

**Cathartic Resonance: Explaining the Interaction between the June
2013 Protests in Turkey and Brazil**

By

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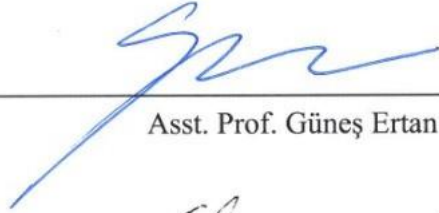
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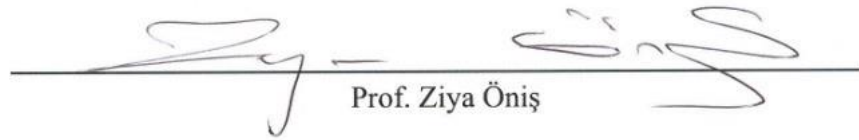
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To the ones who lost their lives during the Gezi Park Protests

ABSTRACT

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This thesis is designed to explore whether the Gezi Park Protests in Turkey had any impact on the Jornadas de Junho Protests in Brazil by analyzing the perceptions and ideas of Brazilian protesters about the Gezi Park Protests. Starting with questioning the motivations and reasons behind the identifying references to the Gezi Park Protests made by Brazilian protesters during the Jornadas de Junho Protests in June 2013, the interaction between two protest movements is investigated through the semi-structured in-depth interviews with the Brazilian protesters. Since the theoretical studies in the field of protest diffusion cannot propose a comprehensive framework that can explain this case systematically, this thesis also seeks to discover novel mechanisms and theoretical explanations by employing Evolved Grounded Theory Methodology based on constant comparative method and a three-staged coding procedure. The findings reveal that a wide group of Brazilian protesters sympathetically identified themselves with the Turkish protesters based on their shared experience of intensification of violence during the protests. While Brazilian protesters had superficial and simplified knowledge on the contextual and motivational similarities between two movements, common patterns of the excessive use of force by the police against the protesters in both countries and the visibility of police violence against the Turkish protesters in local, international and social media had an inspiring and facilitating impact on the mobilization of Brazilian protesters following the initial emergence of the protests in Brazil. Based on these findings, this thesis introduces the mechanism of cathartic resonance, which can be defined as the stimulation of mass mobilization through sympathetic and superficial identification with a tragic protester group in a foreign but relatable context by the potential protesters in the host country.

ÖZETÇE

Katartik Resonans: Türkiye ve Brezilya'daki 2013 Haziran Eylemlerinin Etkileşimini Açıklamak

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Bu tez, Brezilyalı protestocuların Türkiye'deki Gezi Parkı Eylemleri hakkındaki algı ve fikirlerini analiz ederek Gezi Parkı Eylemlerinin Brezilya'daki Jornadas de Junho Eylemleri üzerinde herhangi bir etkisi olup olmadığını araştırmak için tasarlanmıştır. Haziran 2013'te Jornadas de Junho Protestoları sırasında Brezilyalı protestocular tarafından Gezi Parkı Eylemlerine yapılan atıfların arkasındaki motivasyon ve sebeplerin sorgulanmasıyla başlayarak, iki protesto hareketi arasındaki etkileşim, Brezilyalılarla yapılan yarı-yapılandırılmış derinlemesine görüşmeler yoluyla incelenmiştir. Eylem difüzyonu alanındaki teorik çalışmalar bu vakayı sistematik olarak açıklayabilecek kapsamlı bir çerçeve öneremediğinden, bu tez aynı zamanda sürekli karşılaştırmalı yöntem ve üç aşamalı kodlamaya dayalı Gömülü Teori Metodolojisi (Grounded Theory Methodology) kullanarak yeni mekanizmalar ve teorik açıklamalar keşfetmeyi amaçlamaktadır. Bulgular, geniş bir Brezilyalı protestocu grubunun eylemler sırasında şiddetin yoğunlaşması konusundaki ortak deneyimlerine dayanarak kendilerini Türk protestocularla sempatik bir şekilde özdeşleştirdiğini ortaya koymaktadır. Brezilyalı protestocular iki hareket arasındaki bağlamsal ve motivasyonel benzerlikler hakkında yüzeysel ve basitleştirilmiş bilgiye sahipken, her iki ülkedeki protestoculara karşı polislin aşırı güç kullanmasındaki ortak tavırlar, ve Türk protestoculara karşı polis tarafından uygulanan aşırı güç kullanımının Brezilya yerel basınında, uluslararası medyada ve sosyal medya platformlarındaki görünürlüğü, Brezilya'daki protestoların ilk ortaya çıkmasının ardından Brezilyalı protestocuların kitlesel hareketi üzerinde ilham verici ve kolaylaştırıcı bir etkiye olmuştur. Bu bulgulara dayanarak, bu tez, ev sahibi ülkedeki potansiyel protestocular tarafından yabancı fakat ilişkilendirilebilir bir bağlamda trajik bir protestocu grubuyla sempatik ve yüzeysel özdeşleştirme yoluyla kitlesel hareketlerin uyarılması olarak tanımlanabilen katartik rezonans mekanizmasını ortaya koymaktadır.

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Chapter 1:

INTRODUCTION

“Who could have said that June would happen? A month before, who could have known? Nobody could have, that's why I insist: To me it has something to do with Turkey. In the collective imagination, in the.. I don't know... An example that was being given there and the people here took it for themselves.”

These words belong to a veteran Brazilian activist, who participated in the famous Jornadas de Junho Protests that escalated as one of the largest protest series in the history of Brazil during June 2013. His statements are quoted from the documentary *Acabou o Amor* (2017) directed by Mert Kaya on the similarities and parallels between the Jornadas de Junho Protests and the Gezi Park Protests, which sparked in Turkey approximately two weeks before the escalation of Jornadas de Junho. Director Kaya was inspired by one of the most popular slogans chanted during the fiercest days of Jornadas de Junho Protests as he was titling his documentary: “Acabou o amor, isso aqui vai virar a Turquia!”, which can be translated from Portuguese into English as “Love is over, this is going to be Turkey!”. Mainstream Brazilian media including news agencies *Folha*, *Globo* and *Estadão*, along with the popular Brazilian left-wing news agencies such as *Vice Brasil*, *A Nova Democracia* and *Brasil de Fato*, reported that this slogan was purposefully and widely used by the Brazilian activists as the violence between police and protesters intensified in the protests after 6th June (Leia exemplos de gritos de guerra e cartazes das manifestações pelo país, 2013) (Bulcão, 2013) (Grellet, Werneck, Sturm, & Ogliari, 2013) (de Oliveira, 2013) (Penelas, Granja, & Chalita, 2013) (Oliveira, Müller, Natusch,

& Furquim, 2013). The reflections of these references in the streets could also be traced in the social media platforms: The Facebook page Diren Gezi Parkı, which was a popular Turkish page on the Gezi Park Protests, was among the top ten most reacted Facebook pages in Brazil during the early days of the protests (Amadeu & Pimentel, 2013). With all these references in both the streets and the social media, the Gezi Park Protests were followed by a considerable number of Brazilian protesters, some of whom even mentioned the Gezi Park Protests particularly as the primary source of motivation and inspiration to engage in the ongoing protests in Brazil (Hamsici, 2013).

Although referring to other protests around the world can be considered as a common trait of the recent protest movements, these type of discourses and practices based on inspiration and identification with Turkish protesters are hard to be labeled as an expected phenomenon. From the perspective of protest diffusion theory, which can be identified as the dominant theoretical approach in analyzing the dynamics of cross-national interactions between protest movements, these references are unlikely to happen because of the absence of facilitating proximity criteria of cross-national protest diffusion: Turkey and Brazil does not have any geographical, linguistic, cultural, historical or organizational ties, and protesters in two countries did not share a common platform with established networks. It is still in question whether Gezi Park Protests had any impact on the Jornadas de Junho Protests; however, it can be observed that the Gezi Park Protests were referred as a source of inspiration by a broad group of Brazilian protesters from different cities such as Sao Paulo, Rio de Janeiro, Porto Alegre or Belo Horizonte. This unexpected phenomenon formulates the following research questions of this project:

Research Question_1: What were the motivations behind Brazilian protesters' identifying references to the Gezi Park Protests during Jornadas de Junho Protests?

Research Question_2: Did the Gezi Park Protests have an impact on the Jornadas de Junho Protests? If so, what was the impact of Gezi Park Protests on the Jornadas de Junho Protests?

Research Question_3: What might be the unrevealed theoretical mechanism that can explain these identifying references in the absence of facilitating proximity criteria of protest diffusion such as geographical proximity, cultural and historical ties, and linguistic similarities and hierarchical positions?

Thus, the purpose of this research project is to discover whether the Gezi Park Protests had an impact on the Jornadas de Junho Protests by primarily exploring the motivations behind the *identifying references* to the Gezi Park Protests during Jornadas de Junho Protests and their impacts on the *June Case*. While the *June Case* can be described as the empirical interactions between the Gezi Park Protests and the Jornadas de Junho Protest through the identifying references, the *identifying references* can be defined as any type of behavioral and ideational repertoires of collective action including slogans, chants, flags, frames and identities that referred to the Gezi Park Protest through inspiration and identification with Turkish Protesters during the Jornadas de Junho Protests. At this point, it should be noted that this research project does not seek to reveal a causal relationship between the escalation of the Jornadas de Junho Protests and the Gezi Park Protests, because it is empirically evident that the initial emergence of the Jornadas de Junho Protests was driven by the domestic motivations and organized by local movements such

as Movimento Passe Livre. Instead, this research project aims at understanding the potential impacts of the Gezi Park Protest on the perceptions of Brazilian protesters and on the already-started Jornadas de Junho Protests, if there were any. Thus, causality is not the priority of this research project.

