NETWORKED RESISTANCE AS HYBRID THIRD PLACE: A CYBER-ETHNOGRAPHY ON DIGITAL AND ACTUAL FACADES

Ph. D. Dissertation

FIRAT ERDOĞMUŞ

İSTANBUL, 2017

T.C.

BAHÇEŞEHİR ÜNİVERSİTESİ

THE GRADUATE SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCES

CINEMA AND MEDIA RESEARCH (PH. D.)

NETWORKED RESISTANCE AS HYBRID THIRD PLACE: A CYBER-ETHNOGRAPHY ON DIGITAL AND ACTUAL FACADES

Ph. D. Dissertation

FIRAT ERDOĞMUŞ

Supervisor: PROF. DR. İDİL KARADEMİRLİDAĞ SUHER

İSTANBUL, 2017

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

***

ABSTRACT

NETWORKED RESISTANCE AS HYBRID THIRD PLACE: A CYBER-ETHNOGRAPHY ON DIGITAL AND ACTUAL FACADES

Fırat Erdoğmuş

Ph. D. in Cinema and Media Research

Thesis Supervisor: Prof. Dr. İdil Karademirlidağ Suher

May 2017, 259 pages

This study deals with the series of events of protest which have come to be collectively referred to in the popular discourse as the Resistance. Through a cyber-ethnographic fieldwork carried out, based on an 'amphibious researcher' positionality, in the digital, as well as the 'actual' sites where this resistance took place; this dissertation aims to provide a description of and an analysis on the collectively produced subjectivity that has been referred to as 'The Spirit of the Resistance'). In such regard, what I have hoped to accomplish in this thesis has four interrelated dimensions: 1) Coming up with a cultural anthropological account of the resistance (and its aftermath) with a special focus on dissident practices taking place in the digital realm and presenting them in the form of a cyber-ethnography. 2) Critically analysing the frameworks that have the potential to contribute to the development of a deep and grounded comprehension of networked social movements and elaboration of concepts that prove to be useful for recognizing continuities with and underlining ruptures from the general wave of acts of 'horizontalidad', and singling out what is particularly specific to the practicality of the resistance. 3) Conceptualizing the hybrid place of the Resistance, with its actual and digital facades, as a third place; by relying on the metaphorization of the concept developed by Ray Oldenburg and his followers. 4) Contemplating upon how the performance of this hybrid agency in this collectively created hybrid third place has been unfolded and manifested in its rhizomic modes of reproduction and dissemination; and how affects such as joy and humor have generated and utilized at the service of the corresponding collective agency.

Keywords: Networked Social Movements, Resistance, Third Place, Cyber-ethnography, Amphibious Research

ÖZET

MELEZ ÜÇÜNCÜ MEKAN OLARAK AĞ YAPILI DİRENİŞ: DİJİTAL VE AKTÜEL VEÇHELERE DAİR BİR SİBER-ETNOGRAFİ

Fırat Erdoğmuş

Sinema ve Medya Araştırmaları Doktora Programı

Tez Danışmanı: Prof. Dr. İdil Karademirlidağ Suher

Mayıs 2017, 259 sayfa

Bu çalışmada; toplumsal iletişim ve etkileşimin cereyan ettiği 'dijital' ve 'aktüel' mecralara dair 'yüzergezer yordam' vasıtasıyla yürütülmüş olan siber-etnografik saha çalışması aracılığıyla, 'Direnişin Ruhu' diye de adlandırılagelen, kolektif olarak hayata geçirilmiş öznellik biçimlerine dair kapsamlı bir betimleme ve derinlikli bir analiz sunmak amaçlanmaktadır. Bu bağlamda; bu tez çalışmasında, birbiriyle ilişkili dört başlığa dair bilgi üretimi gerçekleştirmenin hedeflenmiş olduğu söylenebilir: 1) Direniş sırasında (ve sonrasında) bilhassa dijital mecralarda vuku bulmuş olan başkaldırı pratiklerine dair kültürel antropolojik bir izahı, siberetnografi çerçevesinde sunmak. 2) Ağ yapılı toplumsal hareketlerin kavranması noktasında potansiyel vaat eden kavramsal çerçeveleri eleştirel bir incelemeye tabi tutarak; direnişi, 'yatayda yeşermiş' olan diğer toplumsal hareketlerle gösterdiği benzerlikler ve onlardan ayrıştığı pratik hususlar bağlamında derinlemesine tahlil etmek. 3) Direniş'in 'sayısal' ve 'edimsel' veçheleri dolayımıyla ortaya çıkan melez uzamı, Oldenburg ve takipçilerince geliştirilmiş olan 'üçüncü mekan' mefhumunu eğretileyerek kullanmak suretiyle kavramsallaştırmak. 4) Bu bağlamda, köksaplı yeniden üretim ve saçılım kuramı çerçevesinde; böylesi melez öznellik ile yeşeren neşe ve mizah gibi pek çok duygulanım biçiminin kolektif iradenin serpilmesini sağlayışında oynadığı rollere dair tefekkür etmek.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Ağ Yapılı Toplumsal Hareketler, Üçüncü Mekan, Siber-etnografi, Yüzergezer Yordam

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF FIGURES

1. INTRODUCTION AND LAYOUT OF THE STUDY

A new subjectivity is haunting the world. From the boroughs or shanty towns of the global south to the cities and metropolises of the developed and developing world alike, a new generation of activists are appearing on the stage of history to claim, or reclaim, what they think is theirs: more democracy, more freedom, and the end of an unjust world. This is an attempt to look at the millions of human beings involved in those social movements with an eye to understand their motivations, their tactics and strategies and their discourses about the world in general, and their deeds of upheaval in particular. This is also an attempt to make sense of the various roles that communication technologies, and especially digital technologies, play within these struggles.

Being mindful of the danger of treating the technical sphere as merely tools under the control of human agency, while also avoiding a technodeterminist framework seeing the progression of history consisting of a series of technical advancements (Timisi 2016); this is an attempt to understand how the coexistence of the technical and social elements are at play in the making of a global wave of social uprisings. This thesis is an attempt to explain and understand one of the links within this big chain, or one node within this networked social movement(s) as Manuel Castells (2005) has called them. It is an attempt to make sense of contemporary dissident movements which range from Tahrir to Wall Street, from Hong Kong to Spain.

This is an attempt to focus on the particular, as Clifford Geertz (1994) has called it, to make a thick description of the social dynamics at stake in the Resistance, which also enables one to make abstractions and recognize patterns on the general "state of things" throughout the world, including those ones not necessarily related to social dissent. This is an attempt to write a people's version of history: One that, instead of understanding the world through the deeds of a handful of "great, important people", aims to be grasp the "deep waves" that make historical phenomena take place and how people -as individuals as well as parts of larger groups within the society- have been "making history" with the infinitesimal actions they do take each and every day.

This is an attempt to understand the functioning of Power -in micro as well as the macro dimensions- and how, as Michel Foucault (1980) pointed out, a potential for resistance is created on every single spot it has come to operate. This is an attempt to understand the role of the particular "centripetal" forces in creating the general hegemony and people's attempts to disrupt it, by making use of various "centrifuge" elements, as Bakhtin (1935) would name them. This is an attempt that tries to understand the discursive element within the practice, and the practical element within the discourse by taking an "epistemologies of doing" framework.

This is an attempt that tries to grasp the revolutionary nature of praxis, of the performativity within the spectacular. Also is an attempt to recognize the transformational effects of deterritorialization, of the attempt to reappropriate and to reclaim. This is an attempt to contribute to the writing of the history of the struggle on and about the commons, of and for the commons, and by the commons (Harvey 2000 & 2011). From commons' urban spaces to digital sites where commons communicate; from the language and discursive elements used by the commons, to the transformations commons try to generate...

This is an attempt to understand the '*horisontalism*' (Sitrin, 2012) of the 21st century struggles. An attempt to understand the novelty within these struggles, as well as the legacy taken over by them from earlier periods... And also an attempt to understand how it is so successful in mobilizing and creating egalitarian channels of communication and organization to define as well as create tactics for accomplishing shorter to middle range objectives.… But also an attempt to understand its general shortcomings related to issues of sustainability and creating strategies for longer term goals. This is an attempt to see the ever-increasing togetherness of "online" and "offline" realms. To understand, how digital technologies are integrated more and more into the fabric of daily life and how the "quotidian interactions" are taking place more and more in the digital world. To make sense of the "youngster tweeting from the barricades" and the "housewife" retweeting while cooking.

This is an attempt to grasp the rhizomatic nature of popular culture, and various subcultures with all their potential to "go viral" (Rushkoff 2010). Also of the rhizomatic tendencies of media platforms and contents within them, with massive and actually unprecedented nature of the contagiousness of meanings, as well as feelings -especially of courage and fear (Deleuze & Guattari 1988). This is an attempt to understand how the blurring of previously rigid boundaries are affecting the way life is made sense of and lived on. The constantly more blurring of the boundary between the personal and the political; or between work and leisure; or between private and public… And what they all mean in regard to the wave of struggles taking place.

This is an attempt to understand how more and more speed, "vitesse" as Virilio (1986) calls it, has come to dominate the daily life and how possible it is to try to "change the world", while even the challenge to perceive it in a state of constant emergency, in "Present Shock" as Rushkoff calls it, is most of the time too overwhelming to deal with… About what it means to try to distract the current order of things in a world which is itself made up of an infinite number of distractions... About how and if one can "draw attention" to a cause, when the scarcest of resources is becoming the attention one has to give to anything taking place around them… About if true thoughtful action is actually possible in a world dominated by the blue blinking light of the smart phone, or the illusion of its existence, which is constantly triggering Pavlovian conditioned responses.

This is an attempt to understand the convergence, not only in terms of technological advancements and different media; but also as a defining element of what is going on in the cultural sphere as the world becomes more and more part of a common language -be it in the form of a catchy tweet, or a meme with a viral potential, or the soundtrack of a popular TV show such as Game of Thrones, or the tricolor poster of Obama 2008 campaign.

This is an attempt to see globalism at play. In a world which is divided by strong contrasts in mobility vis-a-vis immobility, how does the global factors play into the vast number of elements in local affairs? This is a world marked by mobility; of capital for

instance. Thanks to the digitalization of the global financial system, financial flows are easy to make now, without virtually any constraint. Money, or its substitutes can flow from one point to another at the ease of a mouse click, independent of volumes or distances at stake. Yet, it turns out, it "chooses" to predominantly flow into similar territories, and leave out certain others. Human beings, or labour as economists would name it, are increasingly mobile in the contemporary times. With the massive technological developments in transportation infrastructures, as well as the density of routes and networks connecting localities, one is now able to overcome the barrier of distances in a perhaps never before precedented fashion. Similarly, with an increasing inclusion of countries within regional systems, and thanks to integration of localities beyond the paradigm of the nation-state, into more and more transnational alliances; legal and cultural barriers over mobility are disappearing one by one. Or so it seems, when only one side of what is going on is taken into account. The other side is full of borders, restrictions, sanctions and even walls -and not necessarily on the metaphorical use of the term. On the realm of culture, mobility is also strongly at stake. Globalisation as well as advancements in telecommunication and transportation technologies have created a world in which "cultural artifacts" and the meanings they contain, are flowing in speeds never experienced before. It would not be an exaggeration to claim that the digital technologies in use today are bringing together billions of people around the globe.

This is also an attempt to make sense of the dominant patterns of language and particular aesthetic preferences in wide circulation today. The tweet that has become the synecdoche of mainstream communication, with its catchy, aphorism-like style favoring economical communication in an atmosphere dominated by speed. From daily communication to business, from marketing to activism, it has become the prototypical building structure of various forms of communication. This is an attempt to understand the mentality of the "selfie generation". An attempt to understand how these people, the Generation Y, or the millennials as they're also referred to, practical and confident about themselves, around which most of their world revolves, have also proven to be engaged in many so-called "selfless" deeds, from challenging the ways inequalities in

4

the world function to creating social movements and sustainable political organizations...

This is an attempt to understand where the "personal" ends today and where the political begins -if at all. Similarly, given the motley nature of social media, an attempt to make sense of what the distinction between the private and the public means today -if anything at all… Also an attempt to understand how -and if- the transformations in the urban settings that result in a severe decrease in social capital are compensated by other means, and what this means about the production of social dynamics and the possibility of collective action… As C. Wright Mills (2000, p. 3) has stated in his seminal work, 'The Sociological Imagination', "[n]either the life of an individual nor the history of a society can be understood without understanding both". Thus, also an attempt to understand an event, "unique", "exceptional" and "spectacular", which tries to grasp ruptures between how the daily life was transformed by an almost magical ward, while also taking into account the continuities between the "ordinary state of things" and the "extraordinary utterance". This is an attempt to understand, from an historical perspective, the complex set of factors -economic, social, psychological, libidinal, etc.- that have contributed to the creation of the general soil on which the resistance blossoms.

This is also an attempt to recognize the rapidly blurring boundary between work and play, and correspondingly between work time and leisure time, as well as between work space and recreational space. An attempt to create a cloud of concepts that each of these terms resonates with, in a world dominated by off-work tasks pushed through emails and on-work "games" like checking Facebook updates… This is also attempt to mediate on the never-to-go-away debate between those who believe online practices of dissent to have certain values and those who regard them as acts of clicktivism and slacktivism. An attempt to answer the decades old question 'what is to be done', in a world entangled at the interplay between entertainment and meaningful, deliberate, productive action… This is also an attempt to see how affects, especially the ones closer to the "joyful" end of the spectrum such as fun, euphoria and humor are integrated into the

repetoire of dissident action and discourse; and how, the dissident praxis in return acts in a way to enrich them even further (Hardt & Negri 2005).

Correspondingly, what I hope to accomplish with this thesis is four-dimensional:

- Coming up with a cultural anthropological account of the Resistance (and its aftermath) with a special focus on dissident practices taking place in the digital realm and presenting them in the form of a cyber-ethnography.

- Critically analyzing the frameworks that have the potential to contribute to the development of a deep and grounded comprehension of networked social movements and elaboration of concepts that prove to be useful for recognizing continuities with and underlining ruptures from the general wave of acts of '*horizontalidad*'.

- Conceptualizing the hybrid place of the Resistance, with its actual and digital facades, as a third place; by relying on the metaphorization of the concept developed by Ray Oldenburg (1989) and his followers (Soukup 2006, Oldenburg & Brissett 1982, Steinkuehler & Williams, 2006).

- Contemplating upon how the performance of this hybrid agency in this collectively created hybrid third place has been unfolded and manifested in its rhizomic modes of reproduction and dissemination; and how affects such as joy and humor have generated and utilized at the service of the corresponding collective agency.

However, I would like to state the acknowledgement that I have no claim that such list of dimensions is, by any means, a complete repository of all the perspectives through which of the issues handled in this thesis might have been studied. Yet, to the best of my knowledge, it is one of the most comprehensive ones produced so far. As someone interested in studying, working on, and also participating in many of the instances elaborated in this thesis, I hope that my account of what has been going on will look interesting and authentic enough to those eyes wishing to see some of the most

significant phenomena that have been taking place. Likewise, having put my scholarly capacities at the service of this attempt, I hope to have been able to, at least to some degree, provide frameworks and concepts for making sense of all the emergent phenomena. The "story" of the Resistance could have been told much better, and I am sure it will be by others. It might even have been told from points of view much different than mine, which would of course contribute to accumulating honest accounts of the resistance. Yet, I hope, and believe, that my narrative stands being read with and against the grain.

<div align="center">***</div>

In the following chapter of this thesis, entitled 'Ontological and Epistemological Considerations', I intend to make a thorough discussion on the theories and methodologies that have proved useful in examining socially produced practicalities and artefacts in general, and online content in particular, and mediate on their potential uses for the student of social phenomena in general, and for someone who is attempting to understand how the digital social media platforms could be utilized for social research in particular. Starting with a discussion of 'cultural artefacts' -in the widest sense of the term- and potentially productive ways of elaborating them, based on the cultural studies framework. I shall then carry out a discussion of semiology, the science of signs and the method of making sense of them. Starting with a close reading of Saussure's foundational pieces, and moving to their modern interpretations through the structuralist ecole, I am going to discuss the ways that reveal how signs are loaded with values that are derived from wider ideological and other belief systems, and lay out their connotative and denotative functionalities, employing what Barthes suggests as 'fourth reading position', attempt draw on the necessity of denaturalizing and decrypting the functioning of modern myths and the undoing of transformation of culture into nature. Then I am going to present a literature review of social studies of technology and mediate on the necessity of the researcher to refrain from the double dangers of being driven to techno-determinist frameworks that leave no ground to the human agency, and their equally flawed counterparts, that is, approaches that are too simplistic to take into account the autonomous spaces created by technology in general and individual technicalities in particular. Finally, I am going to focus on the recently developing area

of cyber-ethnography, and discuss the ways that digital spheres can be utilized by social scientists in their attempts to make sense of the complex realities created by the interactions taking place on the digital realms in particular. I Finally, I am also going to describe the fieldwork through a list of the primary sites, localities, events and platforms in which the bulk of the research has been carried out; and discuss my positionality in the actual and digital facades of the resistance -as an activist as well as a researcher-, in reference to the concept 'amphibious research'.

In the third chapter, entitled 'The Tools and Platforms of Analysis: Techne at Play', I am going to focus on the technical dimension of the techno-human condition. By elaborating in detail the four categories, namely "digital media", "new media", "social media" and "virtual media", I am going to put into context widely circulating conceptualizations of the non-traditional media and discuss the roles they have been playing in creating novel social dynamics. Furthermore, by establishing the characteristics of each one of these concepts, and discussing how they correspond to personal and social needs and desires, making them attractive to 'users'; I shall present the certain tendencies and preferences that the participants of these platforms are inclined towards. I am going to conclude this chapter by a discussion on the concept 'virtuality'; and argue, based on the fieldwork I have carried out in 'online, virtual worlds', that it is not only impractical, but also inaccurate for the students of online environments to think in their analyses with this concept, which is inherently positioned in a false dichotomous relationship with the concept of 'reality'.

In the fourth chapter, entitled 'Modalities of Organization and Subjectification in the Network Society', I am going to elaborate the concept 'Network Society' and the particular modes of organization and subjectification that occur within it. Starting with the task of defining and conceptualizing network society, I shall then move to a discussion of how individuals are positioned and subjectified within it. Then, I am going to elaborate the concept of 'networked social movements' and demonstrate how the Resistance also fits into this theoretical framework. Lastly, through drawing concrete material gathered from my cyber-ethnographic fieldwork, I am going to demonstrate how certain characteristics of networked social movements, such as virality,

personalization of politics, crowdsourcing, have been at play during the Resistance, not only as elements which have contributed a great deal to the spread of activist practices, but also served as the very foundational pillars that made the resistance possible in the first place.

In the fifth chapter, entitled 'The Resistance as A Hybrid Third Place', I am going to carry out a discussion of the concept of 'Third Place' developed by Ray Oldenburg (1988) for describing environments such as parks, cafes, barber shops and others, which -unlike the home environments and work spaces that have traditionally been named as 'first' and 'second' places- facilitate communication and interaction between individuals of a community in special ways. After carrying out a general discussion of the dynamics of third places and the crucial roles they play on creating and sustaining social bonds, I name and critically elaborate the eight elements that Oldenburg lists as the defining characteristics of such spaces. Finally, in accordance with the integrity of the point-by-point framework that Oldenburg has drawn, I am going to elaborate each of the eight defining characteristics one by one and illustrate these points by using concrete examples that I have collected throughout my research, from actual as well as digital sites where the Resistance took place.

Finally, in the 'Conclusion' chapter, I am going to briefly summarize the arguments that have been made in the previous chapters, discuss the potential contributions and limitations of this dissertation, and outline areas and problematiques of further research which could potentially contribute to a deeper and clearer understanding of the phenomena discussed throughout this thesis.

2. ONTOLOGICAL AND EPISTEMOLOGICAL CONSIDERATIONS

As I have explained in the introduction part of this dissertation, the 'object of analysis' of the research carried out during the 'fieldwork' phase of this study has been twofold: 1) I have collected and analyzed the digital cultural artefacts that have been produced by the various actors involved in the resistance; 2) To be able to contextualize these artefacts, I have also been involved in a series of 'physical' sites where the resistance - with its multiplicity of forms, from clashes with the police, to park forums and other gatherings- took place. To be able to deal with such a diverse object of analysis, I have relied upon a number of theoretical approaches and methodological frameworks. In this chapter, I intend to make a thorough discussion on these theories and methodologies, and mediate on their potential uses for the student of social phenomena in general, and for someone who is attempting to understand how the digital social media platforms could be utilized for social research in particular.

Hence, I start, in section 2.1, entitled 'Cultural Artefacts', with a discussion of productive ways of elaborating cultural artefacts -in the widest sense of the term- with a special emphasis on the potentials they offer researchers for identifying the general cultural climate of the periods and societies which they have emerged from. Discussing the symptomatic reading framework and reading it against a body of theory developed through the totality of social practices approach, I intend to clarify, through this discussion, how the cultural artefacts are at once 'reflecting' and 'refracting' the social reality of the societies that they have emerged from.

Then, in section 2.2, entitled 'Language, The Linguistic Sign and Semiology', I carry out a discussion of semiology, the science of signs and the method of making sense of them. Starting with a close reading of Saussure's foundational pieces, and moving to their modern interpretations through the structuralist ecole, I intend to discuss the ways that reveal how signs are loaded with values that are derived from wider ideological and other belief systems, and lay out their connotative and denotative functionalities. Then, employing what Barthes suggests as 'fourth reading position', I intend to come up with

ways of deciphering texts -in the widest sense of the term- and discuss some of the proven-useful set of tools that researchers have been utilizing in their attempts to 'denaturalize' and 'decrypt' the functioning of modern myths and the undoing of transformation of culture into nature.

As the majority of the cultural artefacts employed within the research and analyses phases of this doctoral study are from recently emerging 'technological' spheres, I, then proceed, in section 2.3, entitled 'Social Studies of Technology', with a discussion of the different approaches in technology studies and assert my particular treatment of the area. In this section I discuss the necessity of the researcher to refrain from the double dangers of being driven to techno-determinist frameworks that leave no ground to the human agency, and their equally flawed counterparts, that is, approaches that are too simplistic to take into account the autonomous spaces created by technology in general and individual technicalities in particular.

In the next section, that is 2.4, entitled 'The Analysis of Online Phenomena: Cyber-ethnography', I intend to focus on the recently developing area of cyber-ethnography, and discuss the ways that digital spheres can be utilized by social scientists in their attempts to make sense of the complex realities created by the interactions taking place on the digital realms in particular. In this section, I am also going to discuss my involvement in the actual and digital facades of the resistance -as an activist as well as a researcher-, in reference to the concept 'amphibious research'. Finally, I am going to give a list of the primary sites, localities, events and platforms in which the bulk of the research discussed within this dissertation has been carried out.

2.1 CULTURAL ARTEFACTS

Walter Benjamin is one of the earliest thinkers to draw attention to the intrinsically codependent nature of cultural artefacts and the societies that have given rise to their production, dissemination and use/appreciation. More particularly, he argues, in his foundational essay entitled "The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction" and published in 1936, that even what is called "human perception" is altered and

modified by the more general and macro tendencies that are in effect when the act of perceiving takes place. He claims that:

> *The mode of human sense perception changes with humanity's entire mode of existence. The manner in which human sense perception is organized, the medium in which it is accomplished, is determined not only by nature but by historical circumstances as well* (Benjamin 1936/1969, pp. 222).

Similarly, Theodor Adorno and Max Horkheimer have argued in 1944 in their seminal book chapter, *The Culture Industry: Enlightenment as Mass Deception* (1989) have developed the term "culture industry" to demonstrate the determining role that historical conditions play over many instances of social life, including cultural products. Furthermore, they argue that the culture industry brought into existence by capitalism has created an cultural milieu which is dominated by monopolies of production that function with the implicit motivation of creating a uniformity of meanings, where the operative language within the entertainment industry is determined by the industry itself. Aesthetic elements, stylistic choices even "laughter effects on TV shows" are turned into apparati within the command of the industry making the "[laughter the instrument of the fraud practiced on happiness" and the situation, "a parody of humanity".

It is of crucial importance to note that while dominant aesthetic modes are persistent even today, the situation now is not one of a top-down centralist milieu but the "constitutive and sustaining power" of the global capitalism, however similar its end goals may be, functions in quite a different fashion, constituting a dialectic of rupture and continuity. What is also particularly important is to differentiate, in reference to the framework developed by Fredric Jameson, and between an analysis of the industry and society named by some as "the postmodern condition"[1] and the ideological and philosophical tradition, namely postmodern*ism* (Jameson 1984), that has come to be associated with, probably due to the lack of the scholarly rigor that is needed to differentiate an epistemological problem from an ontological one.

---

[1] For instance, by Lyotard and Perry Anderson, from quite different corners of the ideological and philosophical tradition scale. (Lyotard 1993 & Anderson 1998, pp. 24–27.)

For the sake of the flow of argumentation, I am not going to go into the details of this new and contemporary regime of signification -in the sense put forward by Scott Lash (1988)- yet, and will leave it for the time being to be returned to during the discussion of how selves and "the self" as the organizing unit in contemporary times is being constructed within the current, "liquid" mode -as Zygmunt Bauman names it (2006)- of flexible capitalism. Yet, for the student of cultural artefacts and their places within the society, diving into the relationship between the 'superstructural' and the 'infrastructural' elements is a tricky process. As Raymond Williams discusses in his essay entitled "Television: Technology and Cultural Form" (1972/1992, pp.3-25), various "reading positions" with their distinct ontologies and epistemologies are possible. Yet, the majority of these positions cannot help fall under the broader umbrella frameworks of either "technological determinism" or "symptomatic reading" approach.

What is particularly important to take into consideration regarding these frameworks is that however different they are from each other, both of them takes for granted one of the two major elements in studying the relationship between the technical and the cultural spheres. In the first one of these, namely technological determinism, the autonomous space of "the technical realm" is elaborated thoroughly -maybe even a little too thoroughly- at the expense of the societal dynamics that need to be approached with a similar meticulous solicitude. Correspondingly, in the latter one, namely "symptomatic reading" approach, the technical sphere is seen as a mere reflection of the general social-economic relations matrix at the expense of the required attention to be paid to "the technical sphere". In doing so, both approaches take a too closer look to a single dimension of the double-sided reality and cannot help fall prey to creating a distorted view of the totality of the actual situation. Hence both end up in creating their own failed versions of the attempt of grasping the actual set of factors.

Having acknowledged this two-dimensional and quite exceptional status of the technical-cultural artefact requires the scholar to pay specific attention and read the social reality regarding the technical-cultural artefact with many aspects occurring simultaneously. As an idea, a technology, a commodity, a cultural meaning generator, and a creator and regulator of social relations to cite at least a few… Yet, it is also

important to acknowledge that such as position is easier to say than get done, and the question on this delicate relationship calls for attention to an intensive discussion of two interrelated and more general problematiques: namely the tension between agency and structure, and that between the base and superstructure. Regarding these interrelated tensions -or "dialectical relationships" as would be called within the Marxian cultural critique repository, I am going to elaborate four works: "Base and Superstructure in Marxist Cultural Theory" (1980, pp.31-49) and "Means of Communication as Means of Production" (1980, pp.50-67) by Raymond Williams, the introductory article of "Central Problems in Social Theory" (1979) by Anthony Giddens, and "Althusser's Underground Railroad: From Dialectical Materialism to the Non-Philosophy of the Non-State" (2005) by David McInerney. Having chosen Louis Althusser's contribution to social theory as my departure point, I have chosen to examine these works because of the common element in all of them, namely, because of the new approaches with which they are trying to look at Marxism in general and to the two interrelated problematics about the tense relationships between agency and structure, and base and superstructure, in particular.

Published for the first time in the 1973 November-December Issue of the prestigious New Left Review, "Base and Superstructure in Marxist Cultural Theory" (Williams) is webbed around, as the title suggests, the very question of the conceptualization of the notions of base and superstructure. I am referring to the revised version of the article that was published in *Culture and Materialism* in 1980. In the initial part of the article, Williams draws our attention to two seemingly contradictory claims of Marxism; namely the presupposition of a "determining base and a determined superstructure" (p.31) and the statement that "social being determines consciousness" (p.31). Then, taking a stance against the perception of these two approaches as necessarily denying each other, he locates the cause of the inured contradictory perception in linguistics; in the "real complexity" (p.31) of the concept of determination, to be more precise. Mentioning about the two possible interpretations of this notion -as "the notion of an external cause which totally predicts or prefigures, indeed totally controls a subsequent activity" and as "setting limits, exerting pressures"-, he argues for a position to leave the first interpretation and establish the second. In arguing this, he leans to Marx's own

proposition which, Williams claims, puts "origin of determination in men's own activities" (p.31).

Having suggested an interpretation of the relationship of determination, Williams then mediated on the concepts in the two ends of this relationship, superstructure and base. On superstructure, against its comprehension as a mere reflection or reproduction of the reality of the base, he argues for the existence of a process of "mediation" between the base and superstructure, a process in which "something radically different from either reflection or reproduction—actively occurs" (p.33). Regarding the base; Williams criticizes its consideration as "virtually [...] an object, or in less crude cases, [...] in essentially uniform and usually static ways" (p.33); and argues for its revaluation "away from the notion of a fixed economic or technological abstraction, and towards the specific activities of men in real social and economic relationships, containing fundamental contradictions and variations and therefore always in a state of dynamic process" (p.34). Williams, then, elaborates the Lukacsian concept of "totality of social practices" and acknowledges its potential benefits as opposed to the "layered notion of base and a consequent superstructure" (p.35). Yet, he underlines the inflation of the use of the concept and warns us against the possibility of the notion of totality to be emptied of its essential content: "If totality is simply concrete, if it is simply the recognition of a large variety of miscellaneous and contemporaneous practice, then it is essentially empty of any content that could be called Marxist" (p.36). For the class character of the society to be kept visible, Williams underlines the necessity of seeing the "superstructural element", and suggest a use of the notion of totality combined with the Gramscian concept of hegemony.

In Williams's understanding of the concept, hegemony "supposes the existence of something which is truly total, which is not merely secondary or superstructural, like the weak sense of ideology" (p.37). Thus, it does not serve to the reproduction of the problematic dichotomy between base and superstructure. Moreover; as it is "not to be understood at the level of mere opinion or mere manipulation" (p.38); but as a "whole body of practices and expectations; our assignments of energy, our ordinary understanding of the nature of man and of his world" (p.38), it has an "advantage over

general notions of totality, that it at the same time emphasizes the facts of domination (p.37). Thus, it "constitutes a sense of reality for most people in the society, a sense of absolute because experienced reality beyond which it is very difficult for most members of the society to move, in most areas of their lives" (p.38). Hence, hegemony, described as "a set of meanings and values which as they are experienced as practices appear as reciprocally confirming" is the key that solves both the problems brought about by the base-superstructure contradiction of traditional Marxism and the overutilized concept of totality of the Western Marxism.

Raymond Williams, discusses the same problematique in another work, namely "Means of Communication as Means of Production", which was published for the first time in 1978 in *Prilozi: Drustvenost Komunikacije* in Zagreb, and then with some minor revisions in a *Culture and Materialism* in 1980. Williams starts his article with expressing his opinion –opposing common sense believes- that "means of communication" are not only forms but also means of production" (p.50); and being "always socially and materially produced and reproduced [they] "are directly subject to historical development" (p.50). From such a departure point, he continues his criticisms on the established ideas about the content of the notion of communication. He notes three points in particular. First of all; he criticizes the fact that communication is seen most widely through a media framework that rests on the false notion of communication process of unproblematic 'senders' or 'receivers'" (p.51). He also takes a position against the division between the "natural and technological means of communication" (p.51). Finally, touching upon the notion of "mass communication", he criticizes the "a priori separation of means of communication from means of production" (p.52), as he sees it to be based on "mechanical formulations of base and superstructure" (p.53), a position which sees communication as a "second-order or second-stage process" (p.53).

Having stated his views and hammers the borders of his framework, he describes "three main types of such use or transformation of non-human material, for communicative purposes" (p.55); amplificatory –such as a megaphone or television-, durative (or storing) –such as painting, sculpture or recording-, and alternative –such as writing or graphic. Williams, then, argues that the two types are necessarily different from the

third one as "problems of social order and relationship in these processes center in issues of control and access to the developed means of amplification and duration" (p.56). Hence, these two are "of direct interest to a ruling class"; "all kinds of control and restriction of access [to them] have been repeatedly practiced" (p.56). Yet, Williams also makes an appropriate counterpoint, that it is also possible for excluded classes to have "shorter routes", if they manage to escape from strict controls and restrictions to the use of these means, "than in the case of alternative means, in which not only access but a crucial primary skill for example, writing or reading has also to be mastered (p.56). Thus, Williams brings the issue of conflicts of interest and the struggle for power between classes into the functioning of the processes of communication.

Then, he draws attention to another difference, at another level of analysis: the distinction between direct and indirect communication. He underlines the role of the process of editing and states that it is "not only a matter of exclusion and selection" (p.60); and that "[new positive relations of a signifying kind can be made by the processes of arrangement and juxtaposition, and this can be true even in those unusual cases in which the original primary units are left in their original state" (p.60). For illustrating the embeddedness of this problem to the technicality of communication, he states that [e]ven in direct transmission in television, [...] positioning of the camera is a crucial signifying element (p.60). He concludes this argument with a statement that reformulates the Marxist concept of ideology and adopts it to the area of communication: "[w]hat is 'being seen' in what appears to be a natural form is, evidently, then in part or large part what is 'being made to be seen'" (p.61).

Another Marxian cultural scholar, Anthony Giddens discusses this problematique in the introductory article of his *Central Problems in Social Theory*, whose first publication was made in 1979. Giddens starts his argument by claiming that "any appropriation we make from nineteenth-century social thought [including that of Marx] has to be a thoroughly a critical one" (p.1) and that "there are no easy dividing-lines to be drawn between Marxism and 'bourgeois social theory'" (p.1). He, then, makes clear the theoretical position –of structuration- against which he has developed his own approach: he is against the frameworks offered by *hermeneutics*, *functionalism* and *structuralist*

thought. He grounds the necessity of a framework such as structuration on his claim that there is a "lack of a theory of action in the social sciences" (p.2). Underlying the futility of "supposing that [... the] opposition between voluntarism and determinism can be overcome by simply bringing these rival types of approach together, conjoining one to the other" (p.2). He, then, describes what he sees to be the essentials of "an adequate account of human action" (p.2): "connected[ness] to a theory of the acting subject" and situat[ion of] action in time and space as a continuous flow of conduct, rather than treating purposes, reasons, etc., as somehow aggregated together" (p.2). Giddens's conceptualization of time is inspired by that of Heidegger. More specifically, he puts his views on time through William James's (1896) interpretation of Heidegger: "The literally present moment is a purely verbal supposition, not a position; the only present ever realized concretely is the "passing moment" in which the dying reward of time and its dawning future forever mix their lights" (p.3). Giddens relates such a notion to his theory of structuration focusing on the ways to grasp transformation. Such a framework of the notion of time sets the ground for Giddens to be able to "show the interdependence of action and structure" (p.3); by enabling him "grasp the time - space relations inherent in the constitution of all social interaction" (p.3). As for the theory of subject, he makes use of what he calls stratification model of personality, "organized in terms of three sets of relations: the unconscious, practical consciousness, and discursive consciousness" (p.2), among which practical consciousness he regards as a fundamental part of the theory of structuration.

Giddens claims that practical consciousness, and social practices (the association of which with language he, following Wittgenstein, believes to be forming of social theory) "are crucial mediating moments between two traditionally-established dualisms in social theory" (p.4); namely, the dualism of individual and society and the dualism of conscious/unconscious modes of cognition. Regarding these problems; he claims that his theory of structuration is a remedy for these dualisms and bases this argument to the postulate that "every social actor knows a great deal about the conditions of reproduction of the society which he or she is a member" (p.5). Claiming that "[p]ower relations are always two-way; that is to say, however subordinate an actor may be in a social relationship, the very fact of involvement in that relationship gives him or her a

certain amount of power over the other" (p.6); he acknowledges the potential of those in subordinate positions have the power and skills for "converting whatever resources they possess into some degree of control over the conditions of reproduction of those social systems" (p.6). He relates these potential opportunities which he names as "restrictions and distortions of the discursive penetration that actors are able to achieve over the circumstances of their action relate directly to the impact of ideology. Thus he completes the open circle and provide us with a coherent framework of structuration. In the concluding parts, he once again underlines his position against functionalism, by calling the theory of structuration as a non-functionalist manifesto (p.7). He underlines that social systems, according to the theory of structuration, "have no purposes, reasons or needs whatsoever; only human individuals do" (p.7). He, then, makes clear a final dualism that he is against: the division of synchrony from diachrony in analyses; and points out that "[i]n analyzing the conditions of social reproduction, and therefore of stability and change in society, [he has attempted] to show the essential importance of tradition and routinization in social life" (p.7). Finally; recollecting the main points that he has argued against, he claims that the very concept of sociology "is not an innocent term" (p.8), as it is "closely identified, in its origins and its current use, with the threefold set of associations [...]: naturalism, functionalism and the theory of the industrial society" (p.8).

Coming back to the issue of the relationship between cultural artefacts and the societies within which they have emerged, I believe, John Berger's attempts of "reading" mundane cultural elements are of significant value of guidance to the student of digital realms. In the essay entitled "The Suit and the Photograph" that appeared in the book *About Looking* (1980), John Berger compares three photographs of three groups of men, all in suits. However similar it may sound, due to the differences -of especially cultural capital, as Pierre Bourdieu (1984) would call it- between the men in these three groups, each photographic composition displays a totally different web of meanings and reveals three distinct set of habituses (1992). Hence, Berger demonstrates the possibility of, just by looking at three individual photographs, being able to make analyses that can enable one to draw conclusions on class relations between members of different classes in particular, and regarding cultural hegemony within society in general. I believe this to

be a brilliant example in demonstrating also the relationship between the particular instance, or utterance as Voloshinov (1973, pp.48-49) would call them. Yet it is equally significant to keep Annette Kuhn's warning to the student of visual images in particular and cultural artefacts in general (2002). On the question of how to utilize such articulations from a scholarly point of view, she underlines the crucial importance of "memory texts" that connect and combine personal lives with the social reality and bridges the personal and collective elements of memory. Furthermore she states that that "photographs should by no way be taken as the mirrors of the real; and rather as evidence to be taken into account or a riddle to be read, decoded and solved" (p.11).

In his pathbreaking article on eighteenth century French history, The Great Cat Massacre, Robert Darnton states that the individual can be grasped as a kind of window through which one can have a look at the culture in a society (1985). Following such reasoning, he elaborates a tragic event, the killing of cats in a Parisian workshop by the workers and tries to identify basic cultural codes of the eighteenth century French people in general, and of working class male Parisians in particular. Starting with simple questions, such as under what conditions and how and why those people wanted to kill cats –take an action that we would call blood freezingly violent today-, he reaches conclusions that are compatible with the findings of the historians who have analyzed the mentalities of the people of the corresponding time and space. Furthermore; while trying to conceptualize the rage that is one of the main catalysts of the workers' violent actions, he also makes educated guesses that look logical about the relationship of such desires of destruction and the economic structure and organization of the workshops in Paris. More specifically, he underlines a possible link between the deterioration of the guild system and the cutting of opportunities of social mobility for apprentices and journeymen. Pushing such reasoning even further, in the final parts of the article, Darnton suggests that the popular unrest from different segments of the society could be at least partially related to the narrated events, or to state it from the inside out, the path that furnished the way to the revolution could be partially read from the "cat massacre".

Such an approach is open to some criticisms from various points of view. It may be stated as omitting the economic dimension and focusing too much on culture (cultural

relativism), or from the other end of the scale, although speaking about culture as a quasi-independent dimension, bringing the issue to the economic base and superstructure model, by linking everything in the final analysis to the economic transformations of the 18th century France. Such criticisms and more have actually been made and a through debate has been carried out in the journal, American Historical Review[2].

From a cautious and questioning point of view, both types of arguments seem to be pointless. Not because the threats that they are warning us about are not valid, but, on the contrary, because of the fact that there is no direct way to jump over the culture – economy relationship. One can at best be aware of the motley nature of such relationship and try to avoid oversimplifications, and that is what, I believe, Darnton has managed to do. At this point, I would like to open up why I find it interesting to think with an event from the 18th century France: Because I believe that, theoretically and methodologically speaking, the opportunities and limitations in Darnton's work and the analysis that I would like to carry out are quite similar. I am going to elaborate in the paragraphs to come in more detail what I will be intending to do, but first I need to state two critical points about Darnton's work in particular and such "micro" analyses in general. Actually these two points are quite interrelated. In all such works, there is potentially the danger of falling two traps of "essentialism" and "assuming a uniform culture". Both of these problems are results of ignoring the complex and dynamic nature of the concept of culture. Essentialism is ignoring the fact that cultures are changing from location to location and, more importantly, within time, in response to or parallel with changes in other dimensions and falling to positions such as arguing frozen natural identities that are conceptualized as if they have been there since the beginning of time and continue in its rigid form until eternity.

Claims about essences of being from a gender, a race or an ethnicity are usually based on essentialist conceptions (And the stereotypes that are utilized especially by the

---

[2] See, for instance, the following articles: Towes. J.E., 1987. Intellectual History after the Linguistic Turn: The Autonomy of Meaning and the Irreducibility of Experience, *American Historical Review*, 92 (4), October, pp. 879-907.; LaCapra, D., 1992. Intellectual History and Its Ways, *American Historical Review*. 97 (2), April, pp. 425-439.; Jacoby, R., 1992. A New Intellectual History?, *American Historical Review*, 97 (2), April, pp. 405-424.

official discourses in making and fixing of national identities are vivid examples of such situation. It is not only among the official discourses that have taken its share from such a defect, but such conceptualizations have been present in academic circles as well[3]. And I believe that it should be the aim and it is the responsibility of any academician eager to write about these issues to avoid falling to this trap. And the remedy for this is a kind of radical historicism that pays enough attention to the particularities of contingency[4]. The other potential defect is not related directly to time and space, but is about the differences between groups within a society. As theorists of sub-culture have very well identified[5], although there are dominant trends and patterns in a culture, it is not possible to claim that all the groups or even two individuals fully share the same culture. Yet, once the borders are clearly defined, I believe it to be possible to talk about trends or forces that are culturally effective within societies.

Having noted the loci of problems, let me try to illustrate why I believe in the benefits of such approaches (theoretically and methodologically) and why I have chosen to analyze the piece that I have stated in the heading of this paper. Well, for me, the reasons are quite clear and straightforward. I believe that there is no alternative other than this. Speaking of both Darnton's article and my potential attempt, I am fully aware that however "objective" the student of a subject tries to be, any interpretation necessarily involves the eye of the beholder. It is now more than a quarter century since the fictional elements in all kinds of history writing have been identified by Hayden Whyte (1973), and especially with the necessary emphasis on the language issue of any piece of work after the linguistic turn, it is impossible for a reasonable person to talk about purely scientific truths. So, recognizing the possibility of building different narratives and analyses about an issue, and even about the possibility of doing this using exactly the same material, I still believe in the merits of attempting to build coherent narratives and make consistent analyses about the issue to be looked closely. What particularly dispels my concerns about the fact that such methodology may lead to

---

[3] See, for example, the article about the essence of French identity by Roger Chartier., 1985. Text, Symbols, and Frenchness, *The Journal of Modern History*, 57 (4). Dec., pp. 682-695.
[4] See, two works by Harry Harootunian: 2000a. *History's Disquiet: Modernity, Cultural Practice and the Question of the Everyday Life,* Columbia University Press.; 2000b. *Overcome by Modernity: History, Culture and Commodity in Interwar Japan*, Princeton University Press.
[5] See, for instance, Stuart.H., &, Jefferson.T., 1993. *Resistance Through Rituals: Youth Subcultures in Post-War Britain*. New York: Routledge.

endless relativism is the fact that although it is possible to distill numerous arguments about an issue, there is a limit to what can be argued. So, with the provision of enough dialogue (that we are missing in social sciences and humanities today), and a willingness to see the general within the particular, and the particular inside the general, I believe in the possibility of reading the narratives and analyses against the grain, make different points of view to speak to each other, to argue with each other and of those ones that cease to be supported after such process to be left aside as unfitting to the aims of explanation, while the ones that are surviving can be seen as more useful explanations that can be seen to be more valid to the analyzed case than those ones that are left in the meanwhile.

The accumulation and sharing of collective analyses, in the sense that has been argued above, seems to be a quite productive road to follow for making sense of historical social phenomena. I wish to stress this not only as a scholarly preference, but also as a professional "good practice" to follow, especially because we are going through the times that any belief in accumulation of knowledge hits against walls of resumption to be labeled as being fed from a modernist linear developmentalist paradigm. Yet I also wish to warn and keep warned that this approach is not be taken to have been fed by modernism. Such a framework does not necessarily place itself in a position of defending and arguing for the story of continuous development in the sense put forward by certain tendencies in the modernist vein of scholarship. Yet, it calls for the evaluation and analysis of the development and refinement of narratives, approaches and theories.

What I believe to be crucial is that once the outlines of the elaborating paradigm are defined clearly enough (in the Kuhnian sense)[6], it is possible to reject or fail to reject hypotheses –claims about the world, people, life, processes, institutions, etc. And again once the paradigms are defined clearly enough, it is possible to speak about the development of an explanatory framework within a paradigm; as it is possible to compare different paradigms and identify their common points or the incommensurable elements within them. And it is possible to achieve such as goal, without necessarily

---

[6] See The Essential Tension by Thomas Kuhn (1975).

having to value one paradigm over the other... And such a motivation in academic work, it looks, is what social sciences and humanities in general and qualitative media studies in particular have a lot to benefit from in the contemporary, fluid times characterized by a seemingly intrinsic state of ambivalence and privatization of meaning generating mechanisms, in the fashion argued by Zygmunt Bauman (2013). The pattern or trend, I believe, becomes even more vividly visible before a historical and comparative analysis.

Before the post-structuralist break, to give an example, there was a considerable amount of "clarity" and relatively "safer" grounds -however distorted and limiting they be- for thinkers to be able to speak the same "scientific" language that had been to an important extent instrumental in creating a common ground that had proven to an important extent useful in creating a public discourse fit for the dialogical environment required by the accumulation and progression of scholarly repertoire. Unfortunately, this clarity and the safety of the frameworks were most commonly than not accompanied with the severe costs of ignoring various dimensions of reality and many bright potentialities to approach the lives of individuals and formations of societies they had aimed at grasping. As a response to this inherent crises of the academic profession and to an important extent to the general wave of crises that was gaining more and more momentum and ground day by day, came the double turns; namely the post-linguistic and post-structuralist ruptures from the established bodies and procedures of "making social science".

What followed was the opening of the relatively closed field to diversity that was partnered by the celebration of relativity and subjectivity, which had the side effect of leaving scholars in a vacuum devoid of the required gravitation, with little number of common points –if at all- to orient their analyses toward; little need for dialogue and desire for seeing the big pictures behind the particular instances they have started to pay attention to. Hence, this new double turn was also accompanied by a 'microist' and subjectivist rise in the social sciences, at the expense of losing the more general common grounds on which academic dialogues could take place. A potential solution to this crisis in social sciences and humanities has actually been offered and applied with satisfactory results: Following the footsteps of Robert Darnton and other "revisionist

historians". Their tendency to study the "macro" by focusing on the "micro" is valuable because it points out to a certain necessity in social sciences and humanities; namely, acknowledging the fact that "culture is like the air we breathe", all encompassing, pervasive and operative on every single member of the society, although not necessarily in a symmetrical and homogenous fashion.

At this point, I wish to draw attention to what Eric Hobsbawm argues about the use of "micro" methods in history and social sciences and the potential that such methods possess for contributing to more "macro" analyses. For Hobsbawm, "the microscope" is and should be employed in a complementary relationship with "the telescope", for being able to grasp the motley nature of the societies and social relations (1980). Thus, it becomes possible to draw conclusions about general trends and societies while analyzing only a subset of its members and analyzing them by focusing on a subset of their lives. This was also a call to the other side of the scholarly spectrum. Within the historical tradition, for instance, macro studies were quite prestigious. The works of the members of the Annales School such as Emmanuel Le Roy Ladurie, who produced works of immense influence on the various dimensions of life in a particular area of France, namely Languedoc, and its inhabitants, most of whom were peasants, making intense use of quantitative methods and large-scale data sets were part of the "telescopic" tradition Hobsbawm was mentioning about (Hobsbawm 1980).

Among the contemporary followers of the macro analysis employed within social sciences, members of the economics discipline are worth of special mention. Works like those put forward by Daron Acemoglu and David Robinson for instance, such as their *Economic Origins of Dictatorship and Democracy* (2005), just like the body of literature they were arguing against, just like the Barrington Moore's no-less effective book *Social Origins of Dictatorship and Democracy* (1993) that Acemoglu and Robinson were writing against, were works that had employed macro-level, comparative analysis as their foundational method of operation. Architects of successfully fulfilled passionate efforts, such as the case of Fernand Braudel, who probably used what one might name a telescope with one of the biggest lenses, in his study about the decades long history of the Mediterranean World, with its trade routes,

geographical implications and other great patterns, were also probably included in such list. Braudel (1995), who named "events" to be as ephemeral and insignificant as layers of "dust" on objects' surfaces, with his choice of focusing on the bigger waves attracted and inspired followers from a variety of disciplines, including the architect, media scholar and social scientist Manuel de Landa, who utilized some of Braudel's his analyses, alongside with those of Gilles Deleuze and Felix Guattari (1998) such as the "theory of assemblages", in order to argue for of an anti-establishment view on the development and progression of societies, and reclaim a transformed understanding of nonlinear and materialist version of history.

What this long-held discussion offers in terms of practical implications is twofold. First of all, the micro-macro synthesis, matched with the tremendous opportunities offered to the researcher by the development of tools for analyzing "ordinary citizen" or "user" data on digital social networks, proves to be more instrumental than maybe ever. With the possibility of doing close readings by focusing individual users, institutions or events, alongside with the macro trend analyses, enable the opening of hybrid research methodologies, which could only have been imagined earlier. This huge body of information and repertoire of meanings, when informed with the right methodological and epistemological frameworks qualifies as data which could change the way social sciences are made, as demonstrated by the developer and advocates of the field named as "Computational Social Science"[7]. The second positive postulate, which is maybe not as novel in terms of development of data acquisition methodologies, is by no means no less significant. Completing the circle and coming back to Robert Darnton's observations and claims on the use of micro methods to in analyzing phenomena with larger-scale natures, I believe it to be crucial to once again acknowledge the fact that personal or social, artefacts function just like potential star-gates, for the researcher attempting to gain access to the societal matrix of meaning generating relationships. Hence, they are, to state by reemploying Darnton's (1985) metaphor, "windows into culture", which very much like the air that is inhaled, encompassing, pervasive and operative on every single member of the society -albeit in not necessarily with the same

---

[7] See, for instance, the multi-authored work, Lazer, D., Pentland, a.s., Adamic, L., Aral, S., Barabasi, a.l., Brewer, D., Christakis, N., Contractor, N., Fowler, J., Gutmann, M. and Jebara, T., 2009. Life in the Network: the Coming Age of Computational Social Science. *Science*. 323(5915)., pp. 721-723.

effect on different groups and individuals. I would now like to discuss semiology, which has proved to be a productive methodology in dealing with the problematiques developed above.

2.2 LANGUAGE, THE LINGUISTIC SIGN AND SEMIOLOGY

The question of how to elaborate cultural artefacts has maybe been one of the most challenging, yet most productive issues for those interested in human cultures and the way societies generate, sustain and transform them. What I aim to do is to elaborate a certain approach for thinking about this issue -namely Saussurean semiology- that has a potential to provide a solid theoretical background accompanied by fruitful analytical opportunities. I will start by outlining Saussure's account of the language, the linguistic sign and semiology and continue with elaborating how semiology advanced in the second part of the last century, with particular attention to the semiotic analyses of Roland Barthes.

Ferdinand de Saussure (1974), who has been stated to be one of the two founding figures of semiology with Charles Sanders Peirce (who, out of considerations about the focus and extent of this paper, will not be assessed here in detail), developed the idea of elaborating language as "a system of signs that express ideas" (p.16); and semiology as "[a] science that studies the life of signs within [a] society" (p.16). After making a distinction between langue, the abstract - hence homogenous- system of language that is internalized by a given speech community; and parole, the individual -hence heterogeneous- acts of speech and the putting into practice of language; Saussure states that since even the particular acts of speech are subject to the general rules and norms of the language, one should focus on an analysis of the language in the first instance to be able to discover the dynamics of the functioning of language. Moreover; he argues for the choice of a synchronic analysis of the system of language (p.88) - that is to be concerned on the general form of the systems and the relations that bind them together in a certain locality at a certain time -rather than a diachronic one, which is about focusing on the succession of terms without forming a system and the relations between Them (p.100). Saussure illustrates these by a metaphor of a game of chess: Each

different collective position of the chess pieces defines a synchrony in itself -and one's knowledge of the history of the game has nothing to contribute to the analysis of that situation. On the other hand, each position is formed by the succession of movements, which should be taken into account if one wishes to grasp the dynamics that have contributed the creation of a particular one among all the synchronic states. Yet, what is extant in this interplay is the fact that even if values and positions are subject to change(s) diachronically, the rules of the game -the principles of semiology- are not (p.88-89).

Saussure regards the sign to be the basic unit of language and, he develops a model to look closer to investigate the nature of signs and the laws governing them (p.16), whereby a sign is analytically assumed to be composed of two independent yet inseparable (as two sides of a piece of paper, p.111) elements: the signifier, the form, and the signified, the content; and the sign is the whole that results from the association of the signifier with the signified (p.67). He, furthermore, argues that "[t]he linguistic sign unites, not a thing and a name, but a concept [the signified] and a sound-image [the signifier]" (p.66). He underlines the fact that this process is not simply an act of nomenclature –i.e. *signifiers* do not naturally correspond to the *signified*s independent of the dynamics of the context- but also corresponds to different possibilities of dividing and giving meaning to the world by the use of discursive systems, radically opposing against the apparently-then-dominant view that "ready-made ideas exist before words" (p.65). He proves this point by following a simple thought experiment: "If words stood for pre-existing concepts, they would all have exact equivalents in meaning from one language to the next; but this is not true" (p.116). And as if having foreseen the linguistic turn in social sciences more than half a century before it took place, he proposes that "linguistics can become the master-pattern for all branches of semiology" (p.68) and that "the laws discovered by semiology will be applicable to linguistics, and the latter will circumscribe a well-defined area within the mass of anthropological facts" (p.16).

Regarding the nature of the linguistic sign and the relationship between the signifier and the signified, Saussure claims that "[t]he bond between the signifier and the signified is

arbitrary" (p.67); and that, like every means of expression used in society, it is based on convention (p.68). Arbitrariness means that there is no inherent, essential, transparent, self-evident or natural connection between the signifier and the signified (pp. 67-119). Yet, he also states, this arbitrariness does not mean that a signifier is freely chosen. On the contrary, he notes, as a language is always an inheritance from the past, its users have no choice but to accept, it is rather imposed (p.71). At this point, he argues for the coexistence of two seemingly antagonistic -yet actually symbiotic- tendencies created by the effects of time on linguistic communities: the immutability and mutability. Immutability implies the fixed position of a signifier in a given linguistic community, i.e. the inability of the society to consciously control it; the basic reason for this being the arbitrary nature of the sign (p.11). "Because the sign is arbitrary, it follows no law other than that of tradition" argues Saussure, and continues, "and because it is based on tradition, it is arbitrary" (p.74). Yet, he continues by claiming that continuity, the basic reason for immutability, is also what makes mutability possible -because of the fact that language is powerless against the forces of change that may shift the relationships of the intrinsically arbitrary signification process (p.75).

Saussure's only concern was not drawing conclusions about the general properties of language; but he was also -and particularly- interested in how one could judge on the value of a particular word or sign. On this, he notes that just as it is not actually the amount of metal in a coin that fixes its value, words do not have value in themselves (p.118). Using the aforementioned chess analogy in which the value of a piece would depend on its position on the chessboard and its relationship with other pieces (p.88), he argues that signs do not have absolute values independent of the contexts and that their values depend on their relations with other signs within the system (p.80). More particularly; he stresses, regarding these relationships, the notion of difference as the fundamental element in the construction of meaning. As he conceptualizes language as a system of functional differences and oppositions; he notes that "In a language, as in every other semiological system, what distinguishes a sign is what constitutes it" (p.121) and that "concepts [...] are defined not positively, in terms of their content, but negatively by contrast with other items in the same system" (p.117). Hence, what characterizes a concept, for Saussure, is "being whatever the others are not" (p.117).

Saussure notes two categories of differences: syntagmatic and paradigmatic (p.122). Syntagmatic relationships are about the positions signs assume. They are important because "normally we do not express ourselves by using single linguistic signs, but groups of signs, organized in complexes which themselves are signs" (p.128). Paradigmatic relationships, on the other hand, are related to differentiation by way of functional contrasts and associative relations. Paradigmatic analysis, in this regard, is about evaluating the use of a particular signifier within a potential repertoire of many others and focusing on the set of connotations such a choice has given birth to (p.123).

Saussurean framework about language, signs and semiology, whose key elements I have tried to outline above, have proved to be a useful tool in analyzing not only linguistics, but also other dimensions of human social and cultural life. In this regard, before I elaborate further a particular -yet maybe the most significant- one of those paths, namely that of Roland Barthes, I would like to mention in passing some of the major figures and currents within the general field of social theory that have been influenced by Ferdinand de Saussure's ideas.

2.2.1 The Saussurean Path

The deepest contribution of Saussure's ideas to the field of social theory has arguably been to the structuralist orientation. What made the structuralist theorists successors of Saussure was the fact -despite the vast range of methodologies, theoretical inspirations and interests of study- that they all shared the Saussurean emphasis on language and the holistic character of relations within a system, a postulate of which is the argument that signification processes have key roles in structuring human life and that signification is always determined through the related elements within a self-contained whole, the structure. Among the social theorists who share the aforementioned common denominator are significant figures from different areas of continental thought, such as Louis Althusser in Marxist theory, Roland Barthes in literary and cultural studies, Michel Foucault in philosophy and history, Jacques Lacan in psychoanalysis, Claude Lévi-Strauss in anthropology and Pierre Macherey in literary theory.

