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Editors

Can Bilgili

Arif Yıldırım

Richard Vickers

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Table of Contents

Articles

New Digital Marketing Actors: Private Shopping Clubs and Their Advertising Practices PDF
Nazlım Tüzel Uraltaş

Construction, Presentation and Consumption of Individualism in Social Media PDF
Gulsum Calisir

Exposition of Spontaneous Humor in Digital Environment Especially in Social Media After Social Events PDF
Hicabi Arslan

A Study On Comparative Advertising In Social Media: Example Of Turkey And Poland PDF
İhsan Eken

Mobile Health Applications in Digital Life PDF
Deniz Sezgin

An Examination of the Debate Over the Regulation for Safe Internet Service in Turkey in the Print Media and Search Engines PDF
Nurhan Kavakli

A Semiotic Reading of Digital Avatars and Their Role of Uncertainty Reduction in Digital Communication PDF
Sercan Şengün

The Concept of Externalisation and Digital Media: Example of Soma PDF
Birgul Tasdelen, Ferihan Özmen

Self Expression, Exposition and Surveillance in Social Media (A Qualitative Study on the Tranformation of Surveillance through The Digital Information) PDF
Mehmet Ozcaglayan, Ramazan Çelik

Evaluation of Blocking Access to Twitter and Youtube with Regard to the Country's Reputation PDF
Meltem Bostanci

Usage of social media in the process of election campaigns and a view to Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus general elections – 28 July 2013 PDF
Simge Kurban Özselçuk

Developments in Communication Technologies and Employee Privacy in the Workplace PDF
Tüba Karahisar

The Effects of Digital Communication in Cinema: 'A New Film Language' PDF

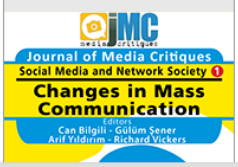


TABLE OF CONTENTS

New Digital Marketing Actors: Private Shopping Clubs and Their Advertising Practices **13**

NAZLIM TÜZEL URALTAŞ

Are We Digital Masters or Captives? A Critical Evaluation of Panoptic Versus Synoptic Effect of Surveillance in Social Media **27**

ERDEM ÖNGÜN - AŞKIN DEMİRAĞ

Digital intermediaries and cultural industries: the developing influence of distribution platforms **43**

THOMAS GUIGNARD

The Relation between the Virtual Sphere and the Virtual Sphere of Arts in the Digital Communication Era **55**

BAHAR SOĞUKKUYU DİNÇAKMAN

Leaders as Corporate Responsibility Spokesperson: How Leaders Explain Liabilities Via Corporate Web Sites? **71**

BURCU ÖKSÜZ - MÜJDE KER DİNCER

Construction, Presentation and Consumption of Individualism in Social Media **85**

GÜLSÜM ÇALIŞIR

Exposition of Spontaneous Humor in Digital Environment Especially in Social Media after Social Events **95**

HICABI ARSLAN

A Study on Comparative Advertising in Social Media: Example of Turkey and Poland **107**

İHSAN EKEN

Mobile Health Applications in Digital Life **121**

DENİZ SEZGİN

An Examination of the Debate over the Regulation for Safe Internet Service in Turkey in the Print Media and Search Engines **135**

NURHAN KAVAKLI

A Semiotic Reading of Digital Avatars and Their Role of Uncertainty Reduction in Digital Communication **149**

SERCAN ŞENGÜN

The Concept of Externalization and Digital Media: Example of Soma **163**

BİRGÜL TAŞDELEN - FERİHAN ÖZMEN

Self-Expression, Exposition and Surveillance in Social Media **173**

MEHMET ÖZÇAĞLAYAN - RAMAZAN ÇELİK

Evaluation of Blocking Access to Twitter and YouTube with Regard to the Country's Reputation **195**

MELTEM BOSTANCI

Usage of social media in the process of election campaigns and a view to Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus general elections – 28 July 2013 **210**

SİMGE KURBAN ÖZSELÇUK

Developments in Communication Technologies and Employee Privacy in the Workplace **221**

TÜBA KARAHİSAR

The Effects of Digital Communication in Cinema: 'A New Film Language' **235**

H. HALE KÜNÜÇEN

Establishing Correlations between What Is Published and What Is Commented On: A Case Study of Audience Reading and Commenting Habits in Elpais.Com and Telegraph.Co.Uk **245**

DIANA RIVERO SANTAMARINA - IRATI AGIRREAZKUENAGA ONAINDIA - KOLDOBIKA MESO AYERDI - AINARA LARRONDO URETA

Changing View of Arts Journalism in New Media **271**

SERRA ORKAN

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SELF-EXPRESSION, EXPOSITION AND SURVEILLANCE IN SOCIAL MEDIA

(A Qualitative Study on the Transformation of Surveillance through the Digital Information)

MEHMET ÖZÇAĞLAYAN*
RAMAZAN ÇELİK**

ABSTRACT

The new dimension of the information shaped by the digitalization has made its circulation and sharing easier and with that, the ways of people's accessing to information and their communication habits started to change. The presentation of digitized information with new tools has also accelerated the development of social interaction. The new communication media, while providing to move the self-expression of the individual via his/her "digital incarnation", particularly with the social networking, into a much more different and richer dimension than it used to be, has also introduced the transformation of surveillance in new forms with them. Individuals on the one hand, as in the all areas of their lives, also feel the existence of "surveillance" in the social networks where they share the information; but as a contradiction, they cannot give up "exposing" themselves and "being followed and monitored" by others as well. Therefore, the main objective of the study is to reveal, understand and interpret the contradiction of the self-expression forms in the social media on the basis of exposition and surveillance, by a qualitative and exploratory research.

Keywords: social media, self-expression, exposition, surveillance, surveillance society

INTRODUCTION

Through the developments which have been in progress for Communication and Information Technologies over the past 20-25 years in particular, the Internet which constitutes the basis for the worldwide communication web; alongside the dynamic

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communication process that is supported by the services, software and applications which have developed this flow of "digital information" so that it doesn't get interrupted even for a slight second; and finally, the new devices that are introduced by mobile technologies, altogether, have started to convey the individuals to new communication platforms in which they can interactively communicate 24/7, unlike the period of industrial society.

