

## Chapter 1: Public Sphere

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

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

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12 *Arendt, The Human Condition* P. 92.

13 *Dacheux, L'espace Public*, P. 21.

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

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14 *Özbek*, Kamusal Alanın Sınırları, P. 31.

15 *Habermas*, The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere, P. 28.

16 *Özbek*, Ibid, P. 24

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

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

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

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

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

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

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18 *Habermas*, Further Reflections on the Public Sphere, P. 431.

19 *Onat*, Kamusal Alan Ve Sınırları, P. 21.

20 *Özbek*, Kamusal Alanın Sınırları, P. 27.

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

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

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21 *Onat, Kamusal Alan Ve Sınırları*, P. 27.

22 *Yukselbaba, Habermas ve Kamusal Alan*, P. 121.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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24 *Köroğlu and Köroğlu*, Classical Public Sphere Models and a General Evaluation on Turkey's Experience of Public Spheres, P. 919.

25 *Onat*, Kamusal Alan Ve Sınırları, P. 28.

26 *Arendt*, The Human Condition, P. 32.



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

B. *Habermas' Approach to the Public Sphere*

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

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

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27 *Coskun*, Social Movements and Proletarian Public Sphere, P. 144.

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

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

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

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

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29 *Habermas, Further Reflections on the Public Sphere*, P. 423.

30 *Özbek, Kamusal Alanın Sınırları*, P. 24.

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

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31 Habermas, *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere*, P. 27.

32 Yukselbaba, *Habermas ve Kamusal Alan*, P. 62.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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36 Özbek, Kamusal Alanın Sınırları, P. 10.

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

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

38 *Negt*, *Ibid*, P. 1.

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

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

41 *Yükselbaba*, *Ibid*, P. 157.

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

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

#### D. Types of Public Spheres

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

#### I. Bourgeois Public Sphere

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

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

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

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

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44 *Yükselbaba*, Habermas ve Kamusal Alan, P. 69.

45 *Habermas*, The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere, P. 72.

46 *Habermas*, *Ibid*, P. 65.

47 *Habermas*, Further Reflections on the Public Sphere, P. 422.

48 *Kellner*, Habermas, The Public Sphere and Democracy: A Critical Intervention, P. 261.



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

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

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49 *Susen*, Critical Notes on Habermas's Theory of the Public Sphere, P. 45.

50 *Fraser*, Rethinking the Public Sphere: A Contribution to the Critique of Actually Existing Democracy, P. 58.

51 *Yukselbaba*, Habermas ve Kamusal Alan, P. 68.

52 *Kellner*, Habermas, The Public Sphere, and Democracy: A Critical Intervention, P. 264.

53 *Susen*, *Ibid*, P. 45.

54 *Fraser*, *Ibid*, P. 129.

55 *Kellner*, *Ibid*, P. 263.

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

## II. Proletarian Public Sphere

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

### III. Political Public Sphere

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

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

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

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

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

*E. Opposition of the Public Sphere - Private Sphere*

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

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

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

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

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64 Habermas, *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere*, P.44.

65 Arendt, *The Human Condition*, P. 25.

66 Polat, *Gender and Venue: Male Coffeehouses*, P. 147.



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

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

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

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

69 *Onat, Ibid*, P. 29.

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

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

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

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

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

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

#### F. *Public Sphere and Mass Media*

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

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73 *Özbek*, *Kamusal Alanın Sınırları*, P. 44.

74 *Köroğlu*, *Facebook as a Marketing Communication Medium: a Comparative Analysis of Advertising and Electronic Word of Mouth Messages*, P. 452.

75 *Özbek*, *Ibid*, P. 46.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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77 *Wolton, Les Contradictions de L'espace Public Médiatisé, P. 97.*

78 *Lazar, La Science de la Communication, P. 69.*

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

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

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79 *Dacheux, L'espace Public*, P. 30.

80 *Dacheux, Ibid*, P. 34.

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

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

### G. *Civil Society and Civil Disobedience*

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

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

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

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

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

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



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

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

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

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

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82 *Özbek*, Kamusal Alanın Sınırları, P. 27.

83 *Rawls*, A Theory of Justice, P. 363.

84 *Arendt*, Crises of the Republic, P. 82.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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86 Anadolu University Psychological Counseling and Guidance Center.

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

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

89 Anadolu University Psychological Counseling and Guidance Center.

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

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

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

### I. Digital Civil Disobedience

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

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

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

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