Structuralist thinkers have made an important contribution to the way the notion of time was elaborated by Saussure. More particularly, they have brought about a more dynamic and historically aware insight to Saussure's relatively more static understanding of the issue of synchronicity / diachronicity. Jacques Lacan argued in his article "The Agency of the Letter in the Unconscious or Reason Since Freud" that the signification process takes place in a closed order and suggested the use of the concept "the signifying chain" employing the metaphor of "rings of a necklace that is a ring in another necklace made of rings" (2001). So, for him, it is not any particular one of the elements of this process but "the chain of the signifier that the meaning insists" (p.117). Departing from Saussure's notion of the sliding of the signified under the signifier, Lacan opened the path in theory to the idea that fixing of the chain of signifiers is socially situated. Lacan's critique of and contribution to Saussure's model opened a new dimension for subsequent theorists who would, on the light of the ephemeral nature of the link between the signifier and the signified, focus on the role of the social conditions on the fixing of the chain of signifiers (Coward & Ellis 1977). Louis Althusser relied on Lacan's theoretical synthesis of Freud and Saussure to elaborate the social dimensions functioning of the ideological state apparatuses and the mechanisms of interpellation in processes of subjectification (1971).

Drawing attention to the observation that significations rely on other significations, Lacan placed specific emphasis on the fact that language exists prior to the moment the subject, whose place is "already inscribed at birth" (Lacan 2001, p.113), develops mentally to enter into the already existing structure (p.112-113). Michel Foucault followed such line of reasoning to analyze large bodies of knowledge such as mental or sexual history and made visible the inherent connections between power and discourse whose operations are carried out by exclusion (1972). Foucault's arguments which have also been read as the critique of the assumption of truth independent of power-knowledge regimes have been important contributions to the initiation of the poststructuralist turn within social theory. Another important figure who also influenced poststructuralism is Jacques Derrida who, by a deliberately misspelling the French word différence, developed the notion of "différance", with an inspiration from and as a critique of Saussure's ideas. Playing on the word différer, which means both "to defer"

and "to differ" in French, Derrida argued that words and signs can only be defined by appealing to additional words, from which they differ. So, words can never fully contain what they "attempt" to mean, the logical consequence of which is the deferring of meaning through an endless chain of signifiers (Derrida 1982). Having mentioned about the structuralist and poststructuralist veins in social theory of which Saussure can be said to be one of the most significant influences, I would now like to return to semiology, this time to track how it can be -and actually has been- made use of for studying issues other than linguistics, in the manner suggested by Saussure.

2.2.2 Semiology on Stage

Charles Sanders Peirce stressed the significant role semiology is to play for the study of social and cultural entities by claiming that "we think only in signs" (1974). Umberto Eco stated, in *A Theory of Semiotics*, that "semiotics is concerned with everything that can be taken as a sign" (1976, p.7). In a similar fashion; Roland Barthes wrote, that "semiology aims to take in any system of signs, whatever their substance and limits; images, gestures, musical sounds, objects, and the complex associations of all of these, which form the content of ritual, convention or public entertainment: these constitute, if not languages, at least systems of Signification" (1967, p.9). His particular interest in semiology was fueled by his more general aim of deciphering the latent functioning of the codes within capitalism. He stated that the bourgeois society and its mass culture are characterized by the "reluctance to declare [their] codes" and that "both demand signs which do not look like signs" by employing "narrational devices which seek to naturalize […] narrative[s] (1977a, p.116). For Voloshinov, too, signs are ideological because they are a reality that refracts another reality (1973, p.10). Umberto Eco (1976), within a parallel mindset, argued that semiotics is the study of anything that makes it possible to lie. In this regard, Barthes places the distinction between denotation, the first and / or literal meaning, and connotation, additional cultural meanings that are also found within texts (in the widest sense of term, which includes all sorts of cultural artefacts -such as images- that can be the object of semiological analysis) (1967, pp. 15-51). Saussurean model, he claims, is focused on denotation at the expense of

connotation and underlines the role of ideology for creating an illusion of the independent existence of the meaning of a sign (p.89):

> [D]enotation is not the first meaning, but pretends to be so; under this illusion, it is ultimately no more than the last of the connotations (the one which seems both to establish and close the reading), the superior myth by which the text pretends to return to the nature of language, to language as nature (1974, p.9).

By myth, Barthes refers to all ideas and practices which contribute to the sustainment of power structures within capitalism and indicates that one of the main principles of myth is the 'privation of history.' Myth, for him, is like the ideal servant who prepares everything and then renders itself invisible, leaving its master "to enjoy its object without wondering where it comes from" (Barthes 1972, p.151). He explains that it is at the level of secondary signification or connotation that myth is produced for consumption as he claims that "for the myth-reader (…) everything happens as if the picture naturally conjured up the concept, as if the signifier gave foundation to the signified (p.129). Apart from the theoretical contributions he made to the area of semiology, Barthes was also -as much as that, if not even more- interested in making analyses that would lean on semiology, for undoing the "transformation of history into nature" that the myth has done through a "fourth reading position, as he called it (pp. 109-163.) He wrote about a vast range of issues some of which are detergents, wrestling, detergents, toys, steak and soap powders, in all of which he aimed to interrogate "the falsely obvious" (p.10) and to make explicit "the bourgeois norm" (p.8). For instance, in his widely quoted essay, Myth Today, he analyzed the cover of the French magazine, Paris Match, in which a black boy is standing in salute (presumably against the French flag) and made visible the fabrication, purification, naturalization, clarification and justification of French imperiality (p.8).

His analyses have not been limited to the explicitly political. In his article, Rhetoric of the Image, he uses a pasta advertisement to demonstrate the breaking of the system of signification into three parts, that of the linguistic, the coded iconic, and the non-coded iconic messages. And by elaborating various elements, such as the name of the brand or the content and organization of the image, he concludes that the advertisement functions by an already existing cultural repertoire, such as ideas about freshness and domesticity,

stereotypes about vegetables and nationalities, and memory of artistic traditions, such as the nature morte (Barthes 1977b, pp. 32-51). The aforementioned path of analysis of which Saussure is arguably one of the major influential figures had many other followers applying semiology on a vast range of study areas; such as Metz (1974) on narrative films, Fiske (1987) on mass media texts, Floch (2000) on computer logos, Eco (1966) on narrative structures, Burgin (1982) on photography, Hall (1977) on media and cultural theory, Williamson (1978) on advertisements, Hawyard (1996) on Hollywood industry, Spiggle (1998) on clothing, Berger (2011) on commercials, Huang and Chuang (2009) on social networking. And it is through such a methodology and framework that I intend to present analyses on the cultural artefacts of the Resistance. However, as has been stated above, the field of technology requires specific attention to the autonomous dynamics it possesses (Timisi, 2016). To be able to present such attention, I am going to provide a historical analysis on the social studies of technology in the next section.

2.3 SOCIAL STUDIES OF TECHNOLOGY

This section is an attempt of locating what some of the widely accepted figures have approached the issue of technology with a general interest in technology studies and more particularly in the relationships members of contemporary societies establish with contemporary technologies. Karl Marx is one the earliest of the modern philosophers who wrote exclusively about the issue of technology and its relationship to the society. As his writings were shaped by his historically aware and materialist stance, his particular interest was to decipher and formulize the working of the bourgeois capitalist society. In many parts of his *Capital* (1967/1990), he wrote about the technological changes that went hand in hand with societal ones. He not only wrote about how technologies would contribute to the transformation of societies –as he did in the passage entitled "Machinery and Large Scale Industry" like naming the logical consequences of further mechanization of economies such as twin increases in level of average productivity and the degree of exploitation- but also how the way societies are organized would affect the development and spreading of certain technologies –such as

the fact that the emergence of big cities, the development of large-scale industry or the undertaking of big infrastructural projects are driven by the very forces in capitalism.

As he had a holistic theory that aimed to grasp the productive forces, the classes, ideas, institutions and the complex relationships between them, there was space in Marx's vision for a coherent role that technology studies are to play. In a footnote, he made in the first volume of *Capital*, he would also explicitly call for it, rhetorically asking, "Does not the history of the productive organs of man, of organs that are the material basis of all social organization deserve equal attention"? (Marx 1867/1990, p.406) Of course, many did take this call or wrote, although without explicitly referring to Marx, in a "Marxian" attitude. Among them, maybe one of the most influential people is Lewis Mumford, historian and philosopher of technology. In his *Techniques and Civilization* (1934), he had a similar holistic view on the society, as a result of which he could develop a position towards technology studies which could be called "symptomatic reading". Seeing technology as something that is created by societies, he argued for conceptualizing technology as a symptom of the society through which it has emerged as a key to understanding a particular society at a particular period. Thus, he was able to grasp the discursive as well as the material dimensions of the issue at hand - hence he would name the clock and not the steam engine as "the herald of industrial revolution"- or avoid claims for big ruptures in the history of technology -hence he would underline the continuities between the modern and medieval technologies, a point I believe important to keep in mind, if one does not want to find themselves in a position of seeing history being made by meta-physical touches or accomplishments of some certain great men, without the accumulated experience of societies (Mumford 1934, pp.3-59).

It is no big surprise to the student of philosophy of technology that there have been others who followed a path I would name as just the opposite. Instead of analyzing technology and certain technologies with respect to the particular historical and societal conditions; some chose to focus, as Martin Heidegger did, on technology per se (Heidegger 1954/1977, pp. 3-35). Despite the fact that he made some of the earliest of valuable contributions to our thinking about what I would name as the driving logic of

modernity in a way that would inspire many-to-come critiques of modernity –which is in my opinion most evident in his discussions about modern people's fancy with challenging and ordering (the nature and societies) and creating of them exploitable resources, armies of Standing Reserve-; throughout his general argument he fails to address the locomotive of this technology and cannot avoid to fall to a technological determinist position of conceptualizing technology as a self-contained force existing independently from societies. The result is a one-dimensional causality whereby some self-made technology that has "somehow" been freed from Pandora's Box keeps affecting the society in a mythical, if not theological, manner.

Probably due to the aforementioned reasons, many scholars of technology have either omitted Heidegger from their analysis, or chose to "treat him with care" for burrowing not his whole outlook but bits and pieces of concepts from him. Avital Ronell, however chose a different way. In her *The Telephone Book: Technology, Schizophrenia, and Electric Speech* (1995), she made a playful twist to criticize Heideggerian thought and used the very figure of Martin Heidegger to demonstrate why technology should not be studied the way Heidegger did it. After demonstrating the significant role that telephone played under the Nazi rule as a means of state propaganda and surveillance, she speculates that it was Heidegger's essentialist pessimist conceptualization of technology that, once came into presence, denied any possibility with the "Being" that led to his compromise to the "call" of the fascist state. I believe that with such argument, Ronell not only presents a grounded criticism of Heidegger, but also, through her claim to treat the telephone as the synecdoche of all technologies, she manages to demonstrate an inspiring method for scholars of technology.

Another important contributor to our comprehension about the use of technology by power elites is Langdon Winner. In his piece named after the rhetorical question "Do Artifacts Have Politics?", he argues for the deep involvement of technology in the formation and reformation of societies (Winner 1986). Writing from a materialist position –based on the concrete analyses of concrete realities- he draws on various examples as macro and particularistic as the atom bomb or as mundane and not so easily visible, the building of a particular bridge in an urban setting, to demonstrate the

authority of technologies at circulation that carry in themselves – through their designs and functionalities- a certain authority enabling certain social relationships while demoting others, formed to a great extent, by the authority of their creators and circulators. The Actor-Network Theorists pushed such line of thinking to its potential limits. Bruno Latour, for instance, in his "Mixing Humans and Nonhumans Together: The Sociology of a Door-Closer", asks for a social science that does not stop at the point of taking into account not only the actions of humans but recognizes "the agency of the non-humans" (Latour 1998). By this, he does not mean, of course, that nonhumans have the potential to act consciously to attempt to change the course of history; but that once an artifact has been built and incorporated into the life of a society, it can make people do certain things –the way a simple door-closer is delegated the role of closing doors affects many factors, including the relationship people establish with the space around them-. More generally, he claims that humans and nonhumans form fluid networks in which every aspect –though not in symmetrically powerful ways- have the potential to affect one another; hence the result is a framework in which materiality and sociality mutually constitute each other.

Regarding this point of the totality of practices and aspects within a social system, I find Jonathan Sterne's article "Bourdieu, Technique and Technology" having interesting parallels with the approach suggested by Latour and other Actor-Network Theorists (Sterne 2003). Sterne departs from the point that technologies are to be elaborated as crystallizations of socially organized action and that they "should be considered not as exceptional or special phenomena in a social theory, but rather as very much like other kinds of social practices that recur over time" (Sterne 2003, p.367). Placing this claim within the general theory of Bourdieuian theory, which encompasses human activity in all dimensions from bodily dispositions to tastes, to spare time activities, social status and economic class positions, I believe that the social use of technology is another one of the factors that are at the same time both benchmarks of and contributors to social relations. Such an outlook, as Sterne points out, is also able to overcome the false binary opposition between technology and society.

The cultural studies tradition has also acknowledged this point of doing away with the distinction between technology and society. Another distinction that has rightly been done away with is the claimed opposition between production and consumption. Having acknowledged the polysemic nature of media texts, they underline the fact that just the way every reading is also part of the writing of a text, the use of a certain technology within a cultural community has a potential to function in creative ways sometimes analogous to production. Raymond Williams, who is one of the founders of this school of thought, argues in his "Means of Communication as Means of Production" for an enlightened socialist conceptualization of media that would focus particularly on the reception and use of (media) technologies by people (Williams 1980/2005, 1975/2000).

Another important factor to be taken into account in technology studies is what I would name as "not complying with the generalizing claims of ungrounded meta-theory". This means that the student of technology should avoid overall claims as much as possible by paying particular attention to the lived practice in societies. Manuel de Landa, a materialist, Deleuzian historian draws attention to this necessity in his *A Thousand Years of Non-Linear History* (1997/2005). Following Deleuze and Guattari's point on the necessity of working with "and logic" as opposed to "or logic", he notes several occasions of the coexistence of different – and sometimes even contradictory- practices as a strategy of overcoming linear(izing) top-down narratives. Insisting on the fact that there is always potential for the experience that lies outside the generally accepted norm, he calls for the acknowledgement of the necessity to create the knowledge of not only articulated but also not-so-easily represented experiences.

Having touched upon the issue of representation, I wish to underline, relying on the article "The Epistemic Space of the Visual: Statistics, Astronomy and Space" by Christine Hanke, one of the potential dangers of the act of representation in general, and that of visualization in particular (Hanke 2008). In that article, Hanke demonstrates, using examples from quantum mechanics to solar planets, the constructedness of popular public opinions regarding the visualization of data. While affirming to some extent the crucial role of visualization in making concepts more familiar and easier to grasp, she also underlines that visualization has a dangerous potential of contributing

severely to problems such as the blurring of data and nondata – of content and "noise" as in the case of photographs of planets photographed with unmanned space vehicles-, to present with inappropriate clarity and vividness of not-actually determinate findings – as in the case of electron maps around elementary particles- and popularization of particular visions towards phenomena –as in the case of the manipulation of the color of the atmosphere of Mars-. I believe Hanke's arguments to be illustrative as they provide concrete examples on how "constructed" grounds knowledge production can work, be it done within the domain of hard (or natural) science, or in soft (or social) sciences.

Hence, the necessity of the social scientist to develop the essential reflexes for approaching phenomena outside what the general opinions, or common sense, dictates. Brian Larkin reaches a similar conclusion, passing through a completely different object of study. In his article entitled "Degraded Images, Distorted Sounds: Nigerian Video and the Infrastructure of Piracy", which is about the major economic organization of the video sector in Nigeria, he first maps out and then thoroughly elaborates the piracy networks which constitute the bulk of the whole sector in the country (Larkin 2008). Having been able to dismiss the narrow "intellectual rights framework", he manages to grasp the significant role that piracy has played since (and actually even before) the emerging of the sector, links with Nigeria's material conditions –on the lack of necessary infrastructure- and more broadly combines this with macro issues such as Nigeria's place within the contemporary world economy, the legal dimensions and aesthetic traditions of the concrete situation in the country.

Larkin's analyses inform us on the necessity of insisting on a holistic approach –as opposed to elaborating single aspects within a totality. From Larkin, I would like to pass on to Marshall McLuhan, who stressed –maybe with greatest recognition- paying attention to not particular structures –such as form and content, or "medium" and "the message" as he called them- but on the very unity of them. Yet, although he stated in *Understanding Media: The Extensions of Man* (1964/2001) that we shape our tools and our tools shape us, his analyses tended to favor the dominant role that technology played on human activity, at the expense of the relationship vice-versa.

Taking his arguments to extremes such as claiming that it was the printing press that lead to a particular visual bias in Western culture, the creation of a modern secular consciousness, and to developments including the assembly line, caused McLuhan fall into a technological determinist position -although not as severe as in the case of Harold Innis, who went so far as to argue in the section named as "Minerva's Owl" in his book *The Bias of Communication* (1951) that explaining such a vast issue as the duration of civilizations with particular media that they were utilizing. McLuhan also stated in the same piece that all media function as extensions of some human faculty, psychic or physical -the wheel, of the foot; the book, of the eye; the radio, of the ear and making an enlightening move to expand the scope of communication to include clothing, which would be an extension of the skin.

Another scholar who has mediated on this issue of extensions –or prostheses, as she chose to call them more sensationally- is Allucquere Rosanne, or Sandy Stone as she prefers to call herself, someone also from the Canadian vein of cultural studies. In her book entitled *The War of Desire and Technology at the Close of the Mechanical Age* (1995), which is one of the earliest monographs on what I would call socialization through the Internet, she quotes a time she has been to a speech by Stephen Hawking – who, due to disabilities, cannot speak with his own voice but can type on a computer which vocalizes his typing through artificial speech generating software. Based on this occasion in which she asked where exactly Hawking was, she generalizes the question of the limits of our bodies and mediates on the potentials to enlarge and trespass them through the use of technological means. Although she departs from the same concept as McLuhan, namely the extension of bodies through technology, she manages to develop a much more dialectical understanding than him on the relationship between technology and society and states that "[there are] no causes, no effects [but just] mutual emergence" (Stone 1995, p.21).

Referring to the computers she states that through inter-computer networks they became sites of social interaction, so they are not just tools but areas of social experience, where play ethics –rather than work ethics- has been the norm since the earliest days those networks started to be utilized. On this issue of the play ethics, I believe, Stone's

account requires a re-elaboration, if not a reformulation. Johan Huizinga, who is attributed to be the founding father of ludology --game studies- writes in his canonical book *Homo Ludens: A Study of the Play-Element in Culture* (1955), about the magic circle of play. He states "the play" is a special time and space which is clearly separated from the routines of other everyday tasks and that the players are in full conscious of this situation. Seen from such perspective, the "playful" elements in the settings Stone writes about can be said to be at stage, but framing the whole situation within play ethics would be ignoring the coexistence of work at the same settings, especially if we take into account the fact that the first generation of people who connected to such networks were mainly professionals who earned their livings on computers and who were most of the time "working" when they logged into these environments. Stone concludes her book with a chapter entitled "The Gaze of The Vampire" in which she uses the literalized metaphor of a vampire doing social science, to describe her ideal position of how we human beings should do it (Stone 1995, pp.165-184). Two other scholars, Katherine Hayles and Donna Haraway employ similar strategies. Donna Haraway, in her canonical article "A Cyborg Manifesto: Science, Technology and Socialist-Feminism in the Late Twentieth Society" employs the notion of a cyborg to do away with dichotomies and fixed subject positions (Haraway 1991). Doing that, she states the mutual powers of tools and myths to construct each other and explicitly states her article as a myth-building attempt.

While Haraway utilizes the image of a cyborg, Hayles, in her "Computing the Human" (2007), elaborates robots and the limits of robot technology. As the title of her article suggests, Hayles elaborates the discourses on robot technology to grasp the reality of human beings. She also reaches a conclusion that I find to be in the parallel of Haraway's: she underlines the significance of conceptualizations about the past and projections about the future in making meaning of today and based on this, she argues – similar to Haraway's call to myth-building- that the future is to be shaped in the way people act and imagine it to be. Media theorist Douglas Rushkoff, in his influential book entitled *Present Shock: When Everything Happens Now* (2013), where he discusses the relationship between contemporary technologies and contemporary society, comes up with a similarly "humanist" conceptualization of the use of

technology. As also suggested by the name of the radio show he has been hosting, "Team Human" (Ruskhoff 2016), Rushkoff warns against giving in to techno-determinist narratives that leave no ground for human agency and adds:

> *As I have come to understand technology, however, it wants only whatever we program into it. I am much less concerned with whatever it is technology may be doing to people than what people are doing to one another through technology. Facebook's reduction of people to productively modeled profiles and investment banking's convolution of the marketplace into an algorithmic battleground were not the choices of machines but of humans* (Rushkoff 2013, p.257).

In this section, I have presented a historically grounded discussion on the various ecoles and approaches to the field of social studies of technology. Such discussion has provided me with the foundational knowledge required of the researcher in laying out essential pillars in terms of the ontology of his problematique and epistemology regarding his object of study. In the next section, I am going to focus on the epistemology dimension, through a discussion on the cyber-ethnographic method and sketch the general borders, opportunities and limitations of the fieldwork that I have carried out.

2.4 THE ANALYSIS OF ONLINE PHENOMENA: CYBER-ETHNOGRAPHY

In this section, I am going to discuss the frameworks and methodologies that contribute to the way scholars think about self-expression and socialization dynamics that take place through the digital communication in Internet. After that, I shall describe the fieldwork that I have carried out during the research phase of the thesis, in 'online' as well as 'offline' contexts. I shall also describe my positionality as a researcher and a participant of the phenomena that I have been studying. In doing that I am going to elaborate on how 'amphibious research' and 'grounded theory' have enabled me develop an ethical as well as scientifically accurate position during the 'field' and analyses phases of this study.

I would like to start with a piece that was not written exclusively on Internet studies in particular, but technologies in general. Zoe Sofia (2000), writes, in her "Container Technologies", that technologies whose main function is to contain have been

underestimated resulting from a bias towards the study of more aggressive and "visible" ones. Through various examples and logical conclusions she also establishes that technologies that serve containing functions are not exclusive in the sense that they also serve other, say transporting functions; and that organisms cannot be thought of independently from their environments, and similarly actors do not "act" outside their networks. These claims by Sofia seem to be good departure points, especially if one considers that Internet can also be conceptualized as a container technology, which nurtures and enables its users to a wide range of possibilities.

Ken Hillis (2006), the author of "Modes of Digital Identification: Virtual Technologies and Webcam Cultures", is one of the scholars who embrace such possibilities, maybe even too readily. Writing on the use of queer webcams in virtual reality, Hillis addresses identity and desire issues with a solid foundation from the Enlightenment to the present. Emphasizing the use of light as constitutive of truth in western vision, he argues for the blurring of the boundary between the virtual and the real through webcam usages. He states that these uses are so enabling that they enable their queer bodies to create a pleasurable fetish of themselves and to present them in idealized performances. As a result of a dynamic that he names as "neither within me nor without me yet both at once" he celebrates the cyberspace as a space for enjoying freedoms and opportunities that are not provided in the actual world (Hillis 2006, p. 353). Cory Ondrejka (2004) analyses a totally different online environment, the world of Second Life, and reaches a similarly optimistic conclusion regarding its potential in expanding people's entitlements and capabilities.

It is without any doubt legitimate to ask, of course, whether everyone be so optimistic about the liberating dimensions of online environments is a valid question that should be raised. One should always keep in mind what Michel Foucault (1978) wrote in "Panopticism" about the functioning of technologies at the hand of the powerful, that is the fact that the panopticon became a device for social control and surveillance. What is more significant is that its operating logic would ensure that people were to act in conforming ways even if they were not being actively watched by someone at any particular method. Through such analogy, it is possible to see Internet as a macro cyber-

panopticon that has embraced the world. How, then, should one analyze online environments? First of all, it is important to acknowledge the fact, following the points made by various theorists in the aforementioned pieces of this paper, that an accurate account of any technology should naturally consider the social dimensions of its use. Hence, the potential motivations of each and every user, the conditions of the particular community of users and the general situation of societies should be paid significant attention to.

Having acknowledged these, there still remains the question for the student of digital social environments to decide on with which methodological tools and accompanying theoretical frameworks to study. Knobel and Lankshear (2007), in "Online Memes, Affinities and Cultural Production In New Media Literacies", I believe, open a door to providing one of the possible answers to this question. They choose to focus on the popular Internet memes and try to grasp common elements they have by schematizing them in terms of form and content. Yet, although that seems a valid approach to start with, it falls short of linking the particular aspects of those memes to the general networks of meaning and signification of which the societies are webbed with. At this point, I believe, comes semiology to the aid of the scholar. With its emphasis on denotative as well as connotative associations and great potential to decipher circulating codes, the semiotic path opened by Ferdinand de Saussure (1974) regarding the nature of the linguistic sign, and enhanced by Roland Barthes (1972) to contain other signs - including signs circulating in the media and media themselves- seems to be promising for studying Internet, just any other media. Yet, there would still be another dimension that needs to be investigated and analyzed since, as Joshua Meyrowitz (1986) accurately claims, "media networks are not simply channels or conduit of communication, they are becoming social environments themselves".

How, then, to study a digital social environment? By developing a method to participate in the community and the environment one is to study and generating a written output of her participation. And that is exactly what anthropology has been doing, namely ethnography[8], which Marshall (2003) defines in reference to Daniel Miller and Don

---

[8] For influential works by the founding fathers, please refer to the following sources:

Slater's works as "a long term involvement amongst people, through a variety of methods, such that any one aspect of their life can be properly contextualized in others". My work has benefitted from ethnography as I intend to reach a "written representation of culture"[9]. And as ethnography means studying the familiar making it strange and studying the strange making it familiar, I have chosen to refer to comparisons as much as possible; for being able to think the "online / digital" and "actual / physical" realms in relation to each other.

An approach that I believe to be enabling for such kind of an elaboration is suggested by the "epistemologies of doing" framework that Rybas and Gajjala (2007) suggest in their study about understanding digitally mediated identities. They underline the significance of focusing on the "subjective experience of participating, building and living the digitally mediated identities" and argue that the subjects/objects produce selves by engaging in practices of everyday life through a number of means such as the manipulation of images, video and audio interfaces, typing and creation of avatars. In doing this, they get inspiration from Sally Munt (2001) while using the notion of the "dialogic performance of techno-spatial praxis". And they claim that cyber-selves are produced at the intersection of the online and the offline by the dialogic performance of techno-spatial praxis and argue for a radical contextualization and informed methodologies with which practices can be studied. At this point; I think it is time to clarify a few points about my position with regards to conceptualizing the online realm and its relationship to the "real life". First of all; despite the fact that I find it essential to take into account the particularities of each of the online and offline worlds, I have not considered them in isolation from one another. Quite on the contrary, I have elaborated being online and being offline, following the illustrative point Gajjala and Rybas emphasize, as intersectional and interwoven experiences. Thus, all that is said in this dissertation about the online and offline worlds have been conceptualized around the

---

- Malinowski, B., 1939. The group and the individual in functional analysis. American Journal of Sociology, pp.938-964.
- Boas, F., 1940. The Aims of Anthropological Research: in Race, Language and Culture. ed. George Stocking.
[9] This is John Van Maanen's very simple, yet powerful definition of ethnography. For the source, please refer to: Van Maanen, J., 2011. Tales of the field: On writing ethnography. University of Chicago Press.

metaphor of the two sides of the very same coin; both carrying the potential of affecting what goes on in the other, although possibly not in a symmetrical way.

A logical consequence of such an understanding is related to how to elaborate what is going on inside the online world. I have stated above that I have chosen to consider that domain as a separate part of life. Despite acknowledging the presence of different instrumentalities and different technical (technological, temporal, spatial, etc.) dimensions in the digital worlds; as my very use of the term suggests, I have elaborated them not as simply texts (in the narrow sense of the term), but as domains quite the way an ethnographer may define her object of study. Of course, it is possible and even necessary to interpret them as texts (in the widest sense of the term), yet as Jonathan Sterne (1999) argues, the ultimate goal should be to reach an understanding of the character of cultural and social life by examining the *relationships* among people, places, practices and things. This does not mean that the world as a whole with each of the individual elements constituting it should not be analysed as a text to be decoded and deciphered, in the sense suggested by Bakhtin (2010). That is, without any doubt, a vital element to be taken into account if one is to reach a "thick description" of the environment she studies, int the use of the term suggested by Geertz (1972). I argue that this is one of the necessary conditions, but not the sufficient one only by itself. What is also needed to be done is to grasp how the factor of "agency" enters the picture; and keep in mind that actions of the all parties involved are also worth of thorough elaboration?

How does an individual (let this be a single user of the digital world) or a group of them as a whole (a subcategory of the users; young professionals, for example; or the users in the Turkey of the Twitter platform) or a corporation (the Facebook, for instance, with the profit orientation or the institutional framework) create and play within the available space of actions so as to reach certain ends? Or using the terminology of Michel de Certeau (1988), how does an actor find his way through the actions made available to her by the specific opportunities and limitations that the world as a system brings upon?

At this point Ray Oldenburg's, (1989) notion of "third place" is particularly promising. According to the categorization suggested by Brissett and Oldenburg (1982), unlike home environments, named as "first places", and the work environments, named as "second places; places such as cafes, coffeehouses, bars, libraries, open air public gathering places -i.e., "third places"- are locations where people are able to interact with others more freely, without the entangling of the roles that await them in other settings. Because of this, these places are environments which -at the individual level- provide people with relaxation, comfort, entertainment and exposure to new ideas, and which -at the societal level- strengthen bonds of solidarity that keep communities together and contribute to the development of a culture of democracy by promoting dialogues among participants. Steinkuehler and Williams (2006) have made use of this concept in understanding online games, and Charles Soukup (2006) has used it to conceptualize generic computer-mediated communication through the World Wide Web. I believe that following their theoretical move is a fruitful reconfiguration for the researcher and student of online environments.

In my elaboration of the material to be studied; following John Berger (1991), I have attempted to gain access to the deeper implications of the content; and following Roland Barthes (1991), I have tried to relate the message with the potential beholder's reception. Besides, based on an inspiration from Annette Kuhn (2000), I have preferred not to conceptualize the individual and the social spheres in an opposition. And based on Robert Darnton's (2009) comments upon the methodology of cultural history, I approached the individual as a hole through which the researcher becomes at least partly able to make inferences about the general air, such as mentality and collective memory, shared by the general[10]. I would now like to pass on the discussion of how I have tried to put into practice all the frameworks and methodologies I have so far been mediating on.

---

[10] For a detailed discussion on the legitimacy of such an approach please refer to the debate between Robert Darnton, Roger Chartier and Dominick LaCapra. I find Darnton's position legitimate and use these concepts the way he describes in Darnton, Robert. 1985. "Workers Revolt: The Great Cat Massacre of Rue Saint-Séverin," in "The Great Cat Massacre and Other Episodes of French Cultural History", pp. 75-104.

In such regard, to be able to grasp the 'spirit' of the movement, I have turned my attention to the two particular sites where the participants of the resistances have been able to express themselves *directly*, without the intermediary role played by media institutions or analysts who presented accounts on their takes of the ongoing phenomena. In doing that, my attempt has been managing to hear the 'voices of the field' -in the widest sense of the term- through the various performances practiced, acts played, and the multiplicity of the content as well as the discourses generated by the members of the resistance. To discuss my 'involvement' in the instance, I believe that I should start by stating that my fieldwork has actually predated the resistance itself. Being a student of the Turkish digital sphere for the last eight years, when I started working on my master's thesis, I have had various opportunities to examine the digital mediation of identities and social practices (Erdogmus 2009). It would, of course be a falsely simplistic assumption to argue that the digital sphere has been left unchanged since then. Yet, I believe that the fieldwork that I have been carrying out since then, through participant observations, focus group studies, workshops and my very own online presence, has contributed to my understanding of the uses and gratifications of the digital social media by the protesters, during and after the heydays of the wave of dissidence.

My particular interest on the utilization of digital means at the service of social goals also predates the instance. I have examined phenomena such as 'the Sour Dictionary and 'the Pearl Dictionary', both of which have formed online communities whose members then developed ways of organizing socially significant events in the 'offline spheres' as well. Living and producing in a geography where the mainstream media has been systematically censored and various alternative media channels silenced, my scholarly reflex has been focusing on online activism practices, in the form of citizen's media and alike, such as the case of 'the Others' Post' and '140 Journos', whose deeds in the digital and actual realms I have had the opportunity to closely observe even during the period before June 2013. Needless to say, these observations have indeed proven to be quite useful in grasping the particular role that the digital media played for the dissemination of the news and messages of the Resistance.

My relationship to the initial organization of the Resistance -that is, before it became massive, to be joined by millions of people around the whole country- also predates the times that 'it went viral'. I have personally participated in urban rights movements such as 'Our Labor' and 'Istanbul Urban Defense, which, looking back from 2016, are arguably among the occasions to be cited when discussing how the initial acts of resistance before the incidence had been able to create a group of committed protesters, whose determination and dedication brought about a social environment where others could join and participate in huge numbers. Although a modest contributor among a few dozen activists, I feel proud that I have been able to play my part, and lucky to have been there to witness the unfolding of history in the first person. In such regard, I was there -and actually creating and disseminating content- when the 'Labor' movie theater was occupied (in April 2013, only a month and a half before the instance) and in the park itself when the environmentalists and urban rights defenders were camping there in the last week of May.

As could be expected, my involvement in the events continued after the historical night of May 31 2013, when the number of protestors changed from 'a few hundreds', to millions, in a couple of hours. I was in and around the park for the sixteen days until its evacuation by the police on June 15, doing pretty much what everyone else was doing: running away from the police, contributing to the collectively held duties for the maintenance of the park, talking one another, singing and being amazed at how productive and creative people can be when they are restraint from the forces that block their libidinal energies. I was also doing a little bit more: Through an activist and archivist media collective that was improvisationally created on-the-spot by friends and colleagues - namely, 'whatshappeninginistanbul, I was collecting and creating media content and disseminating them to provide fresh news and analyses on the resistance. As a third element, I was there in the field, also with another 'hat', or 'positionality': by being a researcher on the global wave of discontent, or 'networked social movements' as I intend to discuss in the fifth chapter of this thesis.

I have to admit the fact such intersection of roles and positions has been one of the most troubling things that I have had to deal with in the preparation of this dissertation; and

that it was not until a couple of years later, when I became aware of the concept 'amphibious research', in the sense developed by Rodríguez-Garavito (2014) that I was able to equip myself with a conceptual framework to make sense of the productive potential of my intersecting positionalities[11] . Burrowing the 'amphibian' concept from life sciences, where it is used in reference to animals that are able to survive inside and outside of water alike, Rodríguez-Garavito (2015, p. 30) notes the fact, etymologically speaking, amphibian means "one that lives a double life". Being a scholar, a community organizer, a justice-seeking activist and a researcher of community movements himself, Rodríguez-Garavito discusses the various ways of how living such a double -or sometimes even quadruple- life can actually help scholars in ways, such as gaining access to otherwise-limited environments, deriving theoretical formations based on the praxis of the actions, and develop a self-reflexive perspective, which helps the researcher to put into question -and make transparent- the limitations and presuppositions that are inherent to living and working within a historically constructed society, as is the case for all of us. He furthermore notes:

> *To do action research is to lead a double life. It is to experience, in a matter of hours, the transition from the introverted world of the classroom to the extroverted world of the media and meetings with activists and public officials. The contrast can be felt on the skin: the humidity and heat of fieldwork is a far cry from the climate-controlled air of university offices, courthouses, and philanthropic foundations.*
> (Rodríguez-Garavito 2015, p. 7)

If the rapid change in the environment from the climate controlled offices of the universities, to the hot and smoky air of the streets is one side of the experience of being amphibious -as was also the case with my experience in the Resistance-, the change of modes of self-expression (from using an academic jargon for a narrow yet cultivated audience, to a simpler and more accessible repository for a more populous public) is its counterpart -as was also an element that I have experienced, by means of the voluntary work that I was involved in through 'istanbuldaneoluyor'. Rodríguez-Garavito (2015, p. 30) describes such experience as follows:

> *... to cultivate intermediate genres of writing and diversify the formats in which the results of action research are disseminated. The first implies producing texts that are legible for a wider audience, without losing academic rigor. The second means*

---

[11] I would like to express my gratitude to Enis Köstepen, for introducing this concept to me.

that action research must be multimedia. As an amphibious animal moves from one natural medium to another, so the amphibious researcher translates his or her work products into different formats, from books and articles to videos, podcasts, blogs, and online classes. In both cases, the goal is to create products that can be circulated among academic audiences and the public sphere.

A third pillar of such double mediation emerges when the researcher's object of study is also double-sided -as has been the case with my study on the Resistance: There is an actual element; that is, the brick-and-mortar places, the physical sites of resistance, the park, the streets, the walls with their *graffiti*s… Then, there is its digital counterpart; various online news outlets, web sites, instant messaging apps, and, of course, the social environments created by the digital social media. Such dual structure of the site and the object of resistance also calls for a practical, even eclectic, framework for its scholars, who should be equipped with the ability and agility to switch from site to site, platform to platform, and move in and out between the digital and actual environments. This, as should be obvious by now, was a third challenge -and opportunity, as I would later discover- that my research has gone through.

My involvement in the resistance continued during and after 'the hot summer'. Being members of other 'media collectives' such as 'Metris Uni.' and '10danSonra', I had the opportunity to keep my insider access privilege to the digitally mediated social movements. Also, acknowledging the fact that what happens in the past is never left there, but it is constantly redefined through the retrospective working of collective memory, I continued to keep the pulse of the Movement, through sustained involvement in digital media environments, as well as through other forms and practices, by participating in 'neighborhood forums', 'squad houses', 'anti-corruption protests' (all of which took place in the aftermath of the heydays of the Instance).

For handling the delicate process of 'making sense', from an analytical point of view, of all the field notes and content that I have collected throughout the research, I have decided to use a bottom-up approach, that is dealing with the data of the field, and hoping that they make themselves available to interpretation and generalization after the researcher has spent enough time and brainpower on them. Following the insight of the 'Grounded Theory' ecole, I have decided to 'let the findings of the field speak for themselves' -and withdrawing myself as the researcher to the role of an intermediary

serving the crucial functions of selection and nomenclature, which are arguably inevitable to all processes of knowledge production (Aceto et. al. 1994, Allan 2003). Luckily, the field did start to make sense after a while, letting me reach the conclusions that I intend to argue in the next parts of this thesis.

Lastly, I believe that it is also essential for me, as a researcher to express, self-reflexively, of limitations that might have emerged due to a number of factors. First of all, as I have limited the object of this study to the practices and expressions of the *actant*s of the resistance, I have chosen not to include counter-arguments (that come from the populous camp of status-quo supporters, who are filled with a strong anti-resistance sentiment). Similarly, I have not included explanatory frameworks or meta-discourses that have been produced by analysts and intermediaries of the Resistance, such as commentators or media practitioners. I acknowledge the fact that further studies on these two areas are promising objects of analysis, for providing a counterpart of the analyses developed throughout this thesis, as well as reaching a better understanding on the role of 'traditional media' in the unfolding of the events during and after the heydays of the protest.

A second set of limitations arise from the inherent limitations that I myself carry, as a researcher and a participant of the resistance. Being a young, male, urban professional myself, I acknowledge that it is extremely likely that the fieldwork that I have carried out has been inclined towards a demographic of similar characteristics. Geographically speaking, a significant portion of my involvement has been in the metropolis -and in certain areas of the city, in particular. This situation, which has granted me inside access to the acts of resistance taking place in these localities, has unavoidably restricted my participant observation in other important localities, the most important of which are three other cities, and the countries where there is a strong presence of citizens and minority diaspora. My entitlements and capabilities have also been limited by the element of language, in the linguistic sense of the term. As I have no working knowledge of other languages that a significant portion of the countries citizens speak, I believe that it might not have been possible to reach and represent a proportionally accurate amount of content by the members of the minority movement, and other

citizens of Turkey who communicate in these languages. A third element to note in such regard, is the set of restrictions that arise from the ways digital social media has been architecturally configured, that is, following the logic of networks in the flow of content and information. In such regard, I acknowledge the fact that, although I have put a significant amount in trying to grasp the multiplicity of the resistance with the distinct ideological and social dispositions of their members, it is highly likely that I might not have fully succeeded in this attempt due to the positionality I occupy in the digital social networks.

A final set of limitations, which, unfortunately, have been becoming more and more restricting lately, is the governmental acts of involvement of the sites of resistance. In an environment which has been marked with a constantly shrinking freedom of speech and media liberties, the locality has already developed a rather unpleasant fame for restricting access to digital environments including news and social media sites in general, and dissident content and their creators in particular[12]. Luckily, relatively young and highly adaptive users have been able to develop ways of 'walking around' such acts of repression. However, as the threat has become more personalized through a number of court cases that have aimed individuals, charging them with crimes, auto-censorship has emerged, as a result of which, a significant amount of content has been removed, many accounts have been closed, and digital sites have been silenced. This development has brought about a second, derivative but crucial dimension of the general atmosphere of censorship for the researchers studying digital phenomena related to the locality: The possibility that the content that one is working on 'disappears' after - or even before- the time the researcher is able to mediate and write on it. I have to state that this has been the biggest challenge that I have suffered from during the whole process of the preparation of this dissertation. As I bitterly witnessed the disappearing of a lot of the content that I had 'saved' -that is, through saving their URL addresses-, I have felt 'wounded' not only as a citizen whose liberties are being taken away, but also as a researcher whose labor has been developed by the deeds of a repressive regime.

---

[12] See the following article by BBC, for a discussion, available at: http://archive.is/tnug0 [accessed on 8 December 2016].

I have throughout the time, been able to develop 'alternative methodologies' for lessening the effects of such aggression, such as taking screenshots and using online archiving platforms (such as arcieve.is which appears in many footnotes in this thesis). These methodologies, although useful in the last instance, are actually stripping the Internet sphere from its productive capacities, by 'freezing' an inherently dynamic platform, and restricting user contribution to a 'collectively produced site'. I have since then decided to keep evidences of the acts of such censorship, through collecting the 'remnants' of the pieces of content that have 'disappeared'. Such remnants, or 'residues' in the Derridean (1973) sense of the term that points out to the fact that 'traces' of the lived experiences of the past are always and already present in the 'now' point, are explicit signs of the oppression and implicit reminders of the histories that have been repressed by it. As a result of my belief that it is a duty of the scholar to side with the subaltern, the impoverished and the marginalized, whose voices have been kept silent, against the machinery of power, I have found it important to include these traces in this thesis, where I have intended to present an account of the Movement. However, as such an attempt is actually outside of the problematique of this dissertation as well as the frameworks used to respond to it, I have withdrawn from making a detailed discussion on it, until a later study; but include those traces, in the form of a trace as well, as an appendix. Thus, with admiration to and sincere belief in what Milan Kundera (1994, p.4) has poetically stated in 'A Book of Laughter and Forgetting' -"The struggle of humanity against power is the struggle of memory against oblivion"-; I have intended to present, as a obligatory appendix to this thesis, a collection of instances of such traces, which I have named as 'Sketches of the Museum of Repressed Online Discontent'.

***

In this chapter, I have laid the ontological and epistemological grounds on which the research and analysis presented within this thesis has been developed. Discussing what cultural artefacts can offer to scholars of social phenomena and the particular ways that semiology can be used for such aims, I have attempted to describe one of the two primary methodologies employed in my analyses. Continuing with a discussion on the insights that social studies of technology can provide to students of digital sites of

interaction, I have then focused on cyber-ethnography, the participant observational study of online phenomena. Finally, I have described my 'amphibious' involvement in 'the field' and have tried to self-reflexively discuss the potentials and limitations that such involvement has brought about. In the next chapter, I am going to proceed with a discussion on the technical aspect of the techno-human condition which I believe to be crucial in contextualizing and explaining the modalities of discontent that have been going on on a global scale.

3. THE TOOLS AND PLATFORMS OF ANALYSIS: TECHNE AT PLAY

In this chapter I am going to carry out a discussion on the general characteristics of the tools and platforms utilized throughout the cyber-ethnographic research carried out the "field studies" phase of the preparation of this dissertation. In particular, by elaborating in detail the four categories, namely "digital media", "new media", "social media" and "virtual media", I am going to put into context widely circulating conceptualizations of the non-traditional media and discuss the roles they have been playing in creating novel social dynamics.

3.1 THE TECHNO-HUMAN CONDITION

The recent wave of uprisings all around the world have been approached from many different perspectives (Mason 2013, Castells 2015, Sitrin 2012, pp. 74-75, Jenkins et al. 2016, Harvey 2012, Howard and Hussain 2013, Anduiza et al. 2014, pp. 750-764). Faced with unprecedented phenomena that took place in many and different parts of the globe, scholars and intellectuals came up with a variety of answers of the simple question of what is going on around the world. A particularly popular one among these was the tendency to name these as "social media revolutions", emphasizing the important roles that communication and information technologies played in them. In the next chapters of this thesis, I argue that such a perspective is flawed for many reasons, such as the fact that this kind of conceptualization does injustice not only to the involved technological apparatuses, but also to the flesh-and-bone people who make history. Yet, an equally flawed explanation, I believe, is to argue that the changing media sphere has had no particular role in at least facilitating -and sometimes even making possible- the emergence of these "networked social movements". A truly materialist conceptualization of the emergent phenomena very much requires the recognition of a complex set of relationships that together make societies and the current mediascapes, with their unique technological infrastructures and novel ways of disseminating cultural artifacts.

Thus, I hold the belief that in order to fully grasp the fertile grounds on which particular instances of dissidence are blossoming, a meticulous account of the digital mediascape is necessary. Just as the characteristic of contemporary societies, with the particular fabriques that hold them together and the aspects of life that create social distances deserve attention, so do the platforms, the methods and the sites, with all their opportunities and challenges, deserve special attention. In this rest of this chapter, I am going to elaborate the current mediascape, before focusing on the characteristics of contemporary societies in the next chapter; and then try to come up with hopefully convincing ways to explain the particular relationship between the two, which, I believe, lays the foundation of the "techno-human condition" that we have been living in for a while, in the sense of the term employed by Braden R. Allenby and Daniel Sarewitz (2011).

3.2 THE MEDIA: THE DIGITAL, THE NEW, THE SOCIAL AND THE SO-CALLED VIRTUAL

A set of different concepts have been used in attempts to describe the media regime which has been emerging for a while. Among these, the three most commonly used are the terms, "digital media", "social media" and "new media". Although used interchangeably in daily conversations -and to a shameful extent- in intellectual circles- these concepts refer to different -albeit closely related- facets of the same sets of techniques and relationships in the current mediascape.

For the simplicity of the organization of this section, I am going to start with 'the digital media'. After defining what it means and describing the development of the important cornerstones in a chronological fashion, I am going to discuss its relationship with the concepts of 'social media' and 'new media' and 'virtual media' In doing that, I will try to meditate on the certain characteristics of this media, with particular emphasis on the ones that I believe to be crucial for the emergence and spread of the contemporary movements of dissent, including the Protests, which makes the bulk of field study of this thesis.

3.2.1 The Digital

Merriam-Webster's online English dictionary (2016) gives three definitions for the *digital*:

> 1) of or relating to information that is stored in the form of the numbers 0 and 1;
> 2) showing the time with numbers instead of with hour and minute hands;
> 3) using or characterized by computer technology.

The first one of these definitions refers to the ontological roots of the term: the fact that it consists of *digits* or numbers, which are also used in reference to the fingers, thumbs and toes that one has -and can use to count stuff. Hence, *the digital* means 'those that can be counted', and correspondingly, those whose information can be stored using numbers. The amount of apples in a sack, in this regard, is digital, or digitizable knowledge in this regard.

The second meaning of the term is actually a derivation, as well as a physical application of the first meaning. As will be elaborated in the forthcoming parts of this chapter, the advance of digital technologies created a widespread tendency to replace existing "analog" goods with their digital counterparts. A simple example of this replacement took place with our devices that keep track of time, as the clock was among the very first to go through such "transition" from analog to digital (as exemplified by the Casio Digital Watch that was a cultural artifact heavily loaded with a display value and a tendency to symbolize a matrix of characteristics from wealth to tech-savviness, in Turkey from the late 1980s onwards[13].

The third meaning -namely, the one that equates the word "digital" with computer technology- is actually just another derivation and a physical application of the first meaning. Yet, because of the rapid advancement in computer technologies, it has come to gain the status of dominant meaning -especially in the last two decades. And it is no

---

[13] A projection of this heavily loaded status can be traced by following the discussion of this device in Ekşisözlük, the forum and dictionary platform, available at: https://eksisozluk.com/casio-f-91w--157415 [accessed on May 15, 2016].

shock to any person living in the 21st century to hear the use of the words "digital" and "computer" interchangeably. Although, for a researcher commitment to the precision of facts and definitions, it must be underlined that there have actually been "non-digital computers" and "applications of the digital outside of the field of computing devices", as I intend to demonstrate below. I would like to state that my use of the term "digital" in the following chapters -unless specified otherwise- will refer to this meaning, which treats the two concepts as being more or less synonymous. Yet, within this chapter, I am going to switch back and forth between the different denotations of the term; by referring to the first definition of 'digital' when writing about the technical devices and their infrastructures, and the first definition, otherwise.

3.2.1.1 Birth of the Digital - Before the Electronics Age

To understand what "the digital" actually means, I believe that we have to dig up the term using a perspective that embodies a variety of dimensions: historical, technical and philosophical. That is what I will be attempting to do in the part to follow. Putting attention on the primary definition of the term - that is "relating to information that is stored in the form of the numbers 0 and 1", I shall try to reflect on the unfolding of the story of how information and data, which are represented by the numbers, became the dominant mode of representation that they are in contemporary times.

The digital as concept dates much further back than the digital as application. Chronologically speaking, the "invention" -or rather conceptualization- of the term dates back to the early 18th century, when Charles Babbage, who is now referred to as "the father of computing", came up models of an *Analytical Engine* and a *Differential Engine*, both to be used by mathematicians in solving complex multivariate problems of algebra, calculus and polynomial equations (Swade and Babbage 2001). Although there had been earlier designs and even implementations of "machines that make computations", the most prominent being Pascal's mechanical calculator which was able to carry out simple mathematical operations such as basic algebra[14], Babbage is

---

[14] A discussion about the procession of this development is available at:
http://metastudies.net/pmwiki/pmwiki.php?n=Site.SchicardvsPascal [accessed on May 15, 2016].

considered to be the "father" as the machine that he designed would be able to carry out most of the tasks that modern computers are able to accomplish. The idea was actually quite simple, although maybe a little too complex when compared to the standards of the era it was developed: Babbage was dreaming of a machine which, with the help of its operators, would be able to partly automate the labor-intensive work of doing tedious, long and complex calculations (Babbage 1982). By making use of punch-cards[15], he believed in the possibility of mechanizing the tasks related to mathematical operations. These kinds of tasks, as it was already understood by the industrial revolution, which are painful for human beings and require a lot of human labor-hours to be completed, could be done rapidly and almost effortlessly by machines; resulting in huge gains in terms of productivity and efficiency.

If Babbage was the "father" of computing, there sure was also a "mother" of the field too: Ada Lovelace, who is credited to be the creator of the first computer program (Hammerman and Russell 2015). This "footnote" in the history of digital technologies, which is easily forgotten by those patriarchal figures and everyday bullies who deny women the role they deserve in the computer science and digital media, comes as an amusement to those of us who believe in gender equality and who do not feel OK with the erasing of the contribution of women throughout history. Long story short, Ada Lovelace is the first computer programmer ever (Dee, 2011)[16]. Living and producing in an era in which, computers weren't yet a reality, she devised an algorithm that would carry out complex mathematical operations in Babbage's differential engine. The construction of the machine was never completed, so neither Babbage nor Lovelace saw a real-world implementation of their products; but the wider scientific community became widely aware of Lovelace's contribution albeit more than a century later, when her notes on the programme were republished in 1953 (Hammerman and Russell 2015).

---

[15]An illustration of the inner functioning and use of punch-cards is available at:
 https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=YnnGbcM-H8c [accessed on May 15, 2016].
[16] Notes on the life and deeds of Lovelace are available at:
http://www.csmonitor.com/Technology/2012/1210/Ada-Lovelace-What-did-the-first-computer-program-do [accessed on May 15, 2016].

It did not take too long after Babbage and Lovelace though, for the age of mechanical production and reproduction to bring about computers that were actually produced and used, although only by expert technicians. Inventions followed one another, and as early as 1886, the world saw an actually functioning computing machine, the "Ball-and-disk integrator", whose use would be continued until 1940s when the next generation of computing devices would arrive (Girvan, 2003). Retrospectively speaking, it should come as no surprise to the student of computing technologies that this was a machine, which was produced in an era dominated by warfare to an extent that had never been seen before and informed by the extremely high possibility of more warfare to come, was originally devised for calculating the calibration of missiles. And actually "Ball-and-disk integrator" was not the only one to be used so. As will be elaborated in more detail below, most of the devices that found themselves a place in the history of computing were created for their use in military technology.

Among other uses of the "Ball-and-disk integrator" were measurement of volumes and areas for industrial production and optimization of ships routes by use of range-keeping systems. Hence, computers were also used for the mass-production of goods and for finding the means of wide-range transportation, again in parallel with the *Zeitgeist* of the period, marked by the largest wave of globalization ever, as explained in detail by Eric Hobsbawm in *The Age of Empire* (2010) and *The Age of Extremes* (1995) of his history of the world trilogy. The other significant area of use for computing devices before the electronic computers became available was commerce. "The Marchant Calculator", famous for the precision of its computations, was designed simplistically for ease of use[17]. Hence, it should be no surprise that this would in time evolve to serve as the model for modern cash registers that would be used not only by experts trained with special technical skills, but by wider portions of the workforce, who would have the opportunity to have first-hand experience with computational machines. As such, "The Marchant Calculator" is to be conceived as one of the earliest applications of digital technology that contributed in the effort to bridge the gap between the technologically skillful group of experts, and the general public. Thus, if one is to

---

[17] A depiction and explanation of "The Marchant Calculator" is available at:
http://www.oldcalculatormuseum.com/scm240sr.html [accessed on May 15, 2016].

understand how we have come to a world where everyone owns or wants to have a digital device for personal use, she should be following the trace of the evolution to the days of the development and production of the early devices, such as The Marchant Calculator.

As mentioned above, many of the early implementations of computing devices were for military purposes, though. As the imperialist competition for global domination escalated by the end of the 19th century and heavy weaponry became a decisive factor of the outcome of potential as well as actual military conflicts (Hobsbawm 2010), large research projects funded at the governmental level became the dominant fuel of computational research. *Kerrison Predictor*, which was a fully automated anti-aircraft fire-control system, was one example of such machines developed for their use in the British army (Bromley 1990, pp.188-189). Developed in the UK and later borrowed by the US, it was also a concrete artifact of the collaboration between the US and the British during the Second World War. Of course, such an attempt could not be have been left unmatched by the leader of the opposing camp, Nazi Germany, which responded by developing Z1, a device that they hoped would be their counterpart of an intelligent machine at the service of competition over world domination[18]. As this rivalry intensified, so did the race for computational devices, as a result of which many other devices were developed, designed, and prototyped during the 1930s. But the birth of computer as we know it -that is, the electronic computer- had to wait for another decade until the first implementation of the transistor, which would enable electronic circuits to be integrated into the design of computing machines (Brinkman et. al 1997).

3.2.1.2 The Electronic Computer and Beyond

One of the critical movements in the history of computers came as the Second World War was about to end. Vannevar Bush published an article entitled *As We May Think* in the popular magazine *The Atlantic*, which was about the possible functions computers could accomplish for human beings in their pursuit of knowledge (1945). By doing this,

---

[18] A technical and social discussion of Zuse's Z1 is available at:
www.computinghistory.org.uk/det/6170/Zuse-Z1-built-by-Konrad-Zuse/ [accessed on May 15, 2016].

he was not only opening the imagination to the use of computer as a personal device, by proposing a futuristic device he named as *memex*, an encyclopedia serving as the repository of all human knowledge; but he was also conceptualizing a model of how data created by different users of this device, could be shared among other people (Simpson et al. 1996). The origins of personal computers and the social media could be traced back to Bush's visionary article. Although the device he proposed was not produced until quite a while later, his contribution to the conceptualization of computers as devices for general use by people who are not necessarily computer technicians brought about a change of paradigm on the way "thinking machines" have mostly been thought of until the day. Furthermore, he made one of the earliest depictions about how reaching data might look like in the information age to come, by concretely visualizing "a microcosm of the information society" (Johnston and Webber 2006, p. 109).

What followed in the decades to come, was basically the realization of the vision put forward by Bush. Thanks also to a number of technical developments, such as the invention of the transistor, which made the production of microprocessors and the creation of electronic computers possible, computer use started penetrating to other segments of the society outside of the military industrial complex. In particular, universities and research centers were the early adopters and users of this developing technology. In 1969, Advanced Research Projects Agency Network (ARPANET), which would in time evolve to form the backbone of Internet, was established. At the time of the release, this "First Internet" consisted of just four "nodes", four computers in the labs of four Western American universities (Leiner et. al 2009). In the years to come, this network would first include many more research institutions; and about two decades later, around the late 1980s, it would be open to the use of the general public and to people with motivations not solely limited to academic research, giving birth to the Internet we know today.