As this alteration echoed through economic and social extents, systems and habits started to go through a transition. From now on, a large majority of people (within the services sector oriented economic structure of the information society, which drifts apart from the "mechanical" working environment of the industrial society) started to take part in different processes of communication which are determined by the resources that are introduced by "digitized information", in which they communicated and socially interacted with each other at any time of the day. These developments were not delayed to affect the ways of self-expression of the individual. With the transition of social networking, established on the Internet into social media, the keywords of this process thus started to become **'user generated content'**, **'participation'** and **'sharing'**; furthermore, while the content that is produced is "digital information", participation and sharing started to develop and evolve around digital information too.

The easy transfer of information from one place to another through digitization has facilitated the surveillance of "information" alongside the convenience ensured regarding the user, and this brought up new arguments concerning the relation between the surveillant and the one who is surveilled, "privacy", and "self-expression and exposition".

Thus study aims to understand and interpret how "digitized information" is being tracked during the surveillance process, on the basis of privacy, self-expression and exposition; along with the new forms of self-expression which emerged especially during the last 8 years in which social media has become widespread; and the contradiction regarding the fact that even though people acknowledge they're being surveilled, they still continue to "express themselves" within these "surveillance processes", and moreover, they are willing to do so.

OBJECTIVE, METHOD, SCOPE AND CONSTRAINTS

"Surveillance", as it does in every aspect of the life, also reveals itself in social networking where information is being shared. Thus, the basic objective of this study in which the current and potential consequences of "self-exposition" of the individual are being examined, and in this context, the transformation of surveillance through digitized information is being investigated; is to put forward, understand and interpret the contradiction of the forms of self-expression on social media, on the basis of exposition and surveillance.

This study is conducted with a qualitative and innovative research method, instead of a quantitative and generalizing one. In searching an answer for how self-exposition and surveillance take form in the social media on the point of self-expression, this study is based upon an objective manifestation of the current situation as it occurs. For

this reason, a comprehensive literature search has been done by focusing on current studies, as well as digital data alongside the areas of recent communication technologies usage have been included in the scope of this research.

Social Media, through the change and transformation that are brought up by the new communication media and technological developments (especially when the social movements which have emerged both within Turkey and the world are taken into account) come forward as the most influential platforms. For this reason, it is highly important to examine the individual-power relation under the title of surveillance, and to detect the situation of the privacy principle. To put forward the effects of the developments mentioned above, current studies on discourse and content analysis have been broadly evaluated; moreover, the digital data of the usage of social media and where the individual is situated within the dimensions of surveillance, exposition and privacy while expressing oneself have been examined.

The limited number of researches based on surveillance in Turkey, has caused the necessity to concentrate on international studies and foreign researches about the topic.

Furthermore, this study, considering its scope and objectives, has been restricted into the range of eight years in which the transformation of surveillance on the basis of evaluating the digital information through the development of social media has taken place. However, the concept of surveillance and its transformation through the digital incarnation of the individual requires an examination with a greater scope and an interdisciplinary approach (which includes diverse disciplines of social sciences like sociology, political sciences, social psychology, anthropology and even history and philosophy) to be evaluated.

THE INTERSECTION OF SELF-EXPRESSİON, SURVEILLANCE AND EXPOSITION: THE ACTION OF SEEING

When the concepts that are being discussed above are evaluated within their widest perspective; self-expression is defined as *"the expression one's thoughts and feelings through artistic activities (such as writing, painting, dancing, etc.)"* (Merriam-Webster Online Dictionary, 2014). Self-expression also includes the activity of manifesting one's personality and individual traits. While surveillance is used in terms of *"Closely inspecting a study or a process of implementation with regard to its relevance to the activity and objective"* (TDK - *Turkish Language Society*, the Dictionary of the Terms of Methodology, 2013); exposition on the other hand is defined as "To show, exhibit, announce and to get oneself talked about" as well as "to expose a convicted in public as a penalty" (TDK - *Turkish Language Society*, The Contemporary Turkish Dictionary, 2014).

Accordingly, the individual puts forward something in the name of "self-expression" or "exposition" as "to be seen by the others"; and the "surveillant" means to "see" these.

Thus, the intersection of these three concepts is the "action of seeing". Thereby, the action of seeing which integrates the one who expresses oneself, the surveillant and the one who exposes oneself, stands at the intersection point of the deed of seeing and the one that is shown.

While Berger is pointing out *"Seeing, precedes speaking. The child learns to look and recognize before beginning to speak. However, seeing precedes speaking in another meaning too"* (2012: 5), he calls attention to the fact that the individual starts to look around in conjunction with his existence, and starts to interpret the goings on by trying to see these.

At this point, the "Mirror Stage" approach which is put forward in the psychoanalysis theory developed by Jacques Lacan, also states that infants aging between 6 and 18 months even recognize their bodies and become affected by this experience, when they look at their reflections on the mirror (Evans, 2005).

Within the action of seeing, alongside the importance of the image that is invigorated on the minds of those who see, the power that is generated by seeing includes hegemony and power as well, and in this sense, "seeing" starts to hold a precedence as the basis of hegemony and reality. (Dolgun, 2008: 30).

The importance of the eye and seeing in the lives of people, combined with the desire to reach and acquire information through seeing and surveillance, have caused communication technologies to develop towards seeing and transferring images. The close relation between "the power of seeing" and "seeing and the power" paved the way to a consistent development of visual-oriented technologies throughout history.

DEVELOPMENTS IN INFORMATION AND COMMUNICATION TECHNOLOGIES AND SOCIAL MEDIA

Developments in information and communication technologies, proliferation of mobile communication and its supportive devices, have facilitated both content production and sharing this content through Internet and mobile webs; while access to broadband high-speed Internet, innovation in mobile internet and high-performance computers, new generation mobile devices have triggered these developments. Through new generation interactive internet applications and websites named as *Web 2.0*, where users can swiftly share the content they have generated*;* both having access to information and conveying it swiftly without the limitations of time and space have been facilitated as well.