Although the theory of protest diffusion guides this research project by providing conceptual tools and theoretical frameworks for the preliminary research stages, the theoretical development of this research project is not dictated by any of the theoretical frameworks in the field of social movements because of their insufficiency in explaining the June Case analytically. Instead, I employed the Evolved Grounded Theory Methodology to answer the research questions and reveal theoretical explanations grounded in the textual data I obtained through semi-structured in-depth interviews with Brazilian protesters who participated in the Jornadas de Junho Protests. By following the methodological procedures developed by Juliet Corbin and Anselm Strauss, I utilized a three-staged coding technique that resulted in the formulation of the theoretical mechanism of *cathartic resonance* to explain the June Case.

As the most significant result of the research, *cathartic resonance* can be defined as the stimulation of mass mobilization through sympathetic and superficial identification with a tragic protester group in a similar foreign context by the potential protesters in the local context. The results indicate that cathartic resonance functions as the mechanism that facilitated the mobilization of Brazilian protesters, who superficially identified themselves with the Turkish protesters because of the shared structural and contextual conditions, through the dimensions of vigilance and inspiration derived from the intensification of violence in the Gezi Park Protests, which was a foreign but relatable

protest series for Brazilian protesters. This characteristic of cathartic resonance also provides answers for the research questions in an interconnected way: It both explains the motivations behind the identifying references to the Gezi Park Protests and how the Gezi Park Protests positively affected the upward scale shift of the Jornadas de Junho Protests as a facilitator of mobilization.

Although the scale of its impact could not be discovered empirically in this research project, the mechanism of cathartic resonance lays the groundwork for new theoretical discussions on cross-national protest diffusion. Cathartic resonance provides a new theoretical mechanism that has the potential to explain the proactive interactions between the protest movements from different countries in the absence of facilitating proximity factors. Moreover, as a protest interaction mechanism, it proposes empathy through the shared experiences of violence and repression in the protests as a new dimension of identification that facilitated the cross-national protest interaction processes such as diffusion and resonance. Through these findings, I hope to contribute to the recent discussions in the social movements studies by discovering new dimensions of identity formation processes and politics of becoming, and revealing how the trend of standardization and militarization of protest policing especially in developing countries has constructed new shared grievances that connects protesters from different countries.

Following this introductory chapter, this research project involves five more chapters. The second chapter primarily comprises the literature review on the protest diffusion and the recent theoretical and empirical debates in this field. After introducing the early phases in the theorization of diffusion as a theoretical framework in the social sciences, the scope of the chapters shifts to the adoption of this novel framework in the social

movement studies and its theorization process as a distinct and peculiar field of study under the social movement literature. The theorization of protest diffusion is analyzed through five major questions in this chapter: (1) What an innovation is, or what is being diffused, (2) how it is diffused, (3) what the mechanisms and factors that enable or facilitate diffusion processes are, (4) when the patterns of protest diffusion clusters, and (4) how a diffusion process can be operationalized in the theory of protest diffusion. These theoretical and definitive discussions are followed by the recent theoretical and empirical debates that concentrate primarily on the changing dynamics of protest diffusion during the global wave of protest that escalated after the 2007-2008 Global Financial Crisis. The comparison of Turkey and Brazil from a political economy perspective in order to understand the structural similarities between these two cases and the relevance of the June Case in the recent debates are also highlighted in this chapter. It is concluded with the planned contribution of this research project to the literature of social movements.

The third chapter includes the brief backgrounds of the Gezi Park Protests and the Jornadas de Junho Protests, and their evolution from local protest movements into nationwide protest series during June 2013. Both of the cases are described through their backgrounds, evolutions, and motivations. Following this empirical and descriptive chapter, the fourth chapter concentrates on explaining the methodology and methodological techniques employed in this research project. Firstly, the Grounded Theory Methodology, its development as a distinct methodological practice and diverse approaches in this methodological stance are introduced briefly in this chapter. This introduction is followed by a discussion on the potential and practical advantages of employing Grounded Theory Methodology in social movement studies, and the justification of employing Evolved Grounded Theory Methodology approach as the

primary methodological approach of this research project. After describing the technical characteristic of this approach, the chapter ends with explaining how this methodological approach is employed and which methodological procedures are followed to achieve the purpose of this research project.

The fifth chapter consists of data processing and analyzing the results. The chapter begins with explaining how the collected data is processed through the three-staged coding including open coding, axial coding, and selective coding. Following the construction of the core category as the base for the novel mechanism of cathartic resonance, the chapter proceeds with a two-staged data analysis: Introducing the findings, which covers the analysis of the interview results, and a theoretical analysis, which explains the theoretical fundamentals of the novel concept of cathartic resonance, its function in the June case, and its contribution to the literature of social movement and protest diffusion. After discussing the findings and the theoretical pillars of cathartic resonance, the June Case is analyzed as an empirical example of how cathartic resonance functions.

The last chapter focuses on the concluding remarks on the research project and potential contributions for further research on the cross-national protest diffusion and resonance. The theoretical novelty of the cathartic resonance and how it can further contribute to the discussions on the mechanisms of protest interaction is explained in this chapter. Following these arguments, the standardization and militarization of protest policing especially in developing countries and how these patterns can reveal new mechanisms such as cathartic resonance are discussed and hypothesized in order to provide new insight for the further research. The limitations of the research and falsifiability are also

discussed. The chapter ends with some theoretical and methodological suggestions for the future of social movement studies.



Chapter 2:

LITERATURE REVIEW AND THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

1. Theorization of Diffusion in Social Sciences

Although European ethnologists and anthropologists in the late 19th century can be marked as the first scholars who studied the diffusion of innovations, it is widely accepted that the French sociologist Gabriel Tarde can be considered as the founding father of the diffusion theory in social sciences (Rogers, 1995) (Kinnunen, 1996) (Katz, 1999). In his famous work *The Laws of Imitation*, Tarde (1903) argues that societies can be described as “a group of beings who are apt to imitate one another” (p. 68), and “socially, everything is either *invention* or *imitation*” (p. 3). While *inventions* consist of any social phenomena covering discoveries, “innovations or improvements” (p. 2), *imitations* of these innovations by societies can be considered as the fundamental elements of the social and cultural change (Tarde, 1903). While Tarde’s ideas are appreciated as the systematic introduction for the theory of diffusion of innovations, Ryan and Gross’ (1943) research on the diffusion of hybrid seed corn among Iowa farmer communities can be marked as the study that created the research paradigm for diffusion studies. Rogers (1995) claims that Ryan and Gross’ study established the pillars of methodology in diffusion research by systematically conducting surveys and interviews through asking certain questions which investigate the factors that affect the rate of adoption of a new innovation, rate and speed of diffusion this innovation, and the role of different communication and relation types on the process of a diffusion (p. 54).

While some significant studies such as *The Diffusion of an Innovation Among Physicians*, which was conducted by Coleman, Katz and Menzel (1957), can be mentioned as the works that contributed to the diffusion literature after Ryan and Gross' prominent study, publication of the book titled *Diffusion of Innovations* by Everett M. Rogers in 1962 marked the milestone for the diffusion literature. As a sociologist and communication theorist, Everett Rogers proposes a theory of diffusion of innovations not for a specific branch or discipline, but as a comprehensive theoretical framework on its own for social sciences in general. As the first well established theoretical work in the field of diffusion of innovations, Rogers' work, with all definitions and conceptualizations it covered, has been considered as a significant reference point in social sciences since its first publication in 1962 (Hornik, 2004).

In his famous work, Rogers (1995) defines diffusion as the “process by which an innovation is communicated through certain channels over time among the members of a social system” (p. 5). Rogers considers diffusion as a particular type of communication in which the spread of new ideas from a social group to another is the main concern (p. 5). Diffusion is also a primary principle of social change, which occurs “when new ideas are invented, diffused, and are adopted or rejected, leading to certain consequences” (p. 6). In this conceptualization, diffusion has four major elements: (1) *Innovation*, (2) *communication channels*, (3) *time*, and (4) *a social system*. Rogers (1995) defines innovation as “an idea, practice or object that is perceived as new by an individual or other unit of adoption” (p. 11). He also states that there must be a *communication channel* between the *transmitter group* who has the experience and knowledge of the innovation and the *adopter group* who does not know about or experience the same innovation. A communication channel is the means of communication through which the innovation or

the message is delivered from transmitters to adopters (p. 18), and Rogers uses the example of mass media channels to explain how the messages from one social group to another one diffuse through these communication channels. According to Rogers, *time* is also a fundamental element of diffusion of an innovation to understand the rate and speed of diffusion and how the reactions of the different adopter groups are varied across time during the diffusion process. Based on the element of time, Rogers (1995) uses the term *innovativeness* to explain “the degree to which an individual or other unit of adoption is relatively earlier in adopting new ideas than the other members of a system” (p. 20). All these elements are materialized in the *social system*, where the adopter and transmitter groups can interact with each other as the units of a shared social environment.