If the ARPANET was about how the "supply" or the infrastructure of Internet was initially made possible, the introduction of the "home computer" in 1960s and the increase in its popularity during the 1970s and 1980s were about how the "demand" was gradually building up. Many major companies were producing computers for personal

use, or personal computers (PCs) as would be called by then, including some of the biggest ones, such as Apple or IBM, which still continue to be key players in the information technology market (Allan 2001). After this leap in the 1970s, it would not take an awful lot of time before the general recognition of the computer phenomenon came forth. The cover of the TIME Magazine's January 3 1983 issue could provide some evidence on this. As might be known, TIME has a tradition of "choosing the Person of the Year" since 1927 (which was named as "Man of the Year" until 1999 for apparently obvious gender-blindness). Someone who is believed to affect the unfolding of history in a particular year is selected by the editorial board of the magazine and the cover of the last issue of the year would be dedicated to that person in recognition for the contributions they had made.

The list of figures who were chosen as the Man of the Year until 1983 consisted mostly of politicians and statesmen such as Franklin T. Roosevelt, Nikita Khrushchev, Winston Churchill or John F. Kennedy, although occasionally change makers like Mahatma Gandhi, Martin Luther King, Jr. were also among the selected ones. And very occasionally the man of the year would include "abstract categories" such as U.S. Scientists, The Inheritor or The Middle Americans, who would be referring to a shared profession, identity or trait owned by the recipients of the prestigious title. What happened in the cover of the magazine's January 3, 1983 issue was quite extraordinary though. Actually, it was the first of its kind. Instead of the "Man of the Year" (or the "Person of the Year" as would be called later) the title was changed to "Machine of the Year". Instead of a portrait of the corresponding year's person as was always the case up to then, there was an art-installation-like setting: a mannequin contemplating in front of a table on which lied a computer set, accompanied by the tagline: "The Computer Moves In"[19]. It was a solid, albeit a little late, recognition of the fact that the computer was moving in into our laboratories, work environments, personal offices, and even living rooms and changing the ways we work, we enjoy our free times by our own or with the company of others, and the way we communicate with each other.

---

[19] The Jan. 3, 1983 of Time magazine declaring the "Computer", as "Machine of the Year" is available at: http://content.time.com/time/covers/0,16641,19830103,00.html

Figure 3.1: Machine of the Year
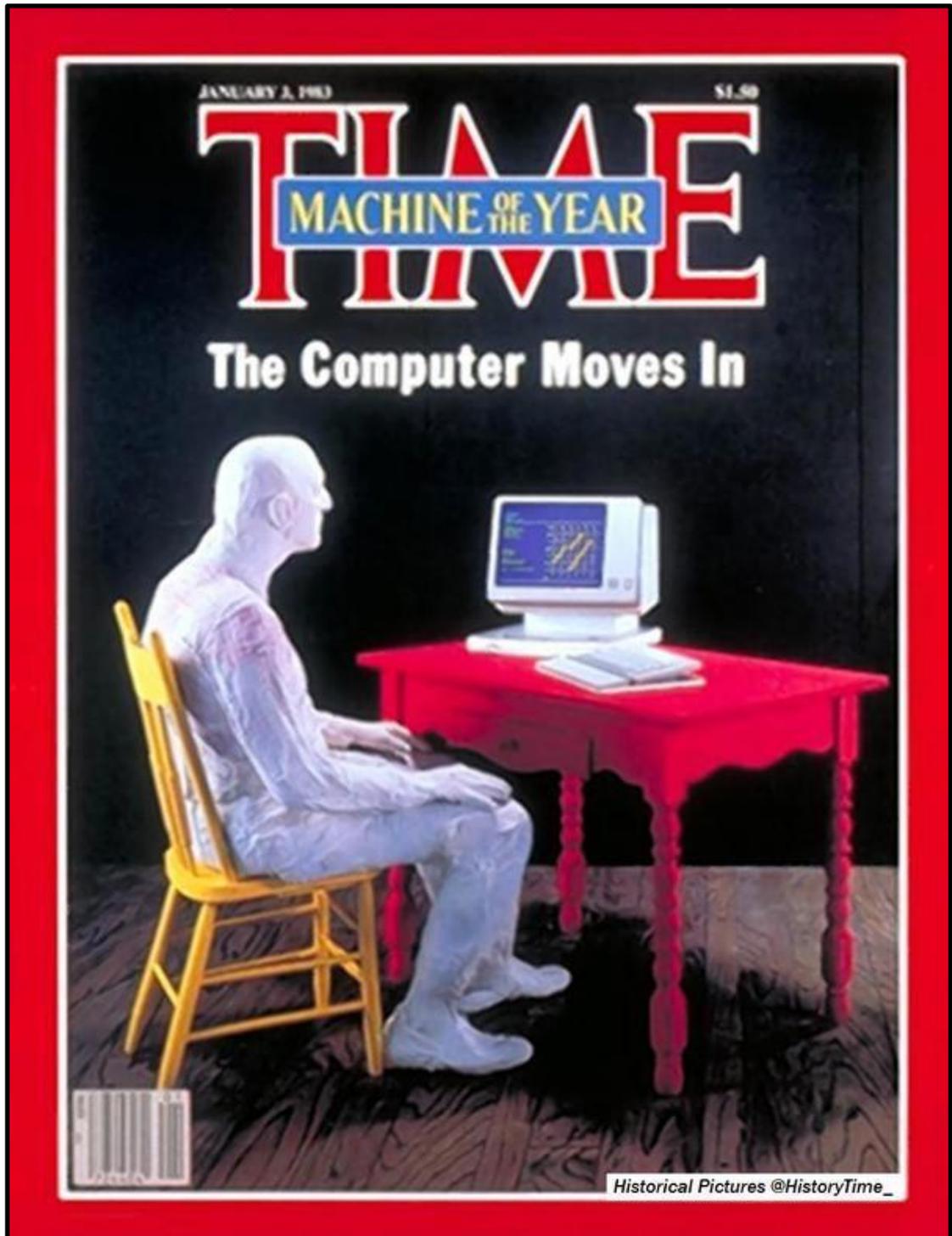
Source: Time Magazine, 1983

3.2.1.3 The Digital as Communication Technology

Today the term *digital communication* is used almost exclusively in reference to computers or mobile devices connected via Internet, but there is actually some history predating this. Digital means were used for various forms of communication starting from as early as the 19th century. Music boxes and player pianos were among the first widely available mechanisms making use of digital means of communication, although not necessarily in verbal formats (Roehl 1973). It did not take long though, for the digital transmission of messages consisting of verbal forms to take place. The telegraphy, which revolutionized the way long-distance communication took place, made this possible through the integration of the Morse code system -an abstraction of human language using a mathematical code framework- and electric currents (Ronalds 2016). Now, provided by the opportunity that was made possible by existence of a developed infrastructure of wires connecting different localities; any message could be carried across the globe with almost no delay, and "feedback", too, could be sent back right away. This would also start the changing of the ways people perceived distances, as well as create the earliest functional forms of news agencies, or "wire services" as they were called by then, with the capacity to report about events as they were taking place. Newspapers, such as "The Daily Telegraph" would start using the word telegraph in their names, as a way of signalling to their readers how fresh sources they were providing in learning about the most recent of developments taking place (Burnham 1955).

The average length of a telegraph would usually be around 10 to 15 words (Hochfelder 2012, p. 79), or between 60 to 100 characters (or strokes as would be called by then), making it an efficient, albeit limited way of long-distance communication (Frehner 2008, pp. 187-191). Telegraphy is a strong metaphor for instant transmission of messages, as one of the currently most popular mobile applications named after it demonstrates (Shu, 2013), and the simple use of language it made spread is arguably alive too, although in a totally different context, the world of social media: a point which becomes more clear when one takes into account the fact that maximum length of

a tweet is 140 characters[20], or less than double the amount of what an average telegraph would carry 150 years ago. Telegraphs were used extensively for more than a century for fast, immediate, point-to-point communication. Despite the widespread use, though, digital means did not enjoy widespread utilization for mass communication. Emerging media like photography and cinema, followed by radio and subsequently television were the main means for sending messages to many recipients at once. This situation would pretty much stay the same until the heydays of the "Digital Revolution" when the general mediascape would truly feel the deep waves of change brought about by the adaptation of digital methods for communicating over large distances (Kotkin 2002). It should be noted at this point that a detailed discussion on the emergence and development of mass communication technologies will not be made in this dissertation, due to the fact the main site of focus in the ethnographic research of the thesis study was the digital social media, a platform which has a totally different path of historical development from the aforementioned platforms of mass communication. Hence, I proceed with the discussion of digital media and its early adaptations.

Such a wave of changes came in many different scales and forms. Early introduction was primarily made through the convergence of already existing media. The introduction of HDTV is such a case. Although spectacular events such as the broadcasting of 1990 World Cup through HDTV took place, they were not enough for this hybrid platform to become an industry standard, nor find widespread adaptation (Hirakawa et. al. 2006). However, there were other developments which were not only widely adopted, but changed the terms of communication once and for all. The introduction of mobile telephone for consumer use and the formation of the World Wide Web are the two most important of these changes. Apart from the crucial role they played in transforming the communicative sphere, they changed the rules of the game for various industries -such as the news and entertainment sector- and redefined the main methods of a variety of others -such as the finance or the public sectors. I proceed with the first of these developments, the emergence of the Internet era.

---

[20] "Using Twitter with Your Phone". Twitter Support. Retrieved June 1, 2016 at:
https://support.twitter.com/groups/34-apps-sms-and-mobile/topics/153-twitter-via-sms/articles/14014-twitter-via-sms-faq# [accessed on June 1, 2016]

3.2.1.4 The Internet Era

Although there have been various forms of networks connecting computers at different localities since 1960s (Janet 2000, pp. 194-195), the big game changer was the invention of World Wide Web, or the Internet as it is much commonly referred to today, by Tim Berners-Lee in 1989 (Shadbolt and Berners-Lee 2008, pp. 76-81). And as of 1991, 'the cyberspace' was born, when Internet became accessible by the general public (Bryant, 2011). This would be less than ten years after the 'invention' of the term by William Gibson, in his short story *Burning Chrome*, which was published in Omni magazine in 1982[21]. Once again, just like the case of Jules Verne's science fiction novels and technical advances that developed with inspirations from it, science was creating the world in the image of fiction. Yet, the increase of the speed was stunning. It would have to take more than a hundred years for the first person to land on the Moon (in 1969), after the initial publication of Verne's *De La Terre à la Lune* in 1865 (Chaikin 1998). Yet, in the case of the *cyberspace*, the time necessary to bring into reality a concept that existed only in a book's pages, it was only ten years. From then on, the *cyberspace* evolved in a trajectory to occupy a bigger and bigger space in people's lives; and the speed and scale of its adaptation was truly impressive: It took less than 15 years, for the population of Internet users to hit the billion[22].

Internet got truly phenomenal, becoming the biggest network ever to connect localities and users worldwide, at the widest scale seen to date. It has even surpassed the Earth's boundaries, since January 22, 2010, when the first direct Internet connection was established with the low earth orbit in. On that day, astronaut T. J. Creamer posted from the outer space to his Twitter account the following historic message[23]: "Hello Twitterverse! We r now LIVE tweeting from the International Space Station -- the 1st live tweet from Space! :) More soon, send your ?s".

---

[21] A digital reproduction of the catalogue and table of contents of the July 1982 issue of Omni magazine is available online at: http://www.isfdb.org/cgi-bin/pl.cgi?59844

[22] As declared in the article entitled "One Billion People Online!" available at: http://www.emarketer.com/Article.aspx?R=1003975

[23] A URL link to this historic tweet is available at: https://twitter.com/Astro_TJ/status/8062317551

Figure 3.2: T.J. Creamer's historical tweet from outer space
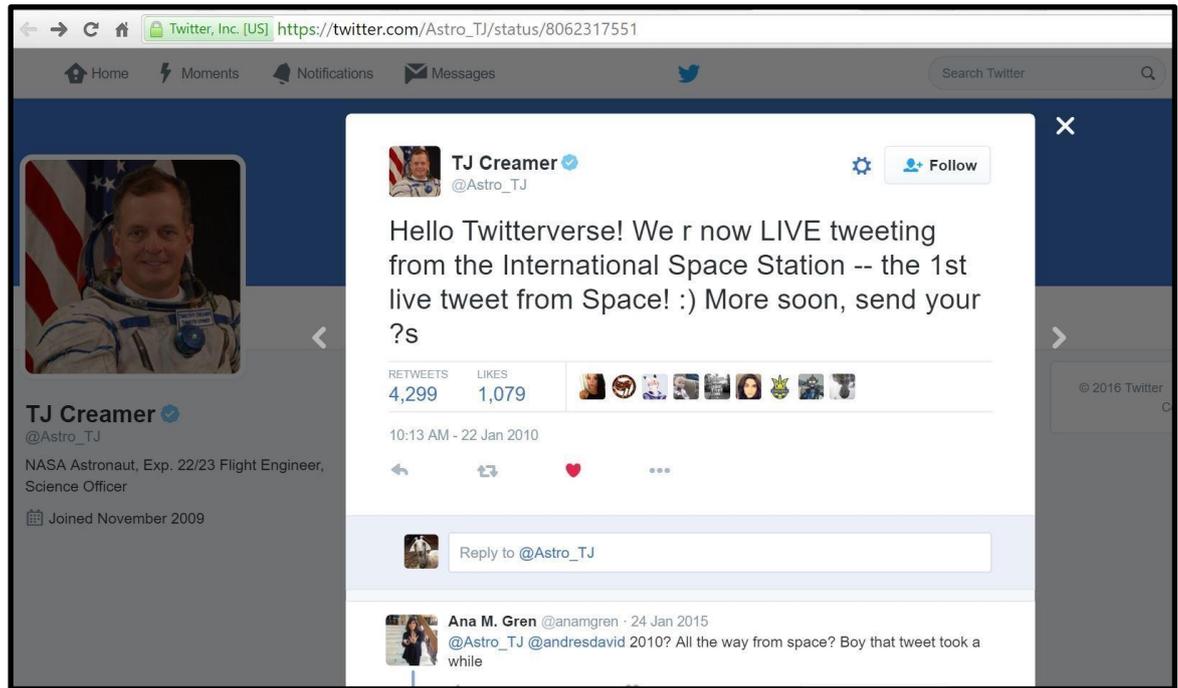
Source: Twitter (January 2010)

This truly historical tweet is a cultural artefact, which calls for a detailed analysis from a variety of points. A task that I, unfortunately will not be able to carry out within the scope of this thesis… However I still find it essential to state, albeit in passing, a few observations about 'the language' of this piece of communique, because of the fact that these characteristics that I will briefly mention here, will be encountered again in the discussion the language of the digital social media messages that appear in the current wave of global uprisings, including the 'Resistance' which my field studies have been focused on.

The first of these observations is the use of language, in the narrow sense of the term. What strikes the instant one looks at this tweet is the explicit fact that the wording and punctuation do not fit into the norms of the English language. This is demonstrated most vividly in the choice of abbreviations, such as the usage of the letter 'r' in the place of the word 'are', and the question mark character, '?', instead of the word, 'question'. I believe it would not be an ungrounded assumption to believe that T. J. Creamer, the astronaut who posted this tweet, is not aware of simple linguistic rules. Alternatively, if one is to take into account the possibility that the content was not solely created by him,

but composed by a team of public relations experts working for NASA, this assumption only proves to hold even more strongly.

The second observation is probably a derivative of the first one: The language, in the wider sense of the term, of the tweet, with its flashing and speculative tone, seems to have come from the hands of an entertainer, rather than a scientist exploring outer space. The question to be asked, then, -independent of the intentionality behind the people generating the content- is this: What is it that makes this tweet sound no differently that one composed by someone working for the entertainment industry, or a teenager who -either being unaware of the rules of written language, or because of a desire to express a personal attitude of rebellion- distorts the language? The answer, I believe, at least partially, lies in McLuhan's insightful argumentation about the strength of the relationship between various forms and platforms of media and the contents delivered through them (McLuhan and Fiore 1967). And it is through this perspective that one gains access to the inner logic of the functionality of various media, and the ways and patterns their producers and consumers make use of them. And, needless to say; neither digital means of communication in general -or communication through the Internet in particular-, nor digital social media which gives everyone at least a potential channel to speak with their own voice, without the need for the presence of additional layers of mediators in the form of people or platforms, are exceptional to the general validity of such claim.

The contagious nature of the dominant linguistic patterns in communication is evident to whoever has used the digital social media at least once; and its spread has broken records of all kinds, in terms of the volume of people it has reached and the depth of the markets it has penetrated. As of the writing of these lines, the number of Internet users are estimated to be well over 3 billion[24]. According to the estimates by Internet Live Stats, number of active twitter users are above 300 thousand, total number of websites are above 1 billion, and unique Facebook users are above 1.5 billion. Despite this huge scale, though, the Internet has not -at least yet- turned out to be the ultimate opportunity

---

[24] This figure as well as the ones cited in the following paragraphs have been accessed through the interactive web site entitled Internet World Stats, available at:
http://www.internetworldstats.com/stats.htm [accessed on June 1, 2016]

equalizer or leveler as it was once believed to messianically become (May 2002, Curtis 2011). As natural as bread and water as access to digital devices and the Internet may seem to teenagers growing up in the Global North, more than half of the world's population still does not have sustained access to the cyberspace. This phenomenon of inequality between the haves and have-nots of Internet, also known as `the digital divide, stems from wide number of reasons varying from legal constraints to logistic and infrastructural problems, and of course to economic hardships (Guillén and Suárez 2005).

Moreover, what is taking place in the global scale is also reflected on many national scales as well, including the case of Internet users in Turkey. So, it is important for the student of digital spheres to take into account this layer of inequality that has severe effects not only in terms of injustices regarding equality of access, but also in terms the rigid boundaries between the users and non-users of digital platforms being recreated on a daily basis. As I hope to demonstrate on my account on the digital means of political insurgency in Turkey in the chapters to come, a straightforward and severe outcome includes the creation of different public spheres between these two coexisting but not communicating segments of the Turkish society.

Having acknowledged this fact, it should also be stated that the Internet has achieved more than connecting people to each other (and subsequently furthermore separating certain groups from others). What was also novel was the way the content of Internet media was being connected to each other. Thanks to the use of 'hypertext' infrastructure, the Internet was contributing to the emergence of a more general level of connectedness. The creation of a hypertext-based medium meant that any text (or other forms of media in that regard, such as images) could now be directly accessed from within another text (or other media) at the ease and immediacy of a mouse click (Landow 1991). This brought about, according to many including the acclaimed media theorist and practitioner Lev Manovich, the birth of a novel medium, one he would choose to conceptualize under the general category of 'new media' (Manovich 2003).

3.2.2 The New Media

There were, and to this day, are a bunch of varying and even contradicting ideas about what constitutes the new media. Although the term has reached a status of general recognition by the time of the writing of this thesis, the times we debated about the existence of a truly new element in new media with colleagues are still not elements of the far distant past. One of these discussions for instance was with my colleagues and professors in Bahçeşehir University where I worked between 2009 and 2016, on whether it was a futile attempt to establish a 'New Media Department' within the Faculty of Communication, or not.

One side of the debate has been more inclined to take the words 'new' and 'media' for their face value and was arguing that "all that is new will soon become old". The logic that followed was embodied in the following question: "Will we soon find ourselves not fulfilling the claim we make with the name of the department, as *newer* media technologies constantly arise? Or, as the previous question also implies its alternative, will we turn into a department that incessantly teaches about how to writing technical reviews for the various *technology websites*, as they are called by the general public, about the next generation of Iphone or Samsung mobile device to come"[25]? Being on the other camp of the argument alongside with a few colleagues, I remember myself trying to make it clear that of course what we were in need of intellectually grasping was not just the next smartphone brand, or the next hip digital platform; but it was *the society*. Or to be clearer, the way media infrastructures, technologies, devices, platforms, individuals, groups and communities were changing was the key explanatory element that we needed to concentrate on. I would find myself quoting Marshal McLuhan's "medium is the message" (1994) to argue for the deepness of the wave that we were surfing on, yet also trying to explain why we should not elaborate the issue from a techno-determinist perspective. As the defendants of the thesis that "there is a thing as new media"; we would be reminding each other Sandy Stone's insightful

---

[25] As outdated as it may seem looking back from 2016, this discussion was actually made only five years ago.

observations about the relationship between technologies and human beings: "NO CAUSES NO EFFECTS MUTUAL EMERGENCE" (Stone 1996).

After hearing from friends and colleagues working in other institutions that they had similar conversations and witnessing some of these discussions in international conferences myself, I would be able to see that the novelty of new media was still a concept not internalized or accepted by a significant number of people, including even some who were actually professionals doing research about it. One might be inclined to think that this is how science functions, with being as critical and reluctant to accepting new concepts and theories so that only the ones which are solid enough to be able to pass this test of reluctance would find themselves a place within the discipline. This, I believe, is a perfectly legitimate approach, and in fact, a method that scholars working on the philosophy of science have been proposing, at least since the time when Thomas Kuhn, in his *The Structure of Scientific Revolutions*, came up with the distinction between normal science, and revolutionary science (1962).

What happened in the next couple of years, however, was also particularly interesting: a sharp change in the reluctant attitude of some colleagues, as well as of wider segments of the society, starting and accelerating after the spreading era of the smartphones. Having the opportunity to witness and experience such an abrupt change of mentality has made me think of other perspectives on the development and spread of technological advances, such as the non-orthodox views put forward by Manuel DeLanda in 'A Thousand Years of Nonlinear History' (1997). Laying its foundations on the structural and materialistic historical view of Fernand Braudel, Delanda applies Gilles Deleuze and Felix Guattari's method of *schizoanalysis*, which Guattari suggests in *Chaosmosis* (1995, p. 61) that "rather than moving in the direction of reductionist modifications which simplify the complex" the scholar is to concentrate her efforts in "work[ing] towards its complexification, its processual enrichment, towards the consistency of its virtual lines of bifurcation and differentiation, in short towards its ontological heterogeneity".

DeLanda's analyses underline over and over the fact that it is not enough for a technical achievement to be conceptualized, invented, prototyped or even produced; what matters -at least as much- is the general public's readiness and willingness to incorporate these developments into the various practices of their daily lives. The take from this statement for the student of digital technologies, I believe, also has another dimension. Even for the people, such as researchers and practitioners, who are employed with the task of analyzing current situations and making projections, the change of mentality that brings with it the dismissal of earlier presumptions, requires that the spread of transformation has reached a certain level. Hence, such reasoning follows, for a true grasp of the potentialities of new media, it was significant -if not straightforward necessary- for the "leap" in terms of usage practices to take place. Seen under such a perspective, I believe, it follows that the precise date of "the emergence of the new media" is difficult to pin down, as it was the result of a bunch of interrelated developments taking place at various levels and sites of social, technical, economic, psychological dynamics. What is possible, however, is an attempt to define its inherent characteristics that, when combinedly present, creates a qualitative rupture from the set of techniques and opportunities which predate its existence.

Before I proceed with such analytical procedure, I find it necessary to clarify my use of the word "predate" here. As has been discussed quite thoroughly and from various positional backgrounds by the authors of the book *New Media Reader* edited by Noah Wardrip-Fruin and Nick Montfort, "new media" as a concept, and various cultural artefacts that possessed elements of its essence in various degrees have existed long before the critical turn that took place in the last part of the 20th century (2003)[26]. Simple demonstrations of this argument can be found even on the "frozen media" of text and writing, such as *The Garden of Forking Paths* and *The Library of Babel* by Jorge Luis Borges (1962), both of which were published more than half a decade ago. What is implied here in my particular use of the concept, is not the existence of *new media* as such; but rather, the new forms that it has acquired after its encounter with digital media took place. Of course, logically speaking, such a statement calls for two

---

[26] For a detailed mapping of these different positionalities, see the two introductory article and the editors' discussion in Wardrip-Fruin, N. and Montfort, N., 2003. The New Media Reader. MIT Press.

other questions: "But what exactly is new in new media"; and, on a much more foundational level, "what is new media anyway". The answers to these questions, I believe, have important repercussions for the attempt to grasp new social movements of the late 20th and early 21st century. In the part to follow, I intend to undertake such a task, namely to define the new media and identify what is novel to it.

In their widely quoted study on the global digital media regime and its relationship with groups and communities, *The Network Society. Social Aspects of New Media*, Jan van Dijk (2006) offers the following definition: "they are media which are both integrated and interactive and also use digital code at the turn of the 20th and 21st centuries" (2006, p. 9). For Dijk, the coexistence of the three conditions suffice for arguing the existence of *the new media*: 1) the integration of various newly emerging telecommunications technologies ; 2) interactivity, or the sequence of action, feedback and reaction by the media user/consumer; 3) The digital being the structural means of storing, transportation and processing of information. Obviously, the first element points to the novelty of the telecommunication technologies; the second is about the 'reception' of the media content by the user, and the third is about the dominant form of storing and transferring the ingredients of the media message. While such categorization seems to offer a practical and exclusive enough conceptualization for making sense of newly emerging phenomena, a thorough investigation into the subject actually asks for a more in-depth, technical analysis to clearly distinguish the emerging from the mainstream. Luckily enough, Lev Manovich, who is now considered to be one of the most important theoreticians of the field, offers such a categorical and technical analysis of new media in his foundational book, *The Language of New Media*. According to Manovich, the five principles that together constitute new media are as follows (2001, pp. 27-48):

- Numerical representation
- Modularity
- Automation
- Variability
- Transcoding

This set of principles, which are to be perceived not as everlasting laws, but as general tendencies, are enlightening even today, more than sixteen years after the publication of the book. There are, without a doubt. many reasons why this is the case, including Manovich's clarity and pedagogical approach in writing which has allowed many people from various disciplines to join the discussion about the ontology and epistemology of the emerging field of new media. Another very important factor is his meticulous treatment of the materiality of the medium, as has been observed by Madeleine Sorapure in her *Five Principles of New Media: Or, Playing Lev Manovich* (2003). Below is a concise summary and a one-by-one elaboration of these five principles.

3.2.2.1 Numerical Representation

As has been noted earlier, all digital media content exists as data which is represented by way of mathematical formulations and numbers. This brings about a unique characteristic common to all new media content independent of their particular modes of formality. Thus, an image, sound, or a movie are actually 'of the same essence' - that is, consisting of numeric values, when they are displayed and used on digital devices, in a way to, at least technically, bridge the varying oppositions in terms of forms, of different new media compositions. A direct consequence of the 'numerical representation' element is about the ontological status of the existing data. Unlike a manually created physical object such as a painting or a sculpture, new media objects actually consist of the combination -or summation- of a finite number of, albeit quite numerous, discrete units of data (Manovich 2001, p. 28).

Another logical postulate of this characteristic is the openness of these various units of content to a multiplicity of forms of reproduction, transformation and manipulation. For instance, as it would be straightforward to anyone who has used image manipulation software such as Photoshop[27] or Instagram[28], new media makes it possible to change the

---

[27] A link to download the programme is available at the following Web address:
http://www.adobe.com/products/photoshop.htm [accessed on June 5, 2016].
[28] This mobile application can be reached and downloaded at the following Web address:

color scale of an image -or an image file- stored in a digital platform, at the ease of the click of a button. Because each and every "bit" (in both senses of the term) of new media substance is actually the sum of mathematical values and formulations, they are all programmable and reprogrammable. Translating this technical analysis into the language of social sciences would imply that every piece of media content that we encounter on the web -and especially those on social media- already carries in itself the seeds of reproducibility and virality, the extent of which, as will be demonstrated in the discussion of the findings of my cyberethnographic field studies, can increase to unprecedented levels.

One of the most vivid depictions of numerical representation in popular culture has been in the motion picture *The Matrix*[29], in which the three dimensional portrayal of the actual world, and its digital representation created with the use of characters and symbol utilized by the computer code. Below are the images that I believe are helpful in visualizing the use of such code; the first one, a photo-realist depiction of two people on a carousel; the second one, a manipulation of this "original" photograph with the aid of computer software[30], "Matrix Image Generator".

---

https://www.instagram.com [accessed on June 5, 2016].

[29] Wachowski, A. and Wachowski, L., 1999. The matrix [Motion picture]. United States: Warner Brothers.

[30] This software is freely available at: http://funny.pho.to/matrix-image-generator [accessed on June 5, 2016]

Figure 3.3: Two people on a carousel

Figure 3.4: Two people on a carousel, by 'Matrix Image Generator'

3.2.2.2. Modularity

Modularity refers to the fact that new media content has a "fractal structure" (Manovich 2001, p.30). This suggests that all the single elements of a new media composition exist independently from each other, yet they can still function as a combined totality on a variety of different scales. On the technical level, this assertment underlines the element of modularity in various programmable platforms, from the domain of structural methods in computer programming, to the architecture of a web site, which is the combination of various elements such as "mark-up", "functions" and "styling".

A direct demonstration of this observation is possible, again, thanks to the use of digital image manipulation software, which treats image files, not as a unified totality, but as the combination of various "layers" of data, which come synergistically come together to form the whole. In a similar fashion, even a single dot -or a "pixel" on the screen of a digital device, is actually the result of the combination of the three colors within the RGB (red, green, blue) color schema, where each three-numbered code represents a particular hue. For instance, the combination "(0, 0, 0)" signifies the color black; and "(255, 255, 255)" denotes white.

These independently existing elements can be reproduced at the ease of the "copy-paste" functionality of a word processor, as could be expected. What is more fascinating, though, is the fact that the manipulation of a single one of them does not necessarily alter the presence or the condition of another one. Just as one could change the color of the text in the word processor, without necessarily changing the color of the background -which, in the physical universe would not have been a possibility-; one can alter any single one of the various elements which together compose the whole, without necessarily affecting the functioning of another one of the remaining elements.

What makes this observation even more fascinating is the dimension of the *scale* of its validity. That is, the element of modularity holds true not only for the functioning of the various elements of a new media composition; but it is also valid in relation to the interactional dynamics of larger scales which are created by the coexistence of the various single units that make up them. To demonstrate this point, one might think of

the totality of the World Wide Web as a whole, which obviously is the largest scale created by the Internet and new media. Obviously, the alteration of a particular web page does have absolutely no effect on the content, nor the functioning of another one - unless it has been deliberately connected to the previous one. This observation has proved useful in explaining the element of virality, as I intend to demonstrate on the subchapter where I discuss, based on my findings on the Resistance, the dynamic of the spread of "myth generation" in the networked social movements.

A insightful demonstration of this property is readily available thanks to the development of software that enables modification of computer code through digital means, such as Chrome Developer tools[31], which makes it possible to individually manipulate each one of the various components of a web site. The images below which I have generated by applying such tools to the web page of DigiLapZ, the Digital Laboratory and Production Zone[32], depict how such software makes it possible to single out particular forms (such as images, texts, social media) and shows how various separate contents coexist on the same web domain.

---

[31] This software is available at: https://developer.chrome.com/devtools [accessed on September 3, 2016].

[32] This website is available at: https://digilapz.wordpress.com [accessed on September 3, 2016].

Figure 3.5: The web page of DigiLapZ

Source: Author

Figure 3.6: Detail from the web page of DigiLapZ - 1
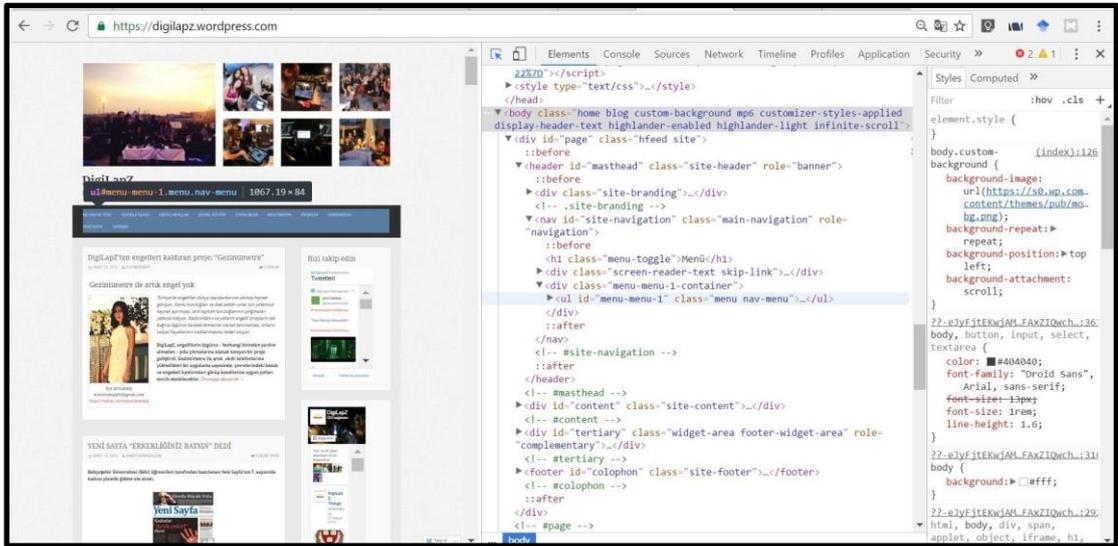
Source: Author

Figure 3.7: Detail from the web page of DigiLapZ - 2
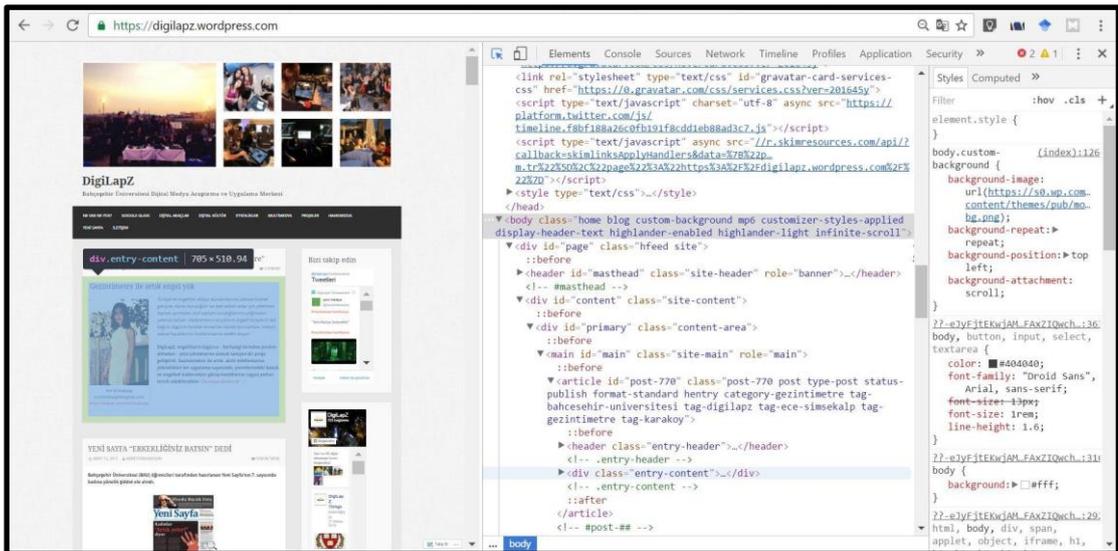
Source: Author

Figure 3.8: Detail from the web page of DigiLapZ - 3
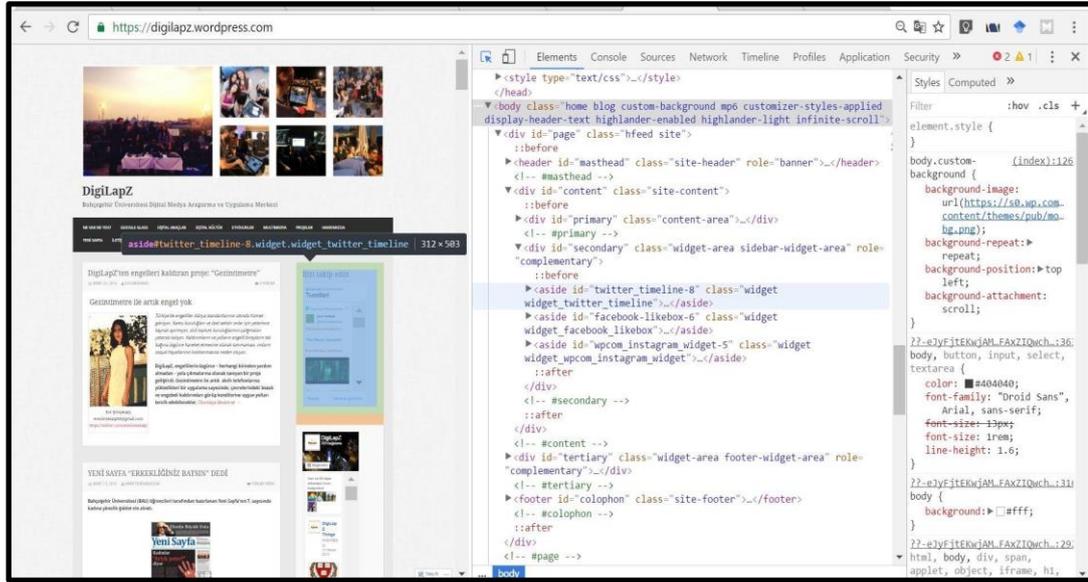
Source: Author

3.2.2.3 Automation

Automation is arguably the element whose roots dating back to eras before the digital era such as the industrial revolution are most obviously visible. Generated by the *Englishization* of the Greek word *αὐτόματον* or *automaton* which is itself a combination of the words *autos* (meaning "self") and *matos* (meaning "thinking, animated")[33]; the first known use of the word dates back to Homer's *Iliad*, where he describes simple machines that move without direct immediate involvement by human agents (2004). Not surprisingly, the concept found general application after the start of the industrial revolution, the acme, up-to-then, of the process that removed the necessity of intense application of continuous manual labour as a direct prerequisite of production. After the industrial revolution reached its peak, and the digital revolution kicked off, automation became a crucial element for a variety of fields, including, above all, war technology and communications, as has been described in the previous section of this chapter.

---

[33] The etymology of the term can be traced back to its Greek origins at:
http://www.etymonline.com/index.php?allowed_in_frame=0&search=automatic [accessed on June 3, 2016].

In the current new media landscape, automation is everywhere. In fact, it is possible to even claim that it has come to being such a powerful force in our daily lives that most of its doings are now taken for granted, without even questioning their presence, unless they make one realize this through their failures. As a citizen living in a country where such failures are quite common, I believe that I am one of those "lucky" ones, who almost without an exception has an opportunity to put an alienating distance as such, in order to sharpen my analytical skills. The direct and indirect political consequences of such failures will be discussed in the field findings chapter, when I analyze how various forms of control, from bans to threats and judicial actions, leaves a big gap by stopping the ordinary functioning of web sites, which, otherwise, have the capacity to act as sites of collective memory.

Another consequence of automation is the opportunity it provides in terms of realizing one's creative potential, by freeing human labor that would otherwise have to be allocated to routinized and monotonous tasks. The more the automatized the process of communication and interaction through the digital social media gets, the lower the barriers are for less technologically comfortable members of the society to express themselves, and the more everyone can focus on self expression -as opposed to tedious technical or physical tasks associated with logistical elements of communication. As more energy is channeled to self-expression, selective dissemination of content becomes a valuable skill, which creates a curatorial tendency for each and every participant of these environments. This factor, too, will be discussed by reference to examples from the field.

Moreover, automation is critical to the discussion of the potentiality of digital social media at least for one more reason. As Manovich notes, thanks to automation, "human intentionality can be removed from the creative process, at least in part" (Manovich 2001, p. 32). Such a powerful assessment has many consequences, some of which lead to more philosophical discussions about "singularity" and speculative scenarios about "robot takeover". For the sake of the problematique of this thesis, its postulates are of more political economical type. As the element of intentionality loses its strength, so

does the various power mechanisms that act *intentionally* for accomplishing certain goals.

A direct consequence of this element is the relative loss of the agenda setting power of traditional media, to sites created by new media. In a country whose media is under extremely strong dual pressure by monopolies and government forces, the implication is the creation of a relatively free ground for self expression; as, again, I hope to demonstrate in the field studies chapter[34]. In particular, the presence of agenda setting elements of new media, such as the "Trending Topic" list in Twitter are of crucial importance for the transmission of messages by movements not necessarily backed by influential media outlets.

---

[34] In particular, the presence of agenda setting elements of new media, such as the "Trending Topic" list in Twitter are of crucial importance for the transmission of messages by movements not necessarily backed by influential media outlets.

3.2.2.4 Variability

Regarding "variability", Manovich states that "a new media object is not something fixed once and for all, but something that can exist in different, potentially infinite versions" (Manovich 2001, p. 36). Technically speaking, this is the case thanks to the interplay of the three elements discussed above, namely, numerical representation, modularity and automation. In practice, this functions as such: Thanks to the element of numerical representation, each and every piece of content is expressible in terms of combination of numbers; hence, in the form of a sequence of characters, which, by definition is copy-pasteable. Thanks to modularity, since each one of such pieces, and every single element within them are working independently, they are open to individual handling and one-by-one manipulation. Thanks to automation, these processes do not require being done by manual labour; computing machines do the tedious part, at the command of the human who is demanding the accomplishment of such tasks.

On the personal and societal levels, Manovich asserts, this is in relation to the post-industrial society, with its strong emphasis on the centrality of the "non-conforming" individual, reluctant to accept centrally created values, goods and meanings in a "one size fits all" mentality. What accompanies to such tendency is the extreme emphasis on the assumption of "uniqueness". Manovich notes that "[n]ew media objects assure users that their choices -and therefore, their underlying thoughts and desires- are unique, rather than pre-programmed and shared with others" (Manovich 2001, p. 42).

An aspect of variability is customization, or the modification and personalization of new media platforms. Although rapidly normalized and internalized by the netizens of our times, the degree of this phenomenon, I believe, would be hard to even visualize by the people who have not had the opportunity to experience the wide spread of new media platforms. Let me try to illustrate this property in reference to its "contrapositive". Let us imagine a medium of "old media", such as a physical book, which differs from ordinary books by the "magical" property that it has the ability to modify its content according to the person who is reading it at a particular moment. For the sake of argumentation, let us assume that depending on the age, nationality, interests, cultural

preferences of its reader, the language of its text, its topic, its very lines, its images are changing. If I hold the book, for instance, I see an article about the recent wave of protests that take place in the US against Donald Trump; if, however, my mother is holding it, she is displayed a photograph of her cousin having breakfast in a fancy restaurant. However unrealistic such an articulation may seem within the context of "traditional media", this is just one of the many customizations that Face*book* is able to do automatically more than a million times every single second.

What is also worth mentioning is the fact that variability of new media platforms do not happen only while "consuming generated content", as in the case of Facebook described above. Radically redefining the role of the media audience and doing away with the traditional distinction between "producers" and "consumers" of elements of mass communication; new media platforms have given rise to the concept and subject of *produSer*, the individual user, who is simultaneously both the creator/disseminator and the recipient of media content (Grinnell 2009). As part of and peak point of the *remix culture*, which has predated the emergence of new media, through single elements, such as *fan fiction*, *lego toys* and *amateur do-it-yourself* workshops, new media equips its users with the set of skills and state of mind to modify, recontextualize or reassemble existing forms and elements (Cheliotis and Yew 2009). The popularity of photo or sound manipulation softwares, the sharp interest in games like Minecraft (Duncan 2011, pp.1-22) and the huge number of *re-maked* pieces of content in the form of *caps* or *meme'*s (Knobel and Lankshear 2007, pp.199-227) are indicators and consequences of this tendency.

I believe that the pervasiveness of such tendency becomes visible again and again through the numerous trends that become effective on local, national and global scales. One of the earliest, most popular and vivid demonstrations of these was the global spread of the Internet meme, *What People Think I Do* which, the Internet portal *Know Your Meme* originated from a Facebook post depicting the various perspectives about the life of a science student[35]. Below are two figures that depict this original post and

---

the Google Trends data annotated by this platform which demonstrates how popular the term *What People Think I Do* became in a time period of only a few days.

Figure 3.9: The Facebook post of 'What People Think I Do'
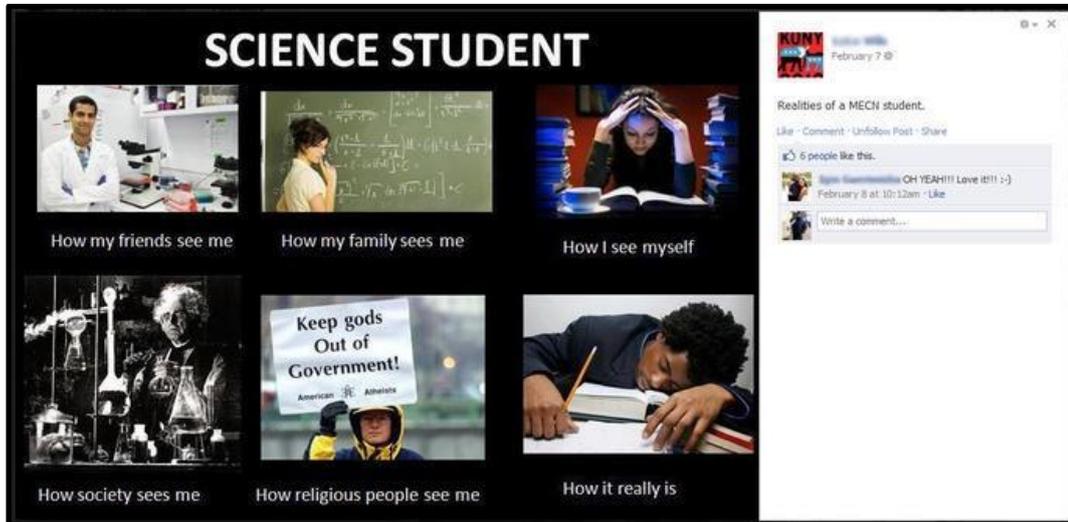
Source: Facebook

Figure 3.10: Google Trends Data
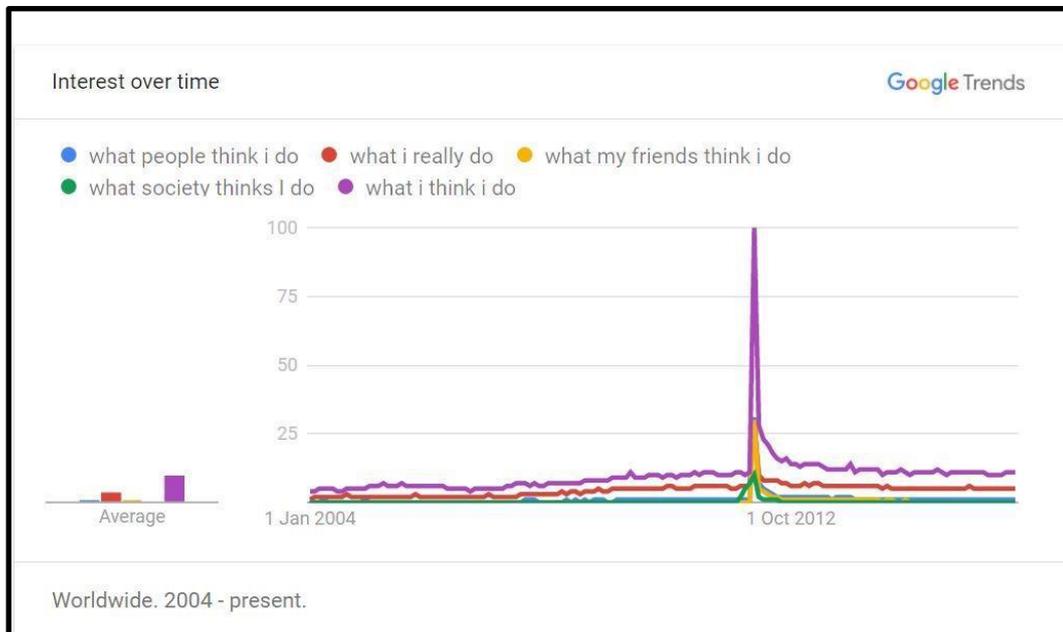
Source: Google Trends

The "form" of the original piece of content, that is *Science Student,* consisted of a few simple elements: a black page divided into six rectangles, each of which depicts a

different perspective of the person's occupation accompanied by text that explains the position of the owner of the perspective in relation to the person elaborated in the image. What is significant about this meme is the fact, as the screen capture of the Google Image Search below demonstrates, it was utilized by numerous Internet users, who used their creativity to make use of the variability element inherent to the content created in and disseminated through the new media[36].

Figure 3.11: Google Image Search of 'What People Think I Do'
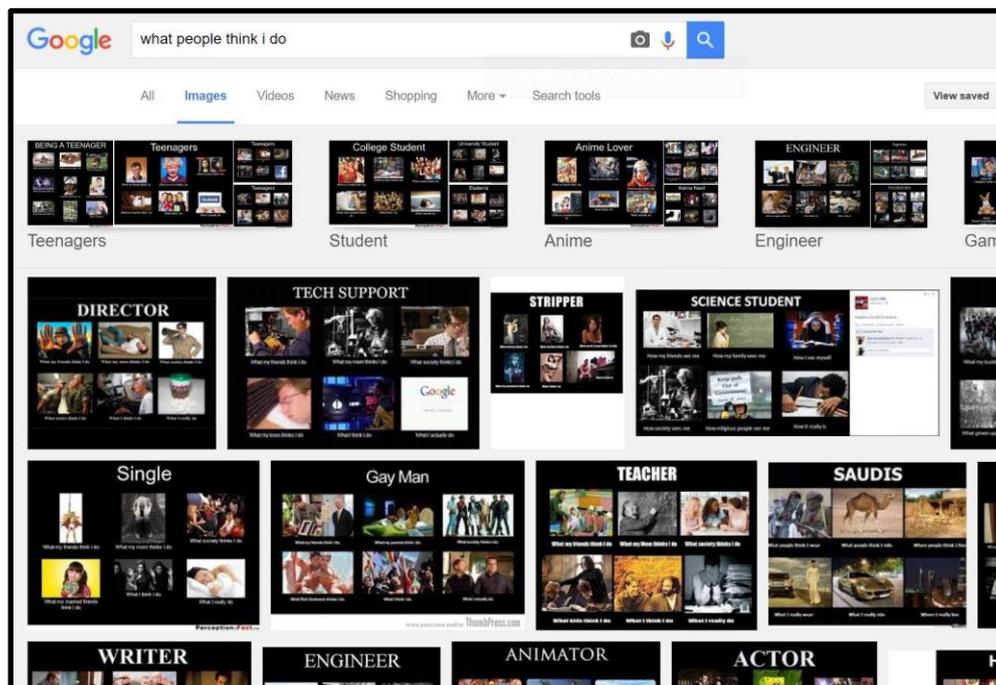
Source: Google Images

Users who relied on the variability of new media created novel ways of self expression and adopted the theme into various different professions, as demonstrated by the Pinterest Collection *What People Think I Do*[37] and the *Buzzfeed* archive *How People*

---

[36] The web address of this Image Search can be reached at:
https://www.google.com.tr/search?q=what+people+think+i+do&espv=2&biw=1280&bih=592&source=l nms&tbm=isch&sa=X&ved=0ahUKEwj4w6njqqbQAhXC1xQKHd7aCtcQ_AUICCgB [accessed on September 3, 2016]. An Internet backup of the content in this address is available at:
http://archive.is/SjGbE [accessed on September 3, 2016].
[37] The Pinterest collection is available at: https://www.pinterest.com/jogaaran/what-people-think-i-do/
An online backup of the content in this address is available at: http://archive.is/7IpdT

See Me[38]. Furthermore, thanks to the use of automation techniques, the media has been influential in decreasing the technical barriers of entry for this conversation. More particularly, online software that create user-friendly interfaces for creating this type of content, such as "memecreator.org"[39] "whatireally.com"[40] and "frabz"[41] have provided online tools for jumping in the bandwagon of expressing one's profession through the use of images by utilizing software named as "meme generators". Below are five of these images that have made use of such digital tools. I present them all together, because of the ability they provide the beholder in analyzing how the repetition through modification has the potential to create powerful expressive strategies, a theme that I intend to demonstrate in detail in the handling of my ethnographic data in the forthcoming chapter.

---

[38] The Buzzfeed archive is available at: https://www.buzzfeed.com/ashleybaccam/how-people-see-me?utm_term=.qe6zY9xMqA#.qrnqlE629G [accessed on September 3, 2016]. An online backup of the content in this address is available at: http://archive.is/fJcLZ [accessed on September 3, 2016].

[39] This site is available at: http://www.memecreator.org/template/what-people-think-i-do-template.jpg3/ [accessed on September 3, 2016]. An online backup of the content in this address is available at: http://archive.is/X8OFv [accessed on September 3, 2016].

[40] This site is available at: http://www.whatireally.com/ [accessed on September 3, 2016]. An online backup of the content in this address is available at: http://archive.is/YSKBQ [accessed on September 3, 2016].

[41] This site is available at: http://frabz.com/meme-generator/what-i-do/ [accessed on September 3, 2016]. An online backup of the content in this address is available at: http://archive.is/yWG78 [accessed on September 3, 2016].

Figure 3.12: What People Think I Do (Writer)
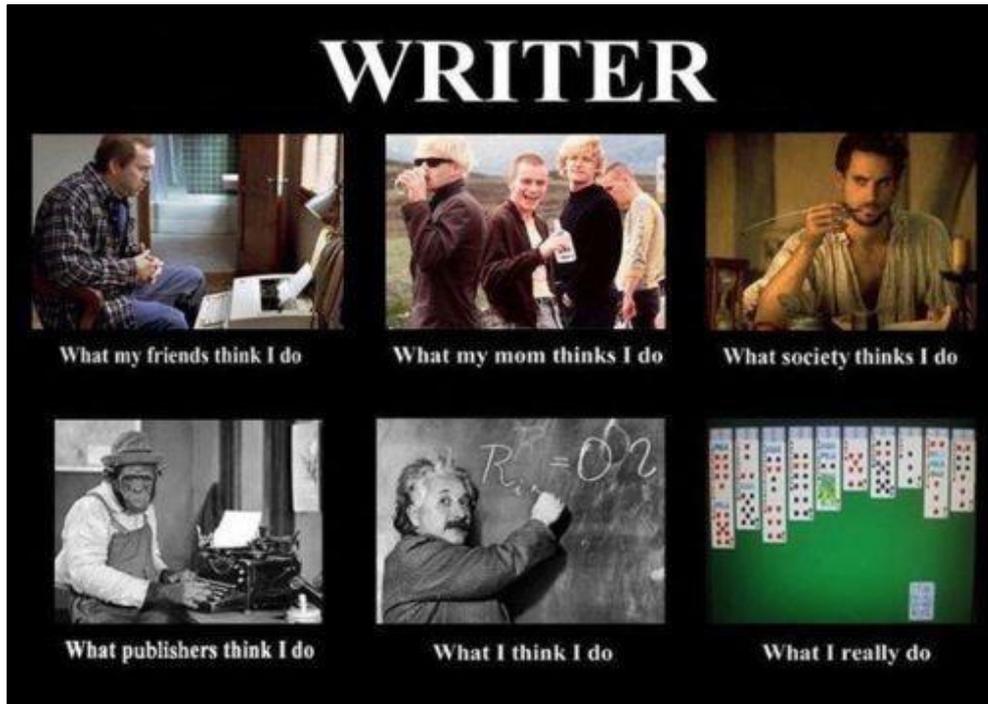
Source: Pinterest

Figure 3.13: What People Think I Do (Public Relations)

Source: Pinterest

Figure 3.14: What People Think I Do (Teacher)
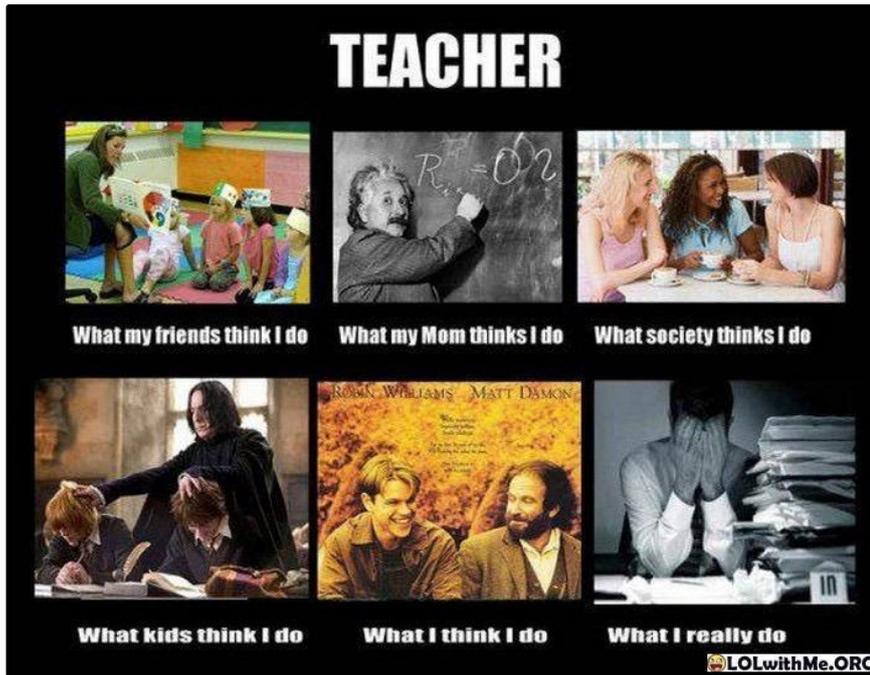
Source: Pinterest

Figure 3.15: What People Think I Do (Sales)

Source: Pinterest

Figure 3.16: What People Think I Do (Computer Programming)

Source: Pinterest

A third element that I wish to discuss in relation to the concept of variability is the issue of *cyber-balkanization*. Derived from the concept of *balkanization*, which has developed in relation to the fragmentation of societies and territories in the Balkan region during a series of tragic events in the early 21st century, ending with the split of the Ottoman Empire into various smaller sovereign territories. *Balkanization* refers to the emergence of sub-groups with little or no communication between each other, but strong interaction within each other; with an end result being the loss of the common denominators of societies, polarization and even the breaking up of societies into smaller groups, which are at times in hostility to one another (Frey 1995, pp.271-336).