Through these developments, social networking and Internet devices such as *Facebook, Twitter* and *YouTube*, have started to transform into platforms in which people from all around the world meet and share self-generated contents as well as contents from other resources. While the content being shared used to contain personal subjects of interest and activities, an increase in the rate of sharing news and information based content, through the last 6-7 years in particular, started to draw the attention of public relations, advertising, sales and marketing firms as well as mainstream media.

Such social networks, websites for sharing photos, *microblogging* websites which publish status update messages consisting of 140 characters, platforms that enable to publish *blog* entries easily and numerous websites and applications suchlike, by serving their users free of charge, expand and proliferate with the involvement of more users with each passing day (Özçağlayan & Uyanık, 2010).

After subsequent developments, social networking and the platforms that the contents on these websites constitute started to be named as "Social Media", due to the increased rate of news and information sharing through its means, even though they didn't embark on this journey with such an objective.

SOCIAL MEDIA

Social media, just like a living organism, evolves with every day that goes by, with new devices, platforms and resources introduced by new technologies in human life and communication processes that the individual establishes within his daily life. For that reason, it is not easy to come up with an exact definition. *"Sometimes it refers to an activity (a journalist blogged); sometimes a software tool (Blogger); sometimes a platform (you can blog on Facebook). It incorporates the term user-generated content (USG) and yet much of this content is not really social at all."* (Newman, 2009: 7)

If tried to be clarified in the broadest sense, it can be identified as *"platforms and social media that people have constituted in order to discover, read and share news, information and content, through one individual to numerous individuals as well as from a large number individuals to numerous individuals within an interactive communication process".* The keywords here are "interaction" and "sharing" which indicates a new process in which the active participation of the user is also in use, unlike it is in mass communication where there is one-way information flow towards the audience.

DEVELOPMENT PROCESS OF INTERNET AND ITS INFLUENCE ON SOCIAL NETWORKING

The period that Internet has been through until the beginning of 2000s is being named as *Web 1.0.* The main principle of this period was to appear online in the Internet and to serve news, information and entertainment as means of consumption to the users. On the other hand, the period which has proceeded since the beginning of 2000s until nowadays - which is called *Web 2.0,* lead to another era in which the online traffic in the Internet has been intensified and people started to interactively participate in the communication processes they have developed on various platforms they have come together.

The Internet that thrived during the period of Web 2.0 is now a platform where social networks and online communities are founded upon, and where the users enjoy the possibility of not only content production but also constantly updating and reproducing the content. With the accounts that they signed in either on their own behalf and/or with nicknames, people could interactively communicate with each other on these websites and interchange written or voice messages, photos and videos, as

well as form their own networks under the name of "friends" within the same websites.

Such friendship networks that people have formed within social networks, not only improves the interaction among people but also starts to evolve towards platforms that news and information can be transmitted and shared instantly, quickly and efficiently, and where the content can be updated constantly.

The development processes of social networks and the development in the process of them transforming into social media, can be evaluated in three different stages:

- **The emergence of message boards and community-building** (from 1995);
- **Blogging** (from 2001);
- **The rise of social media and social networks** (from 2006) (Newman, 2009: 50).

INCREASING NUMBER OF THE USERS IN THE INTERNET AND SOCIAL NETWORKS

As a result of all the developments mentioned above, within the period that covers the last 6-7 years in particular, a significant number of Internet users started to take part on social networks through rapid participation.

On a global scale today, whilst a significant number of Internet users start to take part on social networks, the weight of mobile users on social networks are gradually increasing:

The number of total worldwide Internet users count by July 1, 2014, is given as 2,925,249,355 (http://www.internetlivestats.com/internet-users/)

Monthly Facebook active users have reached 1.32 billion as of July 2014; 30% of them are mobile users. Facebook is providing backups in more than 70 languages worldwide. (Prigg, 2014).

Monthly Twitter active users have reached up to 271 million as of July 2014; 78% of them are mobile users. Twitter is providing backups in more than 35 languages worldwide. (https://about.twitter.com/company).

INDIVIDUAL-INFORMATION-POWER RELATIONS DURING THE TRANSITION PERIOD FROM INDUSTRIAL SOCIETY TOWARDS INFORMATION SOCIETY

In the course of 120 years in which industrial society completed its development, the capacity of people to adjust to the communication devices that were evolved according to the technological level of that time and to utilize them within socio-economic frames, occurred in its "own logginess", in harmony with the "speed" of development.

However, by the transition towards information society, the "rapid" development process of communication and information technologies has enabled to transfer more to people's lives within the last 20-25 years than it has been in 120 years of industrial society. By the influence of "digitization" in particular, besides producing and distributing "information", storing and reproducing it "in digital form" when necessary

have paved the way to a period of conveying and sharing information all across the world within an interactive communication process, without stressing distances or borders.

Through this transition, the individual of the industrial society, who passively received and consumed information, has evolved into being the active element in this process and (by the help of user friendly software and devices) begun "producing" and "conveying" this information when desired, beside just receiving and consuming it. By mobile Internet in particular, the individual now takes part in sharing "digital information" as means of self-expression, as an active and irrevocable element of "the game".

THE IMPORTANCE OF INFORMATION AND ITS TRANSITION

The information is a concept, which affects all stages of human history and raises its importance day after day. The information is not just peculiar to our era and history of humanity is, in a sense, the history of information, too. In this context, it wouldn't be wrong to base the concept of "information society" on the history of humanity. This phenomenon which is an important tool for the societies to evolve has been changing and transforming in parallel with development of technology. The definition of "information society", depending on how intensely a society utilizes technology, finds its expression in return for being evaluated by owning information technologies and the utilization ratio of these.

Most important feature that differentiates today's information society from the previous ones is the commodification of information, which means information has gained a material value. This material value attributed to information becomes a triggering force to those who want to acquire information or maintain it to recreate administrative and controlling systems constantly.