2. Theorization of Diffusion in Social Movements Literature: Central Tenets and Definitions

After the first publication of Roger’s *Diffusion of Innovations* in 1962, the popularity of the diffusion-based models escalated in social sciences, and the number of diffusion-based theoretical and empirical publications had quadrupled within ten years (Rogers, 1995). As the diffusion-based models started to be adopted as valid approaches to explain social and cultural changes during this theoretical revolution, most of the social movements scholars failed to notice the relevance of this new concept to the social movements related topics (McAdam, *Political Process and the Development of Black Insurgency 1930-1970*, 1982) (McAdam & Rucht, 1993). Although scholars such as Maurice Pinard (1971), Anthony Oberschall (1973), Aldon Morris (1981), Lewis M. Killian (1984) can be emphasized as the pioneers in employing the diffusion theory to the social movement studies during the 1970s and 1980s, the 1990s arise as the golden age of the theorization of diffusion under the social movement literature as a distinct and

peculiar field of study. Social movement scholars such as Doug McAdam, Dieter Rucht, David Strang, Nancy Whittier, Sidney Tarrow and John Meyer was well aware of the condition that the social movement scholars failed to develop a theoretical framework for the protest diffusion despite the rising popularity of the concept in the literature, and they attempted to build a theory of social movements and protests to explain both “diffusion within and between social movements” and “how different social movements affect one another” (McAdam & Rucht, 1993, p. 58) (Meyer & Whittier, 1994, p. 278). In order to explain why the theorization of diffusion is a necessary step in the social movements literature, McAdam and Rucht (1993) mention that “protest makers do not have to reinvent the wheel at each place and in each conflict”, because “they often find inspiration elsewhere in the ideas and tactics espoused and practiced by other activists” (p. 58). Based on this assumption and the previous theoretical works in the diffusion literature, McAdam and Rucht (1993) propose one of the popular definitions in the protest diffusion literature:

“ ‘Diffusion... [is] defined as the acceptance of some specific item, over time, by adopting units-individuals, groups, communities-that are linked both to external channels of communication and to each other by means of both a structure of social relations and a system of values, or culture.’ Hence diffusion involves the following elements: (1) a person, group, or organization that serves as the emitter or transmitter; (2) a person, group, or organization that is the adopter; (3) the item that is diffused, such as material goods, information, skills, and the like; and (4) a channel of diffusion that may consist of persons or media that link the transmitter and the adopter.” (p. 59)

Thus, the central elements of the diffusion can be considered as (1) *transmitters*, (2) *adopters*, (3) *innovation*, and (4) a *channel of diffusion*. While there has been a variation in this basic definition for the diffusion in the social movement literature (Strang & Meyer, Institutional Conditions for Diffusion, 1993) (Meyer & Whittier, 1994) (Strang & Soule, 1998), it can be claimed that McAdam and Rucht's definition has been largely acknowledged as a conceptual base for further theorization of diffusion. Rather than the variations in the definition, the main theoretical discussions on the theorization of protest diffusion have been concentrated on five major questions: (1) What an innovation is, or what is being diffused, (2) how it is diffused, (3) what are the mechanisms and factors that enable or facilitate diffusion processes, (4) when the patterns of protest diffusion clusters, and (4) how can a diffusion process be operationalized. These questions should be answered in order to understand the theoretical pillars and conceptual dynamics of the protest diffusion.

2.1. What is Being Diffused?

The theorization discussions on the innovation, or the object, of the diffusion in the social movement literature have been largely shaped around Charles Tilly's famous concept of *repertoires of contention*. In general, Tilly (1986) defines repertoires of contention as the means and strategies of collective action that is used by a social group to make different demands and claims on a different group or an individual. This definition basically covers the tactics and strategies such as riots, strikes, public demonstrations, barricades, sit-ins or petitions, and the equipment such as flags, masks, or costumes that are preferred and used by the protesters during the collective actions (Kolins Givan, Roberts, & Soule, 2010, p. 4). Sidney Tarrow, who finds Tilly's explanation of the differences between the older and new repertoires of action insufficient, emphasizes the question of how and why

the new forms of repertoires of action such as strikes or public demonstrations can be observed in different collective actions held by different social groups than the original ones (Tarrow, 1993). Based on Tilly's repertoire of action, Tarrow (1993) constructs the concepts of *modularity* and *modular repertoires of action* which he defines as the flexible repertoires of action that can be adopted by different groups to achieve similar goals (p. 77). The major reason behind the emergence of modularity in the new repertoires of action is the "standardizing the procedures for citizens to use in their relations with authorities" as a result of the emergence of modern state, and this condition enabled the "challenging groups" to "compare their situations to others' and make alliances with those with similar or parallel grievances" and to involve in broader mobilizations with shared frameworks (Tarrow, 1993, p. 83). By introducing the concept of *modularity*, Tarrow (1993) not only analyzes the role of shared identities and grievances by culturally and geographically different groups as the facilitating mechanism of protest diffusion among them even if they do not have any direct ties, but also he covers the collective identities as the subjects to be studied in protest diffusion research in addition to the empirically observable and practical forms of repertoires of action such as tactics, strategies, and equipment. Similarly, McAdam and Rucht (1993) also concentrate on the processes of construction of shared collective identities by the different groups who are exposed to a similar type of social, political, economic or structural challenges. They introduce the concept of *attribution of similarity*, which will be discussed later in detail, as a mechanism to explain the cross-national diffusion processes, and their primary argument is based on the idea that adopters' identification of themselves with the transmitters is a crucial step for a cross-national diffusion to happen even in the absence of direct and interpersonal relations between adopters and transmitters. What is significant in McAdam and Rucht's arguments is that the identities themselves are constructed based on the perceived

similarities between the adopters and transmitters and they also diffuse as cognitive interpretive frames as facilitating the diffusion of other repertoires. David Snow and Robert D. Benford, who can be marked as the prominent social movement scholars on the field of framing, also have parallels with McAdam and Rucht's ideas on the diffusion of collective identities and frames. Based on the Erving Goffman's concept of *frame*, Snow and Benford's (1992) research analyzes the roles of master frames in forming social movements and performing collective actions, and they identify frames as "an interpretive schemata that simplifies and condenses the 'world out there' by selectively punctuating and encoding objects, situations, events, experiences, and sequences of action within one's present or past environment" (p. 137). Collective action frames, according to the conceptualization of Snow and Benford (1992), have three major functions: (1) Punctuating, (2) attributing, and (3) articulating. As explaining the role of frames in the continuity of cycles of protests, Snow and Benford (1992) also argue that the collective action frames also shape the "orientations and activities" of similar types of social movements and protests by providing potential protesters in different locations with cognitive schemata to engage in collective actions (p. 151). Based on these discussions, Kolins, Roberts, and Soule (2010) classify the content, or innovations, of protest diffusion under two major categories: *Behavioral dimension* and *ideational dimension*. In this categorization, the behavioral dimension consists of the practices and repertoires of collective action such as "strikes, riots, protests, sit-ins, boycotts, petition drives, and other forms of contentious action", and the ideational dimension involves the diffusion of interpretive schemata based on collective action frames and identities that "define issues, goals, and targets" (p. 4). While the earlier empirical research on protest diffusion concentrates on the behavioral dimensions of the diffusion (McAdam & Rucht, 1993), the popularity of the ideational dimension has been escalated in the recent works which

analyze the protest diffusion after 2007-2008 Global Financial Crisis. Especially the *politics of becoming*, which is based on the formation of new identities during the intensification of social conflicts and protests, can be marked as a popular concept that indicates how ideational dimensions and their diffusion can inspire new protest movements to escalate in different countries recently (Della Porta, 2017).

2.2. How does it diffuse?

The earlier paradigm of the diffusion research was based on the relational approaches and the dominant explanation of diffusion of an innovation was marked by the significance of interpersonal and direct relations between the adopters and the transmitters. However, this paradigm was challenged by the critical approaches that emphasized the role of cultural and structural ties between the adopters and transmitters on enabling the diffusion of an innovation even in the absence of direct ties between them. As a field that has been flourished after these discussions, the theorization of protest diffusion literature has been primarily shaped by these two pathways of diffusion. After Strang and Meyer's (1993) emphasis on the function of cultural linkages between adopters and transmitters that do not have direct ties and communication channels, McAdam and Rucht (1993) categorize the channels of diffusion as *relational* and *non-relational*. In their conceptualization, while relational diffusion refers to the protest diffusion that occurs by using the direct ties and interpersonal networks between adopters and transmitters, non-relational diffusion covers the process of protest diffusion that emerges in the absence of direct communication channels and interpersonal ties between subjects of the diffusion. Although some scholars such as Tarrow (2005), Kolins, Roberts and Soule (2010) also define the *brokerage*, which is a form of diffusion in which a third actor facilitates the flow of information and diffusion between adopters and transmitters, as a third category

for the channels of protest diffusion, it can be claimed that the dominant attitude is theorizing the channels of protest diffusion around the relational and non-relational diffusion processes.