In parallel fashion, as put forward by Tetsuro Kobayashi and Ken'ichi Ikeda in *Selective Exposure in Political Web Browsing: Empirical Verification of 'Cyber-balkanization' in Japan and The* USA (2009); cyber-balkanization is a concept that aims to explain how the tendencies described above are catalysed and at times generated through the conversation that takes place on sites of new media. The significance of this concept in relation to the subject and problematique of the research carried out as part of this dissertation is the fact that in a society as polarized as Turkey, the existence of cyber-balkanization can lead to outcomes with such extents that researchers who are analysing

the same phenomena but focusing on different segments of the society can come up with accounts that are quite different, and at times, even antagonistic to each other. As I express in the discussion of methodology, my research has focused on the segments of the society who have participated in the wave of demonstrations, who have vocally owned the resistance and have taken action to disseminate its messages on social media. The degree to which ethnographic findings would differ had I chosen a different group is promising and such a comparative analysis calls for further investigation.

3.2.2.5 Transcoding

Transcoding is the name given to the process of converting a content from one form to another; and as such it is, without a doubt, an element present in all modalities of media that have emerged after the very first durable representations of human cultures emerged on the walls of caves in the form of illustrations. When writing emerged in the form of the Sumerian cuneiform, it was an "imitation" of the illustrative characteristic of these drawings (Coulmas 2003). Consequently, all newly emergent media borrowed elements from previous ones; and when the transformation/translation of content from older to newer forms of media took place, it was an act of transcoding.

When *the* new media emerged, a similar process obviously took place. For instance, the content of existing newspapers have been transported to sites of new media, for instances to news portals. However, there are at least two elements in the transcoding of the new media, which are categorically different from the previous ones predating it. The first one of these is the fact that, thanks to numerical representation property, the new media is able to transcode distinct contents of previously existing media into the same representational language, that is, ones and zeroes. Hence, various forms of older media "converge" into the modality and language of the new media that exists today.

Secondly, the transcoding taking place by the new media involves an element that makes it possible to convert one form (such as image) into another (such as text), thanks to the numerical representation quality elaborated above. Hence, every other media form becomes convertible into one another, as long as they all meet under the common

denominator of the equalizing mode of representation of new media. When one types a text, new media makes it possible to convert it into speech, as in the case of the Google Text-to-Speech engine[42]. Similarly, images are turned into videos and texts into images, and vice versa. The image below, taken from the "Code Magazine" demonstrates the process of "speech recognition", that is the transcoding of sound waves captured through a digital device's microphone and turned into code represented by numbers, and then into a "human language"[43].

Figure 3.17: The process of speech recognition
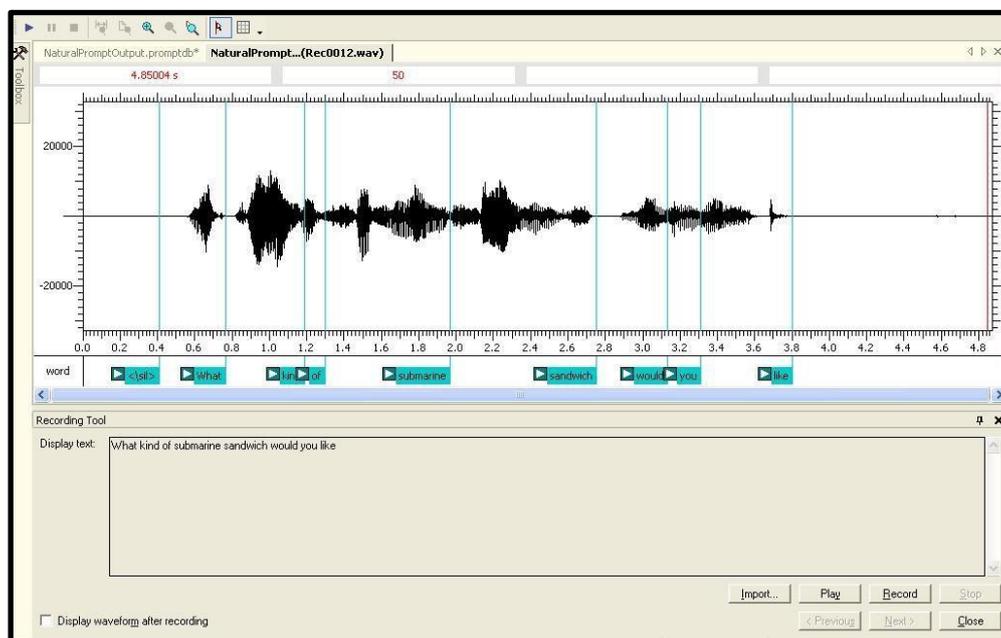
Source: Code Magazine

Manovich explicitly names transcoding to be "the most substantial consequence of the computerization of media" (Manovich 2001, p.45). The reason he points out for this is more social and cultural than technical. He warns that the unanimity among various distinct media forms in terms of the representational language that happens as a result of transcoding lead to the social process of "the computerization of culture", as a result of

---

[42] A freely downloadable mobile application of this engine is reachable by the link below.https://play.google.com/store/apps/details?id=com.google.android.tts&hl=en [accessed on July 3, 2016].

[43] The Code Magazine article that provides an in-depth discussion of the "Speech Recognition" process is available at: http://www.codemag.com/article/0511041 [accessed on July 3, 2016]. An online backup of the content in this address is available at: http://archive.is/4KHcm [accessed on July 3, 2016].

which humans' ways of making sense of the world become derivatives of "the computer's' ontology, epistemology, and pragmatics" (Manovich 2001, p.47). Hence, the computer logic becomes an influential -if not the dominant- element of the ways human beings make sense of themselves, others' and their habitats.

It is on the co-presence of all these five elements that defines the new media that has altered the rules of the communication game in contemporary societies. What followed it was the emergence of the "Web 2.0" environment, described in 1999 by Darcy DiNucci as a "transport mechanism, the ether through which *interactivity* happens"[44]. Similarly, in *New Media: An Introduction*, Flew Terry defines it to be "the move from personal websites to blogs and blog site aggregation, from publishing to participation, from web content as the outcome of large up-front investment to an ongoing and *interactive* process" (2007)[45].

I believe that the common element in these two definitions, that is *interactivity*, is what has made this dissertation possible. Thanks to the presence of this *double-sided* nature of the new media platforms; ordinary citizens have been able to express themselves, observe the expressions made by others, and react to them by announcing, denouncing or modifying them. Subsequently, the emergence of *user-generated-content* in never-reached-before volumes and its novel forms becoming the dominant way of circulation of data has opened an unprecedented window of opportunity to the researcher of individuals' and groups' cultural formations.

Of course, scholarly interests are not the only ones which make interactivity attractive to people contemplating about the potentiality of technical and social possibilities. Bertolt Brecht writes about radio, in an article which has later been translated into English with the heading *The Radio as an Apparatus of Communication* (1964) as early as 1932:

> *[R]adio is one-sided when it should be two-. It is purely an apparatus for distribution, for mere sharing out. So here is a positive suggestion: change this apparatus over from distribution to communication. The radio would be the finest possible communication apparatus in public life, a vast network of pipes. That is to*

---

[44] Emphasis mine.
[45] Emphasis mine.

say, it would be if it knew how to receive as well as to transmit, how to let the listener speak as well as hear, how to bring him into a relationship instead of isolating him. On this principle the radio should step out of the supply business and organize its listeners as suppliers. Any attempt by the radio to give a truly public character to public occasions is a step in the right direction.

As this quote from 1930s demonstrates; platforms that were intended to create one-to-many and many-to-many platforms of communication between users have existed in concept for quite a while, and occasionally in practice too, as in the case of the pirate radio experience of Latin American countries demonstrate[46]. But the true application of such possibility has only been realized after the emergence of new media, thanks to the co-presence of the five elements elaborated above. Digital social media platforms and various other sites which developed in relation to them in the general ecology of cyberspace has since flourished, as vividly illustrated by the explanatory figure of 'The Conversation Prism' created by Brian Solis that I present below[47].

---

[46] For in-depth studies about pirate radio, please refer to:

Hind, J. and Mosco, S., 1985. Rebel radio: the full story of British pirate radio. Longwood Press Ltd.
Limor, Y. and Naveh, H., 2007. Pirate radio in Israel. Haifa: Pardes.
Collin, M., 2001. Guerrilla radio: rock'n'roll radio and Serbia's underground resistance. Nation Books.
Yoder, A., 2002. Pirate radio stations: tuning in to underground broadcasts in the air and online. McGraw-Hill/Tab Electronics.
[47] This figure is available at: https://conversationprism.com/

Figure 3.18: The Conversation Prism
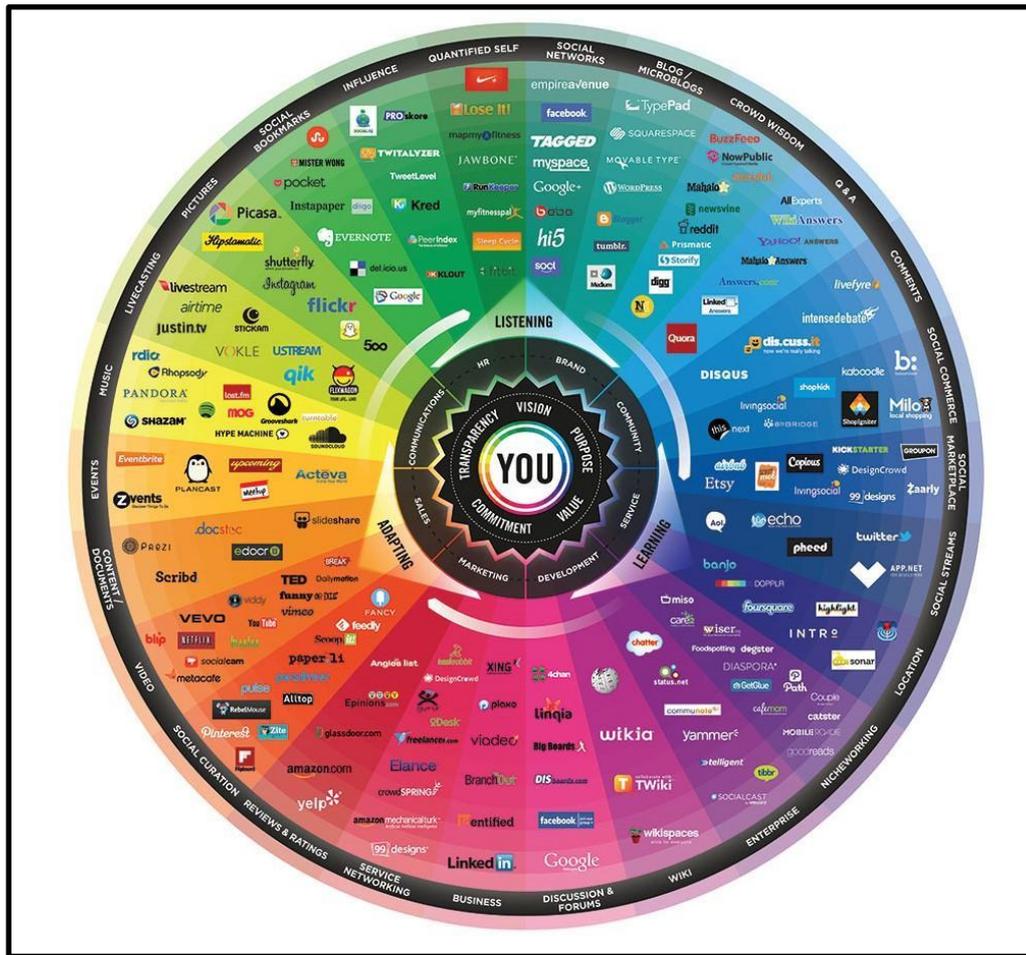
Source: Conversationprism.com

I believe that it would not be a mistake to claim that this ecology and the new media regime corresponding to it has, at least to some extent, been successful in making Brecht's vision come true. As I have tried to illustrate above, thanks to the presence of a number of technical dynamics elaborated in this chapter, the technical and categorical elements of this "success" have been present for the emergence of the voice of the ordinary people (which I intend to discuss further in the final chapter of this dissertation).

What is at least as important to note, in parallel fashion to Henry Jenkins's assessment in 'The Cultural Logic of Media Convergence' is the fact that this is also a *cultural process*, which could have been realized only on the condition that a set of social dynamics that make digital social media platforms attractive are also present (2004). As

the table below which is a collection of some of the statistics that depict the usage metrics of some of the most widely used digital social media platforms demonstrates, it is quite arguable, in 2016, that those social dynamics must be present[48]. In the next section, I intend to analyze some of these dynamics.

Figure 3.19: Usage metrics

3,499,196,847	1,106,544,429	50,979,160,950
Internet Users in the world	Total number of Websites	Emails sent today
1,104,596,463	1,028,973	143,038,786
Google searches today	Blog posts written today	Tweets sent today
2,612,977,969	14,500,577	22,738,881
Videos viewed today on YouTube	Photos uploaded today on Instagram	Tumblr posts today
1,770,066,909	479,489,812	306,763,346
Facebook active users	Google+ active users	Twitter active users
165,322,729	45,261,669	15,873
Pinterest active users	Skype calls today	Websites hacked today

Source: Internetlivestats.com

3.2.3 Digital Social Media Platforms

What I intend to do in this section is to mediate on the nature of the dynamics of communication and interaction in contemporary digital media, using the case of Facebook as the representative example. It goes without saying of course, that there exists a limit in the degree to which a particular one of the many such platforms can

---

[48] Table created by the author using the data tracking tool the provided by the platform available at: http://www.internetlivestats.com/ [accessed on November 13, 2016].

serve as the prototype. Nevertheless, I believe that for the sake of the arguments that are of interest within the scope of this thesis, it would not be fallacious to treat Facebook as the blueprint, not only because of its incomparable popularity in terms of number of users, but also because of its dominant position as being the platform used most intensively by its average user.

As of November 2016, the latest statistics served by the Newsroom department of Facebook state that as of September 30, 2016, the platform has 1.79 billion monthly active users, 1.66 billion of which are also active mobile users.[49] Furthermore, according to the data provided by Smart Insights, the prestigious "integrated digital marketing" company; among all the digital social media platforms, Facebook, with an average of 8 "sessions" a day, and an "engagement rating" of 15 days a month, is the most frequently used one (Chaffey 2016). This means that Facebook deserves attention not only by the high number of people using it, but also by the peculiar situation that it has become "a relatively regular part of the lives of its users". The significance of such bit of information and the legitimacy of studying Facebook is thus even magnified when we take into account the fact that it is not the exceptional acts of great people; but, on the contrary, the ordinary, the repetitive that can even be names as banal that have a determining role on social life.

What can be instantly identified by anyone having a critical stance towards this medium is that the particular type of communication realized through Facebook revolves around the axis of exposing oneself and looking at those that have exposed themselves. These two notions form the backbone of my analysis. Actually they have been the source of main inspiration since one of the people I have interviewed voiced the concepts, "everyday voyeurism and exhibitionism". So; to have an idea of the nature of the dynamics of communication in Facebook may not even necessitate the existence a critical eye. Yet; I believe in the necessity of diving into the depths of this metaphor and try to understand the apparent and not-so-apparent characteristics of Facebook in particular communication through cyberspace in particular that make such a medium

---

[49] This information is cited from Facebook Company Page, http://newsroom.fb.com/company-info/, and archived on 7 November 2016 at http://archive.is/BXZRD [accessed on November 7, 2016].

particularly attractive. And the aim of this section can be summarized as an initial attempt for developing the tools of such an analysis.

Let me pass on to why I believe in the benefits of such an analysis. First of all, I believe it to be an evident fact that the advancement of online communication has brought about unprecedented opportunities of optimization in both material (such as issues about spatial factors and affordability) and non-material dimensions (such as those temporal and psychic aspects). To open up this proposition; it is possible to refer to various examples. Those who have not been able to communicate due to the presence of thousand-kilometer distances between them are now able to interact at almost no cost thanks to the cyberspace, so are those who – despite living very close to each other and not having a constraint about location- were not able to have a friendly chat due to the fact that their routines do not coincide with each other's or that they do not have enough time or energy left for such interaction.

Thus; thanks to their access to a medium such as Facebook, people are provided with opportunities to interact with others within the limited time of three minutes they create at their offices, or while making an Internet research about a topic, or as in the case of the writer of these pages while trying to complete a dissertation; and perhaps most importantly, without having to give the comfort of their houses or running the burden of carrying their bodies to the places where they shall meet others. The conclusion of an establishing study on Facebook summarizes these observations as follows:

> *The system offers an unprecedented efficient and extensive opportunity to establish, maintain, and strengthen ties with family, friends, neighbors, students, and anyone else who provides the camaraderie, aid and welcoming feelings evocative of network capital* (Ginger 2008, p.15).

The main framework I have employed in my analysis elaborates Facebook as a medium where the boundary between, using the terminology proposed by Markus and Nurius, "now-selves", established identities known to others, and the ''possible selves, images of the self that are currently unknown to others", are blurred and where there is space for the construction and representation of "hoped-for-possible-selves", which are socially desirable identities an individual would like to establish and believes that they

can be established given the right conditions" (Markus and Nurius 1986, p. 954). Let me illustrate this with an example. If an ordinary individual (i.e. someone with an anonymous now-self) believes that he or she has the potential of becoming a famous movie star, but has not been able to realize that potential due to unfortunate conditions that have not provided an opportunity, then her hoped-for-possible-self is a celebrity. Please note that notions such as true or false selves have no relevance in this discussion; as the matter is not about deceit of but about construction and representation of identities in the extent of this dissertation. Following this, as Grasmuck et. al. argue, it is important to be cautious of the fact that the actualization of hoped-for-possible-selves depend on a number of factors (depending on the particularity of the hoped for property) and that a very important one of them is the presence of physical "gating features" (2008, p.1818). In the rest of this section, I shall draw on the tremendous space Facebook provides individuals with -enabling them with a number of tactics and strategies for neither completely revealing, nor completely cloaking their properties, as parts of the strategies and tactics discussed by Michel De Certeau (1984) in their play between now-selves and hoped-for-possible-selves.

Acknowledging the liminality of that kind of a space and the opportunity it provides in crisscrossing boundaries is also an important aspect to be taken into account[50]. Yet; it brings to mind a related question; namely, what is it that makes people want to construct and represent identities based on properties which they do not for the time being possess. Of, course it is possible to provide a variety of answers from different disciplines and different schools of thought. But, in this section, I shall draw on Pierre Bourdieu's notions of forms of capital; and argue that among other reasons, acquiring, increasing and displaying different forms of capital is an important motive underlying people's actions in general and practices of communication in Facebook in particular (1986).

The prominent Turkish sociologist, Şerif Mardin delivered a set of lectures on the anniversary of the popularization by the national media of the notion of "mahalle baskısı" -which translates as "neighborhood pressure". In the one that took place in

---

[50] For a discussion on the concept of liminality, please refer to Turner (1967).

Boğaziçi University which I also attended, he -although with quite implicit connotations- argued that the underlying actions that prepared the ground for "neighborhood pressure" were looking and being looked at; and that these actions were based at the fundamental level on relationships between different sexes[51]. Although I do not agree with Mardin's conclusion that this axis of "looking / being looked at" necessarily have to be peculiar to "eastern societies" (the epistemological bases and the postulate of which I do not share); I agree with him that looking - just like acting with the knowledge of being looked at- is an important act that makes it possible to judge one's self and other members of the society based on certain codes, utilized for evaluating and defining social hierarchies[52]. For Bourdieu, individuals aim to join the more powerful segments of the society and for that try to maximize the differing forms of capital that are distinct yet interrelated categories. And among these different forms, symbolic capital is a crucial source of power, as it is the main basis on which symbolic violence is imposed by the powerful towards the powerless (Bourdieu 1984). It is at this point that the aforementioned axis of "looking" enters the picture. A peculiar characteristic of symbolic capital is that the recognition and appreciation of one's merits are a necessity for its accumulation. So, symbolic capital needs "the eye of the beholder" for being actualized. Having made this assertion enables one in conceptualizing the domain of social interaction not only as a space of communication of messages, feelings and ideas; but also as a medium governed by continuous power relations stemming from interpersonal relations and serving for the defining as well as the redefining of power relations.

The construction of identities, the seemingly more individual dimension of the very same phenomenon of self-representation, is by no means a less-social process. Grasmuck et al. underlines the fact that identity is an important part of a person's thoughts and feelings and that identity is the aspect of our concept of self "by which we are known to others" (2008). So, for the construction of identity it is not enough for an individual to just possess certain characteristics. For it to become part of his identity

---

[51] Şerif Mardin Speech at Boğaziçi University, Istanbul (May 2008), quoted by the author.
[52] How such act of looking functions in the filmic medium for regulating relationships of dominance between sexes has been thoroughly explained by the "male gaze" framework by Laura Mulvey (1989).

there must be a coincidence of those messages sent by the individual and their reception by other people. So, the individual needs (not only due to his desire to accumulate symbolic capital, but also out of the wish to construct a desired identity on the basis of which he can interact with his environment) to present herself as well as coincide to a party willing to recognize the messages she has sent. Yet, at this point, we are faced with the internal tensions of the act of self-representation. The individual, wishing to build symbolic capital based on her merits, wants to transmit her properties promising to possibly provide him with prestige to the widest possible audience at the least costly way.

However; traditional modes of relation not only possess inherent constraints (in terms of temporal and physical properties) but the traditional aspects of communication such as customs. For example, it is by no means possible for an individual to make a peculiar characteristic known to all of his friends due to the fact that the individual most likely does not possess the required energy and time that is necessary to arrange the meetings to come together. Moreover even if we assume for just a second that it were possible, there would still be the problem of conforming to the established norms of communication. I shall try to illustrate this with an example. Let us consider a person who has just returned from a very expensive, prestigious restaurant and is burning with the desire to make it known. What would happen if he, instead of waiting for the particular conditions where he can communicate this, would right away rush on crying it out? His behavior would be seen as improper, he would be labelled as tactless; and the result would be just the opposite of what he intended, making him fall to a position suffering from the lack of symbolic capital. The working hypothesis employed in this analysis is the one suggested by Grasmuck et al. (2008) that Facebook and other digital social networks possess specific characteristics which enable the individuals to bypass the aforementioned tension between acting out and keeping silent. In the following sections, I shall try to categorize and analyze them; and point out the particular conditions that have made them possible.

The first of these characteristics that I shall try to analyze is related to the nature of communication in terms of the relationship between two dimensions. The first of them

is whether it is a traditional face-to-face relationship or an online one made possible by the advancement in computer technologies. The other dimension is the nonymity / anonymity axis. The interaction of these two dimensions brings about four logical categories: face-to-face & onymous, online & anonymous, face-to-face & anonymous, and online & onymous. The relationships belonging to the first category, such as a dinner with a friend, are those with the greatest benefit, in terms of the permanence and reliability; but provide very little space for the individuals to play with their identities and acquire extra symbolic capital. Regarding identities; the presence of the physical body in these encounters prevents people from claiming identities that are inconsistent with the visible part of their physical characteristics. Regarding the accumulation of symbolic capital; the very presence of the body and the apparent display of personal characteristics, which is a direct indicator of habitus and class position, seriously limits possibilities of building extra symbolic capital. Within the context of the ongoing discussion, this category is the realm of the "now-self", not only because of the presence of the corporeal body, but also as a result of the fact that "shared knowledge of each other's social background and personality attributes renders it difficult for an individual to pretend to be what he or she is not" (Grasmuck et al. 2008, p. 1817).

The second category, an example of which can be random online chat, can be conceptualized as just the other pole of the first one. In this kind of a space, it is possible to gain easy access to the accumulation of symbolic capital, as it is just the matter of a number of clicks to completely "wear" an identity that has nothing to do with the "now-self" and represent one's identity completely through the hoped-for-possible-self. Yet; this is the very kind of problem of such a medium. In such a medium, it becomes possible for individuals to interact with one another in a fully disembodied form that reveals nothing about their personal characteristics. Thus, a 70 year-old French man can easily claim to be a 19 year old African woman; and it would be too costly (if possible at all) to find out if the claimed identity corresponds to the real case or not. So, in short, it can be argued that such a medium is not likely to be one where identities and symbolic capital are distributed, due to the unlikeliness of the establishment of a stable relationship, as it fails the reliability and permanence criteria.

So, in such a medium, users create hoped-for-possible-selves; but the problem is that everything is possible!

The third category, although it exists logically, is not much likely to come into actual existence in everyday life. Although bars and cafes can perhaps be thought to belong this category; it is not a frequent habit for people to start interacting on no basis; and those that somehow start do not usually continue for long. So, I shall not elaborate this as a real category and pass on to the next category that I am particularly interested in. The last category, online & onymous environment, is the one Facebook belongs to. In this medium, the online relationships are anchored by references to real properties (such as real name, pictures, friend lists, etc.). And, "… unlike the anonymous setting in which individuals feel free to be whatever they want to, the onymous environment places constraints on the freedom of identity claims" (Grasmuck et al. 2008, p.1818). So, there are fixers of identity in such a medium; but the beneficial point for the individuals aiming to make use of it is that they do not fix *that much*. Hence; in the case of Facebook we are faced with a *liminal* medium in which real users are displaying information likely to resemble –but not necessarily correspond to- the current reality, but still have a lot of opportunities to "stretch the truth a bit" (McCabe et al. 2005, p.742) away from their now-selves towards their hoped-for-possible-selves.

The next element to take into consideration in grasping the appeal of the platform to the users, namely "durability", is related to the nature of the tactics users are employing in their modes of self-representation (Erdogmus 2009). Unsurprisingly; Facebook users may emphasize those properties that are desirable (like a charismatic free time activity or the best-looking part of the body). Yet; this act of display contains at the very same time, the tendency to hide those parts they regard as socially undesirable (such as a disliked physical trait or the failed knowledge on a particular issue).

Another characteristic of the medium which, I believe, makes it attractive is the durability of the transmitted content, which, in turn, enables users to make use of their past efforts of capital accumulation as well as identity construction and self-representation. If the regularity of the use of Facebook mentioned in the first part of this

article is an important property preparing the grounds for durability; its technical infrastructure and user experience architecture of Facebook are what make it come into realization.

Let me explain how it becomes possible: Facebook is designed in such a way that almost all the communicated content is stored to be reached later at will. Yet; what is even more important is that with the presence of "News Feed", they can be reached even without will. Or to express better, let me describe in detail the dynamics of looking at friends' profiles: In Facebook, the elements that a user make use of (such as information he willingly displays, the photos he posts, the music he listens to, the groups he joins, events he attends, and etc.) are automatically stored in his "Profile" and served to other users within the "Newsfeed". As a result, anyone who looks at that profile, or who is just "browsing and refreshing" has instant access to all those elements (including those he comes across without the particular will to look at), providing the individual with a disclaimer of identity to hang on and a symbolic capital constantly and automatically accumulating.

On the basis of these; I believe it to be possible to argue that the communication through Facebook in particular, and digital social media platforms in general, that –as explained in the first part of this section- has already managed to transcend spatial constraints; also has found a way to do away with temporal constraints. Hence, there is technical ground to serve the purpose of transmission of not only textual or graphical messages, but also of readily constructed identities and accumulated social capital. Besides, the individual is able to enjoy these benefits at no "monetary" or "temporal" cost and even after if he has stopped using Facebook for good: Once his profile is there, friends come by themselves and, as beholders, receive the messages already sent by our individual. So the process is so robbed of the painful effort and externalized from the individual that the mechanism works even if he is not aware of anything[53].

---

[53] All the technical possibilities that serve duration, are, of course, potential threats too. An attempt to frame a solution to this problem has been developing with the concept of 'The Right to be Forgotten'. For a discussion of the concept please refer to Alessandro Mantelero (2013).

Another aspect of the medium can be quite satisfactorily grasped in reference to Thorstein Veblen's well-known concept, "conspicuous consumption". Within the flow of this argument, I wish to also benefit from another one of Veblen's conceptualizations, "conspicuous leisure" (Veblen 2009). This term refers to visible leisure utilized for the purpose of displaying social status. These forms of leisure seem to be totally motivated by social factors, such as making a long-distance vacation to exotic places, taking photographs and bringing souvenirs back. In societies where stratification exist, conspicuous leisure comes into existence as a significant and frequently occurring phenomenon. Yet; it has a peculiarity. Under normal circumstances, the display of conspicuous leisure, unlike conspicuous consumption, is not that easy and straightforward; as conspicuous leisure can not be exhibited by "elements to be possessed, such as the shoes one wears or with the car one buys. This necessitates an extra effort for expression such as talking about the vacation in an invitation, for instance. *Fortunately*, Facebook makes the display of these forms of leisure easier than ever. Now, thanks to the Facebook, people write the places they visited or put their photos more comfortably than ever. By this way they do carry the burden of any extra effort to express these.

An additional form is related to the concept "online leisure". Digital media provides unprecedented opportunity to display their "online leisure" as well. In Facebook there are numerous activities that can be evaluated within this category. As an illustration, in Facebook, there is an activity of growing online flowers through the various "farm games", the most popular one is "Farmville" with more than one million users[54]. This illustration leads one to the questions such as "What can motivate a person to do such an physically unproductive act: to grow a flower in cyberspace?" It is evident that through Facebook, people can have the opportunity to display that they have the time, energy and means to do this. However trivial it may seem, it is still a significant message sent to other members of the society. Besides; they do not have to deal with the troubles of the world. Perhaps by this way they can show that they do not need to work thanks to his/her wealth as I often came across in the Facebook profiles of the users that

---

[54] The "Facebook App" of the game is available at: https://apps.facebook.com/farmville-two/ [accessed on October 16, 2016].

I have analyzed (Erdoğmuş 2009). Besides, the existence of such groups as "Cadde'nin Hızlı Çocukları" - which translates as "Speedy Boys of the Avenue" [55] can also be seen as an attempt of the display of social position.

Apart from all these; the most important characteristic Facebook owes its popularity to is the high level of interactivity enabling the construction of symbolic capital based on social capital (Bourdieu 1986). Facebook contains many applications all of which contribute this process in ways peculiar to the particular nature of every one of them. Yet; the common property they share, which makes them all enable the transformation of social capital to symbolic capital, is the simple but effective architecture. To summarize briefly, in all these applications, the preferences and actions of those people in the "Friends List" of an individual, are reflected, in one way or another, automatically in the "Profile" of that user. The simplest and maybe most superficially functioning one of these applications is also the one utilized the most, the total number of people in the "Friends List"[56]. The significance of this was also indirectly demonstrated as the result of my coming across a "Facebook Group" in the "Turkey Network" that was founded for the aim of protesting those tricksters who, for being more charismatic, manipulated the number of those in the "Friends List": "Arkdş listesine tanımadıklarını ekleyip çakma statü yapanlara sinir olanlar" -which translates as "Annoyed by the ones who add people they don't know to their *frnd* list to boast of"[57].

The following examples display, maybe even more provocatively both the role of the number of friends in the accumulation of symbolic capital plays and the role language plays in the quest for hegemony, competition and symbolic violence. First, a group, named as "Facebook Türkçe Olsun, Kimse Mağdur Olmasın" - which translates as "Make Facebook Turkish, leave no one in trouble"[58], was founded for supporting the

---

[55] This "Facebook Group" is available at: https://www.facebook.com/groups/1460152387614566/

[56] I have made this generalization based on the people whose ideas about Facebook I have been able to learn, through an interviews I have made, or those whose ideas I have had the opportunity to to come across indirectly, such as those users of Ekşisözlük, or various online forums.

[57] Please note that this is the original spelling. The web page of the group can still be reached at http://www.Facebook.com/group.php?gid=5863878039 [24.08.2016].

[58] Facebook Türkçe Olsun, Kimse Mağdur Olmasın, Available [online]:
"http://www.facebook.com/group.php?gid=5149353348&ref=search&sid=591343716.3175940878..1"

efforts for the translation into Turkish of the interface of Facebook so that it will be easier for them to draw benefits of the program. Then, those who, in my opinion, did not want to lose their privileged minority position of belonging to that special group of people using Facebook, founded a counter-group, named as "Facebook türkçe olmasın buraya da ameleler dolmasın" -which translates as "Don't make Facebook Turkish, don't let it filled with hobos too"[59]; accompanied by a poster of the movie "Talihli Amele40 - which translates as "TheLucky Hobo40" (starring İlyas Salman), and an introductory note as follows: "seviyeyi düşürmemek için.ve türkçe bazi chat sitelerine dönmemesi için baslatilmiş bir grup :)" -which translates as "a group for keeping up the standard *and.not t*o let here to be like some of the turkish chat sites".

In this section, I have tried to demonstrate why I elaborate Facebook as not only an area of communication, but as a social space enabling both the accumulation of symbolic capital and prestige, as well as the transformation of other forms of capital to the symbolic; and its creation, based on the tense nature of the dialectic between self-representation and identity construction, of an area of play between now-selves and hoped-for-possible-selves. I have furthermore mediated on the possible reasons that might have made Facebook that popular and argued that the unprecedented coexistence of the three characteristics; namely, liminality (in terms of being both online & onymous at the same time), interactivity and durability; and the diverse opportunities they provide in terms of accumulation of symbolic capital and construction of hoped-for-possible-selves might be one of the important reasons underlying this phenomenon. I am going to discuss 'virtual' media in the next section.

<hr>

[24 August 2009]. The name of the group means "Let Facebook be available in Turkish so that nobody is disadvantaged".

[59] Facebook türkçe olmasın buraya da ameleler dolmasın, Available [online]: "http://www.facebook.com/group.php?gid=5149353348&ref=search&sid=591343716.31759408781" [24 August 2016]. The name of the group means "Don't make Facebook Turkish, don't let it filled with hobos too". Please note that amele, which originally means worker, is a pejorative word used for addressing lower classes.

3.2.4 The So-called Virtual

In this section, I am going to discuss -through sharing observations of the ethnographic work I have carried out in Second Life- that the popular reception of the concept of "virtuality", as being opposed to "reality" is neither a functioning category, nor one with explanatory power for grasping the social experience in online sites of interaction (Erdoğmuş 2009). Doing away with this false dichotomy, as will be widely utilized in the chapter to come, where I apply Oldenburg's concept "third place" to the "Resistance", is instrumental for two reasons. Such conceptualization is crucial; firstly because of the fact that it helps the researcher of online environments to have the clear state of mind required for correctly grasping the social experience that happens on and through digital media; and secondly, on a higher level of abstraction, as I intend to demonstrate in the chapters to come, because of the potential it offers to the researcher in contextualizing the two facades of the resistance, that is the actual and the digital, as a combined and hybrid "third place". Hence, to demonstrate how the resistance of the streets and the resistance on the social media functioned in a quite similar fashion, I believe, I first need to demonstrate that even "virtual worlds", such as Second Life, are not actually "that virtual".

Second Life (SL) is a digital world launched in 2003[60]. It is a real-time textual, audial and visual online environment which enables its users to interact with each other through virtual characters they create, providing a high level of social network experience. While SL is sometimes referred to as a game, in general it does not have points, scores, winners or losers, levels, an end-strategy, or most of the other characteristics of games. Users, often called "residents", can visit this virtual world almost as if it were a real place. They explore, meet other residents, socialize, participate in individual and group activities, and buy items (such as virtual property) and services from one another. As they spend more time in the world, they learn new skills and mature socially, learning the culture and manners of a virtual environment.

---

[60] The platform is available at http://secondlife.com [accessed on November 10, 2016].

Figure 3.20: The landing page of the platform
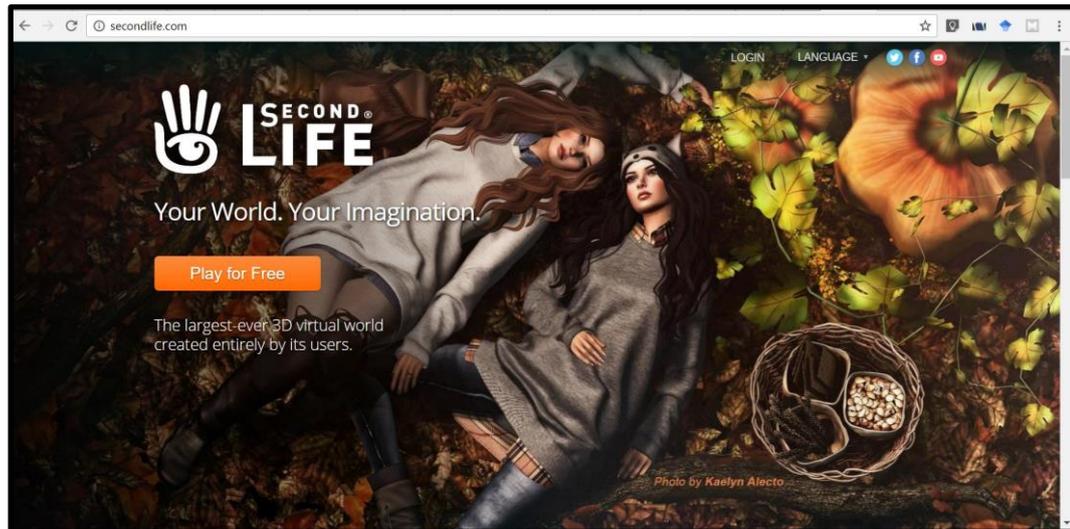
Source: Secondlife.com

To illustrate, let me describe what the SL experience is like: After downloading the necessary client programme form the SL homepage, users are required to choose a name (surnames are randomly generated by the programme) and pick up an avatar (representational body) of their choice from the many available alternatives (enabling them to decide upon their sex, race and other bodily considerations). This avatar can be –and actually *is*- played with after the resident has mastered the technical tools and has gained considerable in-world knowledge about where and how new bodies are created and/or older ones are modified.

After registering with their chosen account, the SL adventure starts from the initial starting location in the world designed by the Linden Lab (the producer and owner of the world) themselves... The user then gains control of the avatar she has chosen and is ready to start participating in the world. Through a combination of controlling the keyboard and the mouse simultaneously (which takes some time and effort to master properly), she can walk, jump, stand up, sit down just like the way a real-life character can. The very design of the functioning of the world resembles real life in many ways. And these "many ways" comprise many different dimensions: if the physical properties and ratios of objects is the ontological dimension that has made this similarity possible, real life-like sensory perceptions and affects are just another.

Second Life is a continuous and persistent world resembling Earth's surface quite successfully (Ondrejka 2004). Based on mathematical equations modelling the various forces in effect on Earth, the designers have been able to create many resemblances such as the presence of atmospheric forces on Earth, clouds form and drift, that of the rotation of the Earth in the universe, the sun rises and sets, gravitation due to the Earth's mass, objects falling as results of the SL World's gravity that is very similar in terms of both the gravitational force and its corresponding effect (Rosedale and Ondrejka 2003).

Figure 3.21: A party environment

Source: The Author

These can be considered to be the base and the general laws of the functioning of the world. However, the resemblance of Second Life to actual Earth-like properties is certainly not limited to these. On the contrary, the properties that I would like to discuss from now on have been far more influential on my judgement that the logic of the SL world is based on the idea of the preservation -although not totally mimicking- of an important part of the actual offline world in which we live.

This part that I am referring to includes all of the ingredients of the word apart from the aforementioned infrastructure and contains various categories such as locations (cities, towns, villages, islands, mountains, rivers, beaches, streets, boulevards, cafes, bars, and

of course clubs), objects (from the smallest bits of souvenirs or jewellery to bigger and complex objects such as vehicles or furniture), animals and plants, and more importantly their outlays (the way all these details are in relation to each other), the various types of technical details (animations of the actions of avatars, videos, other visual or audio properties), and -of course- the static and dynamic properties of the avatars.

My argument is that in the creation and organization of all these aspects of the Second Life world, either intentionally or not, there is a directly recognizable resemblance to the objects of the actual world, their properties, the ways that they function and the ways that they are perceived by human beings.

Figure 3.22: Couple having an intimate relationship

Source: The Author

This seemingly small bit of information, which in my opinion influences the experience of *all* that is going on inside SL (as, in the final analysis, all kinds of experience requires bodies, places and technical details) is valuable for three reasons in three different layers. First of all, as the official producers of SL announce in their web page[5], a very important part of all the content of that we encounter in the world of Second Life is produced directly by its residents (Ondrejka 2004, p. 1), which means that a great deal of the aforementioned properties have been made real by the effort -and more

importantly by the *imagination*- of the very people who are also the consumers of the same content. This practically means that almost all the things that we see in the world of Second Life are shaped by the collective efforts of individual and independent contributors and this collective *-but not orchestrated-* creation process brings about a dream-world with a great deal of similarity to the actual world.

A second aspect that also is related to the point above, but which also has other, far-reaching ends, is the almost-too-apparent-to-name fact that avatars, themselves -even if nothing else were to be created by the residents- are a hundred percent the production of the above 15 million *users* of the Second Life World[8]. So, all the people participating in the Second Life world -as if they were God himself or an aesthetic surgeon or a fashion designer, or a tattooist, or better perhaps all of these at the same time- are the *producers* alongside being the consumers of the bodies and bodily dispositions that they possess. So, all the bodies that a SL resident comes across -and that I, as a resident and researcher of this medium, have personally encountered- do up to a certain extent possess self-made bodies which resemble very much the actual bodies that actual people in the actual world possess (Linden Research 2009).

The third dimension that I will mention in a second is what completes the picture, and complicates it even more when the first two dimensions are also taken into account: This resemblance takes place, unlike in the actual world, in a medium where most of the physical, biological and even chemical laws are redundant and out of context, and thus where most of the outside forces that have a determining effect on our behavior through our bodily necessities are not even present. To quote these three dimensions together so as to illustrate their combined effect, let me go point by point. In this realm of Second Life, people are participating and representing themselves with bodies that they have created for themselves in a world where more than ninety per cent of practically everything involved has been created collectively by themselves, and, naturally, this world is, on the final analysis, devoid of the ontological laws and bodily necessities in effect in the actual world. And the interesting thing is that all the resemblance of the Second Life universe to the actual one that we are living in takes place under these conditions.

The peculiarity of this situation can be illustrated as follows: Let us just think of a universe full of cafeterias, restaurants, dining halls and even with the concrete pieces of food and beverage, and let this also be a universe nobody needs to eat or drink anything, nor would they have been able to do so, even if they desired to. Weird, isn't it? And this is exactly what is happening in the universe of Second Life. The list of examples to quote about this situation can be extended easily: Without the necessity to protect one's skin from the hot, the cold or occasions of physical damage, everyone is fully clothed... The presence of all kinds of transportation vehicles (and even "domesticated animals used for purposes of transportation) despite the fact that there is not even the smallest need... The presence of hotels, and houses and even a real estate market, in the absence of the need to sleep for even a second or shelter from outside forces[61]... To give a final example, people have sex with others using their avatars in Second Life, and I believe it is quite obvious that avatars do not have physiological needs, hormone levels or glands...

Now, how should these interesting yet floating anecdotes be conceptualized? Two points of view are possible, and I believe them to be both valid and not oppose to but complement each other: The first possibility suggests that –as it is nonsense to speak about the needs of the representational body (avatar) in the medium- what matters is the needs of the body of the person controlling the avatar. From this point of view, it can be understood up to an extent why people engage in sexual activities using their avatars. Because their own bodies are in need of sexual gratification, and through the symbolic intercourses they engage in in the digital world, they satisfy themselves (either just metaphorically, or even perhaps, by masturbating in front of the computer screen, literally). Thus, the seemingly unnecessary details that we encounter in this digital world do correspond to the satisfaction of *actual* needs of *actual* bodies.

---

[61] Actually, this is an issue that can and should be dealt with as the topic of a single master thesis on its own, because of the huge volume of transactions in the real estate market in Second Life. Anshe Chung, the woman who became a millionaire out of the real estate business in Second Life [or "the unreal estate millionaire", as she is called by some] is a flesh and blood example of this situation. One of the earliest examples of the press coverage of her fortune and her official webpage depicting the current activities of her "Anshe Chung Studios" are, respectively: Paul Sloan, The Virtual Rockefeller. Available [online] at: http://money.cnn.com/magazines/business2/business2_archive/2005/12/01/8364581/index.htm [accessed on 24 September2016].

Yet, claiming that this postulate is able to explain wholly all the peculiar details listed above would be too optimistic, because, apart from the instant gratification of actual bodily needs, those constructed dramas also correspond to other, not-so-instantaneously-gratifiable needs on deeper levels[62]. For example, unlike the sexual interaction anecdote mentioned about above, whether or not an avatar is drinking beer in the SL world or not does not have such a direct relationship with the body of the person controlling it. Thus, it is legitimate to argue that the beer is not being utilized for the purposes of serving the actual body of the person controlling it. But the beer is there and people are dressing up their avatars with its appearance and animating their avatars as though they are actually drinking it. Why?

Figure 3.23: Beer

Source: The Author

---

[62] And in some occasions, on such deep levels that it becomes disputable whether calling them "needs" in the narrow sense of the term would be accurate. I personally believe that it would not be suitable to call it simply a need or necessity in this narrow sense. Yet, I also believe that for the purposes and neatness of this thesis, that considering Maslow's categorization of the different levels according to which needs can be categorized and thus assigning a more general meaning to the notion of necessity enables me, by bypassing the discussion about needs, to focus on the exact point that I wish to concentrate on. For Maslow's discussion please refer to: Maslow, A.H., 1943. A theory of human motivation. Psychological review, 50(4), p.370.

My explanation is that people are doing what they find it attractive, and this attractiveness, as argued above, does not stem from the actual needs that they satisfy, but from their symbolic meanings and their instrumentality in acting as transmitters of messages. So, obviously, when we come across an avatar drinking beer or sporting a tattoo or wearing fashionable clothes, we should also see them as "texts" in the wider sense of the term, as described by Roland Barthes (1991). From such a point of view, these things that we encounter are attractive not solely from what they contribute to their owners by just being used, but also through their connotative properties and their symbolic values[63]. So, all that we encounter in this world can be treated as "signs". They are loaded with connotations and their messages that on different levels can be taken as codes to be deciphered, since, as symbols, they function as things "that stand for something else" (Pierce 1974).

Hence, I argue that what is happening in SL is that people are using these symbolic elements as opportunities to realize their desired versions out of the entangled processes of self-representation and identity formation. The presence of a can of beer in SL may have no meaning on its own and so may an avatar's drinking action of the beer. Yet, when it is witnessed that this particular avatar is drinking beer, we find ourselves within a set of significance relationships. What does the hegemonic meaning of beer correspond to? What are its alternative connotations? What is a person that drinks beer in a public place likely to turn out? What if she is at a party or in a public park, or in front of the Blue Mosque?

---

[63] I do not intend to describe the symbolic value of an object and the direct benefits it gives to its consumers as two distinct and mutually exclusive categories. However, I believe that the motivations for consuming a glass of water and a diamond ring are quite distinct from each other. I do not also wish to take sides by categorically dividing the consumed content and pejoratively assigning the name "conspicuous" as Thorstein Veblen did, but, as I have explained above, I find his treatment of the consumed good in categories meaningful. For Veblen's discussion, please refer to: Veblen, T., 1953. The Theory of the Leisure Class: An Economic Study of Institutions; with an Introduction by C. Wright Mills. New American Libr..

Figure 3.24: Drinking beer

Source: The Author

Another important axis to think with is the space such an opportunity provides the users of Second Life with in terms of the accumulation of social and symbolic capital. For Pierre Bourdieu, individuals aim to join the more powerful segments of society and for that try to maximize the differing forms of capital that are in distinct yet interrelated categories. And among these different forms, symbolic capital is a crucial source of power, as it is the main basis on which symbolic violence is imposed by the powerful towards the powerless, and social capital, defined by Bourdieu (1986, p. 247) as "the aggregate of the actual or potential resources which are linked to possession of a durable network of more or less institutionalized relationships of mutual acquaintance and recognition", is the significant element that links other forms of capital.

This kind of an analysis about the nature of different forms of capital and the extent to which agents are able to play around them is quite important for this thesis and will be revisited in the chapters to come. However, for the time being, I would like to go back to my discussion about the resemblance of the universe of SL to the actual world. Considering the fact that the representation and construction of self are simultaneous processes and that identity necessitates "the eye of the beholder" to realize, the reasons

behind the aforementioned resemblance become clearer. As the cofounder of the company behind Second Life, Cory Ondrejka (2004, p. 2) wrote in an article about Second Life, "[It is] like the real world, only better". I agree with Ondrejka's point. In my opinion, too, as a result of the factors causing the resemblance that I have tried to explain before, the general atmosphere and the dominant mood of the SL experience is like that of the actual world.

But, why better? Exactly for the very same reason. It is *like* the actual world, but not the actual world itself. So, the agents have a number of strategies and tactics (Certeau 1988) to exploit, such as possessing a little (and sometimes not that little) more fit bodies than those they do in the actual world, for example. I will also elaborate on this topic in the chapter where I will be dealing with the opportunities SL provides its users in terms of playing with social and symbolic capital. However, to illustrate this point in passing, I wish to draw your attention to a quite extreme, but actual, event that drew much public attention and that received significant press coverage.

It is about a real-life couple that came to the point of divorce after the wife caught her husband cheating on her with a virtual character in Second Life. This is a very interesting case, which urges us to rethink our conceptions of loyalty and adultery (as it is quite hard to identify exactly the boundaries between desire and action and between intention and fault). Yet, this is not the point on which I would like to focus. I am interested in this particular example because it provides a concrete demonstration of how different an individual's physical selves and their avatars can be from each other. Please refer to the two pictures below, depicting the actual-life bodies and Second Life avatars of the aforementioned couple, respectively. I believe it explains what I meant above, while discussing the opportunities to play a little (and sometimes not so little) with the bodies that SL users possess[64].

---

[64] An account of the event can be reached via the web site of the British Magazine, Metro, where the two pictures that I have utilized are also taken from Metro Magazine, Second Life Sex Causes Divorce. (13 November 2008). Available [online] at:
"http://www.metro.co.uk/news/article.html?Second_Life_sex_causes_divorce&in_article_id=402338&in_page_id=34" [24 September 2016].

Figure 3.25: The actual bodies of the couple

Source: Metro Magazine

Figure 3.26: The avatars of the couple

Source: Metro Magazine

Before moving on to the next part, I would like to make sure that I have been able to explain two important points about this "opportunity to play with actuality". I do not

wish to draw a perfectly smooth picture of SL, where all kinds of representation relationships revolve around the "resemblance of the world" axis. It must be noted that there are a number of counter-examples, *fantastic* places or locations with experimental or thematic designs. However, I can confidently claim that they are extreme and - statistically speaking- abnormal. And more important for the aims of this thesis, as long as the locations in SL on which I have focused my ethnography are concerned (the places from Turkey and places where users from Turkey participate), I can claim even more confidently that the resemblance of the actual world is the norm, and not vice versa. The second point is about the limitations of this resemblance that I have referred to above -in the part in which I claimed that SL residents possess self-made bodies- as "up to a certain extent". And I want make clearer what I intend to mean by using that term.

First of all, this phrase refers to the limits that are possessed by the very nature of the act of creation itself- and, correspondingly, that can be generalized to creations of any kind. Let me make myself clear: I do not mean that there are practically no limits to the act of creating the bodies in Second Life and fall into the naïve position of pragmatic liberals who base their analyses on the false notion of a self-realized man in the absence of boundaries and limitations. Of course, the Second Life resident is constrained in her production by factors such as time and technical ability. So, the entitlements and capabilities to which Amartya Sen (1999) has drawn our attention to -though not necessarily about online contexts- are fully operational in the digital realm of Second Life. The uneven nature of the distribution of entitlements and capabilities to Second Life residents (that come as the by-products of the various inequalities in both the actual and digital spheres) is an important limitation factor.

Sen's point is meaningful as it reminds the researcher of digital environments about the possible mismatch between what a user *desires* (in terms of the certain ways she takes part in the interactions in the medium, the ways she represents herself, and in general , the ways she communicates and forms herself) and what she is able to *engender*. This claim is practically operational as it alerts the researcher against taking for granted the things she encounters through her ethnography and pushes her not to lose track of the

simple fact that what she has sensed or witnessed does not necessarily have to correspond to the forms that were intended to be transferred by the senders of the messages, or to the real situations of the things, themselves. Based on this, in all the participant observations that I have made, the interviews in which I have taken part and the material I have analyzed (Erdoğmuş 2009), I have tried to look beyond what was already transparent and find my ways to reach the not-so-apparent intentions, preferences, priorities and tastes of the users.

A deeper point, fed by a more radical line of thinking, needs to be made. My intention to look beyond the easily seen and grasp that which is beneath should not be seen as an attempt to reach a reified notion of the "essential characteristics" of the users. This would not only be a futile attempt due to the dynamic nature of these priorities, preferences and tastes (they are by nature changing the moment the researcher is trying to fix them by defining), but also –and more importantly- it would mean assigning them a presumed independent existence and thus overlooking the significant role that a number of forces play upon in all their moments of development and change starting right from the seconds of their very formation. In this vein of thought, it is essential to keep in mind -both during the process of making observations and while drawing generalizations based on their analyses- the significant points that Pierre Bourdieu (1984) and those following his channels of analysis have enlightened us about the formation of tastes, that forces such as status, race, gender, ethnicity, and of course, class positions are inherently effective in determining aesthetic characteristics, including priorities, preferences and tastes.

To revisit the annotation that I have made about *the certain extent* up to which the bodies in the digital world of Second Life are made by the people controlling them in light of the argument made above, I would like to underline my awareness of the fact that all data that I have encountered throughout my ethnography were made available after having passed already through the filters (limitations and shapers) that Sen and Bourdieu have drawn our attention to. This situation, which can also be read as the *impossibility* of reaching unmediated data about the pure essence of the objects being analyzed, is also what I believe *empowers* the informed researcher who is not after

idealistic notions of pure essences or unmediatedness, but is trying to find his way about the social and society through a holistic view of thick descriptions (Geertz 1972).

To concretize this claim and relate it to the research I have carried out, I would like to suggest identifying those limiting and shaping factors as much as possible, and to try to come up with maps depicting the forces in effect during the shaping of a particular preference and its representation in the medium. So, it is possible to identify and define those factors in effect for any Second Life resident (from the individual who "just hangs out every now then in SL" to the one who takes this digital world seriously and sees it as a part of his life and even to the workers of corporate bodies who are actually doing their routine tasks while participating in SL) or for groups of users possessing similar characteristics (young, urban, self-employed users from Istanbul, for example).

The necessity of a kind of analysis informed with the aforementioned issues also comes from the three-dimensional analyses it enables us to make: It not only enables us to familiarize ourselves with the conditions of the agents performing in this medium (thus, reach a higher level of awareness about what is going on *within the online world*), but also, through those links, we are presented the opportunity to reach data *about their offline lives*. The third and more specific contribution comes from the *possibility of connecting these two types* of different aspects about the lives of the agents who we have attempted to place between the lenses of the magnifying glass. It is through such an analysis that I have been able to draw conclusions while working on such an environment that has had its share of chaos both in terms of ontological and epistemological issues. I would like to wait until a later part to share fully those generalizations that I have made, but I will share just three bits of my conclusions for making clear my distinction about the three types of advantages mentioned above the use of this kind of methodology has allowed me.

About the familiarization as a researcher with the online context itself, a behavioral pattern that I have encountered many times and mostly from the same people in SL, a pattern that I have found difficult to understand, will be given. Before describing what I have found *weird or uncommon* in those people's style of communicating, I wish to

briefly describe how a -statistically speaking- "normal" conversation takes place. The mainstream way of making friends and engaging in conversations in Second Life is as follows: First, you go to a specific location (that you have either found through the search engine in the game or that has been suggested by a friend). In such a location, people are most of the time gathered together (perhaps in a café, or around a campfire or on a dance floor), and there is a conversation going on. In a playful mood, people are taking part in a light conversation, and you join by contributing every now and then. After that, if it happens that you enter a deeper conversation with someone, you may continue to chat one to one (perhaps in another place or perhaps in the private chat option that the client programme of SL makes possible). In both cases, there is a pattern of what I would call "the deepening of the conversation", according to which a smaller number of people gradually focus on a limited number of topics that have been introduced in the public arena where everyone chats together, and parallelly isolate themselves from the larger group where they have encountered each other and talk more personally, openly and usually at a higher speed of reaction than would have been in the public chat.

This, as I have mentioned, is the general pattern in SL for getting to know someone better through conversation[65]. People follow such a pattern when they have the impression that they are meeting a potential kindred spirit. Of course, I do not claim that this type of an interaction is possible on every occasion and for anyone, as I am aware of the fact that the coming true of such a correspondence is dependent on a variety of factors, it should not be expected of these instances of "deepening of the conversation" to be the dominating type of interaction in Second Life[66]. Also, there are people who seem to be more willing to engage in such discussion (by contributing more to the

---

[65] I have found it necessary to include the term "through conversation", as there are other means for that in Second Life. Some of these means are analogical to the offline contexts (such as observing the person's interaction with others or drawing conclusions from appearances), while some are genuinely unique to online contexts (such as examining the profile page of the avatar in which information had been submitted by the user, or checking the list of groups, friends or favorite places that were inscribed to the avatar's information page.

[66] Although I would argue that the chances of such a correspondence are much more likely than a similar actual-life context,, due to a number of reasons such as the relative lack of time and place constraints in Second Life, the relative freedom from sanctions in Second Life in the case that things may go away from the desired way, and of course, the relatively bigger pool of people than can be correspondent at any particular moment in Second Life.

discussions and including personal aspects in their messages, for instance) potentially and those who seem to be less (those who never talk or type in the most extreme, to illustrate). In addition, there are some instances that are more enabling for the realization of such deep communication (for instance, five people gathered around a campfire around midnight, when there is not much distracting stimuli, talking about their former relationships) and there are some that are not that much enabling (for example, at 22:00, the busiest hour in Second Life and on the day in which the champion of the football league has been determined or during the celebrations for the championship itself).

I also would like to note that none of the types of interactions that I have described above fall into the category that I have described as "weird". My observation on weirdness is not about the different *contingencies of situations*, but about the *behavioral patterns that people follow*. I have described the normal pattern of the possible "deepening of conversation" above, and I argue that if two people have started to engage in such a dialogue and if one of them does not suddenly say a totally contradictory phrase, and if both of them have the time and concentration to focus on the dialogue[67], their communication has a *tendency* to lead to a deepening state.