Ultimately information or possessing information has become an apparatus of sovereignty instead of simply being a state of knowing. Information has become the biggest source of the power and individuals' power is measured by the amount of information they hold (Uraltaş & Bahadırlı, 2012: 21).

"INFORMATION" AS THE INSPECTION TOOL OF THE POWER

Numerous examples could be given about the information being used as a tool of sovereignty, by the ones who hold power. The most impressive one would be Umberto Eco's *"The Name of the Rose"*, which writes about medieval Europe, for during that era, "information" was a monopoly of the clergy, who were serving at the churches and ruling the society. The subject matter of the novel was thus based on showing the authority of the Church over the society at the time of medieval Europe. People had a thirst for knowledge and getting the information, and whoever wanted to attain it was paying the price by his life, for the clergy has applied invisible poison on the edges of the books which were the future of the society. The people who didn't know about this and wanted to see what was in those books, were paying the price of their curiosity by their lives, while turning the pages of the books they have secretly attained. This example, was indicating how much the "information holders" can do to "preserve their

sovereignty", as well as how hard it is for the other part to attain this aimed "information" and "take over the sovereignty".

In this context, it occurs that the factor that ensures the societies survive is equivalent to possessing the information. In that sense, within social dynamics, the information is an important tool for the power, and for its continuity.

Following industrial revolution, which was an important era for social transition, the information being the tool of control for the power holders, has gained a more meaningful and systematic dimension. During this period, the information was giving important clues about where the individual should place himself within the relations of production and factories, and was being strengthened by various production models (such as Fordism and Taylorism production models). The movie *"Modern Times"* by Charlie Chaplin is an important work of art on how the goods and services that are produced forestall and objectify the individual (in terms of displaying this control). Within today's society - a post-industrial "information society", an important transition and transformation is taking place by the development of technology.

In his article, *"Welcome to the Post-Industrial Society"* which he has written in 1976, Daniel Bell, is explaining that the post-industrial society is the information society and this transformation is provided by the technological developments through time. The basis that Bell stresses the most for the structure of the information society is "theoretical information". While information turns into a strategic resource for the means of production, in its sectorial distribution within the economic structure, services sector based upon information takes the first place. (Bell, 1976: 46)

SURVEILLANCE

There are different definitions varying from historical changes regarding the concept of surveillance. As *"covered surveillance of the suspect"* is prioritized in the concept's explanation, a new approach has been developed which does not center at observing and controlling the individual on a personal and closed basis at a specific institution, but rather this approach is born out of the praxis of time and space and is applicable to wide network systems and human categories. Therefore, we need to separate traditional and contemporary applications of surveillance and evaluate them as such.

Authorities have always aimed for "access to the information" basically, in order to maintain and increase their power. In order to reach their goal, authorities have always found distinct and various surveillance methods based on the development of that particular time and society. These methods have differed from one period to another; however the basic purpose of accessing information has always been about the one gained through "surveillance".

Centralizing "Panopticon" metaphor, Foucault establishes a relation between the "confinement institution" prison and the factory of industrial society, and he points out to how all spaces of people's lives are being surveilled. Foucault emphasizes that the observed individual is "seen" but cannot "see"; and thereof becomes the object of the information but never a subject of communication process. According to Foucault, this

is the most basic notion about panopticon. So, panopticon creates a conscious and constant state of visibility, which enables automatic operation of the authority upon the caught, the observed.

As a result, despite being aware of this deed of seeing without being seen, lack of knowing when, where and by whom one is being surveilled, create a constant sense of being surveilled and this imposition is naturalized through time, facilitating obedience.

THE NEW DIMENSION OF SURVEILLANCE: CONTROL THROUGH "BIO-POLITICS"

Foucault conceptualized this domination – subordination relation that becomes natural as 'bio-power' and acknowledged that this power model "is based on attentively ruling lives by elaborate domination of bodies". Thus, this power model absorbs the life course of individuals from birth till death. (Toktaş Arslantaş et al., 2012: 28).

With the advancements in the studies on biometrics, the power expanded towards controlling the human body with digital methods. The body that is contained and controlled through digital methods in surveillance confronts with digitalization. The bodies that are defined by digital codes, as Van der Ploeg and Katherine Hayles point out, can be seen as 'sources of information'. David Lyon who asserts that *"The familiar anatomical-physical descriptions seem to have less direct resonance in a world where digital media encompass so many day-to-day relationships"* (2012: 194-195) emphasizes the necessity to comprehensively examine and assess the notion of "body as information".

In today's world, the power has more "invisible paths". Electronic architecture replaces the architectural structure. Via image records of the cameras located in almost every corner, signals of cell phones, IP numbers of computers, e-mail tracking systems and satellites posited in space, the world is kept "under surveillance." For the "ordinary" individuals that reach the opportunity to observe the whole world only by sitting at home through the Google Earth program several released years ago, thinking how intense and extensive systems that the power might have and again, how effectively the power might utilize these can be scary.

Therefore, the individual is no longer left with the opportunity to avoid surveillance by the power due to the formidable stage that the technology reached today. Even individuals that do not possess a television and a radio, far from possessing the relatively new and expensive products such as cell phones and computers, and moreover even individuals that do not step out of their homes are targeted in this international surveillance network. With heat sensitive tracking systems, all acts of people can be easily observed indoors, for instance in the house. (Binark et al., 2009: 146-147).

What Lyon conceives regarding the surveillance of all acts of individuals that form the society is remarkable:

Surveillance is a key dimension of the modern world and in most countries people are all too aware of how the surveillance affects them. Not only in London and New York but also in New Delhi, Shanghai and Rio de Janeiro video cameras are a familiar sight in public spaces. Travelers who travel through airports all over the world are conscious that they not only have to negotiate twentieth century passport control but also newer devices such as body scanners and biometric checks that have proliferated since 9/11. And if these have to do with security, other kinds of surveillance, relating to routine and mundane purchases or online access or participation in social media, are also increasingly ubiquitous. We have to show ID, insert passwords and use coded controls in numerous contexts from making online purchases to entering buildings. Every day, Google notes our searches, prompting customized marketing strategies (2013: 9-10).