Donatella Della Porta and Mario Diani (2006) state that the interaction between the adopters and transmitters establish the channels of *relational diffusion processes*, and Tarrow (2005) emphasizes that the primary channel of diffusion in this type of diffusion processes is based on “established channels of interaction” that is built upon the “networks of trust” that the interactions between adopters and transmitters produce (p. 103). Thus, the relational diffusion primarily emerges through “interpersonal contacts, organizational linkages, or associational networks” (Kolins Givan, Roberts, & Soule, 2010, p. 2). The *non-relational diffusion*, on the other hand, refers to the diffusion among the social groups without established social ties and networks (Tarrow, 2005, p. 103), and the non-relational diffusion emerges when the adopters and transmitters do not have interpersonal, direct ties but have a mediated contact via various forms of communication and network channels such as mass media, electronic communication tools (Tarrow, 2005), Internet (Kolins Givan, Roberts, & Soule, 2010), social media platforms (Castells, 2012) (Gerbaudo, 2017), and published material including “writings of both a scholarly and a radical nature” (McAdam & Rucht, 1993, p. 71). While the non-relational diffusion processes can be considered as harder to be tracked empirically than the relational diffusion processes, the theorization of this type of protest diffusion has also led the social movement scholars to concentrates on analyzing and explaining the mechanisms and factors that enable protest diffusion to emerge in the absence of direct and observable ties and networks.

These developments on the theorization of the channels of protest diffusion and the discussions on the globalization during the 1990s have also changed the scope of diffusion research from the protest diffusion in a single country to the cross-national diffusion of protest movements, which can be described as the processes of protest diffusion from one country to another. Della Porta and Diani (2006) mention that cross-national diffusion is not recently revealed phenomenon and its examples can be found in the cases of “student movement in the 1960s, the feminist movement in the 1970s, and the peace movement and the ecological movement in the 1980s” or the older cases of “the revolutions of 1848 and the antislavery movement” (p. 186). However, as Tarrow, Tilly, and McAdam (1996) state, the globalization of politics and increasing interdependency between political actors and social groups have led the social movement scholars to analyze the contentious politics from a more global perspective by concentrating on the growing connections and similarities between the protests and social movements since the 1990s. Especially shared social, economic and political grievances and cleavages that have been shaped by the neoliberal globalization since the 1970s have led the social movements and protests to interact with each other and to form transnational activist networks since late 1990s (Tarrow, 2005) (Della Porta & Mattoni, 2014). By taking ideas of McAdam and Rucht as a reference point, Soule (2004) explains this condition with the argument that “mobilization campaigns in different locales are rarely isolated and independent from one another” and the globalization processes that have eased the flow of information and ideas through new communication channels and technologies have multiplied the interaction between movement actors from different countries against common problems (p. 294). The Global Justice Movement, which escalated as a protest wave in different countries against the corporate globalization and neoliberal institutions during the late 1990s and the early 2000s, can be marked as a particular case that clearly

reflects the increasing transnational dimension of protest movements and locates the cross-national diffusion in the center of protest diffusion research (Della Porta & Mattoni, 2014). The recently experienced global wave of protest following the 2007-2008 Global Financial Crisis and high level of interaction between the protest movements during this wave also popularized the topic of cross-national spread of protests as the central subject of the diffusion research.

2.3. Mechanisms and Facilitating Criteria of Protest Diffusion

2.3.1. *Facilitating Criteria of Protest Diffusion*

One of the essential questions in the field of protest diffusion is which factors and conditions facilitate it, especially the cross-national diffusion. Based on the classical models in diffusion literature, the early theorization regarding the facilitating criteria is shaped around two major models: Hierarchical models and proximity models (Della Porta & Kriesi, 1999). While hierarchical models argue that the hierarchy between social groups facilitates the diffusion of an innovation by marking the advanced group in hierarchy as a reference point to be emulated, the proximity models cover the spatial and cultural proximity between adopters and transmitters as the factors that “facilitate the formation of networks and linkages between distinct social groups for protest diffusion to emerge (Della Porta & Kriesi, 1999, p. 7). By taking these approaches and models into consideration, Della Porta and Diani (2006) propose a general model for the facilitating criteria of protest diffusion, especially the cross-national kind, based on four major factors: (1) *Spatial proximity*, (2) *historical proximity*, (3) *cultural proximity*, and (4) *hierarchical position*.

Spatial proximity, which is the most discussed and employed by social movement scholars (Diani, 2004) (Koopmans, 2004) (Tarrow, 2005) (Kolins Givan, Roberts, & Soule, 2010), can be defined as the factor that increases the levels of interaction and linkages between geographically closer social groups and locations, which enables diffusion to take place more easily as a result of these established networks and interactive communication than the locations and social groups that are geographically distant to each other. It is also discussed that the perceived distance can distort the effects of actual distance (Reed, Briere, & Casterline, 1999); still, spatial proximity has a considerable impact on the facilitation of a diffusion process (Della Porta & Diani, 2006). The second major factor is the historical proximity, which explains the easier occurrence of diffusion between the locations, social groups, or countries with past interactions and established networks. According to Della Porta and Diani (2006), protest diffusion is more likely to happen between countries such as Italy and France, rather than Italy and Ireland. The third major facilitating factor, which is entirely related to the historical proximity, is the cultural proximity. The primary study that analyzes the role of cultural proximity theoretically is Strang and Meyer's (1993) work *Institutional Conditions for Diffusion*, and their argument is "the cultural understanding that social entities belong to a common social category constructs a tie between them", thus, the sense of belonging the similar social and cultural category facilitates the diffusion (p. 490). So, the cultural proximity covers the similarities in social, political and linguistic structures between the social groups and locations which enable building ties and channels between them to identify themselves with and imitate each other easily in a case of protest or social movement. The last factor mentioned by Diani and Della Porta is the hierarchical position between the adopters and transmitters. Della Porta and Diani (2006) claim that despite some exceptions, the flow of a protest diffusion is from a central actor, country, or location to peripheral ones.

Especially the hierarchical status of the transmitter group or country plays a significant role in the diffusion of a social movement or a protest series. As Della Porta and Diani (2006) state, “in the social movement sector as in others, moving from center to periphery, from the ‘first’ to the developing world, brings a reduction in influence” (p. 187). Despite the recent challenges to Della Porta and Diani’s perspective, these four facilitating criteria can be marked as the most relevant and widely accepted ones in the protest diffusion literature.

2.3.2. Mechanisms of Protest Diffusion

2.3.2.1. Attribution of Similarity

Following the theoretical and empirical research that challenge the traditional approaches which primarily analyze the within-country and relational diffusion process in the literature during the 1990s, the prominent scholars in the field have concentrated on explaining the mechanisms that either enable or facilitate the protest diffusion to happen cross-nationally and non-relationally. The central mechanism that has been discussed since the 1990s in the protest diffusion literature can be marked as the *attribution of similarity*. Attribution of similarity can be defined as the adopters’ cognitive process of identifying themselves with the transmitters based on the perceived similarities between them regarding their profile, grievances and conditions to engage in an emulative collective action (McAdam & Rucht, 1993) (Tarrow & McAdam, 2005) (Kolins Givan, Roberts, & Soule, 2010) (Soule, 2013). As Tarrow and McAdam (2005) mention, it can be defined as the mediating stage and mechanism between the “receipt of information and the emulative action” (p. 129). The mechanism is firstly explained by Strang and Meyer (1993), and they argue that social entities must perceive themselves as being belonged to

a common social category in order to be able to construct cognitive ties between them. This identification of a collective “self” enables the potential adopters to perform rational mimicking as a result of the diffusion process. McAdam and Rucht (1993) further discuss Strang and Meyer’s argument and conceptualize the attribution of similarity as a mechanism of diffusion to explain the cross-national diffusion processes where the adopters and transmitters do not have “extensive relational ties” (p. 63). While they strengthen Strang and Meyer’s argument by claiming that “adopters must identify at some minimal level with transmitters if diffusion is to occur”, they also emphasize that the identification process “needs not to be all that extensive” and “may involve only a shared identification with the role of activist” (McAdam & Rucht, 1993, p. 63).

What is significant in McAdam and Rucht’s (1993) argument is the emphasis that the attribution of similarity is “a product of social construction rather than automatic identification” (p. 64). Although some objective criteria such as belonging to a *common institutional locus* and sharing a *common language* have been mentioned as the factors that facilitate the formation of attribution of similarity (Woods, 2017), the perception of adopters and the perceived similarities rather than the objective ones are the fundamental components of this mechanism. As Koopsman (2004) also states, the adopters are not *passive recipients* that automatically adopt an innovation (p. 26). The adoption process requires the positive “decision about the applicability of innovations to their own contexts”, and this decision is shaped by the adopters’ perception of similarity between their own profile and political context and the transmitters’ profile and context (Koopmans, 2004). Regarding this argument, Tarrow and McAdam (2005) state that the attribution of similarity is not intentional and purposive process solely, and it is also shaped by the institutional and structural similarities between the adopters and

transmitters as the factors that frame their perceptions towards each other. As Gamson (2011) mentions, these type of perceived similarities trigger the agency component of collective action, which can be defined as the consciousness that engaging in collective action can change the conditions and policies by constructing a sense of collective agency that leads adopters to categorize themselves under the same “self” category with the transmitters who have already involved in the collective action in their own context (p. 464). Following this whole cognitive process of attributing themselves similar to the transmitters, the adopter groups imitate or refer to the transmitter group in a different country and engage in an emulative collective action even in the absence of direct ties (Soule, 2013) (Romanos & Sádaba, 2016).