Now, let me turn back to the aforementioned cases that I cite as diverging from the normal. I have encountered some people in some situations in which although the initial stages of the process that I have described above have taken place (corresponding in public, finding common points, starting to talk more openly and personally and etcetera), the conversation did not seem to "deepen". I tried to figure out if messages that could be offensive had been sent by mistake, looked for the traces of disagreement in points of view and tried to figure out if, without realizing, I might have given the other party the feeling that I was not willing to carry on the conversation, but none of them was the case[68]. But, neither of these was the case! Yet, some of the people with

---

[67] For the rigor of the argument that I am presenting here and to avoid digressions, I will not fully discuss until a later part of this thesis the particular significance of these two notions, time and concentration, which I believe occupy an important -although functioning in ways much different than the offline contexts- place in the determination of what type of communication a potential dialogue may lead to.

[68] I believe to be in a position to claim this confidently, thanks to the property in the client programme of Second Life that I had enabled in the beginning of my ethnography. With the help of that function, which

whom I was trying to communicate (more precisely, the subgroup whose behavior I described as weird and uncommon) gave me the impression that they were not that keen on carrying on the conversation. I formed such an impression because of the fact that they were writing back to my sentences a long time after I had typed them and the replies were unusually short[69]. After wrongly assuming for some time that those guys were not the "socializing type", I came to realize the simple fact: they lacked fast and continuous access to the world of Second Life and their late (and in some cases never-coming) replies were just because of that handicap. I then learnt through my interviews that some part of this accessibility problem was due to inadequate technical infrastructure (a slow PC, dial-up connection instead of broadband, etc.), and that the majority of the rest were people who were trying to sneak out to SL during office hours and were being disturbed by office tasks or by facing the unexpected presence of their colleagues or bosses near them!

This was an example illustrating how the choice of the aforementioned methodology enabled me to better familiarize myself with the very context I was researching. In light of the "thick description" -that enabled Clifford Geertz (1994) to differentiate between a wink and a twitch- I was able to tell between a user who did not have the opportunity to carry a conversation deeper, and one that was not very interested in further communication. This was an example belonging to the first category of advantages I listed above, as it contributed, among other things, to my awareness of what is going on *within the online world*.

---

automatically recorded all the conversations I was involved in and those in the making of which my avatar was present, I had the chance to revisit the conversations with a certainty that is not always given to social scientists: I could have a look at the exact words anyone had said, the gestures and comments they had typed , and as not only what was written but also exactly what time they were written was recorded, I was also able to identify the periods in which a conversation accelerated or slowed down.

[69] I wish to underline a difference in the mood of communication between online and offline contexts here. The usual trend in online contexts about typed communication is towards being as simple and short as possible (using abbreviations, slang words and metaphors, instead of writing long passages that make everything as clear as possible. That, probably, among other reasons, due to the fact that unlike face to face correspondence in which our bodies and perceptive abilities are utilized directly, in the online contexts there are mediating tools in both perception (such as the monitor of the computers) and sending of the message (such as the keyboard) processes. However, I should also note that conversations of deeper nature are exceptional to this case. And the mediation of the monitor and keyboard has the potential to help people express themselves more openly and in more detail than would have been in most offline contexts.

The second type of advantage, as noted above, is related to the actual offline context in which the person controlling the avatar we encounter in SL is physically situated. I have argued above that through those links that SL establishes with the online and offline experiences of its users and that the researcher of this medium is able to identify, we are presented the opportunity to reach data *about their offline lives*. I would like to demonstrate how this can be done by quoting a trend that I have come across.

Throughout my ethnography, I have realized that SL has some peak hours during which a lot of people simultaneously participate, and some not-so-crowded periods of time. As I tried to grasp more deeply what was going on, familiarize myself with the environment and get to know a portion of the users in person, I came to realize that it was possible to identify the personal peak hours on a user-per-user basis. More specifically, I can argue that it almost became possible for me to identify which users were likely to hang out at a specific location at some specific time of the day, and whether or not a particular user would be online at a particular hour of the day. In the later parts of my research as I got to know about the offline lives of some of the people I knew in SL, I was going to discover particular reasons for that. I would learn that some of them only logged in during the day and on weekdays, as they could connect easily from their offices and that they did not prefer to log in from home. I also learnt about some others with an inverted SL routine: They did not have the opportunity in their work environments to participate in SL, and thus, could only connect at nights from home. What was common in both cases was that I was able to reach significant information about their offline lives -about their work environments, conceptions of home, daily routines and ways of allocating the time they chose to spend on work and leisure- to which I otherwise could not have had easy access.

The third and more specific contribution comes from the *possibility of connecting these two types* of different aspects about the lives of the agents who we have attempted to place under the lens of the magnifying glass. Hobsbawm (2011) argues about the use of "micro" methods in history and social sciences and the potential that such methods possess for contributing to more "macro" analyses. For Hobsbawm (2011, p. 190), "the microscope" is and should be employed in a complementary relationship with "the

telescope", for being able to grasp the motley nature of the societies and social relations. Thus, it becomes possible to draw conclusions about general trends and societies while analysing only a subset of its members and analysing them by focusing on a subset of their lives. And this the framework around which I have tried, in this thesis, to bring together the online experiences of SL users from Turkey and their offline ways of socialization. Among the people I met in Second Life, there is a category I found appropriate to define as "*evkızları*" - which translates as "housegirls", a term referring to young, unmarried women who are living with their parents and who are not able to leave their houses at night (and in some cases even during the day) to socialize for a number of reasons (ranging from security concerns to the domination of women by patriarchal forces). Whatever the reasons, it is a phenomenon that causes a significant number of young women in Turkey to miss opportunities for socialization in which they could do a variety of things from making new friends to finding boyfriends or to simply engaging in a conversation with people other than their families, neighbours and close girlfriends whom they could meet at home. As for the relationship of these women with Second Life, based on the interviews I have conducted in SL (Erdoğmuş 2009), I believe that it is possible and legitimate to argue -at least regarding the ones I have come across- that the engagement of *evkızları* in Second Life is a liberating and enabling experience for them. Here is where the online experience meets the offline circumstance. I believe that even this singular anecdote examined under "the microscope" has a lot to say to not only to the students of digital worlds, but also to those analyzing Turkish society (and perhaps even more to say to those in the second category, from the conditions young women are living in, to general concerns about "the security of the streets", and, of course, about the mainstream moral codes and their patriarchal manifestations on women).

***

In this chapter I have focused on the technical dimension of the aforementioned techno-human condition. Describing and differentiating between the interrelated concepts of digital media, new media, social media and virtual media, I have intended to develop the set of tools necessary for the discussions that I am going to carry out in analyzing

the actual and digital facades of the Resistance. However, the technical aspect is only one side of the matrix of the socio-technical reality. In the next chapter, I intend to discuss the other face of this relationship: The Network Society, and the modalities of organization and subjectification within it.

4. MODALITIES OF ORGANIZATION AND SUBJECTIFICATION IN THE NETWORK SOCIETY

In this chapter I am going to elaborate the concept 'Network Society' and the particular modes of organization and subjectification that occur within it. Starting with the task of defining and conceptualizing network society, I shall then move to a discussion of how individuals are positioned and subjectified within it. Then, I am going to elaborate the concept of 'networked social movements' and demonstrate how the Resistance also fits into this theoretical framework. Lastly, through drawing concrete material gathered from my cyber-ethnographic fieldwork, I am going to demonstrate how certain characteristics of networked social movements, such as virality, personalization of politics, crowdsourcing, have been at play during the Resistance, not only as elements which have contributed a great deal to the spread of activist practices, but also served as the very foundational pillars that made the resistance possible in the first place.

4.1 FLEXIBLE NETWORKS IN LATE LIQUID TIMES

> *Instead of tending towards a vast Alexandrian library the world has become a computer, an electronic brain, exactly as an infantile piece of science fiction. And as our senses have gone outside us, Big Brother goes inside. So, unless aware of this dynamic, we shall at once move into a phase of panic terrors, exactly befitting a small world of tribal drums, total interdependence, and superimposed co-existence* (McLuhan 1963, p. 32).

This section's name is a portmanteau of words that are utilized in conceptualizing the dominant social condition of contemporary societies by a variety of thinkers and scholars to be elaborated below. Different conceptualizations and repertoires of vocabulary have been utilized, from networks to liquidity and flexibility to late and post modernity. Coming from diverse backgrounds which are as distinct as economics and media studies, these concepts all try to capture the elements that are crucial in defining the *Zeitgeist* in the sense utilized by Friedrich Hegel and followers, the shared and collective psyches of contemporary societies (Magee 2010, p. 262). In the following pages, I intend to approach this issue from a variety of perspectives and methodologies, which I believe will be instrumental in the later chapters of this dissertation, where I

will be trying to contextualize the findings of my digital and physical works of ethnography and semiotic analyses.

Orhan Tekelioğlu, in an article he wrote for Radikal, argued for the presence of a kind of yearning and nostalgia among the upper middle classes for "traditional values of family life", "neighbourhood" and "social tissues of the older type" (Tekelioğlu 2009). The article was, in fact, about the reception of *Canım Ailem*, a TV series whose main plot is constructed around the aforementioned notions that the upper middle classes are said to have developed a kind of nostalgia for. Tekelioğlu finds it suitable to fit *Canım Ailem* into the genre that also includes series such as *Bizimkiler*, *Çiçek Taksi*, *Şaşıfelek Çıkmazı* and *Yeditepe İstanbul* (it is possible to enrich that list further; the foremost examples would be *Perihan Abla*, *Süper Baba*, *Baba Evi*, *İkinci Bahar* and now-popular *Yaprak Dökümü*). He also claims that all these series can be grouped under the lowest common denominator of being production that has come into existence as a kind of reaction against the disappearance of the neighborhood and the home and that aim to re-establish –at least in fiction- the now-lost ties of the family life. But what could be the reason of such a kind of nostalgia and enjoying seeing on TV what is said to have been lost?

Ferdinand Tönnies, writing on the eve of the turn of the twentieth century-, differentiated between *Gesellschaft* - that refers to groups that are sustained by it being instrumental for their members' individual aims and goals- and *Gemeinschaft* - that, on the other hand, refers to groupings based on feelings of togetherness and on mutual bonds (Tönnies 1963). Unlike *Gesellschaft*, *Gemeinschaft* involves a common geographic location and a common history or tradition that is apparent in a shared value system of a homogenous group whose participants are linked together by sentimental attachment.

More recent sociologists, who have had the opportunity to witness further consequences of the process that was already in effect during the times of Tönnies but accelerated and became deeper especially during the later quarter the twentieth century, carry this line of thinking toward its logical ends. Richard Sennett, for instance, in the book he webbed

around the differences between the experiences of a father and a son, mentions about the decline of deep long-term relationships, which are replaced by flexible short-term connections (Sennett 1999). The factor underlying this difference is similar to the differentiation Tönnies made: due to a number of processes; a change from the culturally homogenous to the individual, impersonal, diversified. And this process is related to the orientation of what he names as "new capitalism" towards techniques of production, lifestyles and mentalities featuring increased flexibility and risks; replacement of linear time by serial time; a series of losses (of trust, commitment, loyalty) that come as a by-product.

Sennett, focusing –as the title of the book suggests- on the "personal consequences of work in the new capitalism"; tries to understand how [and if] people can generate meaning and identity, maintain truthful and lasting relationships under the aforementioned conditions; and if it is possible to create a persistent narrative in an environment where change becomes a value in itself and resistance towards change is taken as a sign of failure. Thus, the abilities of networking and 'moving on' become more important than solving problems and friends become transient and malleable. If related factors such as the increasing trends for nuclear families, deurbanization, deindustralization and the vital role "speed" has come to play more and more densely in the urban life are also taken into account; the chaotic nature of such an environment, which Zygmunt Bauman explains by *liquid modernity* characterized by the privatization of ambivalence and increasing feelings of uncertainty (Bauman 2000), can be better grasped.

Manuel Castells, from a more macrosociological perspective yet in a similar vein of thought, argues that "networks constitute the new social morphology of our societies. The diffusion of a networking logic substantially modifies the operation and outcomes in processes of production, experience, power, and culture" (Castells 2000, p. 469, 500). So, for Castells (2000, p. 501), networks have become the basic units of modern society - hence the term "network society"- and they are functional in almost all aspects of not only the society, but also economy and technology. And all these environments are

marked by highly specialized interpersonal networks that are based on "weak ties" in a constant process of change (Castells 2000, p. 386).

Similarly; Robert D. Putnam (2000) argues in his now-classic book, *Bowling Alone: America's Declining Social Capital*, that there has been a decrease in all the forms of in-person social intercourse in the USA, which causes a poverty in social lives, dysfunction in community-building activities and even a weaker democracy as a result of less civil engagement. Furthermore, he relates this process to the development and spreading of media that came as a by-product of the developments in the communication technology. Although I am not that sure about the direction of causality in Putnam's argument (and, if a specific direction really needs to be pointed out at all); I believe that it is important to grasp the two phenomena he points out and try to mediate on the interaction between them: 1) Societies are being atomized. 2) Information technology is transforming the ways we are interacting with others.

The recognition of these two phenomena can be said to be the two invisible building blocks of this thesis. Yet, I believe that, for avoiding unnecessarily simplified, techno-determinist explanations; each facets of the social reality should be separately paid the attention that they deserve to receive. And, that is what I have intended to do in the relationship with my material. I believe that such an analysis will have a lot to contribute not only to the ongoing debates about the possibilities and limitations about these media bring about but also will be enabling for testing the validity of these hypotheses[70]. Thus, I believe, based on this and similar analyses; it will be possible to enlighten some answers to the questions put forward in the beginning of this chapter about the possible reasons of the nostalgia and yearnings; as, after all, as Joshua Meyrowitz (1985, p. 308) accurately claims, "media networks are not simply channels or conduits of communication; they are becoming social environments themselves".

---

[70] About the tension between structure and agency, for instance, Jan van Dijk discusses this issue and claims that it is possible to conceptualize the two notions dialectically and that theories of structuration are likely to hold in these environments. For a thorough elaboration of the issue, please refer to Jan van Dijk's *The Network Society*.

In his seminal work entitled The *Rise of The Network Society: The Information Age: Economy, Society and Culture*, Manuel Castells (1996) argues that networks have become the basic organizational units in contemporary societies, and hence their morphologies can be best understood by the network metaphor. What is particularly interesting for the student of digital environments is Andreas Wittel's concept, "network sociality". Wittel (2001), based on an inspiration from Manuel Castells's (2000) notion of "network society" argues that a shift on the social sphere has been taking place from a model of communication and socialization based implicitly on *Gemeinschaft* –or community- towards that based on "network sociality". Andreas Wittel combines Castell's macrosociological perspective with that of Sennett and focuses on the specific role new media plays in that process. He announces the "rise of the network sociality" and commodification of social relations, which, according to him, has become both instrumental and functional. He relates the underlying reason behind the turning of social bonds into commodities to the breakdown of traditionally secure ties. This process, based on individualization and communication technologies, brought with it a higher degree of mobility, choice and a greater amount of social contacts (Wittel 2001, p. 52). He notes the important characteristics of this form of sociality to be intense but ephemeral relations; the shift from narrative to information; the assimilation of seemingly dichotomic notion, such as work and play; the possibility of the blurring of the boundaries between the private and public spheres; and the deeply embeddedness of all these in the communication technology (Wittel 2001, pp. 66-69).

In a similar vein of thought, Jan van Dijk, who is one of the most significant contributors to the development of the theory of networks, claims that a society where a mixture of digital networks and media is key in determining the primary method of affiliation is characterized as a network society. Moreover, according to him, in such a society, defining frameworks in various planes (from the personal level to the institutional one, and to the general situation of the society as a whole) are made up of networks and their various permutations (Van Dijk 2006). It is significant to note that such conceptualization of society is in direct contrast with a more 'traditional' one, namely the industrial or 'mass society', whose defining architectural unit was the existence of a common physical and cultural ground shared by (at least) a significant

majority of the members of the locality that was inhabited. Of course, regarding this assertion, it is critical to note that such the previous version, as well as the ones that preceded it, was itself a product of the current set of factors and dynamics that gave rise to its birth at the first place, as the historical-materialist thesis of history has been arguing for well over a decade (Marx 1973). And one can easily argue that followers of this philosophical and scholarly tradition have quite successfully demonstrated the link between the industrial stage of capitalism, with "mass production" formed its material and economic basis, and the "mass society", with its hugely transforming effects that gave birth to the epoch of "mass communication"[71].

In the regime of the "mass", which was dominant from the maturation of the international capitalist-imperialist system to the global crises of 1970s, a series of parallel developments had taken place. With the intensification of the labor force in work environments such as the factory or the big port complex, intensification of larger populations on certain geographies also took place. This was a development which gave rise to the creation of the "modern cities", from the foundations of the medieval towns, but in a much larger scale and a novel way of organizing life. Consequently, the formation of the modern classes of "proletariat" and "the bourgeoisie" (with its industrial as well as financial variants) and other institutions of modern political and social life emerged. This was also the period that gave rise to a wide number of institutions and arrangements from the emergence of nation states and creation of the international trade systems at the macro level; to the creation of the mechanisms for "mass democracy" from mass suffrage to social and citizen rights, to the welfare state. These were accompanied by -and made possible to a large extent by- the concept of strong and influential public mechanisms undertaking big infrastructural projects. The place of the transportation and telecommunication industries that gave rise to the "first wave of modern globalization" that took place around the turn of the 19th century, was, in this regard, of special significance.

---

[71] Particularly the works of "Birmingham School" or British Cultural Theory has been effective in demonstrating the wholeness of the processes that are usually thought to develop in a fashion not necessarily dependent on each other. See Raymond Williams's *Culture and Society*, and Stuart Hall's *A 'Reading' of Marx's 1857 Introduction to the Grundrisse*.

Raymond Williams (1992), explaining the parallel development of the production base and the superstructural elements within societies, draws attention to the chain of reactions which, once triggered, brought about consequences that had the power to transform the social fabric of societies. More particularly, he argues for the existence of a link of causality between two concepts that seem to be as distant as the intensification of the labor force due to mass production and the change in the family values arising from the change in the scale of the organizational social units. Williams (1992, p. 298) claims that:

> *The new and larger settlements and industrial organisations required major internal mobility, at a primary level, and this was joined by secondary consequences in the dispersal of extended families. Social processes long implicit in the revolution of industrial capitalism were then greatly intensified especially an increasing distance between immediate riving areas and the directed places of work and government.*

The massive investment in the transportation industries included big game changers from the establishment of railway infrastructure and the coverage of the seas and oceans by naval fleets on a global basis, to the creation of highways and the establishment of automotive industries, and even the "colonization of outer space" and unders the "star wars" period of the cold-war rivalries. Development in the telecommunications industries included the very first foundation of the postal networks, wire services, the establishment of the transatlantic cable connecting the continents for the first time in history, the foundation of television and radio infrastructures and the subsequent emergence of the "broadcast era", and parallel to the fight of dominance on the outer space, to the satellite systems and the leap from the "global" into the "universal" scale in the literary sense of the term.

A synecdoche of this trend of intertwined transformations, which is maybe to this day still one of the most striking ones, was the broadcasting of Adolf Hitler's opening speech to the 1936 Berlin Olympics, which was broadcast not only to even the farthest locations on the globe, but was simultaneously broadcast into the outer space. This was not only a transcendence of the then-present horizon of technical possibilities, but it was also a living proof that the "social communications game" was changed for good. As would also be demonstrated by Orson Welles's radio parody of the invasion of the Earth

by inhabitants of outer space, *The War of the Worlds* broadcast in which a mock radio show would cause people to arm themselves against "aliens"; the period of mass production, mass consumption and mass communication would also mark the era of "mass propaganda". From radio (and later TV) shows to nickelodeons to penny press, this was the period of mass media. The media was to an important extent owned, managed and regulated by big players, in the form of corporations, governmental organizational bodies or cliques, or business and / or affinity trusts, just as the case in others spheres of social life, from the industry and political institutions. Following a hierarchical top-down approach of central organization was due to both technical / logistical and regulatory / institutional reasons, the law of the land.

Cut, from an environment organized and dominated by the aforementioned factors, to the contemporary world which shows a great deal of differences ranging from technical, infrastructural to personal and cultural elements. Scholars and critics started identifying this trend as early as the late 1960s and, to a great extent the 1970s, under a variety of concepts such as post-industrial economy (Bell 1976), liquid modernity, information society, knowledge economy, post-fordism and network society; from Alan Touraine to David Bell, and Jean-François Lyotard to David Harvey, as well as many others. In the current state of conditions, in a parallel fashion to the transformation of the production and distribution of goods and services, and the great developments in the Information and Communication Technologies; there has been a strong and steady shift from a regime characterized by "the mass" (production, distribution, etc.) to an interconnected structure of "distributed networks". The term, "distributed networks", which actually originates from a conceptualization of the infrastructure which enabled devices on a network to communicate with each other, on a not-necessarily-centrally-governed system, has been extending its explanatory powers to various areas outside the scope of network engineering, to include various phenomena such as financial services, production bases and political regimes and social movements.

This new organizational regime has been described by Van Dijk (2000, pp. 30-53) as a "networked political system" and a situation which is brought about thanks to the presence of "networks of citizens and semi-autonomous or privatised public

institutions". As multilevel network analysis suggests, networks, once effectively and actively at play, enhances communication and feedback loops not only *within* the various individual elements of the systems they belong to, but also increases the total number of interactions between the particular units that form the system as a whole. Subsequently, the combined effect of such an increase and intensification is a large-scale restructuring of society and the emergence of an environment in which actors -be them in the form of individuals, groups or organizations- are able to produce and communicate outside the boundaries that had hitherto been caused by limiting factors, such as physical circumstances, place and time.

Daniel Bell (1976, p. 348) announced the "coming of the post-industrial society" in his book with the same title and argued the services sector to have become more significant (at least in certain parts of the globe) than the traditionally prized industrial sector) and the replacement of "raw muscle power" or more broadly of "energy", with "information", based on the observation that "post industrial society is one in which the majority of those employed are not involved in the production of tangible goods". In a similar fashion, in 1980s, Jean-François Lyotard (1984) argued that "knowledge has become the principal] force of production over the last few decades". Likewise, David Harvey (1989) has drawn attention to the crucial role the information technologies and computer networks have played in the restructuring of the mode of capitalism to a globally more connected and flexible accumulation regime.

Whether this change or transformation was one of a gradual evolution, or a result of the deliberate and not-so-deliberate ruptures has been an issue of debate. Alan Touraine, one of the figures to clearly demonstrate the bonds between the transformations in the technical sphere and those in the cultural spheres of meaning-producing groups and individuals, argued in his "Return of the Actor", for the deliberacy of these changes and their characteristic as a rupture from the earlier periods. Underlying the "intervention" aspect of the changes, Touraine (1988, p. 104) noted:

> *The passage to postindustrial society takes place when investment results in the production of symbolic goods that modify values, needs, representations, far more than in the production of material goods or even of 'services'. Industrial society had transformed the means of production: post-industrial society changes the ends of*

production, that is, culture. (...) The decisive point here is that in postindustrial society all of the economic system is the object of intervention of society upon itself. That is why we can call it the programmed society, because this phrase captures its capacity to create models of management, production, organization, distribution, and consumption, so that such a society appears, at all its functional levels, as the product of an action exercised by the society itself, and not as the outcome of natural laws or cultural specificities.

Whatever the direction of causality, the shift that took place also had severe consequences on the factors related to organization of social life and the relationships between members of the society. Van Dijk (2005) points out a determining factor regarding this transformation. More specifically, he argues that occupying the same physical space or "physical co-presence" has gradually lost importance in the organization of groups, institutions and communities. Looking back from the second decade of the 21st century, I believe the symptoms and derivatives of such change to be visible even to the naked eye. The digital revolution that brought us various novel communication media. from teleconferencing systems to electronization of financial services and to digital social networks, has also brought about blurring of boundaries that had been existent between workplace and leisure space, and consequently between work hours and recreational time, which are just another set of the "liquidity" of current times Bauman has been arguing about.

One of the crucial aspects of such change regarding the personal level has been "the mobile privatization" as put forward by Raymond Williams (1992), a concept he utilized in reference to the trend of deurbanization that started to take place starting from the 1920s onwards. Thanks to the twin developments in the transportation and telecommunication industries (namely, the large scale availability of the personally used devices such as "the motor vehicle" and "the radio / TV set"), "mobile privatization" has been giving rise to the atomization of the society in the form of nuclear families. Again, looking from a set of indicators such as the decline in birth rates and the corresponding rise in "single homes" I believe that it is possible to claim that this trend is far from having been reversed, on the contrary more intensified. A postulate of such "mobile privatization" was accompanied by a larger wave of privatizations, with maybe the severest consequence being "the privatization of ambivalence" as argued by Ulrich Beck and other theoreticians of "Risk Society".

Beck and Lau (2005, pp. 525-557) have argued that the series of changes that have been taking place in the foundational institutions of modernity such as the nation-state and the nuclear family have caused a new epoch within modernity, namely "the second modernity". Consequently, their "theory of reflexive modernization" suggests that just as the first modernity was instrumental in replacing the predominantly agricultural base of society with one based on large-scale industrial production, the second wave was responsible from surpassing the industrial society and bringing about a more reflexive process dominated by the flow of information within the various networks forming the society. According to Anthony Giddens and Christopher Pierson (1998, p. 209) a risk society is growingly and extensively more and more concerned about safety and the future and such anxiety is what creates the notion of risk, which, according to Ulrich Beck, is actually the product of the insecurities and troubles raised by the organizational arrangements of things in contemporary societies and at the foundational level of modernization itself (Giddens 1999, p. 29). Furthermore, according to Giddens, it is technically impossible to solve this problem by merely attempting to avoid risk; hence it needs to be "disciplined", because of the fact that the presence of risks and attitudes towards them are among the driving forces of the current economic and business arrangements within the society.

In the contemporary globalizing, complex and unpredictable world which is beyond controllability, the logical ends of such line of reasoning lead to the acknowledgement of a climate marked by a sharp increase not only in the diversity and number of risk factors, but also the intensification of their contagious nature. Such an atmosphere of uncertainty, from environmental threats to globally spread diseases, from financial crises with a destructive power strong enough to have world-wide effects, to the threat of physical violence that have the ability to crisscross national borders, has severe consequences at various levels. The severest of such consequences is the facid cycle of vulnerability and isolation. The more single units withdraw into their shells, the less they are able to benefit from mechanisms that enable risk sharing by create ground for social security. At the national level, the result is nationalism and xenophobia, as has been demonstrated consecutively in a range of recent developments from Brexit to Donald Trump's "promise" of a wall to divide US from Mexico, and to the hostile

widespread hostile nature of the reaction towards the migrant crisis. At the organizational and individual levels, the outcome has been the unsatisfiable need for finding isolated and solitary solutions to environmental threats, from individual gun ownership to the emergence and development of the private security industry.

Arguably one of the most influential living members of the Bourdieuian understanding of "sociology as a martial art" (on the side of the working classes and vulnerable segments of the society against the oppressors)[72], In his article entitled "The Penalisation of Poverty and the Rise of Neo-liberalism"Canadian social theoretician Loïc Wacquant (2010, p. 404) argues that:

> [t]he invisible hand of the market and the iron fist of the state combine and complement each other to make the lower classes accept desocialized wage labor and the social instability it brings in its wake. After a long eclipse, the prison thus returns to the frontline of institutions entrusted with maintaining the social order.

With the the gradual but steady dissolution of welfare state, the weakening of familial and community ties and subsequent decline in social solidarity, the individual becomes even more vulnerable to the potential damage he will receive from the repository of possible threats. Furthermore; already poisoned by the speed of capitalism –within the vast network of meanings and consequences stated by Paul Virilio (1986) in *Speed and Politics: an Essay on Dromology*-, and numbed by the blasé of the lifeworlds they are inhabiting –in the sense of the term put by Georg Simmel (1903) in *The Metropolis and Mental Life*, becomes open target of and easy prey for not only the agents of these threats, but also for those who claim to be on their side in this never-to-end struggle for survival. Just like the average computer user's dilemma of choosing whether she should be suffering losses of productivity due to malware and computer viruses, or anti-virus programs that, likewise, slow computers and uses its resources for reaching ends not-necessarily aligned with the interests of the computer's owner. Hence, from a historical perspective and a bird's eye level vision, both sides of this risk and security game are creating the conditions which actually make the existence of the other (rival or hostile)

---

[72] In the film entitled *La sociologie est un Sport de Combat*, which could be translated as "Sociology is a martial art", the French sociologist Pierre Bourdieu states: "I often say sociology is a martial art, a means of self-defense. Basically, you use it to defend yourself, without having the right to use if for unfair attacks".

party possible. As could be expected, the state of the world that follows is one characterized by depression, desperation and intentionally fed paranoia. The air attacks on the World Trade Center that took place on September 11 2001, are a vivid demonstration of this self-reinforcing double sided escalation in both free floating risks and people's reactions to them. Apart from the tragedy and massive destruction it caused, it became the apogee of the unforeseeable nature of emergent threats, as it was the clearest evidence of the fact that under the new regime of distributed risks, the "enemy" was not to be found only in certain territories, but was equipped with the ability to "wander among us". It was the lived proof that "they" had the capacity to breathe among "us", live among "us" and until reaching their goals and hidden agendas, conceal themselves as if they were one of "us".

It would be inaccurate, of course, to argue that there is no truth value at all under such perception of threat. What is significant, though, is the fact that just like in the hysterical ambiance of the beginning of the cold-war period, groups of individuals were finding themselves in situations, where they would not have the necessary toolkit to even identify the source of the risks that they considered to be threats to their existence. Once again, it was loudly acknowledged that the threat could be anywhere and could come from anyone, even from those that are closest to "us", in terms of physical or habitual proximity. Just like in the cult film, *The Invasion of the Body Snatchers* (1956), which is arguably one of the best cultural artefacts in depicting the paranoia of the cold-war period, aliens were wandering among ordinary citizens under disguise. Yet this time, the state mechanism, with its albeit-false promise of taking care of the security of its citizens no longer claimed to have the power that, in earlier periods, it had.

At this point comes into play another direct consequence of the neoliberal transformation that had been ongoing for more than two decades by then. Neoliberal policies were not only responsible from weakening the individual and the fabric of social solidarity within the society, by fighting hard to make sure that governments would be as small as possible, it was creating a vacuum of power around institutions that had traditionally, for at least more than a decade, been taken care by the public mechanism. Yes, spending on military, warfare and policing tasks were not relatively in

decline; but without other mechanisms to support them, the end result was that they were failing -or, as theories with less claim on plausibility would often times argue, "they were deliberately being made to fail".

The discussion of whether the conspiracy theories had a point, or the eminent climate of extreme threats was actually due to a shortcoming -and not deliberation- however significant it might seem, is actually trivial for the progression of the line of argumentation I have been trying to make. As I have also tried to mention above, no matter what the initial cause was, once the society and the state found themselves in such a relationship, the end result is, almost by necessity, a facid circle of more vulnerability and more isolation; unless of course some intervention from an exogenous factor, or change in the style and level of involvement of at least one of the involved parties took place, which was apparently not the case -at least until acts of widespread citizen involvement such as the campaign to withdraw troops from the Middle East or the Occupy Wall Street Movement took place.

So, the "father" to rush to for protection was no longer there to help citizens. Instead, he was asking them to take care of themselves and even help him with the "war on terror", which was claimed to be too tough to deal with without the help of "ordinary people". There was surely an element of oxymoronic nature in such a call. As has been argued by the earliest scholars investigating the origin of states, such as the State of Nature theorists, the strongest justification for its emergence was the need to form a body to delegate the "monopoly of the legitimate use of physical force" as Thomas Hobbes (2016) would name it in his foundational book "Leviathan or The Matter, Forme and Power of a Common Wealth Ecclesiasticall and Civil". So, the promise to provide security was at the heart of the issue of state formation right from the start. In a similar fashion and maybe even carrying the argumentation one step further, Max Weber (1968), who is often appraised to be among the founders of the sociological discipline has argued in his book "Politics as Vocation" that "the monopoly on violence" is actually the defining conception of the state. The result of such plea for help in providing the security of the localities people lived in came in the form of the "If You

See Something, Say Something" campaign[73]. This slogan, which was created by admen and which appeared for the first time on January 2002 on Adweek magazine, was incorporated by various actors responsible from law enforcement and security provision. One of the most effective elements of this campaign came into being when the New York Area Metropolitan Transportation Authority (MTA) actively joined the effort by displaying the slogan in various localities of the public transportation system, which, thanks to the number of people who use the system everyday, provided one of the localities with the largest possible reach.

Figure 4.1: 'If You See Something Say Something' on NYC subway steps

Source: Metropolitan Transportation Authority (MTA)

The campaign, which has been adopted by governmental bodies at federal and state levels alike, including the Department of Homeland Security, one of the agencies with a significant amount of implementation power inside and outside the country[74], has been going on to this day (making it one of the longest political communication / public relations campaigns, with over 14 years and counting). It has been voiced by the highest public authorities, such as Michael Bloomberg, the mayor of New York, it has been

---

[73] See Mike Riggs's article "Ten Years of 'If You See Something, Say Something'",
http://archive.is/V4erL [accessed 1 November 2016].
[74] See the related website, http://archive.is/J5VrK [accessed 1 November 2016].

adopted by other states within the US, it has been translated to other languages to communicate with US residents without a comfortable command of English, as in the case of the Spanish version of the ad: "Si Ve Algo, Diga Algo", and has appeared on entertainment events and media, including the Super Bowl, arguably the most popularly watched sports events of the country (Riggs 2012).

The slogan and the methods of the campaign, I believe, deserves a closer look. Placing banners on stairs people casually walk by and asking them to raise their voices if they "see something", first of all creates a feeling of perceived threat. Someone who would maybe be focused on getting to the destination she is trying to reach, after seeing the explicit calls to "see" and "say", is configured into a position of active responsibility. The privatization of ambivalence, which has added a lot of new tasks to individuals' "to-do lists" has now to be updated by factors that is not graspable at first sight. "What am I supposed to say" is maybe the question that keeps minds busy. But prior to that and more importantly even is the inevitability of the question "What am I supposed to see". What is it that is asked of citizens to notice around, in the fight against terror?

The answer, I believe, has actually no specific importance. Of course, one could argue that a careful examiner could at times have the ability to detect potential risk elements before they have realized and one could even come up with a list of "suspicious elements' that should draw more attention than others. I see no point in the rejection of such line of reason. However, if we change the focus of the discussion to recalibrate it for putting the individual in contemporary societies under the magnifying glass, it follows almost directly that she is being located into the position of the nervous by-stander and the worried examiner. Hence, by claiming to find the remedy to the problem of "diverse and incessant threats", the security regime is actually reinforcing citizens' feelings of anxiety, fear and even paranoia, which, ironically, it claims to have set sail to cure.

Figure 4.2: A poster of the campaign

Source: www.dhs.gov/see-something-say-something

A poster version used by the same campaign, which was used extensively especially in subway systems, adds further complication at the disguise of creating simplicity. First of all, by visualizing a possible scene of threat, it increases the level of perceived risk - and continues to the emergent atmosphere of paranoia. In case anyone is still wondering what the "something" signifies in the phrase "if you see something", the poster tells the onlooker; here is a prototypical blueprint for you. Now, everyone has a "legitimate ground" on which he can justify his (mostly irrational) fears and panicking moods.

The second complexity comes in the form of a second slogan, created apparently to support the original one by amplifying its meaning and feeling. After the meta-motto "If

you see something, say something", the poster adds: "Be suspicious of anything unattended". The New York Metropolitan Authority is explicitly asking the residents of the city to be *suspicious of anything*. What a way to solve the problem of the contagious nature of panic raised by the ambivalence and unpredictable nature of perils in our societies! It has been argued at least since 1960s by influential figures in the field psychology that there is a direct relationship between perception and the motivation of the individual carrying out the act of observing her vicinity, under the concept of "the rule of the instrument" (Kaplan 1964, p. 28). Abraham Maslow, for instance, who is widely known for suggesting a hierarchy of individual's various physiological, psychological and social needs (1943, pp. 370-96), has stated that "it is tempting, if the only tool you have is a hammer, to treat everything as if it were a nail" (1966, p. 15).

On the guidance of such scholarship, I believe it to be possible to argue that the "If you see something, say something" campaign has brought about a prototype of individual who is delegated with the responsibility of actively seeking dangers and threats and offering his physical and mental resources into the service of the law enforcement bodies. Furthermore, as the two images below demonstrates such service is actually the response of the explicit call for a transfer of of responsibility from the authorities to the ordinary citizens. In the first one, The Metropolitan Transportation Authority exclaims, all in capital letters: "THERE ARE 11 MILLION EYES IN THE CITY. WE ARE COUNTING ON ALL OF THEM"[75]. I believe there could be very little, if at all, demonstration of the transfer of responsibility that I have been explaining above. The authority, namely Metropolitan Transportation *Authority*, is explicitly proclaiming the delegation of responsibility onto the residents of the city and the bypassers of the transportation system.

The second one, again in all capital letters, shares the good news with the public that "NEW YORKERS KEEP NEW YORK SAFE"[76]. An element of interest in this image, is the explicit effort to create a "balanced" image in terms of representation of the

---

[75] "Time Square Terror: See Something, Say Something", http://archive.is/sh1sJ#selection-415.413-415.414 [accessed 2 November 2016].
[76] "MTA Updates 'See Something, Say Something' ad campaign", http://archive.is/5AFlD#selection-2731.21-2731.22 [accessed 2 November 2016].

various segments of the society including the so-called minority groups or those who have historically been underrepresented, such as women, latinos and black Americans. It is noteworthy to draw attention to the absence of people whose appearances imply that they have backgrounds from "Muslim countries". So it is significant to see the exclusive nature of the seemingly balanced, inclusive graphic. Furthermore, the promised inclusion, one can argue, is one that is possible only under the conditions of compliance. "You, my citizen with an ethnic background", the poster tells the black or latino American citizen; "if you want to be part of the respected and unmarginalized segments of the society, all you have to do to jump the bandwagon is to offer your eyes, attention and cooperation with the *Authority*.

Figure 4.3: Eyes in the city

Source: Source: Metropolitan Transportation Authority (MTA)

Figure 4.4: Keep New York safe

Source: Metropolitan Transportation Authority (MTA)

For those who have chosen to comply with the authority, the recognition is not spared. A third image, this time a "Thank You" note on the inner wall of a subway train demonstrates[77]. In the image below, The New York City Transit gives feedback in terms of numbers about the people who reacted upon the call they had made, again in full capital letters: "LAST YEAR 1,944 NEW YORKERS SAW SOMETHING AND SAID SOMETHING." And then adds a note of gratitude: "Thank you for keeping your eyes and ears open. And not keeping your suspicion to yourself."

---

[77] "Last Year, 1944 New Yorkers Saw Something and Said Something", http://archive.is/HLHmp [accessed 2 November 2016].

Figure 4.5: Thank you note

Source: Flicker

What such an incessant stream of propaganda -albeit in the name of "the fight against terror"- is the further elevation of a mood of terror, by disrupting of the ordinary rhythm and flow of daily life and replacing it with extensive fear and panic caused by the perceived threat of a constant atmosphere of potential hazards. In order to "see something" one has to look around with a judgmental eye and try to draw conclusions about this man sitting next to him, or that woman standing on the corridor. The result is, unsurprisingly, the rule of absurdity raised by the irrationality of the to-be-fulfilled task. Here is just one of the many examples reported on the online edition of the Washington Post[78]. The story takes place on a domestic US flight on 7 May 2016 -more than fourteen years after 9/11. A man described as someone with "with dark, curly hair, olive skin and an exotic foreign accent" and who seemed to be too deeply focused on some cryptic writing in a notebook, was noticed by the woman sitting next to him. She, having seen "something about him [that] didn't seem right to her" reported him to the flight attendants. As a result, the plane which was about to take off, was returned to the

---

[78] See Catherine Rampell's article "Ivy League Economist ethnically profiled, interrogated for doing math on American Airlines Flight", http://archive.is/O1l53 [accessed 2 November 2016].

gate and the "suspicious looking man" was made to leave the plane to meet some airport agent and was asked to answer his questions.

It was after the man's interrogation was completed that the planned flight took place, with a delay of two hours -on a flight which was scheduled to last only 41 minutes. And it turned out that he, was a professor mathematics in an Ivy League College in the United States. His name was Guido Menzio, the name of a person from Italy, not even anywhere around the Middle East. And the suspected "cryptic notes" were a bunch of math formulas. The naive passenger who had reported him to the authorities was of course neither punished, nor received any legal complaints. Who could blame her, after all, for being a responsible citizen and "say something" after she had "see[n] something"? This is the consequence of creating 7/24 on-duty policemen and women out of ordinary citizens. But, of course, this is not the only consequence. One could even argue that the aforementioned example is something that could, statistically speaking, take place "one in a thousand" times. Yet the existence of a few acts of absurdity do not suffice to prove that a governmental policy, or more broadly speaking, a regime of subjection, in the sense introduced by Michel Foucault (1980, p. 97) in "Two Lectures on Power" as "the constitution of subjects", is totally out of control. Following Foucault's insight, I believe it to be possible, however, to see the consequences of the particular type of subjects that are constituted given the power matrix of defining the norm and the ideal behavior within the contemporary societies.

Foucault further notes, when asked to refine his position on the question of "the subject", in the interview that was posthumously published with the title "Remarks on Marx: Conversations with Duccio Trombadori":

> *Everything that I have occupied myself with up till now essentially regards the way in which people in Western societies have had experiences that were used in the process of knowing a determinate, objective set of things while at the same time constituting themselves as subjects under fixed and determinate conditions. For example, knowing madness by being constituted as a rational subject; knowing economics by being constituted as the laboring subject* (Foucault 1991, pp. 70–71).

Just as the reification of "madness" was the byproduct of the production of the rational subject, and the rational subject was a coexistent concept with the Enlightenment; one is

tempted to ask: What / who is the current subject that is being constituted by the current relations of power / knowledge, within the complicated set of tasks / duties and "off-limits" he is expected to act with full internalization, acceptance or, at least, respect? Claiming to have answered this question would not only be a premature attempt, but also it would leave outside of the boundaries of this dissertation. However, as far as the scope and focus of this study is concerned, I find it tempting and essential to offer at least one characteristic of the particular mode of subjectivity in examination.

In a fashion not unlike what has been going on for at least the last two hundred years, which broadly marked the rise of capitalism and modernity into a position to dominate and organization of ideas and relationships within societies; the contemporary individual subject, has been driven into a corner, enclosed by obligations she is unable to fulfill. What I have attempted to demonstrate here is the fact that this obligation to see & say, show & tell, act & react, follow & be followed, like & be liked, tweet & retweet, post & repost, which is so vividly recognizable in digital social media (which I shall intend to elaborate further in the parts to come) is not actually self-imminent, but actually the result of the combination of a set of historical, economic, political, ecological, social and discursive factors.

The precise identification in the long history of human existence on Earth of the turning point that gave rise to the emergence of such (a) subjec(ivity) is itself a matter of debate, which, as I have also tried to explain above, is not within the immediate goals of this study. As a believer in the transition from quantity to quality as suggested by dialectic of rupture and continuity put forward scholars of the dialectic method from Friedrich Hegel's (1874, pp. 108-109). "Encyclopedia of the Philosophical Sciences" onwards, and for more pragmatic reasons, though, I find it sufficient to suggest, in parallel thinking with Adam Curtis (2002), the creator of *The Century of the Self* documentary series, that somewhere around the later half of the 20th century, developments led to a reconfiguration of the individual, into a deeper and more encompassing, more focused and busier relationship with (him/her)self.

More specifically, in the current state characterized by the increase of uncertainty, dissolution of social solidarity mechanisms, and the privatization of ambivalence; the ideal subject is no more the passive collaborator, or the docile body who is expected to fulfill the single task of keeping an obedient stance in a top-down hierarchy; but is the *active self* responsible from taking position on the various complications raised by the complex grid of social risks and opportunities. In this regard, today, the process of interpellation, as described by Louis Althusser (1971, p. 11), that "transforms individuals into subjects" is functioning more and more strongly and even violently.

In explaining the functioning of power in his *Ideology and Ideological State Apparatuses (Notes towards an Investigation)*, Louis Althusser has drawn attention to the dual nature of ideology and repression, namely the mutually constitutive nature of what he names as Ideological State Apparatuses (ISAs) and Repressive State Apparatuses (RSAs). He has, quite plausibly, demonstrated the dialectic between the coercive and persuasive elements of creating acceptance, and at times, consent. The representative example he uses as an anecdote is the scene of a police officer hailing "Hey, you there!" and a person, when subject to that call, becomes a subject herself. As would also be argued by Michel Foucault (1980), those who possess power are also equipped with the ability to generate the *knowledge* that serves to explain the world - always, of course, from the standpoint of the holders of the power. This phenomenon has also been demonstrated in Douglas Rushkoff's (2000) *Coercion: Why We Listen to What 'They' Say*, by referring to a variety of examples, from the interrogation techniques of intelligence agencies, to the strategies employed by door-to-door salesmen, and the architectural design of entertainment localities, such as casinos and stadium.

What is novel to the present day -or more intensified- in this interplay, however, is the observation that the contemporary subject is positioned (or almost conditioned, as Rushkoff would state) to answer such a call, before (or even without) having been called in the first place. Once the subject has internalized the process of interpellation, power no longer needs to be conducted from the top to the bottom, in a way metals transfer heat and electricity, from one to the immediate proximate. Quite on the

contrary, the atomized individual, the node in the network, who has already internalized such a call experiences the obligation to respond as part of an internal drive.

By acting as the eyes, the mouth, the hands of the power -and also its carrot, and even its stick at times-, the self becomes its unconscious servant and deliberate messenger. When a sincerely concerned and "perfectly innocent" friend whispers to your ear in the subway the following sentences, for instance: "Hey, do you see this dark-haired guy sitting on the corner seat? Don't you, too, think he looks kind of suspicious". Or when, you see that a distant relative has sent you a message of complaint through digital social media that says: "I have sent you a Page Like Invite on Facebook, why haven't you responded? Or have you not seen the notification at all?"

This is the viral nature of the micro-functioning of the regime of internalized obligatory actions of the atomized self. The self, which, through the infinitesimal decisions made every hour of the day and a multitude of actions taken, has delegated his will power to a seemingly-dispersed central authority, which itself is mostly made possible thanks to the infinitesimal decisions and actions of such numerous selves alike. Seen from such perspective, it would be inconsistent to blame the "social media" to have invaded our lives. But, the automation it has added to this already enslaving and captivating process is also worth of mentioning. Thanks to the continual presence of connectivity in our pockets (which was made possible by the ill combination of a digital computer in the form of a cell phone and perpetual access to the Internet by way of the combined effect of data networks and wireless cable services); came about the era of "the automation of the call".

Which smartphone user can deny the effect of the blinking of the blue light on their cell phone? How about "phantom phone vibration" syndrome, which according to Dr. Robert Rosenberger, of the Georgia Institute of Technology in Atlanta, is the name of the change in users' brains that makes them "feel inclined to feel these vibrations" which are actually not existent[79]? Then, there is "the fear of missing out", or FoMO, as it has come to be widely recognized. Described, by Przybylski et al. (2013, pp. 1841-

---

[79] See "7 Health Problems Caused by Modern Life", http://archive.is/wo0V2 [accessed 4 November 2016].

1848), as "a desire to stay continually connected with what others are doing", this is the explanatory framework used in understanding why a smartphone user, after having spent a couple of "offline hours" feels the weird necessity to "go and check notifications". Of course, studies, such as Kandell's (1998, pp. 11-17) "Internet Addiction on Campus: The Vulnerability of College Students", have shown that FoMO is an important factor that contributes to the bold elevation in terms of social media use in the last couple of years; and as Przybylski et. al. (2013) have demonstrated, that this change is a formidable factor that has hindered the general psychological well-being of smartphone users.

The question that inevitably emerges, following such conceptualization of the helplessness of the self, is how possible it really is to argue for the existence of the conscious will at the service of rational agency? How truly conscious is the user / individual, who is "triggered" by a vibration of a box of silicon and metal and has left whatever they had up to then been busy with for sending a smiley to a group conversation in a social messaging platform such as Whatsapp? And is this not yet another complexion revealing the fact that what is at stake is merely anything but a semi-automatic response to, almost Pavlovian (1927) conditioning?

About this question of the "complicated relationship" between being subject and object, or the possibility of conscious action, I believe that Martin Heidegger's (1962) concept of "being-in-the-world" offers the terminology to overcome the ontological complications raised by the split of things into subject and object. Of course, one should be carefully informed of the fact scholarly rigor demands the cautious elaboration of concepts and avoidance of anachronistic mistakes especially when utilizing explanatory frameworks for thinking about contexts outside of their author's initial agendas. Yet, as I have tried to explain in the discussion about continuity and rupture within the course of modernity, I believe it is possible to argue that the aforementioned contemporary perils and those that Heidegger were contemplating about are both related to the inherent nature of modernity and the organization of societies in it which, without an exception, defines and constructs the selves that are living in(side) it.

Hence, I maintain the view that it would not be a "scholarly sin", to think with the formulations and suggestions of Heideggerian philosophy in identifying phenomena appertaining to the anxiety of the individual within the contemporary times that I have chosen to refer to, following van Dijk and Castells, as "the network" society. Scholars who have benefited from such line of reasoning, such as David Barney (2004) has done in his *The Network Society*, have underlined the possibility and efficacy of such reasoning, in explaining contemporary societies. Heidegger's (1962, p. 17) statements on "the essence of technology" which is "set *upon*" human and non-human bodies, asserts that the inherent characteristic of the established relationship is one which demands humans be positioned as elements of the "standing-reserve", who are ready to serve and be used, abused and exploited.

What is at stake here, to attach a general name to a series of interrelated phenomena, is *angst*, in the sense it has been used by Martin Heidegger, as the possessive mood of anxiety, insecurity, apprehension and dread. The angst of modernity, of "bringing-forth", is the uncanny feeling of "not feeling at home", the concern that something is not right, although where it has stemmed from -as opposed to "fear"- remains unidentifiable and objectless. Hence, the trouble of "not being at ease", is both a direct consequence of "being-in-the-world", and its very constituent. This makes one wonder if the peculiarly sharp similarity of wording in describing one's presence in digital social sites to this Heideggerian terminology on human existence; namely "being-on-the-*online*-world" is maybe more than just a coincidence. In such vein of thought, it is possible to argue that when someone asks their friend questions such as "*are* you on Facebook" or "will you *be* online tomorrow afternoon"; he is actually being the voice of the *angst*, by making the call that invites one to join the "standing-reserve" to receive her share of the uncanny sentiments of "not feeling at home" and "not being at ease".

In his book entitled *Present Shock: When Everything Happens Now*, media theorist Douglas Rushkoff (2013) suggests the term "present shock", derived in reference to Alvin Toffler's (1990) "future shock", to explain the excessiveness and extremity of the current trends which have caused "the diminishment of anything that isn't happening right now - and the onslaught of everything that supposedly is". Rushkoff refines the

concept further, arguing that it is the interplay of technology and the current organization of society that has caused such a stunning situation and adds, in an interview he gave to the National Public Radio:

> *Most simply, 'present shock' is the human response to living in a world that's always on real time and simultaneous. You know, in some ways it's the impact of living in a digital environment, and in other ways it's just really what happens when you stop leaning so forward to the millennium and you finally arrive there* (Rushkoff 2013).

On the issue of the byproducts of being trapped in such eternal "now", and the sign that give access to identifying the problem, Rushkoff lists five symptoms of present shock: "Narrative Collapse", "Digiphrenia", "Overwinding", "Fractalnoia" and "Apocalypto". Regarding "narrative collapse", he argues that "narrative structure" that had been utilized for more than two millennia -at least since the Iliad of Homer, to be more precise- for making sense of developments of the world and individuals' transformations within it, is no more the central element in organizing the generation of meanings. What it has been replaced with is the extreme large number of fragmented juxtapositions creating a mood of presentism and impulsiveness.

In such context, the term "digiphrenia", obviously derived from schizophrenia which literally translates as the "splitting of the mind", is the digitally mediated condition of mentally being in more than one place and acting with the notion of more than one "self" at the same time (Kuhn 2004, pp. 361-366). This makes perfect sense when one considers how members of our contemporary societies, and especially those named as millennials, are equipped with the ability to carry out conversations in physical localities, while engaging in conversations in digital platforms at the same time (Howe and Strauss 2009). Similarly, throughout the contacts I have had during the research phase of this thesis, and my teaching position that has provided me with the opportunity to interact with students within the 17 - 25 age group, I have had the opportunity to witness and discuss how one's "profile" or "avatar" in a digital social network, such as Twitter, can differ dramatically from their persona in another one, such as Facebook[80].

---

[80] Explanatory factors as cited by such users are numerous: from "playing cards wisely to gain appreciation from different audiences", to the "presence of their parents in some platforms, such as Facebook", or what I name as "the interplay of technical requirements and current capabilities", such as a

"Fractalnoia" refers to the fragmentation of perception, in the abyss created, by the presence of infinitesimal small meaning making "fragments", and by the absence of a general explanatory framework. And "overwinding" is the mechanism that explains how the individual is trying to keep going, by struggling to "squish huge timescales into much smaller ones" (Rushkoff 2013, p. 136). Consequently, "apocalypto", or the fantasy of a forthcoming (but actually never-arriving) *grand finale*, is how the collective defense mechanism is trying to visualise an end to the on-going agony and frustration caused by the obligation to keep up. From speculations about emancipation through the emergence of singularity to darker endings such as doomsday scenarios triggered by crises of all sorts, according to Rushkoff's analyses, are all symptoms of the aforementioned misery.

Regarding the general mood and collective consciousness of the society as a whole -or rather the lack of it; "[y]es, we may be in the midst of some great existential crisis" argues Rushkoff (2013, p. 73), and continues warningly "but we're simply too busy to notice". Hence, the individual, who is actually trying to be part of the world, who is trying to join the ongoing conversation, who is trying to be able to notice what is going around, and be noticed by others, ends up in a position of merely "reacting to the ever-present assault of simultaneous impulses and commands" (Rushkoff 2013, p. 4). What is worthy of attention in such mode of association as the one we have established with contemporary media platforms and the contents produced, disseminated and received through them, is the categorical transformation of the historical distinction between "the signal" and "the noise" which has been developed by various models of communication[81], and used in content analysis about media, as suggested by Harold Lasswell (1971, pp. 84-99) in *The Structure and Function of Communication in Society* for answering questions such as "who says what, to whom, why, to what extent and

---

device's ability to shoot videos, or the existence of data limits that constraint their use, which are imposed by Internet Service Providers.
[81] See for instance the frameworks that have contributed to the establishment of "communication science" as an academic discipline such as those by Shannon & Weaver, Schramm and Berlo.
Shannon, C. E., & Weaver, W. (1949). The mathematical theory of communication. Urbana, Illinois: University of Illinois Press.
Schramm, W. (1954). How communication works. In W. Schramm (Ed.), The process and effects of communication (pp. 3-26). Urbana, Illinois: University of Illinois Press.
Berlo, D. K. (1960). The process of communication. New York, New York: Holt, Rinehart, & Winston.

with what effect". From such a departure point, I believe it is important to also note that traditional definitions of the methodology of content analysis, such as the one suggested by Ole Holsti (1969) in *Content Analysis for the Social Sciences and Humanities* as the process and task of "identifying specified characteristics of messages" require a re-elaboration.

More specifically, the noise is no longer an unwanted distractor, decreasing the efficiency and effectiveness of the intended message. On the contrary; both the "desired" content and the "unwanted" noise are juxtaposed onto the same virtual fractalized time-space. As the acme of yet another trend, which, too, has been visible at least since the spread of television sets, the medium which is at least a predominant part of the message and the massage -to tell in McLuhan's terminology-, has been increasing its domination over the particularity of the content, since the spread of the active use of digital social media platforms (McLuhan et al. 1967). The phrase "Medium is the Message" was coined for the first time in 1967 by the communications theorist Marshall McLuhan in his now-classic book: *Understanding Media: The Extensions of Man*. In this book, McLuhan (1994) proposes that media themselves, not the content they carry, should be the focus of study; and that a medium affects the society in which it plays a role not only by the content delivered over the medium, but by the characteristics of the medium itself.

Despite the counterarguments that find Mcluhan's theory a little too skewed towards the formalist side, such as Regis Debray's (1996) powerful critique in "Media Manifestos"; it is quite impossible not to recognize, at least to some extent, the focal point in the Mcluhanesque media theory: that the form of a medium embeds itself in the message creating a symbiotic relationship by which the medium influences how the message is perceived. As Federman (2004) states, McLuhan illustrates this position by the proposition that in terms of the generated effect, the "message" of a report about a wrongdoing on a TV News Hour may be not so much about the individual story that was being reported, but more related to the fact that households are watching crime news at dinner tables in their living rooms. So, the link between the medium of communication and the effect it brings not necessarily dependent on the particularity of

the content is important to keep in mind; and the fact that the medium is – at least a very important part of – the message should be taken into account; especially in relation to the debate about the nature of the communication taking place through the cyberspace that the object of analysis of this paper belongs to as well. David Trend, one of the major theorists on digital communication and the editor of the collective book *Reading Digital Culture*, summarizes the general trend to conceptualize "knowledge and communication in a digital age", as follows:

> *The most common representation of cyberspace is that of a radically new medium born of the confluence of network technology and the rise of the personal computer. Proponents of this view argue that cyberspace offers an essential break from past systems of communication, commerce, or social interaction. Frequent emphasis is placed on the formal aspects of the data; its capacity to process large volumes of information at increasing speeds, or its ways of linking users across space and time* (Trend 2001, p. 53).

I very much agree with the claims above and think that, with the development of online communication, especially relationships about time and place have evolved into peculiar forms. In terms of the temporal dimension; scholars argue that the use of internet (with all the different structures of interaction it provides such as email and discussion lists, bulletin board systems, text chat, world wide web sites, graphical worlds, and the constantly developing newer ways of communication[82]) has created a hybrid communicative format where synchronous and asynchronous modes of communication coexist (Smith and Kollock 1999, p. 5). What is even more significant is the blurring of the boundaries between the two types as never before. So, just as the fact that it is usually not known whether the reached content may have been created just seconds or years before the time it is reached; there is no guarantee that an elaborated message will not be modified or even completely removed seconds after the interaction of the beholder with the content takes place[83].

