political structure of a people is destroyed; on the contrary, both by the disintegration of people and by the disappearance or obstruction of the activities caused by its destruction. Where people are gathered together, the area of appearance is potentially there - whether it is only in terms of potential, or not necessarily and permanently (Arendt, 1958: 199).

This idea of Arendt is not a starting point or a material architecture that serves as a conduit for the public sphere, but rather an experience that arises from the process of gathering and the recovery of pre-distribution. In other words, the public sphere needs to be established in a way that can be realized and, in fact, individuals; found dispersedly, must be reestablished through the gathering action.

4. DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

Is Social Media a Public Sphere? We questioned the research that we have carried out on social movements on Twitter with the views of Jurgen Habermas, Hannah Arendt and Richard Sennett who public sphere theoreticians are. As a result of this research, we had various answers. We analyze the social media of today with the views of public sphere theorists, and we can mention that Habermas, who firstly holds the idea of modernization, has lost its validity in today's post-modern ages. We are also talking about a period when the distinction between public and private area is diminished, with new

media technologies and a private place where we can enter the public sphere by connecting to the world via PC / tablet / mobile phone or even television. In other words, the common use of social networks has turned into a new "area" where citizens come together to discuss and communicate on certain issues, from the public sphere, to Michael Hauben's concepts and netizens. Using the concept of "netizen" at the beginning of the 1990s, Hauben describes it as:

"You are a 'Netizensin' (a Net Citizen) and a world citizen thanks to the global connection that the Internet makes possible. You are a fellow citizen. You live physically in a single country, but you are communicating with the world through a global computer network. In reality / virtually every 'Netizenin' door neighbor in the world. Physical division left its place in the same virtual space "(Hauben, 1996).

In the light of all these evaluations, when we ask the question whether social media will form the public sphere today or not, there are various answers that do not create accuracy. First opinion, as Gerbaudo puts it, social media is perhaps not a public sphere but it constitutes "public sphere" (Gerbaudo, 2014: 58). Through the sharing of ideas social media, with the words of Hannah Arendt, as acting together, provides awareness. As opposed to being an area where individuals can freely expressed their ideas and make comments social media can interpret and talk about the political issues that the individual freely expressing himself or herself, are becoming more modern and day by day, as the social media becomes more and more open to discussion of public sphere commentaries, it becomes clear that social media is an area where individuals blindly support the ideas of groups is its onset. Individuals are beginning to feel more psychologically strong with the presence of a much stronger group than themselves. So the groups are being followed by more people and getting more "like" and "retweet". This situation is, in fact, a public sphere in which Habermas and Arendt express freely the ideas expressed, as well as a phenomenon that is a phenomenon where individuals and groups who want to feel and accept themselves psychologically stronger wage war. On the other hand, if we look at the interpretations of Richard Sennett's thoughts that the public sphere is free and that ideas must be expressed clearly, it is necessary to question how free the Twitter environment is and how clearly the individual's ideas are expressed. Even the question of the reality of the profiles that share instant messages on Twitter is another research topic.

As Jean Baudrillard (Baudrillard, 2011) said, everyone in their society is looking for their own image. Thus, with their own likeness, individuals are creating "virtual communities", not perhaps public spaces. This is where social media, often dominated by groups and communities, is becoming a place where individuals freely share their thoughts. On the other hand, a medium that communicates with very hard dill or even despair against the people who think differently from oneself leaves itself. Another danger of social media is that people who are parties to matters such as art, sports, religion and politics try to hegemony over each other and try to defeat rather than understand the parties they oppose. It is unfortunately not possible that such an environment is also a public domain, and that it is possible to share ideas and develop ideas in a meaningful way.

As a result, there is already a big problem in every part of the society, such as alienation, hegemony to the other side, intolerance, has now jumped to social media. As a matter of fact, social media is now becoming an area where people exist with their differences. On the other hand, as public topics spoken in the social media are also consumed by making "top topic" and in the form of "soap bubbles", almost no action developed through social media is successful. As the influence of today's fast-consuming cultures is seen at this moment, the agenda is consumed very quickly, and it is renewed without any more problems being resolved.

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