2.3.2.2. Theorization

Another mechanism that is widely acknowledged by the protest diffusion scholars is the mechanism of *theorization*. Theorization is firstly conceptualized by Strang and Meyer (1993), and the authors define it as “the self-conscious development and specification of abstract categories and the formulation of patterned relationships such as chains of cause and effect” as they explain how the diffusion processes proceed through the cultural linkages in the absence of direct ties between adopters and transmitters (p. 492). Soule (2013) states that there are essential similarities between *collective action frames* and *theorization*, and the fundamental principle works in the same direction for both of the mechanisms: Distillation of highly abstract and complex set of ideas, identities and practices into simpler, general and modular forms that can be adopted by different social groups in various political and social settings (Kolins Givan, Roberts, & Soule, 2010). Tarrow (2005) describes the theorization process as “folk theory” that “makes it possible to transport a message to a new venue, but the need to reduce it to a form of ‘folk wisdom’

reduces its complexity and can produce a simplistic version” especially in non-relational diffusion processes (p. 118). Based on Tarrow’s ideas, Roggeband (2010) states that theorization enables the cognitive process of forming causal relations to engage in collective action by integrating these modular and general causalities into the local contexts. Giugni (1998) also claims that this simplification of complex reasons and ideas into easily understandable ones helps adopters to attribute themselves similar with the transmitters by rendering the similarities in their profiles, contexts, and grievances into the simple forms that can be related and empathized easily. This process leads adopters to recontextualize the original practices, identities, ideas, and other components of repertoires of action in accordance with their own local conditions and form a collective action in their own context.

2.3.3.3. Resonance

Although *attribution of similarity* and *theorization* are widely acknowledged as the primary mechanisms of protest diffusion, the recent empirical and theoretical research have challenged both these mechanisms and the diffusion theory in general. One of the critical mechanisms that have been recently popularized in explaining the spread of protest movements can be marked as the mechanism of *resonance*. As a sociological concept, the resonance is used to explain why some cultural objects and messages receive more positive response than the others by the audiences (McDonnell, Bail, & Tavorly, 2017, p. 1). As the prominent researchers of the conceptualization of resonance, Snow and Benford initially theorized resonance to explain how a social movement can achieve the mobilization of a targeted audience through the successful framing strategies (Snow & Benford, 1988). According to the classical theorization of resonance, “objects resonate when they are connected to audiences’ socially situated condition or to broader cultural

themes and narratives that they recognize” (McDonnell, Bail, & Tavory, 2017, p. 3). Because of the modular and diffusive characteristics of the protest movements, the concept of resonance has been started to be used by the social movement scholars to explain the adoption of repertoires of collective action by protesters located in different countries than the original ones, especially since the 2000s. As John Holloway (2005) analyzes the impact of Zapatista movement on the global justice movement, he claims that the process is not a linear or structured progression of diffusion, but rather it is a process of inspiration and resonance (p. 169). Paolo Gerbaudo (2013) also covers the role of cultural resonance as a mechanism that enables the protest diffusion as he explains the connections and diffusion processes during 2011 protests wave which involves “revolutions of the so-called Arab Spring, and the anti-capitalist and anti-austerity protests of the Indignados and Occupy Wall Street movement”, and he argues that a cultural resonance rather than an automatic transmission through certain channels of diffusion is the primary reason for the successful reception of these repertoires of actions and collective action frames in distinct geographical locations (p. 90). Despite the presence of these types of analysis, the primary theorization of resonance as a critical concept in the field of protest diffusion has been made by Leonidas Oikonomakis and Jérôme E. Roos. As the social movement scholars who concentrate on the post-2011 cycles of protest, Oikonomakis and Roos (2016) argue that the existing theoretical frameworks and mechanisms of diffusion assumes a linear and unidirectional relationship between distinctively defined transmitter and adopter groups (p.229). Rather, they propose the non-linear and endogenous concept of *resonance*, which explains the rapid spread of protest movement especially after 2007-2008 Global Financial Crisis by focusing on “the existence of *shared structural conditions* that connect grievances and ease the mutual identification between geographically and historically distant struggles”

and “the existence of *local horizontal movement experience and pre-formed autonomous activist networks* that can activate their own latent potentialities for mobilization by harnessing the ‘shock wave’ emitted by movements elsewhere, translating shared indignation into concrete action” (Oikonomakis & Roos, 2016, p. 246). In their theorization, resonance can be defined as “the spontaneous activation of a latent but pre-existing potential for mobilization” through the inspiration and identification drawn from another protest movement in a similar foreign context (Roos & Oikonomakis, 2014, p. 119). As a result of the combination of “a local dimension highlighting the latent potentialities for mobilization and a transnational dimension highlighting shared structural conditions and foreign sources of inspiration”, a protest movement in one country can resonate and inspire another novel movement in another country despite the absence of direct ties or strong networks between them (Oikonomakis & Roos, 2016, pp. 246-247).

2.4. Cluster of Protest Diffusion: Cycle of Protest and Protest Wave

In order to understand the temporal and dimensional functioning of protest diffusion, the concepts of *cycle of protest* and *protest wave* should also be analyzed. These two concepts primarily cover the contentious periods where the intensified protest diffusions patterns can be traced (Soule, 2004). *Cycles of protest*, which can be marked as one of the most popular concepts in the field of social movements, is a concept that is firstly introduced by Sidney Tarrow in 1989. In his several works (1993; 2005), Tarrow analyzes the evolution of protests and social movements by adopting an analytical perspective based on the cyclicity of a phenomenon. He, then, proposes the concept of cycle of protest as

“phase of heightened conflict across the social system: with a rapid diffusion of collective action from more mobilized to less mobilized sectors; a rapid pace of innovation in the forms of contention; the creation of new or transformed collective action frames; a combination of organized and unorganized participation; and sequences of intensified information flow and interaction between challengers and authorities” (Tarrow, 1998, p. 142).

Based on this definition, Tarrow (1993) operationalizes a cycle of protest as “an increasing and then decreasing wave of inter-related collective actions and reactions to them whose aggregate frequency, intensity, and forms increase and then decline in rough chronological proximity” (p. 284). Especially cases such as the 1848 Spring of Nations revolutions across Europe, or 1960s student and civil right movements around the world can be considered as the empirical examples of cycles of protests. This conceptualization has been largely embraced by the protest diffusion scholars since the cycles of protest provide a contextual and temporal framework for the contentious periods where the intensified protest diffusion patterns can be traced. To illustrate this condition, Soule (2004) states that intensification of the conflict in a social system with different sectors is followed by the diffusion of new repertoires of actions, frames and identities across this system (p. 299). The concept of *protest wave*, which is built upon the conceptual framework of cycle of protest, also covers the similar contentious periods. However, Ruud Koopmans, who is the preeminent developer of the concept, distinguishes a protest wave from a cycle of protest by concentrating on its non-cyclical characteristic. Koopmans (2004) argues that while a cycle of protest proposes “periodically recurring sequence of phenomena”, a protest wave is a process based on the ups and downs in the contention level (p. 21). A protest wave emerges through three distinct stages: (1) A stage

of *expansion* where the components of contention and conflict diffuse to the different social groups, sectors and locations, (2) a stage of *transformation* where the interaction and protest diffusion between these groups lead to the formation of alliances and changes in strategies to challenge the conditions that cause the contention, and (3) a stage of *contraction* where the contentious aspects of the wave is declined as a result of the contractive interaction between the sides of contention (Koopmans, 2004). Diffusion is a fundamental mechanism in the emergence of a protest wave since it is “responsible for the emergent and eruptive character of protest waves” by enabling the rapid spread of contentious innovations, which can be also described as the repertoires of contention, at the stage of expansion (Koopmans, 2004, p. 25). Koopmans (2004) also states that the protest waves can be considered as a cross-national phenomenon rather than only a local series protest since it often “transcendences national borders” as a result of the expansive mechanisms primarily covering the components of protest diffusion such as attribution of similarity and the shared political opportunity structures that favor the success of the movements in the same wave (p. 22).

In a similar vein with Koopsman, Flesher-Fominaya (2014) considers “a global wave of protest to be temporally bounded (in that related protest are overlapping or sequential within a period of time), responding to a certain extent to a common macro political-economic context, and with significant levels of transnational diffusion between movements” (pg. 182-183). Flesher-Fominaya (2014) mentions that shared master frames, prefigurative actions, shared tactics and strategies, shared collective identities and global circulation of information, resources, ideas, practices, tactics and people can be considered as the central components of a wave of protest. Especially the case of 1989 Autumn of Nations revolutions can be considered as an empirical example that represents

the typical case for a protest wave. The escalation of protest movements in an interacting way after the 2007-2008 Global Financial Crisis also fueled the discussions on whether this cluster of protests that have been experienced globally can be labeled as a global wave of protest or not. These discussions will be analyzed in the following sections.