"NORMALIZATION" AND "INTERNALIZATION" OF SURVEILLANCE AND CONTROL

Besides the control over the individual by the surveillance of the power through bio-politics, as the facilities brought about by the new communication means and media are gradually shared by everyone, it creates a "contradiction" per se, since although the individual is aware of being observed with the aforementioned new methods in one hand, the individual is "voluntarily" participating in the media and uses these technologies actively on the other hand. For as much as there is an individual that is "aware of being monitored" at stake, and yet there is also an individual that "monitors" by using these media and technologies actively.

"Normalization" and "internalization" of surveillance and control in this respect reminds us of the necessity to question the relation between the power and the individual. For by constantly being monitored, recorded and archived, as Niedzviecki states (2011: 165), it is essentially possible to remark that the transition from homo sapiens (thinking human) to Sartori's homo videns (seeing human) through the immense pile of knowledge (2006: 11). Thus, what is precisely meant by the transition from the thinking human to the seeing human? Is seeing sufficient for the individual? (or in more concrete terms): Is seeing sufficient for the individual to feel safe in the dimension of thought?

The individual "seeing" everything regarding the "surroundings" with the new communication technologies can deem him "privileged" compared to the industrial society human; however, this situation does not change the fact that he is deliberately monitored and kept under surveillance due to the information and communication technology of our time, without a need for any sort of physical tracking by the power. Hence, control pursuing in this panoptical order keeps monitoring the individual without losing its significance.

Bauman; who claims the panopticon becomes one of the essential mechanisms through which power reconstructs itself, reflects that panoptical strategies are applied more frequently with the modernization process. Bauman argues that panopticon is an artificial space. He asserts that panopticon is actually constructed *"in order to manipulate the transparency of space consciously and rearrange it willfully"* within power relations (2012: 40).

Thus, a map of space that is easily accessible by the power is manifested. Bauman establishes the difference of this power strategy from pre-modern stages by evaluating watching and being watched. The power and elites that preferred being watched in order to infuse themselves and their power in pre-modern times leave their place to power groups that maintain power by taking their subjects under surveillance and live on this in modern times. (Toktaş Arslantaş et al., 2012: 31). According to Bauman, new and advanced versions of panopticon techniques that stand as distinguished metaphors of the vital aspects of the modernization of the power and control point out to a natural trend (2012: 54) and this should not be overlooked.

Modernization of the power and control also brings about the normalization and internalization of surveillance and control with all these technologies. For instance, the individual who is involved in social network sites such as Facebook and Twitter maintains the position of *a voyeur*, *an exhibitionist* as well as *an informant* through being a subject on the Internet, and so the surveillance is internalized by means of these platforms by the power. This internalization results in the "normalization" and "disappearance of the awareness" of the surveillance in time.

This situation reminds of Niedzviecki's statement on social media networks from his book, The Peep Diaries, which points out to new systems being constructed on revealing personal data (2010: 145). This eases the power to keep "numerical bodies" under surveillance in the digital age, without the necessity of transparent rooms. For, "surveillance of the individual by the system is no longer a prospect, but the truth."

SURVEILLANCE AND THE INDIVIDUAL IN SOCIAL MEDIA

In classical surveillance practices, "seeing or being seen" is not contradictory in its own right. Both the one who sees and the seen are explicit and apparent. It is needed to express that the roles are not changing here.

In our times however, the situation is different and complicated to the utmost. This complexity is revealed with the social networking sites that have gradually extended their effective area due to the new communication media and technologies and that have become an "indispensable" part of everyday life. The reason behind analyzing social networking sites as such is the existence of a new understanding that turns into a practice of open or conscious and intentional surveillance. Within this understanding, the motivation of *"curiosity and the desire of finding out"* (i.e. access to the wanted information) is the leading drive that reveals the individual living in the information society.

In the societal structure in which city life accommodates a population reaching over millions, if the anonymity of hundreds of thousands, millions of people that do not know each other is considered with a spatial betweenness (considering that the crowds on squares and streets constitute the public space), it is clear that this situation will pose a problem in terms of surveillance-control and surveillant-controller. Since this situation will make "identification" difficult for a great number of people, it will be necessary to classify these crowds in order to "label" or "profile".

For this particular reason, there had been a kind of domestication with the surveillance in prisons and individuals could be controlled as such. Later, as our time approaches, states or in a more general term the powers preferred to identify millions of individuals from this point forth and recorded and archived every moment of their lives. From identity cards to health certificates, resident documents to registration files, any information is given a feature of a 'legal document' and has been used as a means of monitoring and surveillance. Through this method, the individual is "identified" in each and every way by the state or the power. In nation state which is the most significant tool of social order, these methods are used frequently and classification of the individual is performed successfully.

As of today, this identification process changed into a far more different dimension and transformed with the advancements in new communication technologies and systems. The individual is now reconstructed in a "digital embodiment" with the new communication technologies; for instance became definable and traceable by an 11-digit citizenship number. Taken out of the prison in the panoptical structure, every move of the individual, in "his own liberty", is being watched and recorded through the massive database of the computers.

DATA PROVIDED BY SOCIAL MEDIA AND "NEW PRISONS" OF "FREE" INDIVIDUALS

If we are to examine the surveillance ensured by the new communication media and technologies that appear as "new prisons" without limits, it can be said that these technologies are the most powerful database for the state or the power. The power, with this database, restrains the individual in "new prisons" that are strictly controlled. Instead of prisons bonded with stone walls, "transparent prisons" that are surrounded with networks, cables and signals come into play. The individual that becomes the subject of these technologies (as a user) contributes to the surveillance knowingly, willingly, pleased and by satisfying his curiosity. This situation appears mainly on social networking sites and social media.