---

[82] Let me cite just a single one of them: SecondLife. It is a virtual world where players create 3-dimensional virtual characters called "Avatars" and participate in a 3-dimensional world, with no stated significant aim other than hanging on. According to the official statistics; as of the end of March 2010 the site had approximately 13 million registered accounts and in the single month of January, participants of this "life" spent 28,274,505 hours there. For more information, current statistics or to live the experience of that life, please visit its homepage at www.secondlife.com [accessed on May 6, 2016].

[83] For an elaboration of the particular dynamics of different online structures of interaction, please see the introductory essay by Smith and Kollock in *Communities in Cyberspace*, p. 3-28.

A similar situation of uncanniness is also present in terms of the way our notions of locality are disturbed by the possibilities of online communication. In this regard, it is significant to establish the necessary connections between this phenomenon and the general trends of globalization towards the delocation of lived spaces, within the frameworks that been illustrated with the metaphor of "placelessness" by Edward Relph (1976), and with the theoretical construct of "non-space" by Marc Augé (2008) in his *Non-Places: An Introduction to Supermodernity*. In parallel argumentation, and maybe a little more pessimistic mood, Jennie German Molz (2004, p. 169) argues in her article entitled "Playing Online and Between the Lines: Round-the-world Websites as Virtual Places to Play", which appeared in *Tourism Mobilities* edited by Mimi Sheller and John Urry, that global capitalist modernity has "emptied certain places such as airports, highways and shopping malls of local specificity" and rearticulated them "as homogenized spaces of mobility and consumption". The potential danger, she warns, is the overtaking of lived spaces by abstract environments which posits danger of the collapsing of conceptions regarding physical space such as near and far.

If the loss of orientation in terms of time and space and the blurring of boundaries, such as those between now and before or near and far, established long before is an important dimension providing anxiety about the future of online communication; the enormous gap it creates between experience and knowledge is at least as important. Meltem Ahıska underlines the importance of the *lived experience* and, summarizes Wolfgang Schivelbusch's comparison of travel on a horse and as by a train as follows:

> *Bir atla yolculuk ediyorsanız, hem geçmiş hem de güncel deneyiminiz size yol gösterecektir. En iyi güzergahı seçmek, çevreyi bilmek zorundasınız. Ayrıca yolculuğun ne zaman biteceğine atınızla ilişki içinde siz karar vereceksiniz. Oysa bir trenle yolculuk ediyorsanız artık matematiksel bir evrende A ile B istasyonu arasında önceden belirlenmiş bir rotada gidiyorsunuz; ne yolu, ne de çevreyi, ne de sizi taşıyan makineyi bilmek zorunda değilsiniz. Yolculuk deneyiminizin iç dünyaya kapanmış bir anlamı var artık; içinizden geçtiğiniz çevre ise çoktan düşüncelerinize eşlik eden bir manzaraya dönüşmüş* (Ahıska 2002, p. 116).

Bringing the terminology and logic of this discussion to a "virtual travel" does not seem to necessitate enormous creativity. I believe that in such a *mathematicalized universe*, from the last point mentioned in this insightful quotation, namely the turning of the participated environment into a part of the accompanying landscape, follows the

"instrumentalization of knowledge" (Ahıska 2002, p. 117) and the superficialization of our relationship with the objects we get into contact with. Thus, I believe that if there is a huge gap between the experience of travelling on a horse and by a train; there is an even bigger gap between the real modes of communication and the cyberspace.

What is perhaps at least important is the fact that our experiences with Internet are way too frequent and long to be compared to a travel by a train. "Surfing" in internet as well as checking social media accounts have for long become part of routines many people and it seems such that this trend will even continue at increased speeds. Yet, the effects are not confined to that, either. Another important dimension contributing to the instrumentalization of knowledge and the superficiality of the relationship is the constant play-out caused by participating in an online activity. As Molz (2004, p. 169) states, internet sites have become places of play-put between established boundaries such as the distinctions between the real and the virtual or work and leisure. As maybe best exemplified by the incessant flux of *tweet*s on the screen of a smart phone through the Twitter application, the medium -or 'platform" to update the terminology so that it is in resonance with the current language on digital communication- is affecting our sensory as well as mental capabilities. This tendency has reached such to such an extent that not only it is more difficult than ever to distinguish between a fake user and an authentic one, but historical distinctions such as "advertising" and "news" have also been blurring. As demonstrated by the wild success of "social content platform"s such as "Buzzfeed" and "onedio.co"; in today's media ecology, anything counts; and they all count the same.

This is clearly the byproduct of the double-edged digital / social sphere of communication and interaction, which, as I have tried to demonstrate in my master's thesis entitled "Conceptualizing Online Environments as Third Places: An Analysis on Second Life and Facebook" (Erdoğmuş 2009), has been steadily growing, thanks to the emerging of technical possibilities that allow the existence of synchronous and asynchronous communication possible. Before discussing, in the next subchapter, the particular set of factors that enable such unprecedented aptitude, I find it useful to present a "sneak peak" into how the mechanism functions in actual quotidian use by

referring to the simple case of a Facebook user who posts a "status update" and receives a set of responses in the form of "like"s (or other emoticons) and comments.

Let us assume, as proposed above, that a "Facebook friend" has made a status update, and others have responded to it. As a Facebook user, you, too, can join the people who interact at the same time, by reacting to the post in the form of a response or comment. So, as a user, you are furnished with the capacity *interact* with your *online* friends. But that is not the only technical possibility that one has in their repository, for "participating" in digital social media platforms. For instance, you can also log in two days later, that is, after the interaction and dialogue has already taken place. Hence, you can read the texts, look at the images, listen to the audio documents or watch the videos *ex post facto*, or after the event has already taken place. By posting another comment, for instance, you trigger the generation of a set of "notification messages" to be sent to the people who had already been involved in the conversation; possibly also triggering further response and reaction. Hence, as a digital social medium is also a form of durable media, it serves as a container of form and content elements, in the way suggested by Zoe Sofia's (2000, pp. 181-201) article entitled "Container Technologies".

Then there is also the third possibility, which is actually a derivative of the combination first two types of capabilities. A piece of content in a digital social network oscillates between a media form -frozen and dead in the sense that it has been completed and cannot be modified- and a site where communication and interaction takes place -alive dynamic, and full of various possibilities such as modification, progression and even termination. What is fascinating in such co-existence is the fact that, the combined effect of these two technical possibilities brings about a situation which, analogically speaking, is similar to "reincarnation". You, just as any user of these platforms, can always bring the dead back into life by *resummoning* a conversation that has died down before. For a detailed elaboration of this argument, please refer to the subchapter entitled "Digital Social Media Platforms", where I have analytically demonstrated the elements that make this possible and exclusively unique to the digital social media used in the contemporary era.

In the next section, I am going to discuss the positionality of the self (and the 'selves') within the network society and argue that a new concept of self -and a correspondingly new subjectivity- has been produced in this historical period. Such development whose consequences have been transformative in a number of aspects including the way individuals relate to political and economic developments emerging in their surroundings, as I intend to argue, have been critical in determining the modalities of organization and subjectification in the network society, giving rise to the series of events that have been conceptualized under the general framework of networked social movements.

4.2 THE NETWORKED SELF

What has accompanied to the process of *networkization* of the society described above, (and the corresponding of the earlier modes of its organization) is the parallel transformation on the level of the construction of the individual: the rise of a new conceptualization of the idea of self. This process which has arguably been going on at least since the times when the thinking individual was placed at the center of the quest for ontology and epistemology bn the Cartesian philosophy dictum (Descartes 1641) "Cogito ergo sum" (that is, "I think, therefore I am") has been going through a number of accelerated transformations during and after the period marked by the ending of the 2nd World War (Rosenberg 1996). As has been insightfully analysed and thoroughly demonstrated in the documentary series by Adam Curtis, entitled 'The Century of the Self'[84], the 'baby-boomers generation' and the ones that came after that were different -at least in terms of intensity- in experiencing the world as individuals who place them'selves' to the middle of the matrix explaining the world and who were more open to recognizing their desires -sexual, consumerist, libertarian and others-. This generation, correspondingly, became the principal agents of the processes of sexual revolution, civil rights movement and other social and cultural transformations of the

---

[84] The official publicity off his documentary series that consists of four approximately one hour episodes, each of which historically demonstrates the development of the public relations industry and the parallel transformation of the concept of the self is available at:
http://www.bbc.co.uk/pressoffice/pressreleases/stories/2002/02_february/28/centuryoftheself.shtml
[accessed on October 22, 2016].

1960s, 1970s and 1980s (Epstein 1991). The group of people born after the baby boomers, namely the Generation X, who experienced the emerging effects of the network society described above, further accelerated this process (Coupland 1991). Living their formative years during the neoliberal transformation of the late 1970s and the harsh 1980s, they were people who grew internalizing the market values of the atomistic society and took great pride from it. (Ahıska & Yenal 2006).

Their children, a generation that has been acknowledged with many names, such as *the Millennials*, *Generation Y, The Net Generation*, *Trophy Kids*, *Generation Me Me Me*, *Generation Flux*, *Peter Pan Generation*, *Digital Natives*, *Boomerang Generation* and *The Selfie Generation*, not only went to even more extremes in terms of the aforementioned process of individuation (Howe & Strauss 1992, Twenge 2014), but also -through being earlier practitioners of the digital revolution- significantly contributed to the establishment of the current digital media regime that societies are living through at the contemporary times (Tapscott 2008, Deuze et. al. 2012). Before describing further properties of this group of individuals, I find it essential to note that these people have been the principal agents of the networked social movements that I intend to analyse below, including the Resistance that forms the main subject of analysis of this study (KONDA 2013). Hence, I also find it essential to state that, for a thorough conceptualization of the subjectivity of the resistance, it is crucial to understand the particular modalities of subjectification and organization that members of this generation have been going through, two tasks that I intend to deal with in this and the next section respectively.

Millennials have been described as "detached from institutions and networked with friends" (Taylor et. al. 2014); having certain tendencies towards narcissistic behavior - actually more so than any other generation up to now- (Bergman et. al. 2011); showing a certain disinterest to issues about politics and existential questions (Twenge, 2015); expecting to be rewarded -independent of performance or outcome- just for the mere act of participating (Alsop 2008); more liberal minded, less religious, less culturally conservative and less likely to get married than earlier generations (Twenge, 2015). Economically speaking, they are earning less than their parents, have no job security

and it is more common among the members of this generation to change jobs, careers and even industries (Kunreuther et. al. 2008). It has been stated, as a direct consequence of this fact that they have a tendency to live with their parents for longer periods of time; a fact contributing also to a process that has been described as delayed adulthood and prolonged adolescence (Shaputis 2003). Being the first generation to grow up with personal computers, they are technically skilled -to the extent of being described as 'digital natives' (Prensky 2001). Relying on 'the Web' for most daily tasks, they use the Internet as the main source of getting the news (Reynol & Mastrodicasa 2007); and do not differentiate in the consumption of media material between traditionally existing forms of 'news' vs. 'entertainment' media; and have been stated to be 'omnivores' in not strongly distinguishing between the 'types', 'qualities' and 'genres' of the media content that they consume (Hargittai & Hsieh 2011). Below is the cover of the 'May 20, 2013 issue' of the Time Magazine that entitled "The Me Me Me Generation", with the following text accompanying the cover image and title: "millennials are lazy, entitled narcissists who still live with their parents- why they'll save us all"[85].

---

[85] The op-ed by Joel Stein published on the same issue, which gives one of the most illustrative accounts on millennials, is available at: http://time.com/247/millennials-the-me-me-me-generation [accessed on November 2, 2016].

Figure 4.6: The me me me Generation
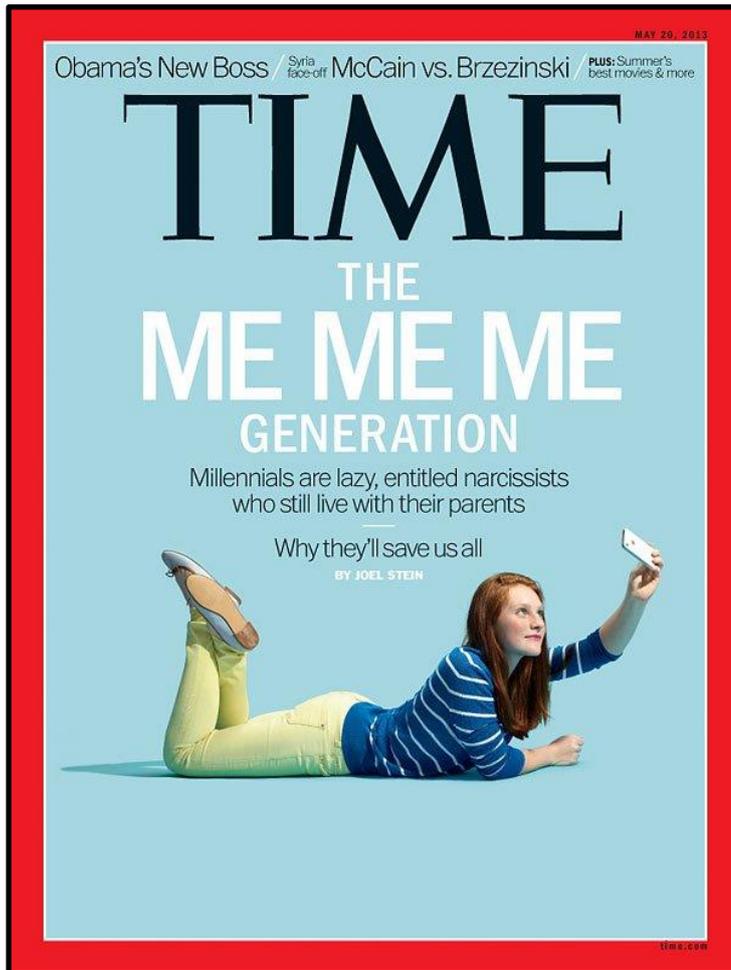
Source: Time Magazine (May 2013)

It has also been noted that, through their intensive use of digital social media, millennials have developed a tendency towards working in collaborative forms and within team-like structures (Huyler et. al. 2015), forming social many social ties, albeit most of them 'loose', and benefitting from 'strength of weak ties' in the sense described by Granovetter (1973). They have a certain preference towards practicing agency -that is, leaving their marks on their surroundings in various forms -through their skillful use of multiple forms of media, usually many of them at the same time, by means of multi-tasking within the 'convergence culture' (Jenkins 2006). Moreover, as Papacharissi et. al. (2010) have argued in the edited book, entitled 'A Networked Self: Identity, Community, And Culture On Social Network Sites', the ways they have been shaping, expressing (and correspondingly re-shaping) their identities, as well as their patterns in establishing social connections have predominantly been shaped by not only the

network infrastructures (such as digital social media platforms), but also by the social cultures developed in coevaluation with the logic of the functioning of networks.

It is of no doubt that the technical advancements, especially those in the sphere of digital technology -as has been described in the previous chapter- has played a crucial role within this process, although, of course, not the single role. As the image below demonstrates, the technical opportunities in contemporary times to be one's own media platform is unprecedented, and maybe even unimaginable in the standards of earlier decades (please note that the surtitle -as well as the typo in it- has been present in the authentic image that I have encountered during my cyber-ethnographic fieldwork).

Figure 4.7: The Networked Self
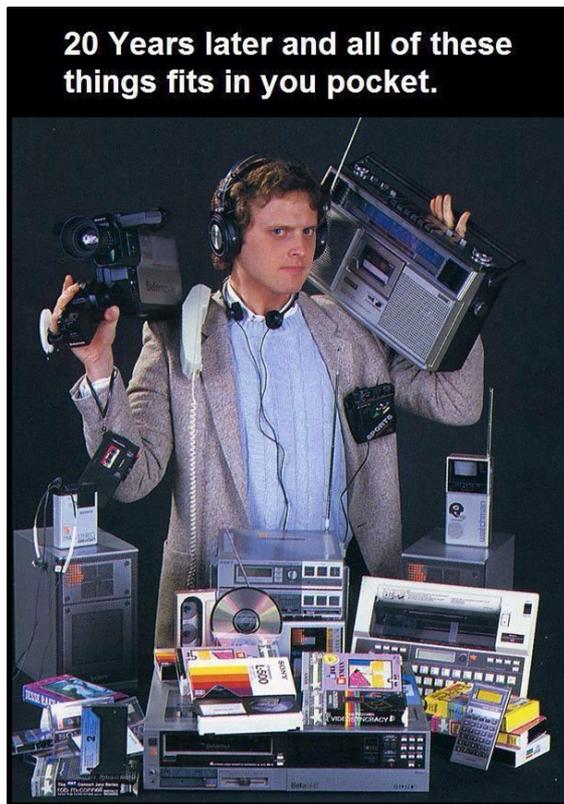
Source: Cyber-ethnography by the author

Of course, having made such a statement, it should be immediately noted that the members of the Millennial Generation have been quite adaptive and creative in the ways they have embraced such technical novelty. The first two images below demonstrate maybe a little exaggerated but still insightful examples of such 'internalization' of

living with the media. The third one, which speculatively claims that 'The Playstation Gamer' has developed new functionalities of her fingers and that they should be given different names, depicts in a Mcluhanesque (1964) sense how the media that functions as the 'extensions of man' is also reflexive transformative capacity. In a similar fashion, the fourth one illustrates how each one of the particular platforms in the digital sphere invites a different type of performance in terms of user participation, and that users are quite capable of accommodating such state-dependent behavior.

Figure 4.8: Digital Shave
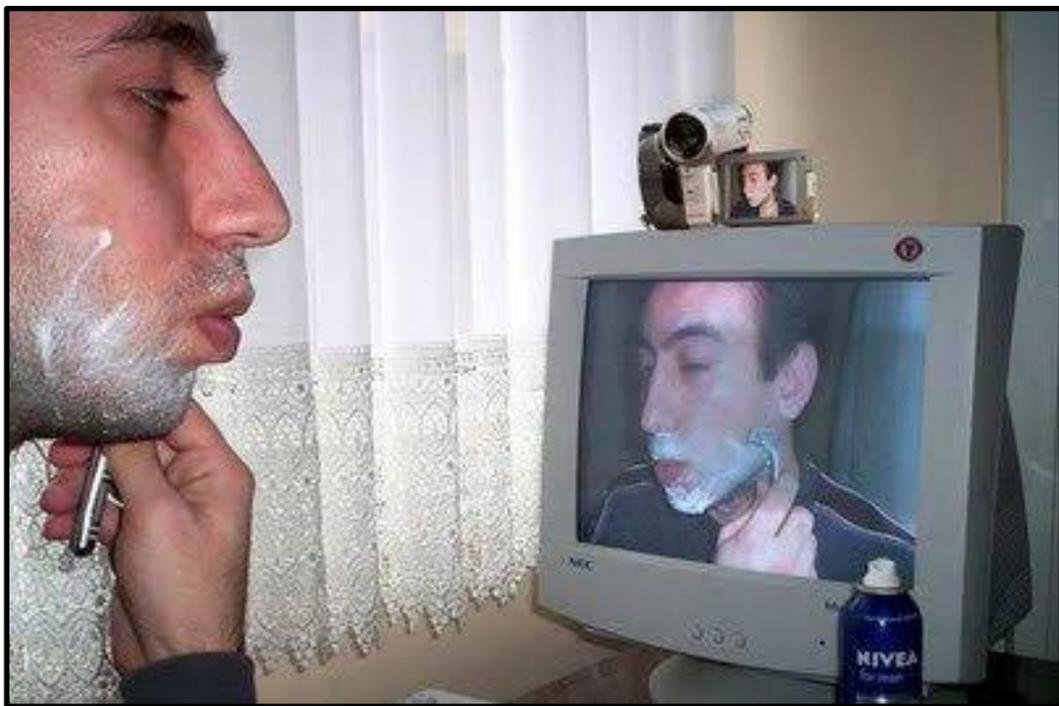
Source: Cyber-ethnography by the author

Figure 4.9: Digitally Entangled

Source: Cyber-ethnography by the author

Figure 4.10: Extensions of a gamer
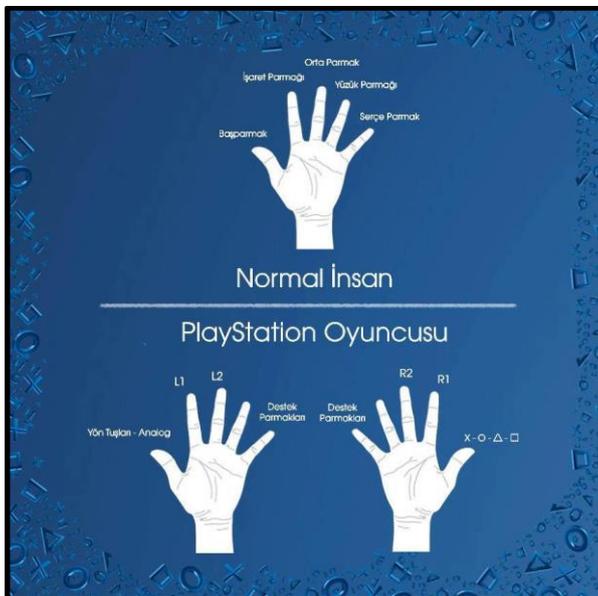
Source: Cyber-ethnography by the author

Figure 4.11: Which social media are you?

Source: Cyber-ethnography by the author

The following visual, which has been created in the form of a picture dictionary entry, gives a description of the neologism 'youniverse' as a noun' "used to indicate that a person has knowledge only of him or herself; their universe consists only of them", stating -albeit mockingly- the extreme level of narcissism present in the members of the Generation Me, a supposed member of which has also been included in the background image that accompanies the dictionary description. In a similarly sarcastic manner, the second image below warns pedestrians that they should "pay attention while walking" and boldly states that their "facebook status update[s] can wait'. The third figure, which is a caricature that also relies on the use of sarcasm in the depiction of the social reality, satirically underlines the fact that the character traits, behavioral patterns and trends that have come to be associated predominantly with the millennials are potentially in constant flux and actually penetrating to individuals and groups from other age groups, education levels, social statues and classes: An elderly woman illustrated as a typical housewife from Turkey asks her grown up son to "call, share location, like, add, tweet" after having reached to his destination, and responds to her complaining son, in the form of the hashtag "#anneyebagirilmaz" that "#itsnotoktoyellatmom".

Figure 4.12: Youniverse
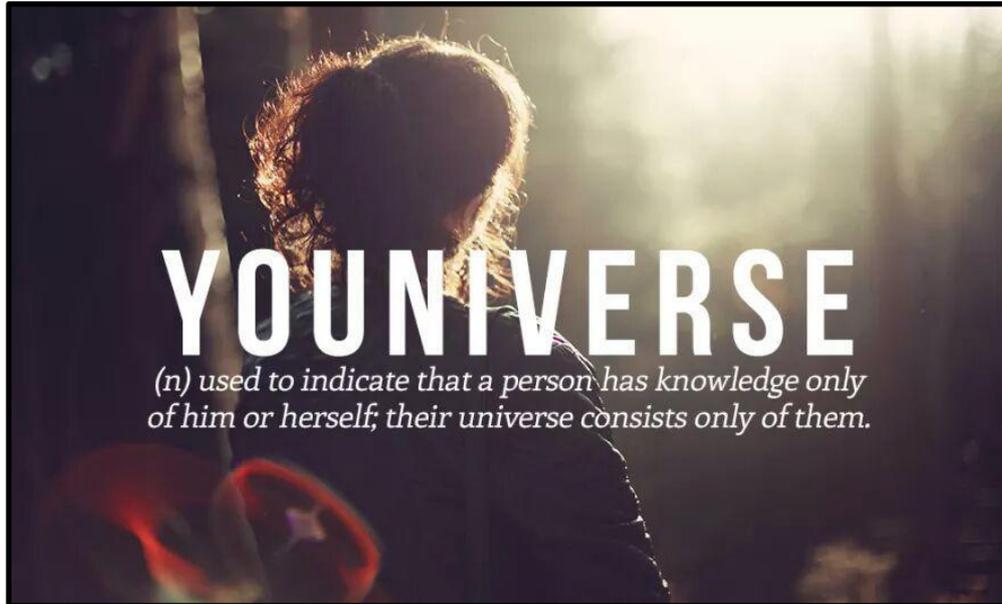
Source: Cyber-ethnography by the author

Figure 4.13: Pay attention

Source: Cyber-ethnography by the author

Figure 4.14: It's not ok to yell at mom

Source: Yiğit Özgür

As also demonstrated through these examples, the participation of the 'networked self' in digital platforms has been unprecedented, not only in terms of the intensity which manifests itself in the constant use of digital devices, but also about the ways individuals experience their environments and make sense of their own selves within them. In such an era where the ordinary citizen is equipped with the possibilities of creating and disseminating media content, the priorities that dictate the agenda are also subject to change. Such development, matched with the narcissism generating tendency of digital social media platforms, through creating the perception of self-declared celebrity status for anyone and everyone with some presence on the Web, brings about the reaffirmation of the role of the 'ordinary' from the back door. The image below, which has been screenshot by the author from Ekşisözlük, a user-generated informal

dictionary platform, is quite illustrative of such potential. It vividly depicts how a user has generated an entry entitled "1 temmuz 2004 karnımın acıkması" (which translates as "My getting hungry on July 1 2004) creating a false-alarm news-like situation; and also how other users of the platform also take part in such act of playfulness, through contributing to the same 'dictionary entry'.

Figure 4.15: My getting hungry

Source: Ekşi Sözlük

It is also important to draw attention to the element of arbitrariness and the corresponding possibility of distraction in the online digital media platforms. Marked by multitasking and the 'click-culture' that accompanies it, the users of these platforms are driven by two antagonistic forces. On the one hand, they are equipped with unprecedented freedom in terms of the choice of the content that they interact with and

consume, as a result of the architecture of the Web, which not only gives full power to the user, but also demands -unlike any other media- active use of that power: The users are required to type and click to be able to 'surf the web'. On the other hand, due to the very same technicality, the users usually get navigated from one type of content to the other, and from one website or platform to multiple others. It is quite common, almost part of the routine, for the users to lose track of what they had been up to, until they realize, many clicks later, that they find themselves ending up in sites dealing with content that they had not actually knowingly intended to be engaged in. The image below, which is now a famous meme among the users of the Turkish digital sphere, depicts a vivid instance of such distraction. In the comments section of a Youtube video from a TV show, a user reproachfully writes "lan arif'in manchester'a attığı golü arıyordum, nereye geldim amk" (which translates as "dude, i'd been looking for the goal arif scored agains manchester; how the f.ck have i ended here").

Figure 4.16: How did I end here?

Source: YouTube

It is without a doubt that every new opportunity also brings about problems (and troubles) that had not existed before. And correspondingly, from each one of such troubles a new opportunity arises. The Internet -and the communication and interaction that has come alongside it- is maybe one of the most intense sites where such dynamism is not only constantly going on, but also is quite explicitly visible. The shrinking world hypothesis, or the concept of 'Six Degrees of Separation' as it has come to be more popularly acknowledged, is one of these opportunities (or problems, depending on the perspective of the person assessing the developments). Based originally on a speculation -or a thought experiment- this concept states that any two people on the world can, on average, 'reach' each other thanks to at most six intermediaries (Newman et. al. 2011). Echoed also by Mcluhan's (1963) concept of 'global village', this theory has had to stay in the form of untested theory until the emergence of the Internet. Since then, however, not only has this theory been tested, but it has also been demonstrated that, through the social networks that increase people's 'connectivity' with one another, it requires 3.74 people on average for people -and the media contents they create- to be able to reach each other (Backstrom et. al. 2012).

This observation, which has been crucial in making sense of the dynamics that makes possible various practices from 'citizen journalism' to 'digital activism' and beyond has, for the first time in history, explicitly demonstrated the systematic potential of the turbulence of traditional agenda setting behavior of centralist foci of power, such as the mass media. The Time Magazine, was one of the earliest recognizers of such revolutionary practice in the media industry. As seen below, on its January 1, 2007 cover, the person of the year was proclaimed to be 'You', with the extra explanation which stated "Yes, you. You control the Information Age. Welcome to your world".

Figure 4.17: You.
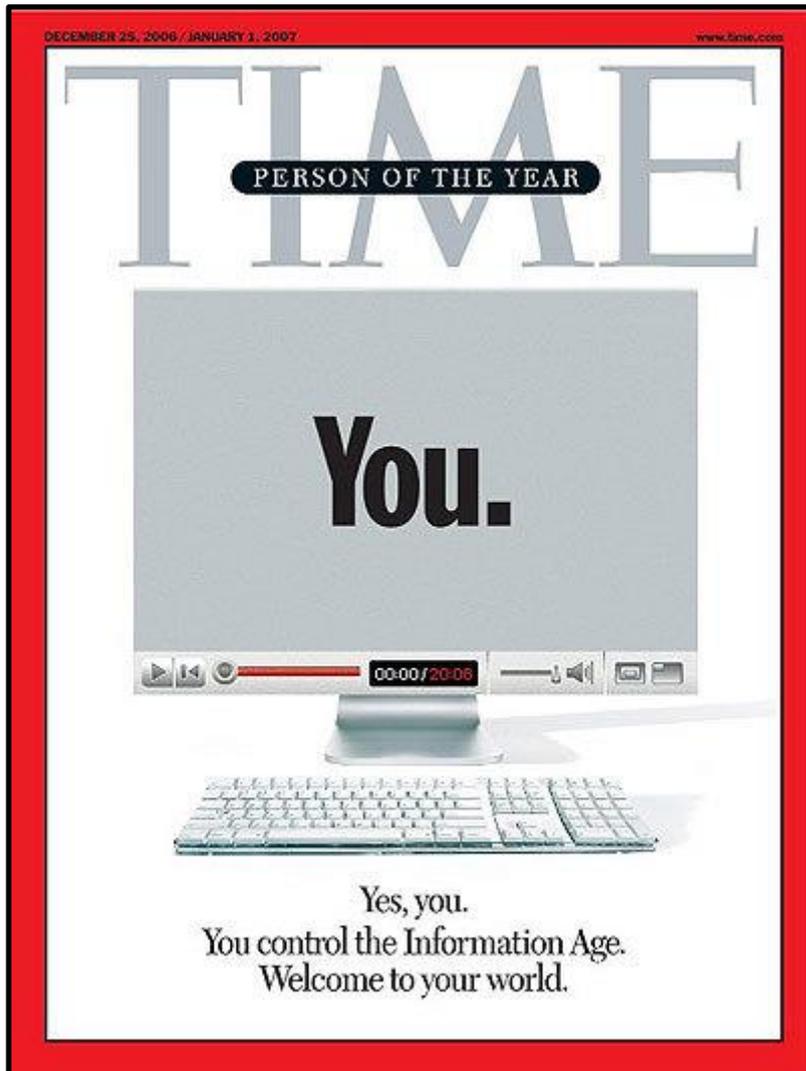
Source: Time Magazine, 2007.

I believe it to be clear by now that the collective agency that has been addressed on the Time Magazine is the 'produSer' culture that has been triggered by the millennials and adapted by other members of the society. Hence, it has been recognized that, with their 'iphones', 'ipads', browsing sites such as 'Youtube', contributing to platforms such as 'wikipedia', the particular user (and the collective subjectivity the combination of all those particular users generate) do have great potential (and maybe also a potential role to play in the progression of history, not only culturally and economically, but also socially and politically). It did not take too long, after this cover by the Time Magazine, for a series of events to take place, where such 'historical role' would actually be 'played' by the aforementioned subjectivity. Although its final prospect in terms of the

success / failure question is not yet clear, it has been quite evident, as also demonstrated by the image below, that the 'yoUser' has since put their feet on the stage of history. Below is the cover of another Time Magazine, this time from the last issue of 2011, and also another 'person of the year': This time, it is 'The Protester', the magazine states, and adds: "From the Arab Spring to Athens, from Occupy Wall Street to Moscow".

Hence, the endless circle of action-reaction once again becomes closed: The network society and the transformations that have taken during its progression, together with the development in the Information and Communication Technologies are matched with the parallel development of a new notion of (networked) self, tech-savvy and disruptively active in the use of digital media. The same process, however, as has been described above, brings about insecurity, low satisfaction levels and economical as well as political pressure for the same people, who are then drawn to forming and participating in a series of events in many parts of the globe: The networked social movements. In the next section, I intend to carry out a discussion of this concept, to be followed by the argumentation that a particular instance of the Resistance was another round of this chain, or to state in the corresponding terminology, 'another node' among the 'networks of outrage and hope', as has been described by Castells (2015).

Figure 4.18: The Protester

Source: Time Magazine, 2011.

4.3 NETWORKED SOCIAL MOVEMENTS AND THE RESISTANCE AS A LINK IN THE CHAIN

I have started this chapter with an insightful quote from Marshall McLuhan's "The Gutenberg Galaxy", which although being published in 1963, has many times proven to be extremely useful in grasping the social dynamics and collective sentiments of contemporary times. The insight of his text, I believe, is so powerful because of the ability to demonstrate both positive potential that such developments can lead to, and the negative outcomes that have been realized. More specifically, McLuhan (1963, p. 32) notes that "[i]nstead of tending towards a vast Alexandrian library the world has become a computer, an electronic brain, exactly as an infantile piece of science fiction"; and adds that "... as our senses have gone outside us, Big Brother goes inside".

This statement, clearly, is to be understood in the wider McLuhanesque theoretical universe. As he has more explicitly put forward in Understanding *Media: The Extensions of Man*, media function by amplification and catalyzation. More specifically, he notes that each and every medium actually "amplifies or accelerates existing processes" (McLuhan 1994, p. 7). By referring to various technical developments -in the wider sense of the term- such as mechanization, automation, movies, electricity, electric light, telegraph, typography, writing, speech, telephone, tv, railway, airplanes; he demonstrates, how each and every one of them actually increases human's capabilities in communicating and interacting with the world.

However productive a technical advancement is in "realizing 'amputations and extensions' to our senses and bodies" and adding itself to "what we already are"; the outcome in the absence of the necessary awareness, warns McLuhan (1994, p. 5), is alienation that makes humanity move into "a phase of panic terrors, exactly befitting a small world of tribal drums, total interdependence, and superimposed co-existence" (1963, p. 32). Looking back at McLuhan's writing from 2016, I believe, one has to acknowledge the fact that these warnings have proven to be quite accurate.

George Monbiot, in his brilliant Guardian op-ed entitled "Neoliberalism is Creating Loneliness. That's What's Wrenching Society Apart", expresses the effects of the current situation through an analysis focused on mental health, by drawing on finding of studies from economics and sociology to neuroscience and psychology[86]. He vividly demonstrates how the individual is impoverished under the fierce conditions of neoliberalism. In an environment dominated by the ideology of "every man for himself" the isolated masses, he argues, try to find shelter in increasing their possessions and consecutively falling prey to excessive consumerism.

However, as Herbert Marcuse has thoroughly discussed in "One-Dimensional Man: Studies in the Ideology of Advanced Industrial Society", consumerism does not actually help in increasing people's happiness and perceived welfare status. "[T]he system we live in may claim to be democratic, but it is actually authoritarian in that a few individuals dictate our perception of freedom by only allowing us choices to buy for happiness" argues Marcuse (2013, p. 3), and continues to assert how destructive it actually is:

> *In the state of "unfreedom" consumers act irrationally by working more than they are required to in order to fulfill actual basic needs, by ignoring the psychologically destructive effects, by ignoring the waste and environmental damage it causes, and by searching for social connection through material items* (Marcuse 2013, p. 3).

Monbiot's observations, which he bases on both statistical analyses and qualitative studies, share a parallel view. Within an environment of never-to-be-fulfilled needs and desires starts the social comparison game with its fundamental rule dictating that the more one has, or the more one is, compared to his affiliates, the better for him. It is in such regard that Monbiot points out to the dark side of digital social media. More precisely, he states that "[s]ocial media brings us together and drives us apart, allowing us precisely to quantify our social standing, and to see that other people have more friends and followers than we do" (Monbiot 2016).

---

[86] See George Monbiot's article "Neoliberalism is Creating Loneliness. That's What's Wrenching Society Apart", http://archive.is/03Ah4 [accessed 17 October 2016].

For grasping how this dynamic actually functions in the quotidian acts and performances of ordinary individuals, the insight offered by Mark Deuze, Peter Blank, Laura Speers is particularly promising. In their article entitled "A Life Lived in Media"; Deuze, Blank and Speers (2012, pp. 1-15) argue that a constant exposure to media has become a constant characteristic of everyday life and that the amount and intensity of this dynamic has reached such an extent that it has passed the threshold of transforming the nature of the relationship that people develop and maintain with media. More particularly they claim that "[c]ontemporary media devices ... and how all of this fits into the organization of our everyday life disrupt and unsettle well-established views of the role media play in society". Arguing that the sharp increase in the volume and duration of media consumption has created a situation which calls for a radical reconsideration over concepts that have traditionally been perceived in a dichotomous fashion, such as media and society. Hence they claim that:

> *Instead of continuing to wrestle with a distinction between media and society, this contribution proposes we begin our thinking with a view of life not lived with media, but in media. The media life perspective starts from the realization that the whole of the world and our lived experience in it are framed by, mitigated through, and made immediate by (immersive, integrated, ubiquitous and pervasive) media* (Deuze et al. 2012, p. 1).

I believe that by now, the potentially disturbing effects of the socialization, communication and interaction under the current formation of network society have been thoroughly elaborated. It is possible to claim that isolation, impoverishment, alienation, insecurity and increased perception of threat are among the negative consequences. However, on the question of "What is to be done", analyses of the current regimes of accumulation and contemporary media systems have also offered solutions as well. A possible "prescription" is offered by Douglas Rushkoff (2010) in *Program or Be Programmed: Ten Commands for a Digital Age*. Written for the individual who is trying to "survive" in the current digital media ecology with the aim of "self-defence", the book offers ten principles to be followed for a less alienating and more productive relationship with the available tools of communication.

Rushkoff, who has -as has also been argued above- many times identified key characteristics of our societies with great insight, by suggesting principles, such as "Do

Not Be Always On", "Live in Person", "Do Not Sell Your Friends" and "Tell the Truth"; and making assertions, such as "You May Always Choose None of the Above", 'You Are Never Completely Right", and "One Size Does Not Fit All", provides a survival guide to the inhabitants of 21st century. Structured in reference to the original ten commandments, the book argues convincingly on the application of these principles which although might seem intuitively simple on the surface, is deeply grounded on the diverse set of examples provided in its argumentation. In conclusion, Rushkoff argues that these "commandments", apart from providing personal strategies to not fall prey to the digital media environment, also promise to bring forward the conditions for collective methods that could create a more free and promising media ecology.

In a parallel fashion, Barry Wellman (2001, pp. 227-252) argues, in *Physical Place and Cyberplace: The Rise of Personalized Networking*, that in contemporary societies; communities, work relationships and organizations are functioning under the umbrella concept of "networked individualism" and that this actually has the potential of creating unprecedented opportunities. Similarly, Yochai Benkler (2006) argues in his "experimentally crowdsourced book", *The Wealth of Networks: How Social Production Transforms Markets and Freedom* that "commons-based peer production" provides a window of opportunity by making the production and dissemination of media more accessible to wider segments of the society. He furthermore establishes the link between the dominant technical infrastructure, the economic base and the organization of the social relations by referring to the term "Networked Information Economy", which he describes as a "system of production, distribution, and consumption of information goods characterized by decentralized individual action carried out through widely distributed, nonmarket means that do not depend on market strategies" (Benkler p. 3).

What is particularly worth mentioning, in this regard, is Michel Foucault's observation about the "productive potential of power", which, ironically, creates ground for its very undoing in all instances of its manifestation. What this suggests for the argument I have been carrying out in relation to "the network society" is that the very wounds people are taking due to its destructive potentiality and the very disruptions it is causing in the fabric of social life and interpersonal relations might quite probably be creating the

grounds that makes it possible to act, interact, communicate and organize against it. As, after all, stated by Foucault (1990, p. 95) in such a concise yet powerful fashion; "[w]here there is power, there is resistance". It is through this perspective, I believe, that the recent global wave of uprisings should be understood.

On the potentiality of the aforementioned networks in particular, and of network society in general, much has been written and said. Influential texts that discussed how the networked environment can give rise to "networked social movements", such as the *Networks of Hope and Outrage* by Manuel Castells (2015) have been produced. Journalistic accounts of the globally spreading wave of uprisings, such as *Why It's Kicking Off Everywhere: The New Global Revolutions* by Paul Mason (2013) have tried to come up with anecdotes to see the common patterns among the particular incidents taking place in various geographies and with differently expressed motivations. Inspiring studies bringing together various disciplines with an agenda of setting further direction for political action, such as *Declaration* by Michael Hardt and Antonio Negri (2012) have pointed out to the repository of present and potential tactics and strategies that could pave the road to more radical alterations in power balances in favor of "commons". In parallel fashion, Michael Hardt and Antonio Negri (2001, p. 25) point out to the observation that "[r]esistances are no longer marginal but active in the center of a society that *opens up in networks* [emphasis by the author]; the individual points are singularized in a thousand plateaus"; in explicit recognition of the philosophical framework developed by Deleuze and Guattari (1988) in their book entitled 'A Thousand Plateaus'. And other contemporary social theorists, such as Mason (2013) recognizes the potential of such movements to bypass and supersede established power mechanisms. The realization of such potential, according to Shirky (2011) has been due to the increase of opportunities for political participation which correspondingly reinforces an increased capability of organizing collective action.

The aforementioned dynamics have been noted to have taken place in a number and variety of of social happenings around the world in the last decade, such as 'The Arab Spring' (Lotan et. al. 2011), Spanish '15 M' movement (Casero-Ripollés & Feenstra 2012), 'Occupy Wall Street' movement (DeLuca et. al. 2012), 'The Umbrella

Revolution' of Hong Kong (Fu & Chan 2015), 'Iranian Election Protests' (Featherman 2015), and the collective composition of the Icelandic Constitution through digital participation (Landemore 2015). Furthermore, this list keeps growing day by day through the emergence of recent networked social movements, such as 'Black Lives Matter' in the US and the 'Nuit Debout' in France. Many scholars including Atak & Della Porta (2016), Tuğal (2013) and İnceoğlu (2014) have parallelly argued that the Resistance should also be considered as a link on this chain of events.

One of the defining characteristics of networked social movements, as noted by Aday et. al. (2010), has been the crucial role played by the instantaneously developing Information and Communication Technologies (ICTs). Disillusioned by the myth of the democratic media as the fourth estate, participants of this global wave of resistance turn to other resources to mobilize in their attempts to disseminate information (Castells 2007). Another common characteristic of the networked social movements is the tendency towards what Bennett and Segerberg (2013) have termed as 'the personalization of politics'. They argue that the participants are inclined towards conceptualizing the ongoing struggles as if they are 'personal matters' and that through their activist deeds and open communication, they create inclusive ambiances, making entry more accessible by outsiders who have a potential to join them through a 'logic of connective action'. Similarly, Maria Sitrin (2012), through the concept of 'horizontalism', defines how the new social movements are careful in keeping away power structures that bring together traditional hierarchies and how the decision-making processes are organized from the bottom up, in a grassroots fashion. Hence, everyone participates in the resistance as an individual, bringing with herself the particular set of concerns and values into the collectively built discursive space of dissidence.

Jenkins et. al. (2016) have argued that the convergence culture has been influential in the empowerment of the new social movements of the 21st century and that a novel participatory politics has been created by the presence of 'spreadable media'. This trend, which has been named as 'virality' by Douglas Rushkoff (2010) has been a prominent common element of the networked social movements. As Baudrillard (1994) has stated of the tendency of media in general, and the television as form in particular, such

tendency creates an 'endemic and alarming presence', which has transformed the perception of reality by the users of these platforms. A concept that has gained particular authority is the notion of 'meme'. Developed by the evolutionary biologist Richard Dawkins as early as 1976, the concept refers to the presence of small bits of content which functions -analogically to the gene- in the sense of embodying and transmitting a certain set of (cultural / biological) codes.

Each single instance of the various uprisings, although emerged and developed as a result of a set of historical and local factors, have been parts of a series of events that have been going on on the global scale (Epstein 2015). Their particular triggering events are quite distinct from each other, from environmental destruction, to corruption, to economic pressure and political suppression. However, is should be noted that it is possible and actually necessary to note the fact that one way or another each one of them has been a reaction to the process of globalization, or its destructive effects. Juris (2004), writing on the various anecdotes of the anti-globalization movement presents a parallel perspective and contextualizes all these networked social movements under the umbrella of 'global movements for global justice'. An interesting element about the nature of these wave of protests is the observation that such a conceptualization has also been present in the minds of (at least some of the) members of the resistances.

The global nature of the wave of resistances has not been limited only to the level of consciousness. It has been, as argued by Lovink & Schneider (2003), also present in the discursive space formed by the values shared by the various members of the uprisings from different localities. The use of popular culture, in the form of culture jamming and other subversive means is also a common element through such regard (Cortese 2015). The generations who have grown up with global culture, from MTV to Hollywood, are skilfull in using the codes and cultural formations that does stem from it, as Renzi (2008) has argued of about the concept of 'tactical media'. The most flamboyant example of such tendency, and also the emblematic one was the case of 'Adbusters', a whole occupy movement triggered by a handful of activists who spoke the language of advertising, albeit with subversive purposes (Haiven 2007, Rumbo 2002).

As has been argued by scholars such as Castells (2015), Earl and Kimport (2011) and Gerbaudo (2012), the participants of the networked social movements are skilled with digital technologies in utilizing the means of disseminating their messages. As Patel et. al. argue (2013) in their report about the 'civic use of technology', such set of skills have enabled protesters worldwide with novel opportunities for community action, such as sharing content through 'peer-to-peer networks, creating and mobilization of resources through 'civic crowd-funding' and 'information crowdsourcing' forming and participating in 'neighborhood forums' and other means of 'community organizing'. Defined by Mossberger et. al (2007) as 'digital citizens', members of the resistance who effectively use the Internet on a regular basis benefit from the relatively democratic atmosphere that has emerged on online media, thanks to the 'lowering of the barriers to entry for participation' (Ohler 2010). All they need, in this regard, for creating and spreading 'digital content for discontent' is the presence of their smartphones, and sometimes other, a little bit more sophisticated devices, which are still available and affordable to nonprofessionals (Timisi 2003). The participants of the Resistance were quite aware of such opportunity, as has been demonstrated by their intensive media usage.

As Michael Hardt and Antonio Negri have stated in their seminal works 'Empire' (2001) and 'Multitude: War and Democracy in the Age of Empire' (2005), one of the key elements that is productive both in the sustenance of the capitalist exploitation on the globe and the reactions that are of the same global scale is the concept of 'immaterial labor'. Hence, in the contemporary times it is not only resources, bodies, profits that are appropriated into the power machinery, but various 'affects' are also called to its service, those such as excitement, satisfaction, passion, well-being, joy (and, of course, the corresponding lacks of them). As Spinoza has noted, 'affect' is a term explaining "affections of the body by which the body's power of acting is increased or diminished, aided or restrained, and at the same time, the ideas of these affections" (Curley 1994, p. 154). What is common to the networked social movements, in this regard, is their extreme success at mobilizing affects in the service of the fight against the power machinery.

James Carey (2002, p. 36) has underlined the significant role that communicative processes play in such praxis by defining communication to be a "symbolic process whereby reality is produced, maintained, repaired, and transformed". Such transformative capability was fully at play during the Resistance. In parallel fashion, Michel Foucault (1977, p.90) has insightfully noted that "[k]nowledge is not made for understanding; it is made for cutting". On the foundational role of knowledge in producing discourses with which individuals make sense of the world, he (1978, p. 27) has further stated, in 'Discipline and Punish: the Birth of the Prison', that;

> [k]nowledge linked to power, not only assumes the authority of 'the truth' but has the power to make itself true. All knowledge, once applied in the real world, has effects, and in that sense at least, 'becomes true.' Knowledge, once used to regulate the conduct of others, entails constraint, regulation and the disciplining of practice. Thus, 'there is no power relation without the correlative constitution of a field of knowledge, nor any knowledge that does not presuppose and constitute at the same time, power relations.

In their seminal piece 'Hegemony and Socialist Strategy: Towards a Radical Democratic Politics', Ernesto Laclau and Chantal Mouffe have drawn attention to the foundational dynamic of politics in the formation of individuals' political sensitivities, tendencies and preferences. More specifically, they have stated that "[p]olitics... does not consist in simply registering already existing interests, but plays a crucial role in shaping political subjects (2001, p. xvii). With inspiration from Antonio Gramsci, they define the concept of 'hegemony' to be the central category of political analysis and develop "a notion of the social conceived as a discursive space -that is, making possible relations of representation" (p.x).

<center>***</center>

In this chapter I have discussed the concept of networked society from a variety of perspectives. I have then focused on the modalities of subjectification in the network society, with a concentration into the generations named as 'the millennials'. I have then mapped out some of the most important characteristics of the networked social movements and demonstrated their functioning through data gathered during the ethnography of this research. In the chapter to follow, I intend to discuss, in reference to Oldenburg's third places, how and why the Resistance should be conceptualized as a hybrid third place.

5. THE RESISTANCE AS A HYBRID THIRD PLACE

In the preceding chapters, a picture of the social and technical setting in which communication and socialization takes place in the contemporary world has been presented, and an elaboration has been made on the conceptual tools utilized in the analyses. In this chapter, I intend to carry out a discussion of why I consider the Resistance -with both its digital and actual facades- to be a third place in the sense conceptualized by Oldenburg (1989). By leaning on examples from the ethnographic research I have carried out in online and physical sites, I will be presenting why I find it to be not only possible, but also desirable for scholars of social movements to think with the concept of "hybrid third place" in analyzing instances of the wave of contemporary uprisings. (Mason, 2013).

I am going to start this chapter by carrying out a discussion of the concept of 'Third Place' developed by Ray Oldenburg (1988) for describing environments such as parks, cafes, barber shops and others, which -unlike the home environments and work spaces that have traditionally been named as 'first' and 'second' places- facilitate communication and interaction between individuals of a community in special ways. After carrying out a general discussion of the dynamics of third places and the crucial roles they play on creating and sustaining social bonds, I name and critically elaborate the eight elements that Oldenburg lists as the defining characteristics of such spaces. Finally, in accordance with the integrity of the point-by-point framework that Oldenburg has drawn, I am going to elaborate each of the eight defining characteristics one by one and illustrate these points by using concrete examples that I have collected throughout my research, from actual as well as digital sites where the Resistance took place.

5.1 OLDENBURG'S THIRD PLACE

"Hello hello! I'm looking for a female friend. I'm new around here. I have a good job. I'm looking for someone to meet and get closer. Hello hello! I'm looking for a female

friend."[87] Thus spoke a young man I heard on the walky-talky 24 years ago. I had bought a small walky-talky that I used from time to time. While trying to communicate with my friend next-door, the signals were somehow jumbled and I was able to hear the voice of the young man. Although I tried a couple of times to respond to his message and learn more about the guy that I had found rather extraordinary, it was of no use. Yet, I remember having reached a quick conclusion about him and labelling him a "kind of sexomaniac". I would later learn, however, that I would have to revisit that conclusion of mine in the days to come, when I heard the same guy on other occasions claiming that he was looking for friendship and not necessarily with those from the opposite sex. And, more importantly, when I heard other people voicing similar desires, this conclusion would be even more solidified. As an eight-year old child, I had not thought deeply about it and I can say that this small memory of mine was forgotten until I started to think about modes of communication during the writing of this thesis. Now, looking from where I stand -as a researcher of communication and socialization dynamics- I think I am more able to place some kind of meaning on this instance and draw some analogies between that unexpected male voice coming from the Istanbul of two decades ago and what I observed during the research I carried out in the Internet medium. But, to be able to jump two steps forward and demonstrate the how and the why, let me first go one step backward and try to explain the conceptual framework that I have utilized in thinking about these issues.

Oldenburg (1989) coined the term "third place" in his seminal work about the quotidian socialization dynamics of the American people, *The Great Good Place: Cafes, Coffee Shops, Community Centers, Beauty Parlors, General Stores, Bars, Hangouts At the Heart of a Community*. Using Occam's razor in a quite efficient and effective way, Oldenburg (1989, p. 16) divides individuals' social lives into three categories and matches each category with a certain type of locality, the first, second and third places corresponding to the home environment, the work (or school), and "the core settings of informal public life", respectively. This is the main framework that I will draw upon in the rest of this chapter by mainly focusing on Oldenburg's third places, or "great good places" as he alternatively calls them (Oldenburg 1989, p. 4).

---

[87] The original message was in Turkish: "Alo alo! Bayan arkadaş arıyorum. Buralarda yeniyim. İyi bir işte çalışıyorum. Tanışıp kaynaşabileceğim birini arıyorum. Alo alo! Bayan arkadaş arıyorum".

I would like to stress at this point that, as in the case of all kinds of generalizations, there can potentially be (and actually are) phenomena that cannot be explained under such a theoretical scheme. I believe my research has benefited from looking at the analyzed material using Oldenburg's conceptualization and that a map that conceals some of the details by presenting the world from a bird's eye point of view is a beneficial thing to utilize at the beginning of every journey, as it provides one with the ease and comfort of being able to determine the initial and final points of his journey as well as a tentative route to follow. Of course, this does not mean that the map is to be utilized the way it is for each and every case. On the contrary, it has to be redrawn taking into the consideration such factors as the passage of time since the moment of its original making, or such as the inherent subjective conditions of the drawer or the evolutions and/or revolutions that has taken place in the meantime. In addition, considering that the aim of a journey (or an academic study) is to grasp the reality in all its crimpy, motley nature and with peculiarities that do not conform to the norms, I believe that there should come a moment in which the voyager does away with the map and tries to see what really is going on around himself with his own eyes. Yet, having considered all these factors, I still believe in the potential benefits of the presence of a map in the hands of the social researcher, and that is why I have utilized Oldenburg's conceptualization in my study, after having made it pass through the filters of a critical mindset and after transforming the map into what I think would have a better explanatory capacity, of course.

In this regard, what is it that Oldenburg argues, and how is it related to the guy on the walky-talky? Basically, Oldenburg elaborates the notion of third places through four axes: First, he approaches the issue socio-analytically and suggests a set of certain functional criteria by the help of which certain places can be met under the lowest common denominator of being third places (Oldenburg 1989, p. 20-23) . My study has benefited from such a categorization and I will deal with this aspect in the pages to come. Then, focusing on empirical evidence, he historically explores and cross-culturally surveys some concrete third place examples such as German-American beer gardens, an American Main Street, the English pub, the French café, the American

tavern, and classic coffeehouses from their origins in Saudi Arabia, to England, and then Vienna (Oldenburg 1989, p. 89-203). This part of his analysis enables researchers to see the functioning of the criteria he has suggested and presents concrete examples for solving the problem of the ability to generalize his categorization for contexts time periods other than the post-industrial American society on which Oldenburg focuses.

The two remaining axes that Oldenburg touches upon are related to the present condition and the future of third places in particular and to American society in general. We are presented the transformation in the lifestyle of American society and the corresponding transformation in the urban landscape that has caused, in Oldenburg's terms, a "problem of place" in America (Oldenburg 1989, p. 3-19). Having made the diagnosis in the third axis of his study, as part of the fourth and last axis, he presents a prescription for urban developers and policy makers advocating the promotion of classical third places for the general benefit of society (Oldenburg 1989, p. 284-296). As for these two dimensions and their relationships with the point of view presented in this thesis, I agree with the historical analysis that Oldenburg makes. I also believe, as I have tried to explain above, that this trend, which has been in effect for a long time, accelerated historically around the last quarter of the twentieth century damaging, as a result, the conventional channels of socialization. Furthermore, I believe that this trend is by no means limited to American society and that the zeitgeist of our age that is fed by a number of different dimensions is in effect in many localities of the world, including, of course, the geography which this thesis analyzes. This is the critical observation that lies at the heart of both the motivations for and findings of this thesis. These being said, I can proceed with the details of Oldenburg's framework and why I find it particularly inspiring to utilize for the setting (Turkey in the 21st century) and the medium (communication and socialization through the use of digital technologies) that I analyze here.

In drawing the boundaries for the notion of third places he suggests, Oldenburg and Brissett (1982, p. 269) set sail by stating what third places are not: 'Third places exist outside the home and beyond the 'work lots' of modern economic production". The starting point of such an analysis is the division of time spent in daily places due to the

division of labour in the modern ways of production. Unlike the "work environment" that is characterized by the tasks and responsibilities stemming from the organization of labour and the "home environment" that is associated with family life and the roles corresponding to it, "third places" are locations where "people gather primarily to enjoy each other's company' (Oldenburg and Brissett 1982, p. 269). They make participating people feel as if they are spending their time in a "home away from home" (Oldenburg 1989, p. ix) because of the fact that, as Charles Soukup accurately summarizes, they enable social interaction based on "sociability, spontaneity, community building and emotional expressiveness" (Soukup 2008). Furthermore, they make possible the forming and sustenance of intimate personal ties and help individuals for "keep in touch with reality" (Oldenburg and Brissett 1982, p. 280). So, it is obvious that for Oldenburg, third places have a crucial role in creating a lively and humane atmosphere where individuals can enjoy their social lives. This is by no means the only benefit Oldenburg attaches to third places. From a macrosociological point of view, he explicitly voices his sympathy for informal public gathering places by stating that "in places where people meet for no obvious purpose there *is* a purpose" (Oldenburg 1989, p. ix) . According to Oldenburg, these are the places where community bonds are strengthened, and through the possible space they open for conversation and mutual understanding, collective action problems are to be solved. As another positive unintended consequence, Oldenburg claims that these kinds of places enable the formation of public dialogue and promote more democratic forms of governance. I believe that approaching the issue from such a dimension brings Oldenburg's concept of third place closer to a more widely-known similar concept, Habermas's (1991) public sphere.