2.5. How to operationalize and measure?

One of the crucial discussions in the field of protest diffusion is how to measure and operationalize the protest diffusion and its impact. Although the behavioral dimensions of diffusion including repertoires of action such as tactics, strategies, explicit references or equipment and the relational processes based on direct and strong network ties can be traced easily, the identical dimensions of diffusion, the impact of protest diffusion and the mechanisms that facilitate and enable the diffusion processes can be considered as the harder components of protest diffusion to be operationalized and measured empirically. Regarding the methodological discussions on the mechanisms and processes that explain the dynamics of social and political changes based on the emergence and escalation of collective action, Tilly, Tarrow and McAdam (2004) argue that the procedures and criteria to analyze the “location, frequency, intensity, and impact” of these processes and mechanisms that explain phenomena such as protest diffusion should be proposed and framed systematically.

As a suggestion to overcome possible measurement problems, Tilly, Tarrow and McAdam (2004) propose the concept of *scale shift* as a form of direct measurement to be operationalized in order to measure and analyze the mechanisms of contention and diffusion. Scale shift can be defined as “a change in the number and level of coordinated contentious actions leading to broader contention involving a wider range of actors and

bridging their claims and identities” (p. 331). So, a scale shift can be described as the process of changes in the (1) temporal dimensions, (2) spatial dimensions, (3) quantitative aspects regarding the number of contentious events and (4) qualitative aspects regarding the behavioral and identical dimensions during the evolution of a protest movement. According to Tarrow (2005), the scale shift can operate either in an upward direction or a downward direction. While downward scale shift refers to “the coordination of collective action at a more local level than its initiation”, upward scale shift covers “coordination of collective action at a higher level (whether regional, national, or even international) than its initiation” (p. 215). Despite acknowledging both of them, Tarrow emphasizes (2010) that the upward scale shift has been a central process in the recent dynamics of contentious politics which have been evolved into a globally experienced and interconnected form since the 1990s. Based on these discussions and theorization, Kolins, Roberts and Soule (2010) argue that the impact of a protest diffusion process can be operationalized by claiming that:

“Indeed, diffusion often plays a central role in shifting the scope and scale of contentious politics. It can transform a local protest into a national movement, or a national movement into a transnational one. In so doing, it may foster the development of new and larger organizational forms to articulate and coordinate societal claims, and induce higher-level political institutions to respond to such claims.” (pg. 13)

Thus, although it may not be the only way to measure the protest diffusion, analyzing the upward scale shift and spread of behavioral dimensions of repertoires of action can be

considered as valid and dominant measurement means to be used in the operationalization of the impact of protest diffusion in general.

3. Recent Debates in the Literature of Protest Diffusion and the Cases of Turkey and Brazil in these Discussions

The recent political and economic changes since 2007-2008 Global Financial Crisis have popularized the discussions on protest diffusion by both challenging the classical approaches in the field and introducing new concepts, mechanisms and frameworks to explain these globally experienced changes. Escalation of anti-austerity movements in European countries such as Spain, Iceland, Italy, Arab Uprisings in Middle Eastern and Northern African region(MENA), Occupy Wall Street Movement in the US and the recent protest movements in countries such as Turkey and Brazil since 2013 within a relatively short period of time has located the protest diffusion and resonance at the center of discussions in the field of social movements. Especially the cluster of cross-national protest diffusion and resonance patterns during this period has raised the questions of what the connections, similarities and parallels between these protest movements are, and whether these movements should be covered as local and isolated movements or segments of a greater and connected series of protests. While a considerable number of comparative politics scholars has analyzed the regional dimension and domestic reasons behind these movements, the scholars of social movements and protest diffusion have concentrated on these questions and analyzed these new phenomena as the episodes of a *new global wave of protest* from a more global perspective (Della Porta, 2012) (Tuğal, 2013) (Flesher-Fominaya, 2014) (Della Porta, 2017).

Although domestically experienced economic and political influences of the 2007-2008 Financial Crisis has also been widely highlighted in these discussions, more structural reasons such as the neoliberal globalization and authoritarianism, the crisis of democratization and representation and increasing levels of inequality between social classes have been discussed as globally experienced challenges that created shared cleavages and identities that have connected these movements with each other (Castells, 2012) (Tuğal, 2013) (Fukuyama, 2013) (Della Porta, 2015) (Gerbaudo, 2017) (Della Porta, 2017). As a leading figure of this perspective, Della Porta (2017) associates the emergence of the *global wave of protest* as a collective reaction to these challenges with the failure of the neoliberal premises globally. During the *neoliberal critical conjuncture* that fueled after the 2007-2008 Financial Crisis, citizens of both *winners* and *losers* of the neoliberal order have faced new challenges such as rising trend of neoliberal authoritarianism in so-called *winner* states such as Turkey and Brazil and devastating impact of economic and democratic crisis in so-called *looser* states such as Iceland, Spain and Greece (Della Porta, 2017). From a political economy perspective, Öniş and Güven (2011) also argue that “the crisis poses a fundamental challenge to the project of *neoliberal globalization*”, which is a process defined by them as follows:

“(...) the worldwide process of reorganizing economic activity on the principle of intensified interaction and interdependence between increasingly open and liberalized national markets, which has received ample endorsement from business and policy elites in both the Global North and most countries of the Global South for the past three decades”. (Öniş & Güven, 2011, p. 470)

As explaining the political dimensions of this challenge, Öniş and Kutlay (2013) claim that the crisis consolidated the *conservative globalism*, which is “characterized by an eastern orientation, and an emphasis on economic and political stability with a minimalist understanding of democracy” as a result of the loss of trust to Western liberal institutions (p. 1420). Failure of “market democracy” and democratic liberal institutions in dealing with the economic and political grievances of the crisis, and the rising popularity of authoritarian tendencies for the sake of economic development in the developing democracies have posed the structural challenges that have been experienced globally (Öniş & Güven, 2011, p. 485). Della Porta (2017) uses the concept of politics of becoming in order to explain how these globally experienced challenges have shaped the identities that forged the “spirit” of this recent wave. Based on the work of Connolly (1996), the politics of becoming can be defined as the formation of new identities simultaneously as experiencing a crisis or suffering collectively such as a protest series. As a characteristic of post-2008 global wave of protest, “identities do not yet exist, rather they are formed” because “as old identifications and expectations are broken, a new spirit emerges in action” (Della Porta, 2017, p. 25). Although the components and results of this identity formation processes have still been under investigation, the perspective of politics of becoming is crucial to understand the interactions and connections between the protest movements experienced in different countries during this global wave. Based on this argument and the discussions in the literature, this research project adopts the conceptual and contextual framework of *post-2008 global wave of protest* to explain the interaction between the Gezi Park Protests and the Jornadas de Junho Protests. While this framework does not neglect the local and domestic dimensions and motivations of the protest movements, it proposes a global perspective that is crucial to reveal the shared contextual and motivational conditions leading to similar and connected reactions in different

countries. This framework also helps to discover the novel mechanisms of protest diffusion and resonance by analyzing the recent protest movements such as the Gezi Park Protests and the Jornadas de Junho Protests as connected segments of a global wave.

The arguments on the emergence of the new global wave of protest and its theorization have also fueled further ontological discussions on the mechanisms of protest diffusion and resonance. The established mechanisms of diffusion in the literature such as *attribution of similarity* and *theorization* have been moderately acknowledged as the explanatory frameworks in these discussions; however, new concepts and mechanisms such as *inspiration*, *mimesis* and *resonance*, along with the new identity formation processes such as *politics of becoming*, have also been introduced as fundamental challenges and criticisms to the classical approaches in the literature as explaining the dynamics of post-2008 global wave of protest (Gerbaudo, 2013) (Oikonomakis & Roos, 2016) (Della Porta, 2017). As it is discussed in the *Resonance* sub-section, the primary motivation behind the introduction of these novel concepts is challenging the conceptual essence of diffusion which is built upon the principles of causality and linearity because the endogenous interactions between the protest movements and how they have *affected* rather than *caused* each other in this wave cannot be explained properly with the traditional mechanisms of diffusion. The interactions between Occupy Wall Street, Arab Uprisings, Indignados or anti-austerity movements cannot be labeled as linear and causal; instead, they are endogenous and complex interactions based on the identifications and inspirations from each other through cross-directional and multiple channels of communication and interaction (Oikonomakis & Roos, 2016). Although the concept of diffusion and its well-established theoretical principles should not be neglected entirely, the critical mechanism of resonance and its theoretical challenges to the concept of

diffusion should also be taken into consideration as analyzing the cases from the post-2008 global wave of protest.

The popularization of new repertoires of action such as occupations of public spaces, and the increasing mobilizing role of Information and Communication Technologies (ICTs) and social media platforms such as Twitter, Facebook, Youtube, Instagram, etc. also changed the fundamental principles and the channels of protest diffusion during this period. Especially since the Arab Uprisings in Egypt and Tunisia, which are also referred as “Facebook Revolutions”, the social media platforms have been marked as major mobilization channels that “provide space for likes, shares, comments and joins; facilitating certification, identification, deliberation and adaptation – spreading and diversifying the meaning, actions, goals and participation in a cycle of protest” “without getting involved in costly and complex organizational infrastructures” (Tüfekçi & Wilson, 2012) (Castells, 2012) (Rane & Salem, 2012) (Wood, 2015) (Kavada, 2015). Although it is hard to claim that the social media platforms are the chief source of movement success, it is certain that they enable both inter/intra-communal communication between activist groups and rapid cross-national spread of repertoires of collective action through the virtual and impersonal channels they constructed. Paolo Gerbaudo and Emiliano Treré (2015) also add that in addition to their role as communication and mobilization channels, social media platforms have a principal role in forming and shaping new identities during the recent global wave. Despite this diversity of arguments regarding the functions of social media platforms, the revolutionary impact of social media platforms on the interactions between movements has been marked as a fundamental characteristic of the post-2008 global wave of protests.