In the etymology of social networking, sharing sociability is in question and the communication networks that surround the world maintain this. At this particular point, the question of whether the communication networks enable communication among people or constitute a crucial database can be posed. Many researchers, as they seek an answer to this question, develop the concept of "surveillance" in conclusion and unfortunately, this is not a mere scenario. Because, these social networking sites create individuals that are not only kept under surveillance by learning, recreation, and curiosity satisfaction, but also individuals that "commit themselves" to be the surveillant in these "new prisons" where the digits of 1 and 0 make up the foundation. This drive to reach "the information that is to be monitored" that is triggered by the desire to learn and wonder proceeding for centuries continues to pursue its presence in the electronic media in a much more effective way.

NEW WAYS OF SEEING IN SOCIAL MEDIA: "PEEPING" AND "EXPOSITION"

Niedzviedcki's definition of *"unsealing"* (2010) within the context of such a desire of learning and endless curiosity is one of the most meaningful ones among contemporary examples. For instance, when one visits *Webshots.com* and searches for

the term "unsealing", s/he comes across with photographs of thousands of people about to take a bath. In his evaluation of this situation, Niedzviecki refers to "peeping" as an addiction, which cannot be stopped once it has been initiated by such messages.

Repetition of such and similar actions cause the blurring of private and public spaces as well as the disappearance of "limits" between them. In the past, sociologic, economic and political impact areas of mass communication tools were clearer and cognizable, however nowadays differences between the private and public are slowly diminishing and intertwining due to new communication media and technologies.

To see and to be seen is a form of action in surveillance and control; and many states of exposition such as indulgement and peeping, are recreated through these networks of sharing. While power of seeing has previously been prioritized during panopticon act of seeing, this has become insufficient especially due to mobile Internet Technologies, following the change of social structure nowadays. While the act of seeing, by means of the new methods and techniques in surveillance, continues to be present as a stable power for authority, the individual has been freed from "imprisonment"; but, through these new Networks, as "new prisons", have penetrated each moment and space of our lives.

With the spread of new communication technologies, socializing and social interaction methods of the individual have been morphed and elevated into a new dimension on these new environments to which we spare a significant piece of our lives. For instance, while the internet was once allowing personal access to information, but then transformed into a common space where individuals socialize and stay in social share. One of the most important reasons of such a change is undoubtedly social sharing sites and networks, which have been developed and enhanced recently.

SOCIAL MEDIA AND GLOBAL SURVEILLANCE SYSTEMS

These Networks provide a crucial source to the state or ruling power for the control and surveillance of Internet medium (which is indeed a database as a whole). Disclosures of Edward Snowden who used to be a former agent of NSA (National Security Agency) have played a prominent role in Facebook and Twitter becoming important data sources within a global context, stemming from the fact that these media's frequent usage in our country, and Snowden's confessions become more of an issue in our contemporary world, where the USA is called as the *"big brother"*

NSA (National Security Agency) is an intelligence and counter intelligence unit established by the USA for the purposes of global surveillance, data collection, decoding, translation, analysis of information and data. Snowden's exposition of "Prism" global surveillance system of NSA and claims about global surveillance through this system in addition to social networks such as Twitter and Facebook providing data to NSA have all caused a wider controversion of the issue.

So, "meaningful relation" between social sharing networks and surveillance has been revealed. Snowden's recent disclosures have added to the impact of data

provision through social networks and enabled a more clear sight of the contemporary situation in surveillance today.

According to the secret documents revealed by Snowden, NSA has set up a Google-like system in order to trace cell phone location information, internet communication logs as well as phone records and electronic mail messaging information that belongs to millions of people. This system named as ICReach claimed that it has been developed by American intelligence. The system, which can be accessed by FBI and CIA, is designed to enable searching data and communication logs of foreigners and ordinary American citizens with no criminal record at all. (http://www.sabah.com.tr/Dunya/2014/08/28/abdnin-gizli-googlei).

This new "intelligence pool" developed by the USA, makes it easier to reinterpret individuals about their future provisions and scenarios in addition to keeping current surveillance intact. ICReach will enable collection of information ranging from religious beliefs to political ideologies, facilitating prediction of forthcoming actions of individuals within the context of such collected information.

All this progress shows that there is a new individual who prefers to be known instead of anonymous, visible instead of invisible, aware of surveillance and not being disturbed by this fact, what is more enjoying it by becoming objects of *Facebook* and *Twitter*. This perception of an individual who willingly exposes himself, rewarding the power by providing all kinds of information to its "database", while not even being definitely suspicious about the potential harm that all these might cause, has resulted in a power which does not even invest more in surveillance and control, and this transformation is still in progress.

THE PROBLEMATIQUE OF PRIVACY IN SOCIAL MEDIA, AND THE INDIVIDUAL

This change and transformation upon the individual also shows the need for a detailed evaluation of the concept of "privacy" at the same time. Considering our age's culture as being global, fragmented and chaotic (as another source of privacy's dissolution), the determination regarding the lack of common social codes and values related with the forthcoming social life of people is worthy of evaluation.

There could be an ontological reason of people's surveillance over other people's private lives and admitting this as a given right for themselves. Most practical and favorable solution to the questions like "How should this life pass?", "What kind of life makes one happy?" "Who am I? What should I do?" is to look into lives of others.

Besides this humane desire, there is also the misuse of private information obtained by the state and any institution, company and persons that possess power and authority, and new communication tools of today are so advanced that any individual could easily be harmed by this misuse. (Kete, 2011: 62-66)

At this point it is relevant to evaluate Lyon's proposal of "missing bodies" since the rise of surveillance societies is completely about bodies gone missing. When one realizes an act from afar, the bodies disappear. Making a phone call means

communication through sound however sending e-mail does not leave any trace of concretization (which would present bodily/physical existence of the individual) (2006: 33).

As Lyon also states, blurring down of lines between private and public space is related to the improvement of our contemporary surveillance technology. While technology is causing a restructuring within the realms of public and private spaces, "the body" presents itself as the most-influenced one, degraded to a new form of incarnation made concrete by numbers, letters, symbols and codes (such as mobile phone numbers, IP or e-mail addresses) instead of a physical entity, and this results in the physical "disappearance" of the body. Therefore, privacy becomes *"a new space of prisonment"* under the vice of authority.