For Habermas, the public sphere is deeply historicized and it is an institution of the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries that was transformed in the first part of the twentieth century. Oldenburg, on the other hand, claims that "all cultures have an informal public life" (Oldenburg 1989, p. ix). I believe that this dissonance in claims is, in fact, related to the second factor that will be mentioned here: he diverts from Habermas in the process of defining the boundaries of his notion. For him, "the third place" is literally a *place* -and thus exists in all societies independent of the time and place-, whereas for Habermas the concept of public sphere is categorically bourgeois

and is meaningful only context-specifically, in certain countries such as England, France and Germany. Because of the aforementioned reasons that make Habermas' and Oldenburg's analyses diverge, and out of my belief in the necessity of keeping the theory part of a research as simple as possible[88] , I shall leave aside Habermas' and others potential contributions to my analysis, and will base my conceptualization mainly on the framework suggested by Oldenburg. Let me now pass on to the defining criteria based on which Oldenburg's analysis enables the researcher to define the borders of what a third place is.

The following table is taken (after being slightly modified) from Constance Steinkuehler's and Dmitri Williams's (2006, p. 8) co-authored article inquiring about Oldenburg's concept of "third place" and the potential ways, in terms of social engagement, of thinking it with the massively multiplayer games accessed through Internet.

---

[88] Please note that this position does not advocate "simplifying the truths" until they match our theories. On the very contrary, as I have also discussed in the methodology part of this thesis, I believe that social reality should be grasped with all its motley nature. However, for being able to achieve such an end, the best way seems to be keeping the theory as simple -with enough conceptual tools and explanatory power, of course- as possible, and focus on the reality -the ethnography part- for tracing the richest possible observations, including, without doubt, its different dimensions and even inconsistencies.

Figure 5.1: Third Place

Characteristic	Definition
Neutral Ground	Third places are neutral grounds where individuals are free to come and go as they please with little obligation or entanglements with other participants.
Leveler	Third places are spaces in which an individual's rank and status in the workplace or society at large are of no import. Acceptance and participation is not contingent on any prerequisites, requirements, roles, duties, or proof of membership.
Conversation is Main Activity	In third places, conversation is a main focus of activity in which playfulness and wit are collectively valued.
Accessibility & Accommodation	Third places must be easy to access and are accommodating to those who frequent them.
The Regulars	Third places include a cadre of regulars who attract newcomers and give the space its characteristic mood.
A Low Profile	Third places are characteristically homely and without pretension.
The Mood is Playful	The general mood in third places is playful and marked by frivolity, verbal word play, and wit.
A Home Away from Home	Third places are home-like in terms of Seamon's (1979) five defining traits: rootedness, feelings of possession, spiritual regeneration, feelings of being at ease, and warmth.

Source: Steinkuehler and Williams (2006)

Let me now analyze these criteria in more detail, by presenting some real-world daily examples so that in the sections to come where I will be arguing for the potential benefits of considering the *functioning* of socialization through online communication in a way *similar to* Oldenburg's third places, I can have the grounds to make comparisons and draw analogies on. Individuals are free to enjoy the benefits of third places without necessarily having to obtain permission from anyone. To elaborate this idea using Oldenburg's international diplomacy metaphor of "neutral ground", third places can be compared to international territory (or international seas) on Earth that do not belong to any particular country. In such a setting, nobody is required to act as a

guest and "eat what is served"[89] or even needs an invitation to participate. Similarly, nobody needs to "play host" for anyone (Oldenburg 1989, p. 22). This makes third places differ dramatically from home environments.

Third places are also void of the rigid hierarchical structure of work environments and the corresponding rules dictated from above that workers are expected to follow. Unlike the work atmosphere, voluntary contribution is the norm and the rules in the third space are determined through collective negotiation wherever it is possible. When this is not possible -unlike the work and home environments where it would require radical efforts to stop participating- one can always leave instantly and start participating in another third space that would appeal more to her preferences. Because of this voluntary nature of participation, third places promote sociability and mutual empathy. Oldenburg bases this claim to Richard Sennett's (1992, p. 331) statement that "people can be sociable only when they have some protection from each other" and carries his argumentation one step forward by speculating on the crucial role of such environments on the general affluence of societies by stating that:

> *If we valued fraternity as much as independence, and democracy as much as free enterprise, our zoning codes would not enforce the social isolation that plagues our modern neighbourhoods, but would require some form of public gathering place every block or two* (Oldenburg 1989, p. 23).

So, according to Oldenburg, this neutral nature of third places that enables voluntary participation results in contributing to fraternal ties within the members of the society and a more democratic environment. Oldenburg describes the concept 'leveler' that he finds appropriate to list among the defining characteristics of third places. Furthermore, he notes that the newly established coffeehouses of that period, in the decaying atmosphere of the feudal order, were literally referred to as levelers. Generalization of the use of the term to all third places underlines their inclusive character and the lack of any prerequisites, requirements, roles, duties, or proof of membership for acceptance and participation in those places. Apart from this openness in terms of being able to participate in those places, another dimension is stressed, one related to the quality of

---

[89] This phrase comes from the Turkish saying, "*Misafir umduğunu değil, bulduğunu yer*", which means that the guest does not eat what he expects but what is served.

participation dynamics in those places. As Steinkuehler and Williams (2006, p. 8) rightly point out, "third places are spaces in which an individual's rank and status in the workplace or society at large are of no import"[24]. What does this claim tell the social researcher? To me, it tells of the great opportunities these places provide for witnessing and observing social life in ways that would not be possible in other settings. For example, everybody who has spent even a very little amount of time in a work environment knows that there is a limit to what one can say to his boss, a two-fold limit, to be more precise. First of all, speaking about the obvious limit, because of the way power in the workplace is asymmetrically distributed, being independent of the personal traits of the people in higher positions, the boss is the person who dictates the last word in a dialogue (especially if there are conflicting opinions). So, there is a certain point until which a conversation can potentially lead to, but after that point is reached the case will be closed, in the presence of all those feelings and thoughts that the person in a lower status has not been able to express.

The second dimension, which is not as easily visible, and which, in my opinion, is in fact more limiting due to its opaque nature, is about the predetermined nature of the content of the conversations. So, apart from the limit that determines until which point a conversation will be carried out that I mentioned in the prior paragraph, there is another limit: the limit that determines *which* subjects can be communicated in the work environment and *how* those are to be covered in the conversations. A broken heart is not usually something to be exposed in business environments. In the rare cases that they are exposed, they are most likely to be treated as a threat to the achievement of the most efficient production processes, and not as the precious feelings of a dear human being. The same line of thinking can be extended to cover the home environment as well. Although the content of the limits are different now, the presence of the limits is the same. There are also things which can be communicated with a father or a mother. As a person living in and writing from Turkey, I should add that there are even things one cannot do around them. And I am not referring to "extreme" things, but writing about a culture in which if a younger person talks about an issue in the presence of those older, it is regarded as a sign of disrespect, or a young person sitting around the same dining table as older people in the presence of guests may not be allowed at all.

These limits are not confined to issues about age or maturity, nor are only related to the tensions between the ordinary inhabitants of a household. For instance, the title of a guest in a house may dramatically affect the host's' behaviour towards her, the hosting procedures differ when the guest is a close friend than when it is a distant relative from another city who only visits rarely. The change of the dramaturgy of the meeting, of course, changes the density and content of the conversation between individuals. In a third place, however, not only it one more likely to meet and interact with people that do not necessarily belong to one's home or work environment or even share a similar personal background, ethnic identity or social position, but also the chances that the conversation to be carried out with people from home or work settings is richer, more intimate and based on more mutual understanding. In other words, they are the potentially ideal locations to see how cheerful one's father can be when telling jokes to friends at a *rakı masası*[90], or to learn why the young woman in the office, who is paler these days, keeps stalking someone's social media profile.

Please note that what I have claimed above does not imply that no prior inequalities and their corresponding differences in terms of statuses exist in third places. Of course, such a world would be very livable as we would never need to do anything to get rid of factors causing inequalities or limiting people's freedoms of self-expression: just putting everyone into third places would suffice! But, unfortunately, the world does not function in such a way and as I have argued in the previous chapters of this thesis, the lack of formal constraints on freedom does not automatically imply its presence. In the final analysis, it is the individuals with all their bodily, mental, social dispositions that participate in these environments with all those characteristics and properties inscribed in them. This is exactly why examining those environments, deciphering their codes and getting to know their dramaturgy is meaningful not for the narrow aim of understanding the studied environment, but also for what those may tell us about the rest of the society. Yet, having made these annotations, I would like to once again express my belief in third places as being levelers, or to be more precise on the light of the

---

[90] "*Rakı masası*" is the name given to the gathering of people around a table for drinking the traditional Anatolian alcoholic drink, *rakı*, which is usually associated with a setting of intimacy, sincerity and enthusiasm.

annotations made within paragraph, as being more leveler-friendly environments than the first and second places.

Third places are environments in which *conversation* is the main focus activity. For Oldenburg (1989, p. 16), the tone of this conversation is such that playfulness and wit are the major collectively valued aspects. Since everyone is free to participate without entanglements (neutral ground) and the participating sides are considered to be equal (leveler), third places function as a kind of *agora*[91] enabling a meritocratic socialization environment. Apart from this, as it can be easily noticed, all the examples that I have referred to above in the concretization of the first two characteristics involve conversation playing an important role, and for some of them conversation plays "the lead role".

I have tried above to demonstrate the importance of conversation in socialization and the facilitating role third places play for making fruitful conversations to materialize. However, I believe that it is possible and beneficial to broaden the scope of what is understood by "conversation", and restate Oldenburg's proposition as, "communication and interaction are the main activity". This is possible because Oldenburg, himself, does not limit the potential connotations of the term "conversation" in his book, and I believe it to be beneficial due to the fact that what is experienced in terms of socialization that promotes mutual understanding in third places is more than just the speech itself. Bodily gestures, for instance, are fully in operation when friends are sitting in a café. Perhaps more importantly, the very act of sitting there together -independent of the specific content of conversation- contributes to the participants' thoughts and feelings for each other, the community they belong to, and even the world in which that they live. People with dissimilar views, when they want to get beyond the distances in their mentalities invite one another for a cup of coffee. Friends who have not seen each other for a long time express their feelings while drinking a cup of coffee together. When someone wants to be closer to a person she finds attractive, she invites him for a drink. In all these instances, it is not the specific sentences that matter and determine the tone of the interaction, but the very action itself (Anderson 1991).

---

[91] Agora is the name given to public gathering place in the ancient Greek city-states where all participants are free to enjoy the freedom of speech.

Furthermore, I would also like to draw on some of the "extras" of participating in a third place. These are the places where people come together with "friends of friends" with whom they would otherwise not likely have many opportunities to get to know better. Sometimes in priorly arranged settings (as in the case of a reunion where partners are also invited) and sometimes in spontaneously happening contexts (such as coming across an old friend and inviting him to join them while sitting in a café with another friend), these places have the potential to function as bridges enabling interaction and communication between individuals from different backgrounds. The characteristics that are put together below, I believe, are the most straight-forward ones among all the eight criteria that Oldenburg lists. Oldenburg, simply, summarizes his argument about these dimensions of third places as follows: "Access to them must be easy if they are to survive and serve, and the ease with which one may visit a third place is a matter of both time and location" (Oldenburg 1989, p. 32).

For any place -and also for a potential third place- to be able to function, access to it should not be too costly (using the term in the widest sense so that it includes the opportunity cost of time, as well), and the place should be able to "welcome" its potential participants independent of the nature of the modality of their visits. Furthermore, Oldenburg acknowledges the fluid nature of people's (both from the viewpoint of a single individual or from a larger scale of analysis, of groups in general) in arrivals and departures to third places, and the presence of inconsistencies when different hours of the day, days of the week, or months or the year are compared. He also notes that, unlike those activities in the first and second places, the activities in those places are mostly not planned, scheduled, organized or structured:

> *Those who have third places exhibit regularity in their visits to them, but it is not that punctual and unfailing kind shown in deference to the job or family. The timing is loose, days are missed, some visits are brief, etc.* (Oldenburg 1989, p. 33).

Thinking about some brick-and-mortar third places such as certain pubs that a group of friends hang out at or the favorite cafes of famous writers, or drinking houses that become meeting places for people from similar occupations, or, as the very use of the term suggests, locals (which, according to Oldenburg, received such a name for having become some people's local places), the accuracy of this claim is obvious. Yet, I believe

that there is more to think about this issue: The important and deep aspect that lies behind such a simple stream of reasoning is the fact that for the smooth-functioning of third places the aforementioned propositions are not only bare necessities, but they are also what gives the place its charm and essence:

> *It is just these deviations from the middle-class penchant for organization that give the third place much of its character and allure and that allow it to offer a radical departure from the routines of home and work* (Oldenburg 1989, p. 33).

Places have certain properties, like people. In some of these places, as in the case of people, these characteristics are more volatile and change unpredictably than others. Just as in the case of people, these locations cannot qualify to offer the familiarity and relaxation that more consistent ones provide us with. We define such people as full of adventure and interesting, yet seldom choose our best friends among them, most likely because of the difficulty in establishing a long-lasting sustainable relationship that can at the same time be dense. In the case of places, it is exactly the same. When we want to break up our routine and do "crazy" things, we go to places in which we normally do not spend much time. Yet, as the previous sentence implicitly claims, there *are* places that we regularly go to (our favorite third places) and feel comfortable in, because of the fact that these places have relatively stable characteristics. But, what is it that gives a place its dominant characteristic tone?

"It is the regulars who give the place its character and who assure that on any given visit some of the gang will be there" (Oldenburg 1989, pp. 33-34). As seen in the quotation above, Oldenburg provides a clear-cut answer to this question: the people that attend regularly to a third place, or to put it briefly, *the regulars*. Yes, this is simply a phenomenon: Looking from the viewpoint of individuals, every person has a favorite café, a most preferred restaurant, a favorite street to wander, etc. From the spatial dimension, in every place there are people that come on a frequent basis and spend time there, and the collective participation of these people in the third places contribute to its identity.

Like a chicken and egg problem, it is difficult to identify which one of these two intertwined phenomena is *the original cause* of the other. Yet, it is a fact that these two

produce and reproduce each other in a sustainable way: a certain type of individual tends to go to a certain third place with a specific character (logically because he or she finds the character of the place in conformity with their preferences), and as those certain type of individuals spend their time there, they contribute to the strengthening of the characteristic mood, and as the place has a strong mood, it is able to attract more people with similar preferences, and so on, and so forth. So, we have a place that has a certain characteristic and a certain group of regulars that can be grouped under a certain common denominator. The above argument is as practically valid as it is logically consistent, as well. Let me try to show that my argument is not only about abstract concepts, but is deeply rooted in small (and sometimes not so small) details that matter for the potential participants of third places. Let me briefly illustrate this with a hypothetical café: In the obligatory equilibrium between supply and demand for participating in a café, the mood and the regulars codetermine most decisive elements that give a place its characteristic, such as the music that plays in the background, the content of issues generally discussed by people going there, with whom one would like to go there, the type of person would one be likely to meet there, and, consequently, the general codes of the language (in the widest use of the term) that people participating in such a third place would be using. The regulars set the mood, which in retrospect is crucial in the determination of who would be the place's regulars.

This criterion underlies the fact that third places are characteristically cozy and without pretension. Oldenburg (1989, p. 36) also stresses that ideal third places are plain and ordinary places, where pomposity and majesty are essentially defied. To illustrate this with an example of a concrete third space, let me first turn on to the case Steinkuehler and Williams suggest on the line of thinking with Oldenburg, and then mediate on it:

> *The run-down real-world coffee shop or bar, complete with sawdust or scattered peanut shells, maximizes comfort by removing the trappings of pomposity* (Steinkuehler and Williams 2006, p. 17).

To carry the categorization one step further, let me even sharpen the argument. I claim that third places are *wonderful* places. They are wonderful, but not wonderful in the sense that the term is generally used. They do not present a totally upsides down world full of amazing spectacular details. No, a third space is not some kind of "Wonderland"

(Carroll 1994). On the contrary, as stated above, it is a cosy and ordinary place. "As a physical structure, third place is typically plain" (Oldenburg 1989, p. 36). It is not necessarily elegant, and it does not need to be so, as long as it is tranquil and comfortable enough. Third places are wonderful not for possessing the rarest of the beauties in the world, but for possessing the most common ones, and presenting them to their participants in large amounts and whenever needed. Thanks to the inspiration of the Louis Armstrong classic, "What a Wonderful World", I find it suitable to compare the experience of enjoying a third place to resting in a rose garden under a tree on a day in which white clouds are happily wandering on the blue sky:

> *I see trees of green, red roses too.*
> *...*
> *I see skies of blue, and clouds of white.*
> *...*
> *And I think to myself... what a wonderful world...*
> *The colors of the rainbow so pretty in the sky* (Douglas and Weiss 1968)

Furthermore, as the lyrics of the song rightfully suggest, this wonderfulness is only achieved at the presence of dear beloved ones, the indispensable elements in third places, friends:

> *I see them bloom, for me and you.*
> *And I think to myself... what a wonderful world.*
> *...*
> *Also the faces of people going by,*
> *I see* friends shaking hands[92]*, say how do you do?*
> *They're really saying, I love you.*
> *...*
> *And I think to myself... what a wonderful world*
> *...*
> *Yes I think to myself... what a wonderful world (*Douglas and Weiss 1968)

Oldenburg (1989, pp. 37-38) states that third places are spaces where frivolity and wit dominate the general mood, and seriousness and rigidity are essentially antagonistic to their vibrant character. So, unlike the work atmosphere where everything is supposed to be done for a purpose, communication is narrowly instrumental and the big aim that dictates all these is the achievement of higher efficiency and better organizational structures; in third places people are free to "just spend" their time, "say stupid things" and "make mistakes". In fact, these are not only tolerated in the relaxed environment of

---

[92] The emphasis is mine.

these spaces, but they are also more than welcome. Lapses, slips of the tongue and malapropisms, for instance, do contribute to the playful atmosphere of the conversation in third places.

And the people participating in and contributing to this atmosphere are like playmates. Unlike in the case of the home atmosphere, they do not need to have a metanarrative (like blood bond, kinship, etc.) to keep spending time together. They do come to and keep staying in third places because they are having fun, because they are relaxed, because they feel that they are understood, because they feel like sharing something, and because it makes them feel good. Being void of the hierarchies in effect in the first and second places, they come to the third place as *equals*, and they *choose* to be together there. Based on the feeling of belonging to a shared and separate realm, in these places, "joy and acceptance reign over anxiety and alienation" (Oldenburg 1989, p. 38) Yet, the fact that third places are characterized by such traits as joy and frivolity does not mean that serious and significant topics cannot be made part of the conversation in those places. So, it is perfectly possible to talk about "serious issues" in a playful mood, or refer to connotations of verbal play after someone' makes a slip of the tongue.

Theoretically speaking, different combinations of the tone and content of a conversation may exist, and although these two dimensions are potentially correlated, it would be unrealistic to claim the presence of a deterministic relationship between them, and naïve to state that this correlation is unidimensional. The surrealist artists, I believe, demonstrated very well the practical functioning of such a theoretical possibility. Let us just remember Luis Buñuel's (1972) groundbreaking movie, *The Discreet Charm of the Bourgeoisie*, which radically criticized established institutions such as bourgeois society, the church or the military, or Salvador Dali's (1931) influential painting, *The Persistence of Memory*, which problematized major philosophical themes such as the irrelevancy of time and the entanglement of life and death, both of which refused to speak in the conventional realist and "serious tones", but also managed to communicate ideas and feelings about "serious matters". As these examples demonstrate, effective communication about serious issues does take place by using "not so serious tones".

I would like to carry this line of thinking to one step forward, and argue that to be able to face any situation (from the most personal one to the biggest issues about humanity) properly, taking a parodying stance towards it is not only beneficial, but essential. Ece Temelkuran, in her book about the traumatic nature of inability of conversation between the Armenians and the Turks due to the presence of a big black hole in their shared history, the catastrophes of 1915, underlines the necessity of true dialogue between the people of the two nations, and this dialogue necessarily includes -apart from feeling sorry for the deep sufferings- transcending unspeakable prejudices by smiling together at jokes told about them (Temelkuran 2008). This is not limited to traumas that nations suffer. Let us just think about an emotional affair that left us with a broken heart. At first the pain seems unbearable, then dies down in time, but when does that magic moment come in which one can confidently say that "it does not hurt anymore"? Of course, when one is able to make peace with the memories and is able to parodize the experiences, thoughts and feelings. To talk about one final dimension about the necessity of taking a satirical attitude, I would like to emphasize that this is exactly how Michel Foucault (1977) describes a social scientist's attitude towards history should be parodying the linearizing narratives on history by tracking accounts of accidents and errors and pointing out the essential disparity of things.

Finally, Oldenburg claims that third places are settings where one could find many of the positive things associated with homes, and sometimes these properties are even more available in third places than homes. Drawing on the study of a psychologist, David Seamon (1979, pp. 38-41), in which he listed the essential characteristics of homes, Oldenburg lists five defining traits of home-likeness: rootedness, feelings of possession, spiritual regeneration, feelings of being at ease, and warmth. In this regard, a third place is a concrete space around which we organize our comings and goings, "where we expect to see familiar faces, and where unusual absences are noticed and queried" (Oldenburg 1989, p. 39). Moreover, we develop a feeling that we in a way belong to the third places we regularly attend and that it belongs to us. This relationship of possession does not take its roots from actual ownership, but out of a sense of appropriation and control over the setting. In the final analysis, regulars of a third place,

as Oldenburg states (1989, p. 40), "are members in good and full standing, a part of the group that *makes* the place". This situation is not one about abstract feelings, but also come as differences in concrete real-life settings, the regulars of a third place are usually given privileges that transient casual customers do not have, such as extra discounts and special treatment by the staff of the third place in which they hang out.

The third place is also an environment of regeneration for its people who go there, a mental, spiritual and social kind of regeneration. For instance, when people go to a bar, cafe or pub after work, they feel that they are restarting the day in these environments. This is a very wide and easy to observe phenomenon, to see how this functions, it is enough to spend some hours in Nevizade Street[93] on a Friday night in the summer and observe how people's faces turn from stressed and moody expressions into relaxed and cheerful ones, as time approaches to midnight and they leave behind their concerns about their works and enjoy the atmosphere. The third space also shares with home environment the property of making it possible for its attendants to have feelings of being at ease. People feel relaxed and comfortable there, and this enables them to enjoy the freedom to be, which involves the active expression of personality, the assertion of oneself within the environment" (Oldenburg 1989, p. 41). Lastly, and according to Oldenburg, most importantly, the third place has a *warm* atmosphere and -considering the lack of warmth experienced in many of the homes unlike how they are supposed to be, and no need to mention that warmth is certainly not an adjective associated with work environments- this makes them indispensable for their regulars. Third places, because of being congenial environments marked by the combination of cheerfulness and companionship that emerge out of friendliness, support and mutual concern, Oldenburg (1989, p. 41) claims are more homelike places than homes themselves.

***

Up to now, I have described the concept of 'third place' in the sense described by Oldenburg and developed by others following him. I am now going to elaborate each of

---

[93] A street in Taksim, Istanbul, which is full of bars and pubs that mostly students and young professionals attend during off hours.

the eight defining characteristics one by one and illustrate these points by using concrete examples that I have collected throughout my research. More particularly, starting with the first characteristic, that is 'neutral ground', and continuing with each one of the other elements which, according to Oldenburg, are the necessary conditions for arguing that a third place exists, I am going to illustrate how the hybrid site of the Resistance - with its actual as well as digital facades- has functioned as a third place during and after the heydays of the uprising.

5.2 NEUTRAL GROUND

> *Third places are neutral grounds where individuals are free to come and go as they please with little obligation or entanglements with other participants* (Steinkuehler & Williams 2006, p. 8).

The resistance did not belong to anyone. On the contrary, from its first sparkles that started with camping environmentalists to its heydays in which millions have participated, it was a struggle geared explicitly toward inclusion and respect for diversity. The presence and development of such tendency was through a juxtaposition of two entangled phenomena. First of all, it started, and continued, as a defense mechanism against the appropriation of a public place, namely the park, by the joint forces of capital and governmental clientelism. The protection of one of the last remaining green areas in the heart of the city (as seen in the figure below) was not only the *raison d'etre* of the protests, but it was also the single common theme that brought together individuals and groups from distinct backgrounds, identities, ideologies and affiliations.

Secondly, as also related to a number of dynamics that will be discussed in more detail under the "leveler" category; the "movement" even after it became popular, was exceptionally inclusive to a degree unforeseen at least in the recent history of the country, and probably never also on the totality of even the not-so-recent periods. The diversity of the flags, images, slogans and posters on the surface of the historical building, AKM, is a vivid demonstration of the diversity of not only the presence and coexistence, but also of the degree of representation and possibility of expression of the various actors involved in the resistance. The resistance brought together groups and

individuals, who up-to-then had been conceived to be irreconcilable, if not in a severely antagonistic relationship with each other. The case of "Istanbul United" is such an example. The coexistence of distinct political ideologies is another illustrative case.

Ideological and political distances were not the only gaps bridged by the collective subjectivity of the resistance. Dichotomies that had been so long-lived that became bold dividing lines between various segments of the society were reconciled in the spirit of cohabitation that the resistance created. The release of the tension between universal values and local elements, or to articulate in the cultural code of the country, between *Westernization* and *preserving our cultural essence[94]*, was a vivid example which demonstrated this aforementioned relationship did not necessarily need to be defined in an antagonistic nature.

The webs of significance of the Resistance in general, and the physical space of the park in particular, are able to simultaneously accommodate both of such cultural articulations. Furthermore, I believe that it is possible to present a similar point of cohabitation, in terms of the presence and enunciation of the agents of the resistance. Groups created and sustained by male bondage and display of masculinity, the most vivid example of which was the football fans, were *occupying* the same space with women's organizations and agents of feminist subjectivity.

This set of examples, I believe, are integral to the "neutral ground" characteristic of Oldenburg's third places, and can be extended to the elaboration of the resistance as a collectively created hybrid third place. Third places are void of the rigid hierarchical structure of work environments and the corresponding rules dictated from above that workers are expected to follow. Unlike the work atmosphere, voluntary contribution is the norm and the rules in the third space are determined through collective negotiation wherever it is possible. When this is not possible -unlike the work and home environments where it would require radical efforts to stop participating- one can

---

[94] For one of the earliest articulations of this tension, refer to Recaizade Mahmut Ekrem's "Araba Sevdası" by Recaizade Mahmut Ekrem, which is considered to be the first realist novel in Turkish language.

always leave instantly and start participating in another third space that would appeal more to her preferences.

As has been argued in the preceding chapter where I discussed the properties of third places in detail, because of its voluntary nature of participation, third places promote sociability and mutual empathy. In the resistance, protesters were free to come and go as they please, choosing the levels and styles of involvement on a number of different dimensions, from the clash with the police, to cooking, cleaning and organizing. In such regard, the "militant particularism" - in the sense put forward by Harvey (1995)- of the first protestors in the park was spread and transferred to the newcomers who joined the the resistance. Such instance, as Harvey furthermore argues (1995, p. 83), has the potential to create an instance where "[i]deals forged out of the affirmative experience of solidarities in one place get generalized and universalized as a working model of a new form of society that will benefit all of humanity".

What is at stake in such instance is a struggle *for the commons and by the commons*, as developed by by Michael Hardt and Antonio Negri (2009). Hence, what is taking place is a reclaiming of the commons -that is, the public places which have historically belonged to the society, but now is facing the threat of being appropriated for exclusive use- by the commons -that is, various subjectivities who are not necessarily in perfect agreement with each other about every particular issue, but nevertheless can tactically act together towards a commonly defined agenda; giving rise to at least a glimpse of *the multitude*, described by Negri (1991, p. 194), as "an unmediated, revolutionary, immanent, and positive collective social subject which can found a 'nonmystified' form of democracy". The power of such multitude in the Spinozan sense,lies in its potential to act as a factor limiting the authorities by using collective action as a political weapon (Montag, 2005).

The particular set of technical and social opportunities that are provided by digital social media platforms, which was the main site of communication and organization of the resistance, are also worth mentioning in relation to their contribution to the aforementioned possibilities. As media channels and social localities, these platforms

are enabling as online sites do not belong to anyone. Or, to be more precise, they have legal owners, the owners of the websites and the software who can claim legal possession over them, but because of the participant nature of collective contribution to these environments, everyone acts *also* as an owner. Just as the fact that a café has an owner does not prevent the participants from feeling that they are on neutral ground, the ownership structure of digital social media platforms does not prevent their participants from enjoying these environments in ways that they desire.

Users have full control over many of the properties in these sites. In Facebook and Twitter, the profile page of a person belongs to, and is controlled directly by, that person. One may choose what to include (which photos to display, which quotes to use to describe the self, which groups, fan pages or causes to join, and even which third party applications to utilize) on the profile page. On the personal home page in Facebook, which is formed by making a combination of data from the user herself and her friends, one may choose to restrict certain people (friends with dissimilar preferences, for instance) or certain type of data flows (like blocking "feeds" sent from a certain application).

To approach the issue from a framework analyzing the nature and different aspects of the concept of possession, I believe it to be fruitful to refer to the Roman Law, which is one of the foundational reference points of contemporary legal systems. According to this legal code, the three rights, namely *usus*, *fructus* and *abusus*, come attached to the possession of a good, which mean the right to use, the right to benefit from fruits and the right to misuse (Esener, 2000). As far as these three rights are concerned, I find it legitimate to claim that although the users are not the legal owners of the sites on which they participate, they can be to be quasi-owners, as they can enjoy the three rights listed above: They are able to use these media whenever and as much as they desire, they can gain (both monetary and non-monetary benefits from them), and in the unlikely case that they want to use in unwise ways.

Unlike in the case of ownership described in the legal framework, the participants also enjoy the comfort of not having the responsibility to necessarily have to care about what

is going on within the environment, or as Oldenburg puts it, "play host" for anyone (1989, p. 22). Correspondingly, even if they wished to exercise such power, it would not be possible as nobody has the authority over other users by controlling the periods or ways of their participation, which is a common element shared by the various facades of the struggle that was taking place. Seen from such perspective, I believe that it is possible to argue that the physical sites of the Resistance, as well as the digital environments where it took place, were neutral grounds that managed to function as moderators of social dialogue and political action, contributing to the creation of an environment of empathy, respect for diversity and basis of collective action.

5.3. LEVELER

> *"Levelers was the name given to an extreme left-wing political party that emerged under Charles 1 and expired shortly afterward under Cromwell. The goal of the party was the abolition of all differences of position or rank that existed among men. By the middle of the seventeenth century, the term came to be applied much more broadly in England, referring to anything 'which reduces men to an equality"* (Oldenburg, 1989, p. 23).

The resistance was a "leveler". As I intend to demonstrate below, taking differences out of the equation was, arguably, what brought a crowd a diverse as the people who participated in the uprisings, in its actual and digital facades. The origin of such "equalizing attitude" obviously lies in the degree and style of the brutality of the armed forces that targeted every single actor without regard or respect to their gender, age, ethnic or other differences. Whoever was part of the crowd marching towards the square, where the park is located, took their share of "legalized violence". So, from its onset, the resistance was one without castes or hierarchies. What sustained it, however, was its particular nature of inclusivity. As I have tried to demonstrate above -under the category of "neutral ground", the movement was not only inviting, but also willing to include various actors with diverse backgrounds. This was institutionalized at the level of meanings and connotations with the image and articulation of the concept of "looter", which was a word used pejoratively by the prime minister in reference to the protestors; but ended up being reappropriated by the resistance as a collectively built characteristic of the resistance's identity.

It was not only status positions, or hierarchies in terms of wealth or class, that were taken out of the picture; the atmosphere created by the resistance was doing away with distinctions that were results of antagonisms related to professional tasks too. The complicated relationship between the demonstrators and the police was such a case. While a clash was going on, the borders that divide the two were clearly present. When there was peace however (even temporarily), the creative resistance would create liminal grounds decreasing -if not totally eliminating- the physical and mental spaces between the participants and the police officers.

An important factor that has contributed a significant deal to the creation of such "levelling" ambiance, was the organization of the daily life within the park. As depicted in the series of images below, the organization and handling of the tasks were collectivized in the alternative public space created in the park, and communicated through digital social media. Garbage was collected collectively by the people (and the dogs); the pharmacy, whose supplies were provided by voluntary contributions, was run by volunteering health personnel. Likewise, the cooking was done and the food distributed by people free of charge. There was a free library, a free exchange market, a garden where one could work and benefit from the products for free. In the absence of the state authority and monetary relationships, the reappropriated space was collectively turned into a reimagined place, whose maps were also created by volunteering contributors.

Whenever the current resources were not available, call for further contributions would be made, and the digital social media would be the place where such calls would be circulated, amplified, channeled and organized. In the hybrid third place created by the Resistance as in third places in general; two factors have also been influential in the creation of the "leveler" dimension": 1) nobody has to necessarily care for what is going on within the environment, or "play host" for anyone, 2) in relation also to the previous aspect, nobody would be -even if they desired so- capable of exercising authority over others' patterns of participation. Because of this, unlike the case in first and second places, established hierarchies do not exist in those two media. Please note that by this I do not intend to mean that no hierarchies exist within these media. Claiming such a

thing would not only be inconsistent with the suggestions of what a whole body of social sciences literature suggests, but also in nonconformity with the observations of my research about these sites.

My point is that hierarchies exist, but they are not based on relationships of seniority or traditional family roles (as in the case of first places), or power stemming explicitly from the formal organization of duties and responsibilities (as in the case of second places), but out of the charisma of some of the participants from the viewpoints of the general population of users, on a meritocratic basis. So, in such space, fewer hierarchies exist and because they are based on charisma and meritocracy, they have a dynamic, freer nature based on more equal terms. Since anyone who is not content with the situation can challenge the existing order of things and call in the "collective decision-making" process of the multitude, there is always ground for a renegotiation of the terms, which consequently creates an atmosphere where the ideas compete, and best practical solutions get implemented.

5.4 CONVERSATION IS THE MAIN ACTIVITY

I have argued above, based on the inspiration from Oldenburg, that third places are spaces where conversation is a main focus activity, and that because of the neutral ground (everyone being free to participate without entanglements) and leveler (participating sides considered to be equal) characteristics of third places, they function as a kind of *agora,* enabling a meritocratic socialization environment Oldenburg (1989, pp. 16, 22).

Taking also into account the modification I have suggested in the preceding chapters (claiming that, instead of just *conversation*, *communication* and *interaction* should be taken as the main activities in third places), it should be noted that the participants of the resistance were actually constantly involved in such acts. Be it during a clash with the police -in the form of communication for survival strategies-, or during the building of the alternative version of the camp -communication for organizational purposes-, or on digital social media -communication for disseminating their messages-; conversation

was incessantly going on. The streets and walls where resistance took place were also sites of communication, albeit in less synchronous form. Sometimes with explicitly political content, other times "for just the sake of doing it", conversation -or "muhabbet" as it is referred to in Turkish, went on.

As demonstrated above -and will be discussed in more length in the sections that follow- the conversations were most of the time marked by witty and playful tones that made extensive use of humor and sarcasm. The ultimate container of these elements, with its rich webs of connotations, poetry was always at play. The communicative exchanges that happened during the resistance were not limited to only verbal forms. Singing was a constant element, starting from the enthusiastic songs that challenge the police brutality and continuing with various other forms. The involvement of Davide Martello and his piano created many of such instances. Bringing his piano into the Square to play songs in a spirit of solidarity, this German pianist quickly became one of the emblems of the resistance in social media. The musical conversations were not only limited to the historic performance by Martello either. Many songwriters immediately produced and dedicated songs for the resistance. These cultural artefacts in the form of songs and collective performances, without any doubt, deserve special attention and call for meticulous analyses from various perspectives within social sciences and humanities. However, since I do not have the required expertise in those fields, and also for keeping this dissertation in a completable extent, I cannot attempt to undergo such a study. But, albeit in passing, I should note that this area calls for further studies, which have great potential to contribute to the collective conscious -and unconscious- of the actors involved in the resistance.

The last point that I would like to emphasize, in relation to the "conversational" aspect of third spaces in general, and of the hybrid third space of the Resistance in particular, is related to its effects. As discussed also in the previous subchapters, there was an equalizing tone of the environment that provided access for its participants. Such participation, when matched with opportunities of dialogue among the diverse actors involved in the resistance, created an atmosphere contributing the potential of empathy and solidarity.

5.5 ACCESSIBILITY & ACCOMMODATION

I have argued in the previous chapter that for a potential third place to be able to function properly, access to it should not be too costly (using the term in the widest sense so that it includes the opportunity cost of time, as well), and the place should be able to "welcome" its potential participants independent of the nature of the modality of their visits. Oldenburg stated this situation as follows: "Access to them must be *easy* if they are to survive and serve, and the ease with which one may visit a third place is a matter of both time and location" drawing our attention to the availability of third places in terms of both time and place constraints (1989, p.32, emphasis mine).

The underlying reason for this argument comes from the fact that people already spend most of their time in the basic institutions of home, work or school and that third places can accommodate people only when they are released from their responsibilities in these places. Thus, claims Oldenburg, "[t]hird places must stand ready to serve people's needs for sociability and relaxation in the intervals *before*, *between*, and *after* their mandatory appearances elsewhere" (1989, p.32).

Behind this seemingly straightforward observation lies the source from which third places derive their power: their potential to create an alternative locality of spiritual and mental regeneration. The hybrid site of the resistance, I argue, was exactly such a *place*. Not only it was joyful and pleasing, as will be discussed in further detail in the subchapters to follow, but it was also an environment that was able to accommodate the various actors involved in it. The combined effort of these various actors, I believe it is possible to argue, contributed to the conceptualization of a "collective us" which was a category broad enough to disseminate the discourse of "we, the people" vs. "them, the oppressors". Such a strong dividing line would later be utilized by the government authorities in creating an alternative version of the same dichotomy marginalizing the protestors as "those" contributing further to an antagonistic understanding of the protestors' collectivity. Examples of such antagonism was most visible through the images circulating in the social media.

The construction of the aforementioned "collective us" did not take place on the discursive level. Quite on the contrary, one could argue, the practice of coming together, organizing and collectively building the resistance -and its physical sites- was a common experience that provided the framework within which such discourse could develop and spread. The collective action that required the coordination of efforts in the struggle of not getting hurt by the police was an example of the defensive mechanism that provided such enactment. The same struggle was, unsurprisingly, being carried out on online spheres too. When the government applied measures of limiting access to particular websites and banning others, the solution that the resistors found was the method of changing DNS settings. The ways they utilized for communicating such technical opportunity with others, was not limited to digital media though.

5.6 THE REGULARS

The crucial role that regulars play in the functioning of third places was explained in the previous chapter: they are the tone-setters of their environments, they attract newcomers, keep the participants in touch and give the spaces their characteristic moods. They help contribute to the dispersion of feelings of togetherness among participants, the creation of safer places based on mutual trust, and, most importantly, they enable the formation of common languages belonging to the third spaces in which they participate. Hence, regulars act as the cement that brings and holds together the various actors and their distinct tendencies.

From such perspective, the ultimate *regular* of the Resistance, was the collective entity "TD" A coalition of over hundred NGOs and political organizations, it was the single body that called for the resistance in the first place (inviting the environmentalists and urban rights defenders), and acted as the platform for coming up with the lowest common denominator among the sensitivities and demands of the various components that were involved[95]. Being the first regular and having the advantage to act as the host of the resistance, TD was also able to act as a platform that aggregated the various

---

[95] A list of all these components, as cited by TD itself, is available at: http://archive.is/GNnOu [accessed on November 18, 2016].

technical, logistical and aesthetic elements that were prepared by other actors with the goal of contributing to the resistance.

The presence of such a high number of *regulars* is an important factor that contributed to the development of bonds of trust and solidarity among the dissidents, by providing both of the two distinct benefits put forward by Putnam, in relation to the functioning of social capital (1995), namely, *bridging* and *bonding*. Putnam states that bridging social capital functions as a kind of social lubricant that makes individuals from different social backgrounds come together. Although it does not help very much for the creation of stronger ties among individuals based on which emotional support is provided to each other in a long-term reciprocal relationship, it is beneficial for enabling access to new information sources, broader social horizons and different world views. The bonding social capital, on the other hand, is not that easily established between individuals who casually come together. It requires a sustained relationship which is marked by mutual benefit and sacrifice, as well as the provision of attention, emotional support and care for each other. Although it enables the creation of stronger personal connections and contributes to the strengthening of social bonds established already within communities, it indirect leads to an atmosphere with less diversity in terms of worldviews, narrower horizons, and sometimes even insularity. Based on the criteria above and the dynamics of socialization, communication and interaction that were predominantly effectual among the actors of the resistance, I believe it is possible to state that the regulars of the resistance played crucial roles in the establishment of both bridging and bonding types of social capital.

The third and last dimension that I would like to emphasize, in relation to the presence of regulars within the resistance, is related to the more discursive level. As I have argued in the previous section, the collective identities that were created, sustained and owned by the members of the resistance acted as the glue that held them together. The *regular* presence of the tear gas (and of police violence), as well as the subsequent appropriation of "loathing" as a natural element of the identity is one such case. What is maybe even more noteworthy is how the resistance was able to keep alive the sustain this identity through creating a number of "regular heroes and heroines", all of which

were transformed from being single individuals who participated in the resistance, into symbolic and even mythical, or rather counter-mythical, figures.

5.7 A LOW PROFILE

As explained in the previous chapter, third places are usually plain and homely environments to which pomposity, exaggerated elegance and pretension do not belong. This being the case, the communication in these environments is marked by transparency, openness and sincerity. As Oldenburg (1989, p. 37) puts it "The contribution that third places make in the lives of people depend upon their incorporation into the everyday stream of existence." Regarding the characteristic of resistance, I believe, it is possible to argue that such an environment, marked by sincerity and openness was at play, in parallel fashion to Oldenburg's statement of third places. A possible reason for such emergence might be the accommodation, access, leveler and neutral ground properties that have been discussed in detail above. To illustrate, all it took to become part of the resistance was the desire and will to be so, nothing more. In a social setting where interactions and transactions among individuals were regulated in a fashion parallel to Karl Marx's (1875) famous statement "[f]rom each according to his ability, to each according to his needs"; such transparency, I argue, is expected. What logically follows is the postulate that the actors who are partaking in such atmosphere do not possibly find themselves in an obligation to act in presumptuous or hypocritical manner.

I have personally experienced a vivid demonstration of how such tendency was at play. During the time I was shooting videos to document the lively and productive atmosphere within the reclaimed park, I came across an elegant young woman who was organizing a workshop, under the name "GA" which was basically a site to draw and paint with the various children who were enjoying the newly found space of liberty within the park. Before I started to record her and the vicinity, I approached her to ask for permission to document, and also requested that I do an interview with her. She seemed a little nervous, but nevertheless did not reject my demand. I turned my camera on and started with the typical question, asking herself to explain her reasons for being

there and continue with describing who she is with a few sentences. My second request created a small breeze and I was a little surprised to see her hesitate after such a simple question. She then let this air of surprise away, explained what she wanted to accomplish with the children and told me that she was "just someone who wanted to partake in the atmosphere of the park". The two images below -which circulated an important deal in digital media channels- depict "GA" and the third visual is a tweet of a photograph of the lady I interviewed, taken by a famous photographer. To my astonishment, I would later find out that she was "DE", one of the most famous and popular actress of the country.

What was simultaneously at stake, though, was the ornate and grandiose aesthetic preferences in the ways the protesters chose to express themselves and the resistance was represented. Unlike many people including the celebrities that took place in the resistance, the imagery of the resistance was colourful, almost to an excessive degree, and even a little flamboyant. Almost too good / beautiful to be true, as one could say of it. As ontologically inconsistent as it may seem, the resistance did have both a "low profile" (which one could associate with ordinary, everyday behavior) and an "eccentric nature" in terms of the excess of its performative elements. What was at stake, I argue, that made the possibility of such unlikely combination was the *carnivalesque* characteristic -in the sense discussed by Bakhtin (1984)- of the praxis of the collective agency of the resistance. The resistance was "of low profile", since the agents involved in it were engaging in "ordinary" activities, *normally*; yet, at the same time, it was "excessive", because the newly defined normal was in serious mismatch, and even in sharp contrast with the "old normal", which existed before the creation of the extraordinary situation in the hybrid third place of the resistance. In that regard, it was *a world upside-down*, which is actually a definition of the carnivalesque suggested by Stallybrass and White (1986).

I have to note, though, that I have seen many people with makeups, including young women I encountered on the way to the MH's restrooms, which was a common spot for demonstrators in need of using the toilet, mostly for washing away the tear gas remnants on their faces. The people I encountered there were at the same time accepting the

invitation of the blog -that is, engaging in radical acts of dissidence, in acceptance of the abnormality of the times- and, at the same time not compromising their aesthetic values. Retrospectively speaking, my current rendering of this tendency is that it was also a challenge to the authority; a bodily way of challenging the authority. Maybe equivalent to expressing with their bodies -which have obviously already been beautified by the feelings of dignity and euphoria of revolt, a declaration of the denial of being pretty *for* the authorities (which govern the rules of civic life and aesthetic codes alike), but *against* them and *purposefully* so. An aesthetic statement which stood (up) for herself / himself / itself. Seen from such perspective, it is little wonder why "the woman in red" and "the woman in black" (both of which are depicted below), two of the most powerful imagery of the resistance became as popular as two images could possibly become.

As strong and powerful as it stood by rejecting the rules of the game imposed onto herself, the collective identity of the resistance also had a tendency toward modesty, which looked to the eyes unaware of such tendency, almost like naivety. The same people who made the mayor of the city break his vow and host a meeting with the protestors to "discuss the events", in a quite surreal atmosphere I could say from inside, as a participant observer of the meeting, would make a penguin march in protest of the members of the mainstream media who were curiously waiting to hear what they had to say. It is a mystery -and will probably remain so- if the person who wrote "I couldn't find a slogan" was indeed suffering from a lack of creativity and cause to make a statement about. Similarly, we will probably never know if "Damn some things" which could very well be argued to be "an empty signifier", a statement without a meaning inherent to it, and also one with a typo, was *intentionally* meant something more than it seems to denote or not. What we can know, though, through the immense popularity of these slogans (through their restatements in social media and on other walls written onto by the agents of the uprising), is that the collective "spirit" of the resistance liked them very much, embraced and considered them its own.

It is possible, of course, to argue that the generation that lacked the language of political dissent was unable articulate and express the deep waves that caused the revolt. What is also possible, and in my opinion, more plausible, is the interpretation that being so sure

of their rightfulness and tipsy with the euphoria of the victory won against the authority; the collective agency of the resistance was in a state of mind, which did not find it necessary to eagerly express itself to the outside observers, but more interested in making fun of and messing around the dominant webs of significance that it had undermined.

What follows from such reasoning is that being so sure of itself, the resistance did not feel the need to carry a patronizing attitude, even on level of discourses and slogans. Hence, the might and spontaneity that brought with itself the constructive extravagance, was accompanied with a deep-down modesty, which found it more right to do away with bold statements, loud and monistic expressions. In a similar fashion, maybe the collective psyche of the resistance, having been molded in an atmosphere of diversity and respect for the others, saw that it was also possible to hear the voice of the 'other' in one's own self -instead of trying to silence it at all costs. Maybe, the resistance chose to or was attracted to position itself away from claims of supremacy and grandeur, and talk with the more queer language of the minority -in the society and in its very own self. Maybe, it was a collective attempt toward "minority", towards "becoming-minor" in the sense of the term developed by Deleuze and Guattari (1986 & 1988), as the embodiment of the attempt of "becoming-fascist"[96].

5.8 THE MOOD IS PLAYFUL

The resistance was playful. This was evident, right from its onset, not only through the modes of expressions that its members had chosen to express themselves with, but also through the collective production, maintenance, transmission and spread of it various performative actions which were instrumental in giving it a joyful and witty temperament. Instances of such character have been depicted in many widely circulated images, such as the graffiti which writes "if God gives you tear gas, make lemonade with it"; a clear reference to the proverbial wisdom "if God gives you lemons, make lemonade", which suggests an optimistic attitude independent of the harshness of conditions. Another one goes: "Allahını seven defansa gelsin" -which translates as

---

[96] A discussion of such link, based on the sister concept of "minor literature" is available at: http://archive.is/toH8a [accessed on November 3, 2016].

"Come to the defense, for God's sake". A culture-specific saying, this, is a reproachful phrase which is widely used in amateur football matches when few people are left defending, as a result of a situation that occurs when the majority of the players who had approached the opponent team's field do not return for stopping a counter-attack. In the context of the resistance, however, I believe that it refers to staying strong and close to the barricades during possible clashes with the police, though a witty act of recontextualization.

Connotations of play were not present on only allegorical levels, though. The idea of the resistance as a game was also explicitly by the members of the resistance. The first example is a fictional poster, which promotes "The T Episode" of Grand Theft Auto (GTA), a video game in which players control law-abiding people who are in clash with the armed forces. The second one, warns an imaginary audience (which one could assume consists of the armed forces and the state authorities) that they are messing up with the generation who is accustomed to beating police officers in GTA. The third image which is a combination of six stars and text writing "It is now level six. The tanks will arrive" is also a reference to the GTA cosmology, in which the stars are part of a rating system distinguishes between the different threat levels of criminals, with level six being the most dangerous, as a result of which tanks arrive to fight against the protagonist. The presence of real tanks (loaded with water cannons) that did actually come in the purge against protesters in the Resistance is, in this regard, the doubly-loaded imagery, simultaneously pointing to the 'gamelike' nature of the act of resisting, and the real threat -however gamified- of such action.

If the police were attacking with tear gas, water cannon, plastic -and at times even actual- bullets; the protestors were responding in various forms and styles. Yes, there were occasions where such response was in the form of similar physical attacks; but a bigger struggle was being carried on by attacks with more symbolic elements, an area where the resistance was arguably, much stronger. An image depicts adolescent boys playing football at the border of the "no-trespassing-zone" established by the police, using the boundary-ribbon as the goal. As could be expected, the ball would every now and then trespass the border, creating a de-facto situation where the boys would,

perforce, have to transgress -literally, as well as metaphorically- the boundary drawn by the police forces.

Oldenburg (1989, p 37) states that third places are spaces where frivolity and wit dominate the general mood, and seriousness and rigidity are essentially antagonistic to their vibrant character. So, unlike the work atmosphere where everything is supposed to be done for a purpose, communication is narrowly instrumental and the big aim that dictates all these is the achievement of higher efficiency and better organizational structures; in third places people are free to "just spend" their time, "say stupid things" and "make mistakes". In fact, these are not only tolerated in the relaxed environment of these spaces, but they are also more than welcome. Lapses, slips of the tongue and malapropisms, for instance, do contribute to the playful atmosphere of the conversation in third places. Similarly, there is ground in third places for queer interventions, in a fashion parallel to the discussion made about the "becoming minor" element of the hybrid site of Resistance in the previous section.

Johan Huizinga (1955, p.13), who wrote extensively about the "play element of culture" sets the scene of the play in his book, Homo *Ludens*, writes of masks, as follows:

> *[The] masked individual "plays" another part, another being. He is another being. The terrors of childhood, open-hearted gaiety, mystic fantasy and sacred awe are all inextricably entangled in this strange business.*

He, furthermore identifies three characteristics that play must have: "Play is free, is in fact freedom", "play is not ordinary or real life, "play is distinct from ordinary life both as to locality and duration". So, play needs a place and time of its own, or as Oldenburg (1989, p. 39) states, its own "playgrounds ... temporary worlds within the ordinary world, dedicated to the performance of an act apart". Such, I believe, was the hybrid third place of the Resistance. Through elements such as the collective singing of march songs such as "Spray, if you dare", ritualization of the acts of resistance, ceremonial clothing of gas-masks, the resistance was able to set free a quite vivid expression of collective joy. Is it a twist of fate, I wonder in such regard, that one of the meanings of the very word itself is 'joy ride'?

Deleuze states, in the interview series "L'abécédaire de Gilles Deleuze" (which translates as "the Alphabet of Gilles Deleuze", in reference to the entry about joy and the affectivity it creates [97] :

> "It's not self-satisfaction, joy is not being pleased with oneself, not at all, it's not the pleasure of being pleased with oneself. Rather, it's the pleasure of conquest, as Nietzsche said, but the conquest does not consist in subjecting people, the conquest is for example for a painters to conquer color. Yes, that's a conquest, that's joy…"

I argue, in parallel to Deleuze, that such joy and the pleasure of contest were impactful elements of the Resistance and one of the defining characteristics of the third place it was able to create. As I have tried to demonstrate above, I also argue that the resistance, as a collective agent, was successful in mobilizing feelings of euphoria and enthusiasm through the elements of playfulness and joy. A widely circulated photograph depicts a poster in the site of the resistance writes "Joy is the Laughter of Resistance".

5.9 A HOME AWAY FROM HOME

I noted in the previous chapter that we develop a feeling that we in a way belong to the third places we regularly attend to and that they belong to us. I have also stated that a third place is a concrete space around which we organize our comings and goings, "where we expect to see familiar faces, and where unusual absences are noticed and queried" [41]. Lastly, I have demonstrated how third places fulfil the five defining traits of "home" environments (namely, rootedness, feelings of possession, spiritual regeneration, feelings of being at ease, and warmth) that Oldenburg suggested with an inspiration from Seamon (1979).

I have argued above under the "Regulars" heading that it is actually the regular participants that *make* a place. I believe that this hypothesis is valid not only literally - as in the case of brick-and-mortar physical sites where the resistance occurred-, but also metaphorically -as far as the hybrid third place of the Resistance which consists of all the actions and expressions of the resistance, be them in the form of digital media

---

[97] An English translation of this interview, which is originally in French, is available at: https://terenceblake.wordpress.com/2013/08/17/english-transcript-of-deleuze-on-joy/ [accessed on November 5, 2016].

channels or actual spaces, are concerned. As I have argued above in regard to the discussion about "Accessibility and Accommodation"; the actors of the resistance were from the onset equipped with a motivation to defend a locality of the commons which they claimed ownership of, as members of the commons. They considered it to be a place where they would eat, sleep and socialize; and acted with such a conceptualization in mind, in the ways they organized the daily tasks associated with taking care of their habitats. A video entitled "They said 'here is our home", depict how the protestors cleaned the mass and took care of this living space[98]. A lady when asked of her reasons for engaging in such activity, responds: "by cleaning [here], we are actually stating that this place is ours".

Such will and desire to situate the resistance as a collectively made home, was not limited only to the interior of the park; but was involved various other physical sites where the resistance was able to create a world after its image. Such act of enclosure is done through creating walls (as in the first and second images above), as well as ports and fences as means of selectively letting the resistors in (as in the case of the third and fourth images). Another significant property is the fact that these practices of reappropriation of urban geographies are also attempts of symbolically inscribing the culture(s) of the resistance into lived spaces.

Such was the atmosphere at the site of the resistance, creating a combination of cheerfulness and companionship that provided the regulars with feelings of warmth. The cozy nature deterring pretension and encouraging openness has also contributed to a mode of ease; and a third place, as illustrated by Oldenburg (1989, p. 41) as an environment that equips its participants with the "freedom to be ... [that] involves the active expression of personality, the assertion of oneself within the environment". The conceptualization of the site of resistance was not limited only to the literal denotations of the concept of home. The actors of the resistance have also made it clear that it was not only the specific site, nor any physical locality of sorts, was what filled them with such feeling of coziness and comfort. The sentimental investment by the members of

---

[98] The full video is available at: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Kwk4seNoTCY [accessed on November 5, 2016].

the resistance of a collectively imagined concept of home as a metaphorical category uniting the diverse participants of the resistance is also exemplified in the image below.

<center>***</center>

In this chapter I have elaborated in detail the concept of 'third place' in the sense that has been developed by Oldenburg and those that have followed him. In doing that, I have discussed in detail the eight criteria that Oldenburg has underlined as the necessary and sufficient conditions for the existence of a third place. After that, through the metaphorization of the concept, and the extension of its definitive scale so that it contains not only or brick-and-mortar places that Oldenburg has written about, but it also includes the localities generated by the online media sphere, I have argued that the hybrid place generated at the intersection of the digital and the actual by the actors of the Resistance demonstrates the characteristic traits of third places, thus qualifying to be conceptualized as a collectively produced, networked third place.

6. CONCLUSION AND DIRECTIONS FOR FURTHER RESEARCH

With this dissertation I have tried to analytically look at the deeds of millions of human beings involved in social movements with an eye to understand their motivations, their tactics and strategies and their discourses about the world in general, and their deeds of upheaval in particular. This has also been an attempt to make sense of the various roles that communication technologies, and especially digital technologies, play within these struggles. Not treating the technical sphere as merely tools under the control of human agency, while also avoiding a technodeterminist framework seeing the progression of history consisting of a series of technical advancements; this has been an attempt to understand how the coexistence of the technical and social elements are at play in the making of a global wave of social uprisings.

In such regard, what I have hoped to accomplish in this thesis has four interrelated dimensions: 1) Coming up with a cultural anthropological account of the resistance (and its aftermath) with a special focus on dissident practices taking place in the digital realm and presenting them in the form of a cyber-ethnography. 2) Critically analysing the frameworks that have the potential to contribute to the development of a deep and grounded comprehension of networked social movements and elaboration of concepts that prove to be useful for recognizing continuities with and underlining ruptures from the general wave of acts of 'horizontalism', and singling out what is particularly specific to the practicality of the instance. 3) Conceptualizing the hybrid place of the Resistance, with its actual and digital facades, as a third place; by relying on the metaphorization of the concept developed by Ray Oldenburg and his followers. 4) Contemplating upon how the performance of this hybrid agency in this collectively created hybrid third place has been unfolded and manifested in its rhizomic modes of reproduction and dissemination; and how affects such as joy and humor have generated and utilized at the service of the corresponding collective agency.