In the empirical discussions on the post-2008 global wave of protest, the cases of Turkey and Brazil have been marked as two crucial and comparable examples of 2013 protest phase, which is a significant period to understand the changing dynamics of dimensions of the wave. Indeed, regardless of their comparability and empirical contribution to the recent discussions on social movement, the cases of Turkey and Brazil have already been acknowledged as the popular cases in neoliberal development discussions from a comparative political economy perspective. As two emerging powers with sustained economic growth and growing regional and global impact since the early 2000s, Turkey and Brazil are considered as the *winners* of the neoliberal globalization project (Della Porta, 2017). Starting from 2002, both of the countries was ruled by the political parties, Adalet ve Kalkınma Partisi (Justice and Development Party, AKP) in Turkey and Partido dos Trabalhadores (Workers' Party, PT) in Brazil, that aimed at recovering the severe economic failures of 1990s by following the Post-Washington Consensus, which is characterized as a “more social, regulatory, and pragmatic neoliberalism” based on “cultivating good governance, building strong regulatory arrangements, and adopting pro-poor growth strategies through sweeping domestic institutional reforms” (Öniş & Güven, 2011, p. 473) (Öniş, 2012). In contrast to Russia and China which followed authoritarian strategies, Turkey and Brazil had a strong emphasis on strengthening democratic institutions especially during the initial stages of this transition period (Öniş & Kutlay, 2013). As both parties consolidated their popular and invincible positions in the democratic elections during the 2000s, their political agenda started to be built upon the principles of neoliberal populism, which can be defined as “a new form of politics that combine disciplinary neoliberalism with populist forms of governing” (Özden & Bekmen, 2015, p. 89). Despite their essential ideological differences as AKP as a conservative and pro-Islamist right-wing party and PT as pro-socialist left-wing party,

both of the parties shared the similar political economy programs based on the construction of a political hegemony consolidated by the neoliberal economy programs supported by the domestic big bourgeoisie and international financial institutions over the masses by utilizing populist discourses and social assistance programs that depoliticize the social problems and deradicalize the working classes (Özden & Bekmen, 2015) (Bozkurt, 2015). The highly positive impacts of these policies on the sustainable economic growth of Turkey and Brazil, and their success in dealing with the devastating impact of 2007-2008 Global Financial Crisis also led these two countries to adopt more assertive and pro-active foreign policy agendas as “rising powers to play increasingly ambitious regional and global roles” in the post-crisis period (Öniş & Kutlay, 2013, p. 1410). As the rising democratic member of BRICs and popular exemplar of Muslim democracy in the MENA region, Brazil and Turkey actively engaged in the regional and global foreign affairs in a way that explicitly challenged the shattered hegemony of Western actors such as the US and EU countries (Sandal, 2014). This common pattern in the foreign policy of two emerging power, and their shared position in the global order as the challengers of the hegemony even affected the Turkish-Brazilian relations positively. The 2010 Tehran Agreement, which is a nuclear agreement between Turkey, Brazil and Iran that particularly disregarded the US-led United Nations sanctions towards Iran, can be considered as a perfect empirical example of the connection between these two *rising middle power* (Sandal, 2014). It would be wrong to consider this strategic partnership only as a mutual attempt to strengthen the bilateral relations; since this type of collaboration can also be interpreted as a strategic move for the consolidation of the domestic hegemony by cooperating with a similar foreign partner which prioritized identical concerns and objectives in both foreign relations and domestic politics. This linkage between the macro-level foreign relations and the micro-level domestic politics,

and how it motivated the leaders to support each other's hegemony can be explicitly observed in the following words of President Erdoğan, who spoke out after the escalation of Jornadas de Junho Protests in June 2013:

“The same game is now being played over in Brazil. The symbols are the same, the posters are the same, Twitter, Facebook are the same, the international media is the same. They (the protests) are being led from the same center. They are doing their best to achieve in Brazil what they could not achieve in Turkey. It's the same game, the same trap, the same aim” (Turkish police use water cannon to disperse remembrance gathering, 2013).

The intersection point of these discussions on the similar political economy directions of Turkey and Brazil, their macro-level foreign policy strategies and the simultaneous escalation of Gezi Park Protests and Jornadas de Junho Protests in June 2013 is the shared social, political and economic grievances and challenges that was experienced during early 2010s as the result of following similar paths that are discussed above. One of the crucial results can be named as a general loss of trust in the governments of both countries by the young and educated members of the rising middle class because of the neoliberal populism that damages the practices of representative democracy (Gokay & Shain, 2015). Despite AKP and PT's popularity among the majority of their population, formation of hegemonic alliances between the government elites, businessmen and mainstream media, and the commodification of public spaces and services through neoliberal development projects that consolidated these alliances in both countries raised popular reactions that reflected the anger of feeling excluded from the social, political and economic spheres (Tuğal, 2013) (Özden & Bekmen, 2015). Disregarding these reactions for the sake of

sustainability of governmental hegemony and economic development, and using non-democratic means of repression towards these reactions were also a shared structural pattern that fueled the indignation of popular protests in both countries. Despite being the models of success in the neoliberal globalization, the combination of these shared contextual similarities and the domestic motivations caused the escalation of massive and nationwide protest series that had been rarely experienced before in both countries in June 2013.

In addition to these contextual and motivational similarities, Turkish and Brazilian cases have some major differences, which are crucial to understand the nature of the limited but puzzling interactions between the protesters during June 2013 Protests in both countries. The first major difference can be considered as the ideological orientation of the governing parties and how these orientations shaped the motivations of mass mobilizations during June 2013. AKP can be labelled as a conservative and pro-Islamist right-wing party that was supported by both Islamist movements and liberal groups that were critical about the Kemalist establishment of the regime during its earliest days, while PT can be considered as a pro-socialist party that was championed by the coalition of left-wing social movements, worker groups and unions which enabled it to become the governing party in 2002 (Yörük, 2013) (Gokay & Shain, 2015). This differentiation in the political and ideological orientation can be traced in the paths of transition preferred by two parties: Although implementing neoliberal economic development policies and establishing a social assistance based new welfare regime played a central role in the agenda of AKP, the shift of hegemonic political discourse from secular/Kemalist to conservative/Islamist and challenging the established institutions of regime to strengthen its own legitimacy can be considered as the major political objectives of AKP. This

process of hegemonic change was fueled by the increasingly authoritarian and exclusive policies that strengthened the position of AKP as the only governing party during its first decade in power. On the other hand, PT had a more focus on solving the major economic problems led by the high levels of poverty through social assistance programs such as Bolsa Familia and deradicalizing its left-wing grassroots supporters to present itself a center-left party (Mendes, 2017). Despite its success in dealing with the issue of poverty, PT was unable to provide qualified public services such as education, health, transportation and infrastructure programs to especially the rising middle class during the 2000s (Saad-Filho, 2013). The major reason behind this problem was considered as the problem of public spending and resource distribution, which also caused the rise of patrimonialism and corruption through neoliberal construction plans and mega-projects economically benefitted by the elites. These differences in the agendas of two governing parties reveal the major distinction between the Turkish and Brazilian cases: Despite being triggered by the similar motivations in the earliest stages, the escalation of Gezi Park Protests was fueled by a collective political and ideological reaction to the conservative authoritarian policies of AKP whereas the Jornadas de Junho Protests were motivated more by the social and economic grievances based on the corrupted resource distribution practices. Still, despite these differences, the June Protests in both countries interacted and it is crucial to understand which contextual and motivational similarities could outweigh these differences and enabled this puzzling interaction between these two cases.

3.1. Contribution and Novelty of the Research Project

As the consequence of these similarities and parallels between the cases of Turkey and Brazil, Gezi Park Protests and Jornadas de Junho Protests have already been marked as

two comparative cases as similar massive protest series in the same temporal span in the social movement studies that concentrate on the 2013 phase of the global wave of protest. The primary focuses of these studies as can be categorized as the similarities in the profile of the protestors (Fowler & Biebart, 2016), middle class background in the protests (Fukuyama, 2013), use of less-lethal means of protest policing and their impacts on the protesters (Aytaç, Stokes, & Schiumerini, 2017), the urban reasons and motivations behind the protests (Tuğal, 2013) (İnal & Gezgin, 2017), their deliberative potentials (Mendonça & Ercan, 2015) and political economic motivations behind the protests (Gokay & Shain, 2015) (Yörük, 2013). Despite this variety in the subjects and perspective, none of these studies has analyzed these two cases in interaction from the perspective of protest diffusion. While scholars such as Mariana Mendes (2017), Kıvanç Atak (2014) and Soli Özel (2014) explicitly speculate that the Gezi Park protests might have resonated in Brazil and a diffusion of protests might have happened from Turkey to Brazil, these scholars have not conducted any scientific research about their speculations. Thus, this novel research aims at being the next step in the social movements literature by testing these speculations with scientific methods based on Evolved Grounded Theory Methodology and in-depth semi structured interviews with Brazilian protesters.