The proposition of missing bodies presents a brand new perception of privacy: Individuals of current societies search privacy in a way that enables surveillance. "Signs of safety" such as personal ID numbers, coded cards (which carry information to the observant authority about who is who and what) are demanded in order to display "the worth" of an individual before authority as well as individual's "compliance". Therefore, home or private, special spaces of the bodies carry less and less significance in front of this enhancing surveillance, causing a threat to the protection and safety of singular privacy. *Electronic technologies* create new problems for the individual, however thinking of individual's real existence and importance of solid justice requires new methods and approaches (through a realistic attitude towards the individual, evaluating real bodily existence).

Despite all, these new Technologies never operate on their own and/or autonomously. They serve invisible social fragmentation and original reasons (required for such concretion of the individual). This is the very answer of why all these should be perceived as a new style of social order (Lyon, 2006).

TRANSFORMATION OF PRIVACY FROM PRIVATE TO PUBLIC SPACE

Public consent, obedience, agenda setting and mass ruling practices of our day, especially through technologic advancements, have been determining epistemic presence, content and substructure of public space on one hand, and interfering with private space as a panoptic mechanism which surrounds the individual completely, controls and observes him at the same time; therefore gaining the feature of determining public and/or private space as required (in other words, for its own good). During this age, which is sociologically referred to as "electronic eye", "the society of spectacle" or "surveillance society", makes people's private spaces more common, "prone to public" and this popularizes wiretapping or secret recording activities unstoppable unless there is some sort of legal or judicial supervision.

Danger of surveillance society lies in the fact that there is more to it than just a series of activities connected to a political-administrative force, shortly a government but the society's simultaneous transformation into an observer/observed position. So, a sociological perspective aimed at complete control of private living spaces has come

along with the transformation of the Internet and information technologies into a form of cyber-space (Aslan, 2011: 94-95).

Privacy is going through a transformation along with information technologies' transformation, which are now to be named as cyber-space. According to Bauman, privacy is becoming indistinct via this anonymity. Then, as a result of the removal of privacy through anonymity, the individual "destroys" his right of privacy willingly or agrees to "loss of privacy" as a cost to be paid in return of the "wonders" presented to him.

Everything private is transferred to public space potentially and now open to public consumption; and since it is impossible to make new communication media and technologies "forget", any recorded digital data kept at one of the indefinite servers, the preserved data is going to be accessible to those who possess it forever.

The reason of this corrosion in anonymity is social media services widely spread, mobile phone cameras, free image and video sharing sites on the web and more importantly, the change people are going through regarding their perceptions of what makes the public or private (Lyon & Bauman, 2013: 30).

"OVERSHARING" AND "THE AGE OF PEEPING"

"The Peep Diaries" written by Niedzviecki, reveals crucial clues about the current position of privacy. Niedzviecki discusses the issue by defining "oversharing" in the introduction (2010: 7). In 2008, the editors of "*Webster's New World Dictionary and Thesaurus"* have come together and selected "oversharing" as the invention of the year and this made the word most popular as well. Popular "oversharing" is defined as "revealing personal information; exposing self's life at a blog or other publishing medium; expecting to get affirmation from the exposed person hastily and persistently."

"Oversharing" as a naming, actually summarizes what has been going on in today's electronic media. Peeping one of the most mundane and natural habits of life or a simple daily activity on social media, millions of people who want to be surveilled sharing, and sharing of the private all present themselves as one of the biggest contradictions of social media use and social media users. For example, a definition made related to Facebook displays what sharing on private space has become.

Facebook social sharing network can be reviewed as a public space where "the personally owned" and body are nationalized, surveillance and control are justified by the observed; and the subject of Internet becomes voyeur, exposer and informant (Binark and others, 2009: 186).

Niedzviecki defines this age as "The Age of Peeping" (2010: 158) where body is no more private but public, the observer justifies surveillance through observation; the individual becomes a voyeur, exposer and informant all at once. With cyber gossip reaching the sky, credibility of the source is never a prerequisite for taking what has been seen at its face value. What makes information real depends on the number of

people sharing, downloading, distributing the link; in other words, it depends on how much that information is spread.

This is also the age of momentary sharing of events due to mobile phones which are at the same time cameras. Niedzviecki emphasizes that people become a part of "Peeping Culture" in our age. Social media users are not aware of the fact that this peeping culture on the Internet is a systematic surveillance platform, which is more than mere gossip. All "digital movements" are data that form electronic reflection of many personal preferences, (in other words, make surveillance meaningful) and create systematically processed information.

Digital surveillance is taken for granted paralleling the change in privacy's definition and related understanding. For instance, social sharing networks are reproducing the content of privacy concept, as is the case for many other concepts too. Social media is not only recreating habits but also concepts, forming a digital socialness; resulting in an effort to reshape the content of socializing as a consequence of technologic innovations. People's social activity is associated with instant post, photograph, video or number of friends in this new era.

Peeping Culture is a reality show. It is YouTube, Twitter, Flicky, MySpace and Facebook. Peeping Culture transforms the technological society of 21st Century into constant strippers with their bodies and souls as well as a big crowd watching this endless striptease, whether we call it entertainment, personal show or attention seeking. Peeping gains more and more meaning as the mechanism that transforms social conscience (Niedzviecki, 2010: 8-28).

Main motivation behind individuals' movement towards social networks lies in the subconscious. To be liked, appreciated, clapped, cared about or "watched" in its dictionary definition appeals to "the child found in subconscious" of most people. In addition to all these, social networks provide closer bonds to those people who would not normally communicate, and serve a "social" duty as well. Individuals have not been changed by social networks in that sense; but some existing social attributes have boosted, change of social norms and privacy perception have speeded up, "*provoking the individual's inner child more than any other tool or apparatus that was available before*". Through the endless awakening of exposition, there comes political and commercial control, which means "dystopic" sides of social networks. Social media, via propaganda and mass entertainment, occupies the potential of becoming a new apparatus of control. Staying anonymous on social media facilitates the surveillance (peeping) and serves humane instincts (and impulses) as much as those holding power (Uyanık, 2013: 14).