In doing that I have also attempted to neither fall into the trap of technodeterminist frameworks which, by seeing the technical as merely a derivative of the social, fail to

grasp the relatively autonomous and productive space it embodies, nor treat it as a self-contained universe which functions in a vacuum isolated from the historical relations of power and the collective struggle of the masses. In this regard, I have carried out a meticulous discussion on the particular modalities of recently emerged media platforms and have attempted to understand the convergence, not only in terms of technological advancements and different media; but also as a defining element of what is going on in the cultural sphere as the world becomes more and more part of a common language -be it in the form of a catchy tweet, or a meme with a viral potential. More specifically, by elaborating in detail the four categories, namely 'digital media', 'new media', 'social media' and 'virtual media', I have intended to put into context widely circulating conceptualizations of the non-traditional media and discuss the roles they have been playing in creating novel social dynamics. This, I believe, has enabled the argumentation in this dissertation to not fail the tedious task of capturing the techne at play and seeing how the techne gets integrated into the wider set of practices that take place in social environments.

Leaning on an 'epistemologies of doing' framework, which tries to understand the discursive element within the practice, and the practical element within the discourse by taking an "epistemologies of doing" framework, I have looked at the various sites where the acts of disobedience took place. I have discussed how the double-faced resistance - with its digital and actual dimensions- have been at play generating the intensities and affectivities that has given the resistance its flesh and blood. Conceptualizing both of these sides as cultural artefacts and employing semiotic analyses on them, I have intended to demonstrate the performance of the collective subjectivity co-generated by the millions of people who have participated in the resistance. In doing that, I have demonstrated how the cultural artefacts are at once 'reflecting' and 'refracting' the social reality of the societies that they have emerged from. Through them, I have carried out a discussion of how affects, especially the ones closer to the 'joyful' end of the spectrum such as fun, euphoria and humor have been effortlessly integrated into the repertoire of dissident action and discourse; and how, the dissident praxis in return has acted in ways to enrich them even further.

Positioning myself as an 'amphibious researcher' who has been functioning within the resistance -by means of participating in its physical and online sites-, as well as a researcher who has been attempting to make analyses and draw conclusions from it; I have tried to demonstrate how and why the Resistance has been able to create a hybrid 'third place', in the sense of the term developed by Ray Oldenburg in reference to particular physical environments such as parks, cafes, barber shops and others, which - unlike the home environments and work spaces that have traditionally been named as 'first' and 'second' places- facilitate communication and interaction between individuals of a community in special ways. After carrying out a general discussion of the dynamics of third places and the crucial roles they play on creating and sustaining social bonds, I have named and critically elaborated the eight elements that Oldenburg lists as the defining characteristics of such spaces. Then, in accordance with the integrity of the point-by-point framework that Oldenburg has drawn, I have elaborated each of the eight defining characteristics one by one and illustrated these points by using concrete examples that have been collected throughout my research, from actual as well as digital sites where the Resistance took place. In doing that, I have discussed in detail the eight criteria that he has underlined as the necessary and sufficient conditions for the existence of a third place. Then, through the metaphorization of the concept, and the extension of its definitive scale so that it contains not only or brick-and-mortar places that Oldenburg has written about, but it also includes the localities generated by the online media sphere, I have argued that the hybrid place generated at the intersection of the digital and the actual by the actors of the Resistance demonstrates the characteristic traits of third places, thus qualifying to be conceptualized as a collectively produced, networked third place. I have concluded this argumentation with the claim that it is not only possible, but also desirable for scholars of social movements to think with the concept of 'hybrid third place' in analyzing instances of the wave of contemporary uprisings.

I have discussed the concept of 'network society' from a variety of perspectives and focused on the modalities of organization and subjectification taking place within it, with a concentration into the generations named as 'the millennials'. Through a discussion on the tendencies and general mentality of the "selfie generation". I have

attempted to understand how it has become possible for these people, practical and confident about themselves, around which most of their world revolves, to have proven to be engaged in many so-called 'selfless' deeds, from challenging the ways inequalities in the world function to creating social movements and sustainable political organizations. I have then mapped out some of the most important characteristics of the networked social movements and demonstrated their functioning through data gathered during the ethnography of this research. I have analysed the two processes that have been going hand in hand; namely, process of *networkization* of the society and transformation on the level of the construction of the individual: the rise of a new conceptualization of the idea of self. I have more particularly argued that the transformations that have taken during the progression of the network society, together with the development in the Information and Communication Technologies have matched with the parallel development of a new notion of (networked) self, tech-savvy and disruptively active in the use of digital media. The same process, has brought about insecurity, low satisfaction levels and economical as well as political pressure for the same people, who are then drawn to forming and participating in a series of events in many parts of the globe: The networked social movements. By meditating on the *horisontalism* of the 21st century struggles, I have attempted to develop an understanding on the novelty within these struggles, as well as the legacy taken over by them from earlier periods. By analysing them, I have intended to carry out a general discussion of this concept, to be followed by the argumentation that the incidence was another round of this chain, or to state in the corresponding terminology, 'another node' among the 'networks of outrage and hope', as has been described by Castells (2015).

This dissertation has also been an attempt to make sense of contemporary dissident movements which range from Tahrir to Wall Street, from Hong Kong to Spain. This has been an attempt to focus on the particular, as Clifford Geertz would call it, to make a thick description of the social dynamics at stake in the Resistance, which also enables one to make abstractions and recognize patterns on the general 'state of things' throughout the world, including those ones not necessarily related to social dissent. Likewise, this has also been an attempt to write a people's version of history: One that, instead of understanding the world through the deeds of a handful of 'great, important

people', has aimed to grasp the 'deep waves' that make historical phenomena take place and how people -as individuals as well as parts of larger groups within the society- have been 'making history' with the infinitesimal actions they do take each and every day. And an attempt to understand an event, "unique", "exceptional" and "spectacular", which tries to grasp ruptures between how the daily life has been transformed by an almost magical ward, while also taking into account the continuities between the 'ordinary state of things' and the carnivalesque atmosphere created by the 'extraordinary utterance' of the unfolding of history.

It would be erroneous, however, to claim that such an attempt has been achieved and completed without a set of limitations. First of all, as I have limited the object of this study to the practices and expressions of the actants of the resistance, I have chosen not to include counter-arguments (that come from the populous camp of government supporters, who are filled with a strong anti-resistance sentiment. Similarly, I have not included explanatory frameworks or meta-discourses that have been produced by analysts and intermediaries of the resistance, such as commentators or media practitioners. I acknowledge the fact that further studies on these two areas are promising objects of analysis, for providing a counterpart of the analyses developed throughout this thesis, as well as reaching a better understanding on the role of 'traditional media' in the unfolding of the events during and after the heydays of the protest.

A second set of limitations have arisen from the inherent limitations that I myself carry, as a researcher and a participant of the resistance. Being a young, male, urban professional myself, I acknowledge that it is extremely likely that the fieldwork that I have carried out has been inclined towards a demographic of similar characteristics. Geographically speaking, a significant portion of my involvement has been in Istanbul - and in Beyoğlu, Beşiktaş and Kadıköy, in particular. This situation, which has granted me inside access to the acts of resistance taking place in these localities, has unavoidably restricted my participant observation in other important localities, the most important of which are Ankara, İzmir, Hatay, and the countries where there is a strong presence of a diaspora. My entitlements and capabilities have also been limited by the

element of language, in the linguistic sense of the term. As I have no working knowledge of minority languages spoken in Turkey, which a significant portion of Turkey's citizens speak, I believe that it might not have been possible to reach and represent a proportionally accurate amount of content by some citizens. A third element to note in such regard, is the set of restrictions that arise from the ways digital social media has been architecturally configured, that is, following the logic of networks in the flow of content and information. In such regard, I acknowledge the fact that, although I have put a significant amount in trying to grasp the multiplicity of the resistance with the distinct ideological and social dispositions of their members, it is highly likely that I might not have fully succeeded in this attempt due to the positionality I occupy in the digital social networks.

***

I would like to conclude this last chapter with a discussion of three interrelated phenomena that call for attention for further study; 1) discussions about 'continuity' and 'death' of the Resistance; 2) the digitally mediated movements by the population of the society with a strong 'anti-resistance' sentiment; 3) Cross-cultural, cross-geographical and comparative studies. Starting with the first dimension, it is possible to come up with a list of social phenomena. Each one of these developments, which are either direct offsprings or close cousins of resistance movement deserves specialized and focused attention.

Regarding the second element, namely, the digitally mediated movements by the population of the society with a strong 'anti-resistance sentiment; it is also possible to come up with a list of phenomena -albeit not as populous as the resistance offsprings. The increased use of digital social media platforms, and of Twitter in particular, by a centrally controlled political organization is one of them. Another development, which has also increased in parallel fashion with the first one, is the 'trollization' of the Turkish *twittersphere*, which is itself a double-sided phenomenon. This comprises of both the significant increase in the use of bots and other software as a means of agenda setting by loci of power close to the Turkish government, and of an increased tendency

in the particular discourses and repository of language and attitudes employed by members of the government party to act in hostility towards users of these platforms who they consider to be belonging to the other social camp. The last phenomenon that deserves attention in this dimension, but never the least, is the extraordinary use of the means of digital media during and in the aftermath of the failed coup d'état attempt. The use of digital messaging platforms in general, and of Whatsapp in particular, at the service of creating a mass mobilization against the putschists, and the live broadcast by the president -and the public's reception of it- are the prominent instances that particularly deserve attention in this regard.

The third and last axis that seems promising for further research is the field of comparative studies. It is true that a populous body of literature has been produced about the resistance in academic circles, examining and analyzing the movement from various perspectives. However, an important amount of these studies focuses solely on the Resistance itself, and through such choice of scale, categorically disqualifies for making comparisons with other similar movements, doing away with a potentially productive field of study which could bring about opportunities to discussing in detail the particularities and authenticities of each one of these movements. It is also true that the field of networked social movements has attracted a significant amount of attention from a lot of researchers and scholars around the world. However, it should be noted that such 'general accounts', however successful they are at accessing the general characteristics and trends of the recent wave of protests; fall short, due the very nature of their 'macro' methodologies, in discussing in detail the particularities and authenticities of each one of these movements. I argue that what is required to fill the aforementioned gap in social sciences and humanities is the increase in the number of collaborative works that focus on cross-cultural and cross-geographical analyses. Such cooperation, it seems, is particularly promising as it is going to drive its energy from the collaboration of scholars, each one of which, through the expertise she has gained by focused study on social movements that have emerged from the contexts they have concentrated their efforts on. Correspondingly, the body of literature that emerges as a result of efforts combined for such co-production is going to carry a great potential in

enabling the researchers to grasp the particularities and authenticities of each one of the movements they are studying.

REFERENCES

Books

Abbate, J., 2000. Inventing the internet. MIT press.

Acemoglu, D. & Robinson, J.A., 2005. *Economic Origins of Dictatorship and Democracy*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Aceto, S., Delrio, C., Dondi, C., Fischer, T., Kastis, N., Klein, R., Strauss, A. and Corbin, J., 1994. Grounded theory methodology-An overview. Handbook of qualitative research. Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications.

Ahiska, M. and Yenal, Z., 2006. Aradığınız kişiye şu an ulaşılamıyor: Türkiye'de hayat tarzı temsilleri, 1980-2005. Osmanlı Bankası Arşiv ve Araştırma Merkezi.

Ahıska, M., 2002. Bilginin araçsallaşması ve gündelik hayatın bilgisi, in *Bilgi toplumuna geçiş: Sorunsallar / görüşler, yorumlar / eleştiriler ve tartışmalar*, Tekeli, İ. et al. (Eds.). Ankara: Türkiye Bilimler Akademisi Yayınları.

Allan, R.A., 2001. A history of the personal computer: the people and the technology. Allan Publishing.

Allenby, B.R. and Sarewitz, D., 2011. The techno-human condition. MIT Press.

Alsop, R., 2008. The trophy kids grow up: How the millennial generation is shaking up the workplace. John Wiley & Sons.

Althusser, L., 1971. The Ideological Apparatus of the State, in *Lenin and Philosophy and Other Essays,* New York: Monthly Review Press.

Anderson, B., 1991. *Imagined communities: Reflections on the origin and spread of nationalism*. London: Verso.

Anderson, P., 1998. *The Origins of Postmodernity*. London/New York: Verso.

Augé, M., 2008. *Non-places: An introduction to supermodernity*, Howe, J. (Trans.). London and New York: Verso.

Babbage, C., 1982. On the mathematical powers of the calculating engine. In The origins of digital computers (pp. 19-54). Springer Berlin Heidelberg.

Backstrom, L., Boldi, P., Rosa, M., Ugander, J. and Vigna, S., 2012, June. Four degrees of separation. In Proceedings of the 4th Annual ACM Web Science Conference (pp. 33-42). ACM.

Bakhtin, M.M., 1935. Discourse in the Novel. The Novel: An Anthology of Criticism And Theory 1900–2000, pp.481-510.

Bakhtin, M.M., 1984. Rabelais and his world (Vol. 341). Indiana University Press.

Bakhtin, M.M., 2010. Speech genres and other late essays. University of Texas Press.

Barney, D., 2004. *The network society*. Polity.

Barthes, R., 1967. *Elements of Semiology.* London: Jonathan Cape.

Barthes, R., 1972. Mythologies. London: J.

Barthes, R., 1972. *Mythologies.* New York: Hill and Wang.

Barthes, R., 1974. *S/Z.* London: Cape.

Barthes, R., 1977a. Introduction to the Structural Analysis of a Narrative, in *Image, Music and Text*, London: Fontana.

Barthes, R., 1977b. *Image-Music-Text.* London: Fontana.

Barthes, R., 1991. Written clothing. Rethinking popular culture, pp.432-445.

Baudrillard, J., 1994. Simulacra and simulation. University of Michigan press.

Bauman, Z., 2006. *Liquid Times: Living in an Age of Uncertainty.* Malden: Polity Press.

Bauman, Z., 2013. *Modernity and Ambivalence*. New York: John Wiley & Sons.

Bell, D., 1976. *The Coming of Post-Industrial Society*. New York: Harper Colophon Books.

Benjamin, W., 1936/1969. The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction, in *Illuminations: Essays and Reflections*, pp.217–251, Arendt.H., (Ed.), Zohn,J. (Trans.) New York: Schocken.

Benkler, Y., 2006. *The wealth of networks: How social production transforms markets and freedom*. Yale University Press.

Bennett, W.L. and Segerberg, A., 2013. The logic of connective action: Digital media and the personalization of contentious politics. Cambridge University Press.

Berger, A. 2011. *Ads, Fads and Consumer Culture: Advertising's Impact on American Character and Society.* Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield.

Berger, J., 1980. *About Looking*. New York: Pantheon.

Berger, J., 1991. The suit and the photograph. in Mukerji, C. and Schudson, M., 1991.

Rethinking popular culture: Contemporary perspectives in cultural studies. Univ of California Press.

Bergman, S.M., Fearrington, M.E., Davenport, S.W. and Bergman, J.Z., 2011. Millennials, narcissism, and social networking: What narcissists do on social networking sites and why. Personality and Individual Differences, 50(5), pp.706-711.

Berlo, D. K. (1960). *The process of communication: an introduction to theory and practice*. New York: Holt, Rinehart, & Winston.

Bilgiç, E.E. and Kafkaslı, Z., 2013. Gencim, özgürlükçüyüm, ne istiyorum?:# direngeziparkı anketi sonuç raporu. İstanbul Bilgi Üniversitesi Yayınları.

Boas, F., 1940. The Aims of Anthropological Research: in Race, Language and Culture. ed. George Stocking.

Borges, J.L., 1962. The garden of forking paths. Collected fictions, pp.119-28.

Bourdieu, P., & Wacquant, L. J. D., 1992. *The Logic of Fields: Interest, Habitus, Rationality.* Chicago: Polity Press.

Bourdieu, P., 1984. Distinction: A social critique of the judgement of taste. Harvard University Press.

Bourdieu, P., 1986. The Forms of Capital, in *Handbook of Theory and Research for the Sociology of Education*. J.G. Richardson (Ed.), pp. 241-258, New York: Greenwood Press.

Bourdieu, P. (1986) The forms of capital. In J. Richardson (Ed.) Handbook of Theory and Research for the Sociology of Education (New York, Greenwood), 241-258.

Bourdieu.P., 1984. *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste.* New York: Routledge.

Braudel, F., 1995. *The Mediterranean and the Mediterranean World in the Age of Philip II*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.

Brecht, B., 1964. The Radio as an Apparatus of Communication. Bertolt Brecht, Der Rundfunk als Kommunikationsapparat (The Radio as an Apparatus of Communication), 1932

Bromley, A.G., 1990, January. Analog computing devices. In Computing before computers (pp. 156-199). Iowa State University Press.

Burgin, V., 1982. *Thinking Photography.* London: Macmillan.

Burnham, E.F.L., 1955. Peterborough Court: the story of the Daily Telegraph. Cassell.

Carey, J., 2002. A cultural approach to communication.McQuail's reader in mass communication theory. Sage.

Carroll, L., 1994. *Alice's adventures in wonderland*. London: Penguin.

Castells, M., 2015. Networks of outrage and hope: Social movements in the Internet age. John Wiley & Sons.

Castells, M., 2015. Networks of outrage and hope: Social movements in the Internet age. John Wiley & Sons.

Castells, M. and Cardoso, G. eds., 2006. The network society: From knowledge to policy (pp. 3-23). Washington, DC: Johns Hopkins Center for Transatlantic Relations.

Castells, Manuel (1996), The Rise of the Network Society. Vol. 1 of The Information Age:

Certeau, M.D., 1988. The practice of everyday life. Trans. Steven Rendall. Berkeley: U of California P.

Chaikin, A., 1998. A man on the Moon: The voyages of the Apollo astronauts. Penguin Group USA.

Cheliotis, G. and Yew, J., 2009, June. An analysis of the social structure of remix culture. In Proceedings of the fourth international conference on Communities and technologies (pp. 165-174). ACM.

Collin, M., 2001. Guerrilla radio: rock'n'roll radio and Serbia's underground resistance. Nation Books.

Cortese, A.J., 2015. Provocateur: Images of women and minorities in advertising. Rowman & Littlefield.

Coulmas, F., 2003. Writing systems: An introduction to their linguistic analysis. Cambridge University Press.

Coupland, D., 1991. Generation X: Tales for an accelerated culture. Macmillan.

Coward, R., & Ellis, J., 1977. *Language and Materialism: Developments in Semiology and the Theory of the Subject.* London: Routledge.

Curley, E., 1994. A Spinoza reader: The Ethics and other works. Princeton: Princeton University Press, Includes: Spinoza, Benedicticus de, Ethica, Originally published in, 1677.

Curtis, A. & Kelsall, Lucy (Producers), 2002. Adam Curtis (Director). *The Century of the self* [Film]. United Kingdom: BBC, RDF Television.

Darnton, R., 1985. Workers Revolt: The Great Cat Massacre of Rue Saint-Séverin, in *The Great Cat Massacre and Other Episodes of French Cultural History*. pp. 75-104. New York: Basic Books.

Darnton, R., 2009. "The Great Cat Massacre and Other Episodes of French Cultural History. Basic Books.

Dawkins, R., 1976 (2016). The selfish gene. Oxford university press.

Debord, G., 1967 (2012). Society of the Spectacle. Bread and Circuses Publishing.

Debray, R., 1996. *Media manifestos*. Rauth, E. (Trans.). London and New York: Verso.

De Certeau, M. 1984, *The Practice of Everyday Life*, Rendall.S., (Trans.) Berkeley: University of California Press.

Dee, H., 2011. Heroines of Technology. ITNOW, 53(6), pp.56-57.

De Landa, M., 1997/2005. *Introduction. A Thousand Years of Non-Linear History*. New York: Zone Books/Swerve Editions.

De Landa, M., 1997. A thousand years of nonlinear history.

Deleuze, G. & Guattari, F., 1988. *A Thousand Plateaus: Capitalism and Schizophrenia*. New York: Bloomsbury Publishing.

Derrida, J., 1973. Speech and phenomena, and other essays on Husserl's theory of signs. Northwestern University Press.

Derrida, J., 1982. Differance, in *Margins of Philosophy.* Chicago & London: University of Chicago Press.

Descartes, R., 1641 (2013) . Meditations on first philosophy. Broadview Press.

Dijk van Jan, A.G.M., 2006. The Network Society. Social Aspects of New Media.

DiNucci, D., 1999. Design & New Media: Fragmented Future-Web development faces a process of mitosis, mutation, and natural selection. PRINT-NEW YORK-, 53, pp.32-35.

Duncan, S.C., 2011. Minecraft, beyond construction and survival. Well Played: a journal on video games, value and meaning, 1(1), pp.1-22.

Earl, J. and Kimport, K., 2011. Digitally enabled social change: Activism in the internet age. Mit Press.

Eco, U., 1966. 'Narrative Structure in Fleming, in *The Bond Affair.* pp. 76-85. London: Macdonald.

Eco, U., 1976. *A Theory of Semiotics.* London: Macmillan.

Economy, Society and Culture. Oxford: Blackwell.

Epstein, B., 1991. Political protest and cultural revolution: Nonviolent direct action in the 1970s and 1980s. Univ of California Press.

Epstein, I., 2015. Introduction. In The Whole World is Texting: Youth Protest In The Information Age. Sense Publishers.

Erdoğmuş, F., 2009. Conceptualizing Online Environments as Third Places: An Analysis on Second Life and Facebook. Unpublished Master's Thesis. Istanbul: Boğaziçi University Atatürk Institute for Modern Turkish History.

Esener, T., Turkish Business Law (İstanbul: Boğaziçi University Press, 2000).

Featherman, C., 2015. Discourses of Ideology and Identity: Social Media and the Iranian Election Protests (Vol. 8). Routledge.

Fiske, J., 1987. *Television Culture.* London: Routledge.

Flew, T., 2007. New media: An introduction. Oxford University Press. p. 19.

Floch, J., 2000. *Visual Identities.* London: Continuum.

Foucault, M., 1972. *The Archaeology of Knowledge.* New York: Pantheon.

Foucault, M., 1977. Nietzsche, genealogy, history, in *Language, Counter-memory, Practice: Selected Essays and Interviews.* Bouchard , D.F. (Eds.), Simon, S. & Bouchar, D.F. (Trans.) Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press.

Foucault, M., 1978. Panopticism. Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison. New York: Pantheon. 195-209.

Foucault, M., 1980. Power/knowledge: Selected interviews and other writings, 1972-1977. Pantheon.

Foucault, M. and Trombadori, D., 1991. R*emarks on Marx: Conversations with Duccio Trombadori*. Semiotext (e).

Frehner, C., 2008. Email, SMS, MMS: The linguistic creativity of asynchronous discourse in the new media age (Vol. 58). Peter Lang.

Frey, W.H., 1995. The new geography of population shifts: Trends toward balkanization. State of the Union: America in the 1990s, 2, pp.271-336.

Fu, K.W. and Chan, C.H., 2015. Networked collective action in the 2014 Hong Kong Occupy Movement: analysing a Facebook sharing network. In International Conference on Public Policy, ICPP 2015.

Geertz, C., 1994. Thick description: Toward an interpretive theory of culture. Readings in the philosophy of social science, pp.213-231.

Gerbaudo, P., 2012. Tweets and the streets: Social media and contemporary activism. Pluto Press.

Gezi Hukuki İzleme Grubu, 2014. GEZİ RAPORU (Demokrasi ve Totalitarizm Sarkacındaki Türkiye). Türkiye Barolar Birliği Yayınları.

Giddens, A., 1979. *Central Problems in Social Theory: Action, Structure and Contradiction in Social Analysis.* Berkeley: University of California Press.

Giddens, A., 1999. R*unaway world: How globalization is reshaping our lives*. London: Profile.

Giddens, A. and Pierson, C., 1998. *Conversations with Anthony Giddens: Making sense of modernity*. Stanford University Press.

Gramsci, A., 1992. Prison Notebooks, Vol. 1. Trans. JA Buttigieg and A. Callari. New York: Columbia University Press.

Guattari, F., 1995. Chaosmosis: an ethico-aesthetic paradigm. Indiana University Press.

Guillén, M.F. and Suárez, S.L., 2005. Explaining the global digital divide: Economic, political and sociological drivers of cross-national Internet use. Social Forces, 84(2), pp.681-708.

Habermas, J., 1991. *The structural transformation of the public sphere: An inquiry into a category of bourgeois society*. Burger, T. (Trans.). Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press.

Hall, S., 1973. *A 'reading' of Marx's 1857 introduction to the Grundrisse*. Birmingham: Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies.

Hall, S., 1977. *Mass Communication and Society* London: Edward Arnold.

Hammerman, R. and Russell, A.L., 2015. Ada's Legacy: Cultures of Computing from the Victorian to the Digital Age. Morgan & Claypool.

Hanke, C., 2008. The Epistemic Space of the Visual: Statistics, Astronomy and Space nano, in: *do not exist: europe, woman, digital medium*, pp. 217-230, Reiche. C., & Sick. A., (Eds.). Bremen: Thealit.

Haraway, D., 1991. A Cyborg Manifesto: Science, Technology and Socialist-Feminism in the Late Twentieth Society, in *Simians, Cyborgs and Women.* pp.149-182, New York: Routledge.

Hardt, M. and Negri, A., 2001. Empire. Harvard University Press.

Hardt, M. and Negri, A., 2005. Multitude: War and democracy in the age of empire. Penguin.

Hardt, M. and Negri, A., 2009. Commonwealth. Harvard University Press. Cambridge MA.

Hardt, M. and Negri, A., 2012. *Declaration*. Argo-Navis.

Hargittai, E. and Hsieh, Y.L.P., 2011. From Dabblers to Omnivores: From Dabblers to Omnivores: A Typology of Social Network Site Users. A Networked Self: Identity, community, and culture on Social Network Sites. New York: Routledge.

Harootunian, H., 2000a. *History's Disquiet: Modernity, Cultural Practice and the Question of the Everyday Life,* Columbia University Press.

Harootunian, H., 2000b. *Overcome by Modernity: History, Culture and Commodity in Interwar Japan*, Princeton University Press.

Harvey, D., 1989. *The condition of postmodernity*. London: Blackwell.

Harvey, D., 2000. Spaces of hope. Univ of California Press.

Harvey, D., 2012. Rebel cities: from the right to the city to the urban revolution. Verso Books.

Hayles, K., 2007. Computing the Human, in *The Cybercultures Reader*, pp.557-573, Bell.D., & Kennedy. B., (Eds.). New York: Routledge.

Hayward, S., *Key Concepts in Cinema Studies.* London: Routledge.

Hegel, G. W. F., 1874. The Logic. *Encyclopaedia of the Philosophical Sciences*, 2nd Edition. London: Oxford University Press.

Heidegger, M., 1954/1977. *The Question Concerning Technology. The Question Concerning Technology and Other Essays*. W. Lovitt. (Trans.) New York: Harper and Row.

Heidegger, M., 1962. *Being and time*, Macquarrie, J. & Robinson E.. (Trans.). New York: Harper & Row.

Hillis, Ken. 2006. Modes of Digital Identification: Virtual Technologies and Webcam Cultures. New Media, Old Media: A History and Theory Reader. Ed. by. W.H.

Chun and T. Kenan. London: Routledge. 347- 357.

Hind, J. and Mosco, S., 1985. Rebel radio: the full story of British pirate radio. Longwood Press Ltd.

Hobbes, T., 1969. *Leviathan, 1651*. Scolar Press.

Hobsbawm, E., 2010. Age of Empire: 1875-1914. Hachette UK.

Hobsbawm, E., 2011. On history. Hachette UK.

Hobsbawm, E.J., 1995. The age of extremes: A history of the world, 1914-1991. Pantheon Books.

Hochfelder, D., 2012. The telegraph in America, 1832–1920. JHU Press.

Holsti, O., 1969. *Content analysis for the social sciences and humanities*. Reading: Mass.

Homer, 2004. Iliad of Homer. 1st World Publishing.

Horkheimer.M. & Theodor.A., 1989. The Culture Industry: Enlightenment as Mass Deception (1944), in *Dialectic of Enlightenment*. Cumming.J., (Trans.). New York: Continuum.

Howard, P.N. and Hussain, M.M., 2013. Democracy's fourth wave?: digital media and the Arab Spring. Oxford University Press on Demand.

Howe, N. and Strauss, W., 1992. Generations: The history of America's future, 1584 to 2069. Harper Collins.

Howe, N. and Strauss, W., 2009. *Millennials rising: The next great generation*. Vintage.

Huizinga, J., 1955. Homo Ludens: A Study of the Play-element in Cult. Beacon Press.

Huizinga, J., 1955. *Homo Ludens: A Study of the Play-Element in Culture*. Boston: Beacon Press.

Huyler, D., Pierre, Y., Ding, W. and Norelus, A., 2015. Millennials in the Workplace: Positioning Companies for Future Success. SFERC 2015, p.114.

Innis, H., 1951. Minerva's Owl, in *The Bias of Communication.*, pp.3-32, Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

James. W., 1896. *Is Life Worth Living?*. Michigan: Michigan University

Jenkins, H., 2006. Convergence culture: Where old and new media collide. NYU press.

Jenkins, H., Shresthova, S., Gamber-Thompson, L., Kligler-Vilenchik, N. and Zimmerman, A., 2016. By any media necessary: The new youth activism. NYU Press.

Jules, V., 2001. De la Terre à la Lune (1865). Paris: LGF.

JURIS, J., 2004. Networked Social Movements: Global Movements for Global Future. The Network Society: A cross Cultural Perspective. Cheltelham (UK): Edward Elgar.

Kandell, J. J., 1998. Internet addiction on campus: The vulnerability of college students. *CyberPsychology & Behavior*, 1 (1): pp. 11–17.

Kaplan, A., 1964. *The conduct of inquiry: Methodology for behavioral science*. San Francisco: Chandler Publishing Co.

Knobel, M. and Lankshear, C., 2007. Online memes, affinities, and cultural production. A new literacies sampler, pp.199-227.

Kotkin, J., 2002. The new geography: how the digital revolution is reshaping the American landscape. Random House.

Kuhn, A., 2000. A Journey Through Memory. in Radstone, S. ed., 2000. Memory and methodology. Bloomsbury Academic.

Kuhn, A., 2002. *Family secrets: Acts of memory and imagination*. London: Verso.

Kuhn, T., 1975. *The Essential Tension*. Baltimore, Maryland: Johns Hopkins University Press.

Kuhn, T.S., 1962. The structure of scientific revolutions. Chicago University Press.

Kundera, M., 1994. The book of laughter and forgetting. Harper Collins.

Kunreuther, F., Kim, H. and Rodriguez, R., 2008. Working across generations: Defining the future of nonprofit leadership (Vol. 32). John Wiley & Sons.

Lacan, J., 2001. The Agency of the Letter in the Unconscious or Reason Since Freud, in *Ecrits,* pp. 161- 198. London: Routledge, 2001.

Laclau, E. and Mouffe, C., 2001. Hegemony and socialist strategy: Towards a radical democratic politics. Verso.

Landow, G.P., 1991. HyperText: the convergence of contemporary critical theory and technology (parallax: re-visions of culture and society series). Johns Hopkins University Press.

Larkin, B., 2008. Degraded Images, Distorted Sounds: Nigerian Video and the Infrastructure of Piracy, in *Signal and Noise: Media, Infrastructure and Urban Culture in Nigeria*, pp. 217-241, Durham. Duke UP.

Lasswell, H., 1971. The Structure and function of communication in society, in *The process and effects of mass communication*, pp. 84-99, Schramm, W. & Roberts. D. (Eds.) Urbana: University of Illinois Press.

Limor, Y. and Naveh, H., 2007. Pirate radio in Israel. Haifa: Pardes.

Linden Research, Inc., Economic Statistics, available [online]: "http://secondlife.com/statistics/economy-data.php" [accessed on 24 August 2009].

Lovink, G. and Schneider, F., 2003. A virtual world is possible: From tactical media to digital multitudes. artnodes.

Lyotard, J.F., 1984. *The postmodern condition*. Manchester: Manchester University Press.

Lyotard, J.F., 1993. Excerpts from The postmodern condition: A report on knowledge, in *A Postmodern Reader*, pp.71-90, Hutcheon.L., & Joseph.N., (Eds.). New York: SUNY Press.

Magee, G. A., 2010. Zeitgeist, in *The Hegel dictionary*, p. 262. London: A & C Black.

Manovich, L., 2001. The language of new media. MIT press.

Manovich, L., 2003. New media from Borges to HTML. The new media reader, 1, pp.13-25.

Marcuse, H., 2013. *One-dimensional Man: Studies in the ideology of advanced industrial society*. Routledge.

Marx, K., 1867/1990. *Capital: A Critique of Political Economy,* Volume 1. New York: Penguin Books.

Marx, K., 1973. *Gründrisse*. Martin Nicolaus (Trans.). New York: Vintage Books.

Marx, K., 1978. Critique of the gotha program (1875). The Marx-Engels Reader. Second edition. WW Norton & Co.

Mason, P., 2013. Why it's still kicking off everywhere: The New Global Revolutions. Verso Books.

May, C., 2002. The information society: A sceptical view. Polity Press.

McLuhan, M., 1963. *The Gutenberg Galaxy*. Toronto: University of Toronto.

McLuhan, M., 1964 (2001).*Understanding Media: The Extensions of Man*. New York: Routledge.

McLuhan, M., 1994. Understanding media: The extensions of man. MIT press.

McLuhan, M. et al., 1967. *The medium is the massage*. New York: Random House.

Metz, C., *Film Language: A Semiotics of the Cinema.* New York: Oxford University Press.

Meyrowitz, J., 1986. No sense of place: The impact of electronic media on social behavior. Oxford University Press.

Mills, C.W., 2000. The sociological imagination. Oxford University Press.

Molz, J.G., 2004. Playing online and between the lines: Round-the-world websites as virtual places to play", in *Tourism mobilities*, Sheller, M. & Urry, J. (Eds.). Routledge.

Moore, B., 1993. *Social Origins of Dictatorship and Democracy: Lord and Peasant in the Making of the Modern World*. Boston, Beacon Press.

Mossberger, K., Tolbert, C.J. and McNeal, R.S., 2007. Digital citizenship: The Internet, society, and participation. MIT Press.

Mulvey, L., 1989. Visual Pleasure and Narrative Cinema, in *Visual and Other Pleasures*, pp. 14-26. London: Palgrave Macmillan UK.

Mumford, L., 1934. *Technics and Civilization*. New York: Harcourt and Co.

Munt, S. 2001. Technospaces: inside the new media. In: Munt, S. (ed.) Technospaces: Inside the New Media. Critical Research in Material Culture. Continuum, London and New York, pp. 1-18

Negri, A., 1991. The savage anomaly: the power of Spinoza's metaphysics and politics. U of Minnesota Press.

Newman, M., Barabasi, A.L. and Watts, D.J., 2011. The structure and dynamics of networks. Princeton University Press.

Noah, W.F. and Montfort, N., 2003. The New Media Reader.

Ohler, J.B., 2010. Digital community, digital citizen. Corwin Press.

Oldenburg, R., 1989. The great good place: Café, coffee shops, community centers, beauty parlors, general stores, bars, hangouts, and how they get you through the day. Paragon House Publishers.

Ondrejka, C., 2004. A Piece of Place: Modeling the Digital on the Real in Second Life. Social Science Research Network Working Paper Series.

Papacharissi, Z. ed., 2010. A networked self: Identity, community, and culture on social network sites. Routledge.

Patel, M., Sotsky, J., Gourley, S. and Houghton, D., 2013. The emergence of civic tech: Investments in a growing field. Knight Foundation.

Pavlov, I.P., 1927. Conditioned Reflexes: An Investigation of the Physiological Activity of the Cerebral Cortex (translated by G.V. Anrep). London: Oxford University Press.

Pavlov, I.P. & Anrep, G.V., 2003. *Conditioned reflexes*. Courier Corporation.

Peirce, C.S., 1974. Collected papers of charles sanders peirce (Vol. 5). Harvard University Press.

Peirce, C.S., 1974. *Collected Writings*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Przybylski, A. K. et al., (2013). Motivational, emotional, and behavioral correlates of fear of missing out, *Computers in Human Behavior*, 29 (4): pp. 1841–1848.

Recaizade, M.E., 1896. *Araba sevdası*. Alem Matbaası Ahmed İhsan ve şürekâsı.

Relph, E., 1976. *Place and placelessness*. London: Pion.

Renzi, Alessandra. 2008. "The Space of Tactical Media." In Digital Media and Democracy: Tactics in Hard Times. MIT Press.

Reynol, J. and Mastrodicasa, J., 2007. Connecting to the Net Generation: What higher education professionals need to know about today's college students. NASPA, Washington, DC.

Rodríguez-Garavito, C. 2015. Amphibious Research: Action Research in a Multimedia World Center for the Study of Law, Justice and Society, Dejusticia.

Roehl, H.N., 1973. Player Piano Treasury: The Scrapbook History of the Mechanical Piano in America as Told in Story, Pictures, Trade Journal Articles and Advertising.

Ronell, A., 1995. *The Telephone Book: Technology, Schizophrenia, and Electric Speech*, Nebraska: Nebraska UP.

Rosedale, P. and Ondrejka, C., 2003. Enabling player-created online worlds with grid computing and streaming. Gamasutra Resource Guide, pp.1-5.

Rushkoff, D., 2010. Media virus!. Ballantine books.

Rushkoff, D., 2010. *Program or be programmed: Ten commands for a digital age*. Or Books.

Rushkoff, D. 2000. *Coercion: why we listen to what "they" say*. New York, Riverhead.

Rushkoff.D., 2013. *Present Shock: When Everything Happens Now*. New York:Penguin.

Saussure, F., 1974. *Course in General Linguistics*. London: Fontana.

Saussure, F. 1974. Course in General Linguistics. London: Fontana.

Schramm, W., 1954. How communication works, in *The process and effects of communication*, Schramm, W. (Ed.), pp. 3-26. Urbana, Illinois: University of Illinois Press.

Seamon, D., 1979. *A geography of the lifeworld*. New York: St. Martin's Press.

Sen, A., 1999. Commodities and capabilities. OUP Catalogue.

Sennett, R., 1992. *The fall of public man*. New York: W.W. Norton.

Shannon, C. E., & Weaver, W., 1949. *The mathematical theory of communication*. Urbana, Illinois: University of Illinois Press.

Shaputis, K., 2003. The crowded nest syndrome: Surviving the return of adult children. Clutter Fairy Pub..

Simmel, G., 1903. *The Metropolis and Mental Life*.

Simpson, R., Renear, A., Mylonas, E. and van Dam, A., 1996. 50 years after "As we may think": the Brown/MIT Vannevar Bush symposium. Interactions, 3(2), pp.47-67.

Smith, Marc and Kollock, Peter (Eds.), 1999. *Communities in cyberspace*. London; New York: Routledge.

Spiggle, S. 1998. Creating the Frame and the Narrative: From Text to Hypertext, in *Representing Consumers: Voices, Views and Visions*. pp. 156-190. London: Routledge.

Stallybrass, P. and White, A., 1986. The poetics and politics of transgression. London: Methuen.

Sterne, J., 1999. Thinking the Internet. Doing Internet research: Critical issues and methods for examining the Net, 257.

Stone, A.R., 1996. The war of desire and technology at the close of the mechanical age. MIT press.

Stone, A.R., *The War of Desire and Technology at the Close of the Mechanical Age*. Cambridge: MIT Press, 1995.

Stuart.H., &, Jefferson.T., 1993. *Resistance Through Rituals: Youth Subcultures in Post-War Britain*. New York: Routledge.

Swade, D. and Babbage, C., 2001. Difference engine: Charles Babbage and the quest to build the First Computer. Viking Penguin.

Tapscott, D., 2008. Grown up digital: How the net generation is changing your world HC. McGraw-Hill.

Taylor, P., Doherty, C., Parker, K. and Krishnamurthy, V., 2014. Millennials in adulthood: Detached from institutions, networked with friends. Pew Research Center, Washington, DC.

Timisi, N. 2003. Yeni İletişim Teknolojileri ve Demokrasi. Dost Yayınevi, Ankara.

Timisi, N. 2016. "Teknoloji toplum, Ağlar ve aktörler" in Dijital Kavramlar, Olanaklar, Deneyimler. edited by Timisi, N. İstanbul: Kalkedon.

Toffler, A., 1990. *Future shock*. Bantam.

Touraine, A., 1988. *Return of the actor*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

Trend, D. (Ed.), 2001. *Reading digital culture*. Malden, Mass.: Blackwell.

Turner, V., 1967. Betwixt and Between: The Liminal Period in Rites de Passage, in *The Forest of Symbols*. pp. 93-111, Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.

Twenge, J.M., 2014. Generation Me-Revised and Updated: Why Today's Young Americans Are More Confident, Assertive, Entitled--and More Miserable Than Ever Before. Simon and Schuster.

Twenge, J.M., 2014. Generation Me-Revised and Updated: Why Today's Young Americans Are More Confident, Assertive, Entitled--and More Miserable Than Ever Before. Simon and Schuster.

Twenge, J.M., 2015. The Rise of the Self and the Decline of Intellectual and Civic Interest. The State of the American Mind: 16 Leading Critics on the New Anti-Intellectualism.

Van Dijk, J., 1999. *The network society*. London: Sage Publications.

Van Dijk, Jan A.G.M. (2000). Models of democracy and concepts of communication, in *Digital Democracy, Issues of theory and practice*, Hacker, K. & Van Dijk, J. (Eds), pp. 30-53. London, Thousand Oaks, New Delhi: Sage.

Van Maanen, J., 2011. Tales of the field: On writing ethnography. University of Chicago Press.

Veblen, T, & Banta, M., 2009. *The Theory of The Leisure Class*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Veblen, T., 1953. The Theory of the Leisure Class: An Economic Study of Institutions; with an Introduction by C. Wright Mills. New American Libr..

Voloshinov, V., 1973. *Marxism and the Philosophy of Language*. Cambridge, New York: Seminar Press.

Wardrip-Fruin, N. and Montfort, N., 2003. The New Media Reader. MIT Press.

Weber, M., 1968. *Politics as a Vocation*. In H.H. Gerth and C. Wright Mills (Translated and edited), From Max Weber: Essays in Sociology, pp. 77-128, New York: Oxford University Press, 1946.

Weil, R. ed., 1982. The omni future almanac. Harmony.

White,H., 1973. *Metahistory: The Historical Imagination in Nineteenth-Century Europe*. Baltimore, Maryland: Johns Hopkins University Press

Williams, R., 1972/1992. *Television: Technology and Cultural Form*. Hanover, N.H.: Wesleyan University Press.

Williams, R., 1974/2000. Television and Cultural Form, in *Theories of the New Media: A Historical Perspective*, pp. 35-51, Caldwell. J., (Ed.). London: The Athlone Pres.

Williams, R., 1983. *Culture and society, 1780-1950*. New York: Columbia University Press.

Williams, R., 1992. *Television: Technology and Cultural Form*. Hanover, N.H.: Wesleyan University Press.

Williams, R. 1980/2005. *Culture and Materialism.* London: Verso.

Williamson, J., 1978. *Decoding Advertisements.* London: Marion Boyars.

Winner, L., 1986. Do Artifacts Have Politics?, in *The Whale and the Reactor: A Search for Limits in the Age of High Technology.,* pp.19-39. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Wu, Y., Hirakawa, S., Reimers, U.H. and Whitaker, J., 2006. Overview of digital television development worldwide. Proceedings of the IEEE, 94(1), pp.8-21.

Yoder, A., 2002. Pirate radio stations: tuning in to underground broadcasts in the air and online. McGraw-Hill/Tab Electronics.

Periodicals

Aday, S., Farrell, H., Lynch, M., Sides, J., Kelly, J. and Zuckerman, E., 2010. Blogs and bullets: New media in contentious politics. United States Institute of Peace, (65).

Allan, G., 2003. A critique of using grounded theory as a research method. Electronic journal of business research methods, 2(1), pp.1-10.

Anduiza, E., Cristancho, C. and Sabucedo, J.M., 2014. Mobilization through online social networks: the political protest of the indignados in. Information, Communication & Society, 17(6), pp.750-764.

Atak, K. and Della Porta, D., 2016. Popular uprisings in Turkey: Police culpability and constraints on dialogue-oriented policing in Gezi Park and beyond. European Journal of Criminology, 13(5), pp.610-625.

Beck, U. and Lau, C. (2005), Second modernity as a research agenda: theoretical and empirical explorations in the 'meta-change' of modern society. *The British Journal of Sociology*, 56(4): pp. 525–557.

Brinkman, W.F., Haggan, D.E. and Troutman, W.W., 1997. A history of the invention of the transistor and where it will lead us. IEEE Journal of Solid-State Circuits, 32(12), pp.1858-1865.

Bush, V., 1945. As We May Think. The Atlantic, July 1945. As We May Think-The Atlantic (July 1945).

Casero-Ripollés, A. and Feenstra, R.A., 2012. The 15-M Movement and the new media: A case study of how new themes were introduced into Spanish political discourse. Media International Australia, 144(1), pp.68-76.

Castells, M., 2007. Communication, power and counter-power in the network society. International journal of communication, 1(1).

Chartier.R., 1985. Text, Symbols, and Frenchness, *The Journal of Modern History*, 57 (4). Dec., pp. 682-695.

DeLuca, K.M., Lawson, S. and Sun, Y., 2012. Occupy Wall Street on the public screens of social media: The many framings of the birth of a protest movement. Communication, Culture & Critique, 5(4), pp.483-509.

Deuze, M., Blank, P. and Speers, L., 2012. A life lived in media. *Digital humanities quarterly*, 6(1), pp.1-15.

Foucault, M., 1978. Nietzsche, genealogy, history. Semiotexte, 3(1), pp.78-94.

Geertz, C., 1972. Deep play: Notes on the Balinese cockfight. Daedalus, pp.1-37.

Girvan, R., 2003. The revealed grace of the mechanism: Computing after Babbage. Scientific Computing World, (70), pp.18-20.

Granovetter, M.S., 1973. The strength of weak ties. American journal of sociology, pp.1360-1380.

Grasmuck. S., Martin. J. & Zhao, S., 2008. Identity Construction on Facebook: Digital Empowerment in Anchored Relationships.[on-line], *Computers in Human Behavior.* 24(5), September, pp.1816-1836.

Grinnell, C.K., 2009. From consumer to prosumer to produser: Who keeps shifting my paradigm? (We do!). Public Culture, 21(3), pp.577-598.

Guattari, F. and Deleuze, G., 1986. Kafka: Toward a minor literature. Theory and history of literature, 30.

Haiven, M., 2007. Privatized resistance: AdBusters and the culture of neoliberalism. The review of education, pedagogy, and cultural studies, 29(1), pp.85-110.

Harvey, D., 1995. Militant particularism and global ambition: the conceptual politics of place, space, and environment in the work of Raymond Williams. Social Text, (42), pp.69-98.

Harvey, D., 2011. The future of the commons. Radical history review, 2011(109), pp.101-107.

Hobsbawm, E.J., 1980. The Revival of Narrative: Some Comments. *Past & Present*, 86, Feb., pp.3-8.

Huang, A.W. & Chuang. T.R., 2009. Social Tagging, Online Communication, and Peircean Semiotics: A Conceptual Framework. *Journal of Information Science*, **3**(18). June, pp. 340-357.

Inceoglu, I., 2014. The Gezi resistance and its aftermath: a radical democratic opportunity? Soundings, 57(57), pp.23-34.

Jacoby, R., 1992. A New Intellectual History?, *American Historical Review*, 97 (2), April, pp. 405-424.

Jameson, F., 1984. Postmodernism, or The Cultural Logic of Late Capitalism. *New Left Review*. 146 July/August, pp.53-92.

Jenkins, H., 2004. The cultural logic of media convergence. International journal of cultural studies, 7(1), pp.33-43.

Johnston, B. and Webber, S., 2005. As we may think: Information literacy as a discipline for the information age. Research strategies, 20(3), pp.108-121.

Kobayashi, T. and Ikeda, K.I., 2009. Selective exposure in political web browsing: Empirical verification of 'cyber-balkanization'in Japan and the USA. Information, Communication & Society, 12(6), pp.929-953.

Kuhn, R. & Cahn, C.H., 2004. Eugen Bleuler's concepts of psychopathology. *History of Psychiatry*, 15 (3), pp. 361-366.

LaCapra, D., 1992. Intellectual History and Its Ways, *American Historical Review*. 97 (2), April, pp. 425-439.

Landemore, H., 2015. Inclusive Constitution-Making: The Icelandic Experiment. Journal of Political Philosophy, 23(2), pp.166-191.

Lash, S., 1988. Discourse or figure? Postmodernism as a Regime of Signification. *Theory, Culture & Society,* 5 (2), pp. 311-336.

Latour, B., 1998. Mixing Humans and Nonhumans Together: The Sociology of a Door-Closer. *Social Problems,* 35 (1), pp. 298-310.

Lazer, D., Pentland, a.s., Adamic, L., Aral, S., Barabasi, a.l., Brewer, D., Christakis, N., Contractor, N., Fowler, J., Gutmann, M. and Jebara, T., 2009. Life in the Network: the Coming Age of Computational Social Science. *Science.* 323(5915), pp. 721-723.

Leiner, B.M., Cerf, V.G., Clark, D.D., Kahn, R.E., Kleinrock, L., Lynch, D.C., Postel, J., Roberts, L.G. and Wolff, S., 2009. A brief history of the Internet. ACM SIGCOMM Computer Communication Review, 39(5), pp.22-31.

Lotan, G., Graeff, E., Ananny, M., Gaffney, D. and Pearce, I., 2011. The Arab Spring| the revolutions were tweeted: Information flows during the 2011 Tunisian and Egyptian revolutions. International journal of communication, 5.

Malinowski, B., 1939. The group and the individual in functional analysis. American Journal of Sociology, pp.938-964.

Mantelero, A., 2013. The EU Proposal for a General Data Protection Regulation and the Roots of the 'Right to be Forgotten'. *Computer Law & Security Review.* 29 (3) June, pp. 229–235.

Markus, H. & Nurius, P., 1986. Possible Selves. *American Psychologist*, 41(9), September, pp.954-969.

Marshall, J., 2003. Daniel Miller and Don Slater. the Internet: an Ethnographic Approach. The Australian Journal of Anthropology, 14(3), pp.432-435.

Maslow, A.H., 1943. A theory of human motivation. Psychological review, 50(4), p.370.

Maslow, A.H., 1943. A theory of human motivation. *Psychological Review*. 50 (4): pp. 370-396.

McCabe, D. B., Yurchisin, J., & Watchravesringkan, K., 2005. An exploration of identity re-creation in the context of Internet dating. *Social Behavior and Personality*, **33**(8), January, pp.735-750.

Montag, W., 2005. Who's Afraid of the Multitude? Between the Individual and the State. South Atlantic Quarterly, 104(4), pp.655-673.

Oldenburg, R. and Brissett, D., 1982. The third place. Qualitative sociology, 5(4), pp.265-284.

Prensky, M., 2001. Digital natives, digital immigrants. On the horizon, 9(5), pp.1-6.

Putnam, R.D., 1995. Bowling alone: America's declining social capital. Journal of democracy, 6(1), pp.65-78.

Rodríguez-Garavito, C., 2014. Amphibious sociology: Dilemmas and possibilities of public sociology in a multimedia world. Current Sociology, 62(2), pp.156-167.

Ronalds, B.F., 2016. Sir Francis Ronalds and the Electric Telegraph. The International Journal for the History of Engineering & Technology, 86(1), pp.42-55.

Rosenberg, N.L., 1996. Everyday Culture in the 1950s: Between the Lines--and Beyond. Reviews in American History, 24(1), pp.150-155.

Rumbo, J.D., 2002. Consumer resistance in a world of advertising clutter: The case of Adbusters. Psychology & Marketing, 19(2), pp.127-148.

Rybas, N. and Gajjala, R., 2007, September. Developing cyberethnographic research methods for understanding digitally mediated identities. In Forum Qualitative Sozialforschung/Forum: Qualitative Social Research (Vol. 8, No. 3).

Shadbolt, N. and Berners-Lee, T., 2008. Web science emerges. Scientific American, 299(4), pp.76-81.

Shirky, Clay. "The political power of social media: technology, the public sphere, and political change." Foreign Affairs 90.1 (2011): 28.

Sitrin, M., 2012. Horizontalism and the Occupy movements. Dissent, 59(2), pp.74-75.

Sofia, Z. 2000. Container Technologies. Hypatia, 15: 181-201.

Sorapure, M., 2003. The five principles of new media. Kairos, 8(2).

Soukup, C., 2006. Computer-mediated communication as a virtual third place: building Oldenburg's great good places on the World Wide Web. New Media & Society, 8(3), pp.421-440.

Steinkuehler, C.A. and Williams, D., 2006. Where everybody knows your (screen) name: Online games as "third places". Journal of Computer-Mediated Communication, 11(4), pp.885-909.

Sterne, J., 2003. Bourdieu, Technique and Technology. *Cultural Studies,* **17** (3/4), May/July, pp. 367-389.

Towes. J.E., 1987. Intellectual History after the Linguistic Turn: The Autonomy of Meaning and the Irreducibility of Experience, *American Historical Review*, **92** (4), October, pp. 879-907.

Tuğal, C., 2013. 'Resistance everywhere': The Gezi revolt in global perspective. New Perspectives on Turkey, 49(2013), pp.157-172.

Virilio, P., 1986. Speed and Politics, trans. Paul Palizzotti (Los angeles: semiotext (e), 2006).

Wacquant, L., 2010. Crafting the neoliberal state: Workfare, prisonfare, and social insecurity, in *Sociological Forum* (Vol. 25, No. 2, pp. 197-220). Blackwell Publishing Ltd.

Wellman, B., 2001. Physical place and cyberplace: The rise of personalized networking. *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, 25 (2), pp. 227-252.

Yörük, E. and Yüksel, M., 2014. Class and Politics in Turkey's Gezi Protests. New Left Review, (89), pp.103-123.

Other Sources

Buñuel, L. Portolés, *Le Charme Discret de la Bourgeoisie* (France, Italy, Spain: Dean Film, 1972).

Chaffey, D., Global Social Media Research Summary 2016 [online], Smart Insights, http://www.smartinsights.com/social-media-marketing/social-media-strategy/new-global-social-media-research/, archived at http://archive.is/b6Tfm, [accessed on September 16, 2016].

Curtis, A., 2011. All watched over by machines of loving grace. London: BBC.

Dali, S. 1931. *The persistence of memory*. New York: Museum of Modern Art.

Deleuze, G., Parnet, C., Boutang, P.A. and Pamart, M., 1997. L'abécédaire de Gilles Deleuze. Ed. Montparnasse.

Douglas, G. and Weiss G.D., 1968. *What a Wonderful World*. US: ABC Records.

Facebook, Facebook Newsroom Company Info, http://newsroom.fb.com/company-info/, archived at http://archive.is/BXZRD [accessed 7 November 2016]

Federman, M. 2004. What is the meaning of the medium is the message? [online], http://individual.utoronto.ca/markfederman/MeaningTheMediumistheMessage.pdf [accessed 7 November 2016].

Fight Club, 1999. David Fincher. *Twentieth Century Fox*.

GENAR, 2013 Gezi Parkı Profili. Available at: http://www.genar.com.tr/files/GEZIPARKI_PROFIL-SON.pdf. [Accessed: 9 July 2013]

Ginger, J., 2008. The Facebook Project - Social Capital and the Chief [on-line], Illinois Digital Environment for Access to Learning and Scholarship, www.ideals.illinois.edu/handle/2142/3669, archived at http://archive.is/HPWr9 [accessed 8 November 2016]

KONDA, 2014. Gezi Report: Public Perception of the 'Gezi Protests'. Who Were the People at Gezi Park? Istanbul: KONDA Araştırma ve Danışmanlık. Available at: http://konda.com.tr/en/raporlar/KONDA_Gezi_Report.pdf. [Accessed: 10 March 2015]

Madelaine, A. & Frégosi, V. (Producers), 2001. Pierre Carles (Director). *La sociologie est un sport de combat* [Film]. France: C.P. Productions, V.F. Films Productions.

McInerney, D., Althusser's Underground Railroad: From Dialectical Materialism to the Non-Philosophy of the Non-State [on-line], *Borderlands E-Journal,* 4(2), http://www.borderlands.net.au/vol4no2_2005/mcinerney_intro.htm. [Accessed on November 18, 2016].

Merriam-Webster: Dictionary and Thesaurus. 2016. www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/digital [20th May 2016].

Monbiot, G., 2016. Neoliberalism is creating loneliness. That's what's wrenching society spart", [online], http://archive.is/03Ah4 [accessed 17 October 2016].

Rampell, C., Ivy League Economist ethnically profiled, interrogated for doing math on American Airlines Flight", [online], http://archive.is/O1l53 [accessed 2 November 2016].

Riggs, M. "Ten Years of 'If You See Something, Say Something'", [online] http://archive.is/V4erL [accessed 1 November 2016].

Rushkoff, D., 2016. In a world that's always on, we are trapped in the present, [online], http://archive.is/fkj3P [accessed 10 October 2016].

Rushkoff.D., 2016. *Team Human.* [On-line radio recording], http://teamhuman.fm/, & https://itunes.apple.com/us/podcast/team-human/id1140331811?mt=2, archived at http://archive.is/vdevE & at http://archive.is/g3bdV [accessed 18 November 2016].

Silberman, S. (Producer). 1972. Luis Buñuel (Director). *Le charme discret de la bourgeoisie*.

Shu, C. 2013. "Meet Telegram, A Secure Messaging App From The Founders Of VK, Russia's Largest Social Network". TechCrunch. Available at: http://techcrunch.com/2013/10/27/meet-telegram-a-secure-messaging-app-from-the-founders-of-vk-russias-largest-social-network/ [Accessed on March 18, 2016].

Tekelioğlu, O., 2009. Aileler Dağılıp Mahalleler Yok Olurken , Radikal, 21 January 2009.

Temelkuran, E., 2008. *Ağrı'nın derinliği*. İstanbul: Everest Yayınları.

Twitter Support, 2010. "Using Twitter with Your Phone". Available at: https://support.twitter.com/groups/34-apps-sms-and-mobile/topics/153-twitter-via-sms/articles/14014-twitter-via-sms-faq# [Accessed on June 1, 2014].

Wachowski, A. and Wachowski, L., 1999. The matrix [Motion picture]. United States: Warner Brothers.