The individuals, at the same time, strive to emphasize everything that differentiates them from those who are observing them. Most important point causing this kind of endeavor is the need for removing individual differences as a result of authority's aim of similarizing everyone and during this process, individual's need to prove his own existence becomes imminent.

Individual, unfortunately, does not realize how his personal life story is commodified for this digital industry while trying to present himself by means of this effort. Sharing private space gradually becomes more normal and the secrets someone would avoid sharing even with the closest person, become explicitly shareable with many people. Such actions and behaviors clearly depict where privacy is headed as well as what kind of meaning it now bears.

CONCLUSION

"Surveillance" is a history-long lived concept, which has cohabited with the deed of seeing since the ages of first social interaction occurred between the people. Throughout human history, surveillance has somehow been present and (within the context of power and sovereignty relations enhanced in accordance with the social structure) prominent until today between individuals and groups. The reason for this can be linked to authority's belief in the organic bond between "the surveillance" and the very continuation of its own existence.

In order to keep "social order", significant for its own existence, authority demands surveillance and control of its subjects in such a way that the needs of social organizations are met. Those who have the means to power (within authority and sovereignty confines) benefit from the latest tools and apparatuses developed by using all opportunities presented by the current age and social structure, and aims to track and trace people via this method.

The ones who have the power are in "the leading roles" in the surveillance phases within this context. This situation becomes a signifier of how surveillance matches with the desire to gain power. So, throughout history, every authority that demanded survival also demanded access to "information" which is essential for surveillance. Therefore, the authority needs "uninterrupted flow of information".

Current surveillance practices have folded into a peculiar property linked to the opportunities brought about by advanced technologies -within the context of authority and sovereignty relations- as a result of the above summarized improvements by transformation into an information society. Surveillance of "digitizing information" as well as control and acquisition, can easily be provided and utilized by "the authority" within very distinct and complicated dynamics that are different from those in the past. These developments give the authority a greater power than that of the past: Continuous control and surveillance of information flow, storage, classification and detailed analysis of collected data…

With the influence of digitization, the power which disseminates its surveillance and control over the individual through his "digital embodiment" by directly transforming him into "a digital data" and this situation have left the ordinary individual "no choice" in order to live without being surveilled, but to be sublime to opportunities and facilities that the new technologies bring about.

However, today's modern individual does not have any other medium or tools to access information and satisfy his need to socialize other than these technologies. Expecting him to return to his 20-25 year old communication habits would also be

unrealistic. Big city person, who keeps his existence through modern habits of life, could find a way to escape from the surveillance by living in solitude outside the city and in the middle of nowhere accepting a primitive life; but this does not seem like a plausible solution for everybody and the general public.

On the other hand, an ordinary man who did not use any kind of communication tool or technology, closed his bank accounts and preferred to use cash instead of credit cards would anyway be caught in this web at his workplace or in a hospital. As a matter of fact, "surveillance cameras" covering the cities, main transportation routes and public transportation vehicles will turn the modern man into an inevitable object of the surveillance along with his "citizenship number", which transforms every individual into a digital data and the individual is prone to living "by acknowledging" this fact.

Besides, new communication tools and social networks which constitute the intersection of individual's need to express one's self and socialize as well as keeping track of what other people have been up to, come with a price. The individual (who wants to be perceived as a "subject", not an "object") in social networks, needs to "sacrifice himself knowingly and willingly" in order to be involved in this "flow".

Being a part of that social network is realized through not hiding one's self, but directly "exposing" it. The individual realizes himself by "dissolving" in and mixing with these virtual communities; so he is confused about when he becomes the subject or object of surveillance. This surveillance that the individual is also aware of is progressive with all its speed and impact on social networks too; however causing a dilemma, the individual does not see harm in "exposing" himself by overarching "self-expression" (and even pushing the limits of his own privacy) just to be present there.

During the recent years, this space has been transformed into social media, evolving from these social networks where a significant proportion of the world's active population resides, and social media has become a mainstream action and event space through the existence of millions of active users (undoubtedly catching attention of the advertisers and the main stream media). Because every individual in there is a potential consumer and social media presents an ideal environment for observing and analyzing consumer behaviors since it now occupies about 1.5 billion of users worldwide. Being a social entity, the individual participates in these networks to socialize and find out what is going on with his/her acquaintances' lives. This participation is not solely crucial for authority but also advertisers, transforming the individual into a digital data and an object of surveillance once again.

Once connecting to these social networks equipped with communication infrastructure entwining the world and mobile technologies, create the point where individual becomes a data to be recorded. Because the digital data leaves a "non-volatile trace" behind the individual. "Service providers" selling this technology cheap or for free, rent new storages every month to keep up the greatest personal information archives of the world, composed of hard discs to classify the information most people assume that they have already deleted in their computers and cell

phones… But "those service providers" still keep that (presumed deleted) information in hand, just for the possibility of using it some day when the time is right…

The step we take by connecting to the Internet, becoming a member of a social network, buying a mobile phone line, creating an e-mail account, will be watched and surveilled from that moment onwards second by second. "Digital information" based on zeros and ones in different combinations, makes it easier to trace each player included in these social networks. Every player who enters this game (whether knowingly or unknowingly) and believes to be a subject of surveillance would not be able to escape becoming the object of surveillance inside this network structure.

This situation is not only valid for the common citizen; political figures of the powers ruling countries, either "visible" or "invisible", cannot escape the surveillance of those powers controlling the flow of information and communication. "Facts" revealed could only show the tip of the iceberg while the truth is kept hidden underneath the surface. However, this will not suffice for the observer to remain immune and out of the system. Once information is "digitized", the preservation of it will not be such an easy task. This information, which is perceived to be well preserved, can change hands unexpectedly and there are examples of such a situation.

Cannons and guns still matter for possessing the power; but "the war" is now about having information, possessing digital information through "the surveillance". "The power" which can develop the best "surveillance" and occupies the targeted "information" as well as preserving it, is going to be the "winner" of the war and "absolute owner" of the power as well.

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