Theoretically, this research project can also be considered as a contribution to the theoretical debates in the social movements literature, because it concentrates on signs of a cross-national protest diffusion or resonance that is hypothesized to be unlikely to happen because of the absence of the facilitating proximate criteria between the cases. Since the June case can be labeled as an anomalous case that cannot be explained by the existing mechanism of protest diffusion properly, this research project seeks to reveal new mechanisms and theoretical frameworks that can propose explanations for this case.

In addition to these potential contributions, the June case can also offer an empirical example to test the hypothesis of resonance against the hypothesis of diffusion. The findings can also unveil the fresh dimensions and recently introduced aspects of the post-2008 global wave of protest. Thus, the findings of this research project can be fruitful for both empirical and theoretical discussions on protest diffusion during the recent global wave of protest.



Chapter 3:

2013 GEZI PARK PROTESTS IN TURKEY AND 2013 JORNADAS DE JUNHO PROTESTS IN BRAZIL

1. Overview of the Gezi Park Protests

According to the Amnesty International's report *Gezi Park Protests: Brutal Denial of the Right to Peaceful Assembly in Turkey* (2013), which is the most acknowledged chronological source for the Gezi Park Protests, the protests started on 27th May 2013 following the gathering of the members of Taksim Solidarity in the Gezi Park, which is an urban park located in Taksim, İstanbul. Taksim Solidarity was formed in February 2012 as a social initiative composed of more than 120 groups including NGOs, trade unions, chambers of commerce, professional bodies and representative of political parties which pursued the objective of resisting the Pedestrianization Project of Taksim Square (Elicin, 2017) (Sosa Elizaga, 2018). As a leaderless and unorganized initiative without any political party affiliation, Taksim Solidarity's major strategy can be defined as forcing the AKP government to withdraw the regeneration plans for Taksim Square including the destruction of the Gezi Park through organizing public meetings, peaceful sit-ins and press releases in Taksim District (Elicin, 2017) (Sofos & Özkırmılı, 2016). In order to prevent the demolition of the Gezi Park after the arrival of bulldozers, more than 50 members of the Taksim Solidarity camped out in the park and refused to leave on 27th May (Gezi Park Protests: Brutal Denial of the Right to Peaceful Assembly in Turkey, 2013). The following day, 28th May, can be labeled as the initial breaking point in the protests, since the police used excessive force against these activists in the park by using

pepper spray and tear gas in order to clear the park and continue the demolition. However, the use of excessive force by the police and spread of the visuals that demonstrated these violent protest policing tactics such as woman in red dress caused a public reaction to the police and the public support for the activists in the park increased rapidly after this event. While the support for the activists in the park was growing by the declaration of solidarity messages from different political and social groups, burning of the activists' tents by a police officer on 29th May and the rapid diffusion of the footage of this incident on social media platforms triggered a public outrage that resulted in the escalation of protests in different districts of Istanbul. Since 30th May, the scale of the protests started to shift from local into nationwide as the protest diffused rapidly to the other big cities such as Ankara, İzmir, Antakya, Eskişehir, and Adana following the violent police interventions through using pepper spray, tear gas, water cannons and plastic bullets in the protests. On 1st June, the protests spread to cultural, economic and political centers of Turkey such as Adana, Edirne, Bursa, Eskişehir, Kocaeli and Samsun. After this point, the Gezi Protests transformed into a nationwide protest wave through diffusing to the 79 out of 81 provinces of Turkey with a massive scale of participation from 1st June to 22nd June (Gezi Park Protests: Brutal Denial of the Right to Peaceful Assembly in Turkey, 2013). According to the official reports of the Ministry of Interior, approximately 3.700.000 people participated in the protests, which marks the Gezi Park Protests as one of the largest number of protestors involved in a protest series in the history of Turkish Republic (cited in TİHK Gezi Parkı Olayları Raporu, 2014). The protests lasted approximately more than one month, and they gradually diminished on the early days of July 2013. As a leaderless and unorganized protest wave that was predominantly sparked by the anti-governmental and pro-democratic set of demands following its environmentalist initiation, the Gezi Park Protests had various long-term social, political and biographical

consequences, which are beyond the scope of this thesis project. Still, the most obvious consequence of the protests can be mentioned as the prevention of the demolition of the Gezi Park and the withdrawal of the project.

The initial motivation in the emergence of the protests can be described as a combination of the demand for a right to the city and concerns for the potential environmental devastation by challenging the neo-liberal urban policies of AKP government through peaceful repertoires of collective action such as occupation of public spaces and sit-ins (Kuymulu, 2013). Elicin (2017) demonstrates that the members of Taksim Solidarity felt responsible both professionally and personally to prevent transformation of Istanbul's one of the symbolic public spaces into a neoliberal complex that was rumored to include a shopping mall under the authoritarian urban planning structure that excluded the common people and disadvantaged groups from decision making processes. At this point, it should be noted that although the emergence of the initial protests were driven by the local urban and environmental, the escalation of the protests as a nationwide protest wave fueled predominantly by the conservative authoritarian tendencies of AKP government especially after the 2007-2008 Global Financial Crisis, as discussed in the *Literature Review* section. As Yörük (2014) mentions, the Gezi Park Protests can be labeled as the final phase of a year that was marked with the cluster of protests organized by different social and political groups such as women, students, Kurds, Alevis, LGBTs, workers and secularists against the antidemocratic policies and discourses of AKP government. Yörük and Yüksel (2014) demonstrate that the number of political protests gradually increased from less than 60 to 250 per a month between July 2012-May 2013. The policies and incidents such as the restrictive regulations on alcohols and cigarette, restrictions on women's rights and bodily autonomy, increasing rate of honor killings of women and

murders of LGBTQ+ individuals, expansion of a conservative and pro-Sunni discourse on both private and public spheres, public denouncement of the republican and secular figures and values, anti-environmentalist neoliberal construction projects, restrictions on the freedom of speech and media can be marked as some of the explicit reasons that motivated both these protests and the Gezi Park Protests (Yörük & Yüksel, 2014) (Gezi Raporu, 2015). The findings of a survey conducted by KONDA Research Institute (2014) confirms these arguments: According to the survey, 34,1% of the protesters participated in the protests because of the restrictions on their freedom, while 18,4% of the protesters were primarily motivated by protesting against the violation of human rights and demanding more democratic rights. The survey also reveals that 9 out of 10 of the protesters felt that their rights and freedom were violated under AKP government and decided to participate the protests because of the government policies (Gezi Report, 2014).

In addition to these political reasons and motivations behind the escalation of the protests, the excessive use of force by police and high level of visibility of the police violence during the protests on social media platforms had a significant impact on the mass mobilizations as a catalyst for public indignation. The KONDA survey (2014) demonstrates that 49.1% of the protesters decided to participate in the protests for the first time after witnessing the police violence. The scale of the violence was outrageous: According to Turkish Bars Association's Gezi Report (2013), death of 15 protesters were directly related with the abusive and excessive use of force by police during the protests. Turkish Medical Association (2013) also stated that at least 8163 protesters were injured by the police. According to the report, more than 61 of these injuries were the severe while 11 protesters lost their eyes and 104 protesters had serious head injuries (Gezi Park

Protests: Brutal Denial of the Right to Peaceful Assembly in Turkey, 2013). Active use of social media platforms during the protests and rapid spread of information about these violent incidents linked with abusive use of force by police had an activating impact on the dormant potentialities of mobilization which were related to the political motivations mentioned above. At this point, it should also be noted that Prime Minister Erdoğan's supportive discourse and attitude towards these protest policing practices, and his accusation of protesters for being vandals and looters caused an outraging impact on the ongoing protests (Özkırıklı, 2014). These repressive practices and uncompromising discourse provoked the potential protesters and opponents of the government into engaging into the collective action and had a significant impact in the transformation of a local protest series into one of the largest protest waves in Turkey.

2. Overview of the Jornadas de Junho Protests

The Jornadas de Junho Protests started on 6th June 2013 in the city of Sao Paulo as a small-scale protest movement following the announcement of the increase in the public transportation fees from R\$ 3.00 to R\$ 3.20 on 2nd June by Sao Paulo Governor Fernando Haddad (Purdy, 2019) (Saad-Filho & Morais, 2014). The initial protests against this fee increase were organized by the social initiative called *Movimento Passe Livre* (MPL). MPL was officially founded in 2005 at the World Social Forum that was organized in Porto Alegre, Brazil in order to advocate the right to have free and high-quality public transportation (Larrabure, 2016). The founders of the movement were the young activists who organized protests against the public transportation fee increases in the cities such as Salvador and Florianopolis between 2003 and 2005 and successfully forced the local governments to withdraw these fee increases (Purdy, 2019). MPL can be considered as a form of social movement rather than an NGO or social organization since it aims at

remaining as an antihierarchical and horizontal movement that employs direct democracy practices and repertoires of actions such as occupation, blockades, public meetings and demonstrations to achieve their goals without any political party affiliation (Purdy, 2019). The objectives of the movement have been predominantly based on defending right to the city against the neoliberal and capitalist transformation of public transportation which affected the everyday lives of disadvantaged groups since its foundation. Despite its active resistance against the fee increases and low-quality public transportation services for years, the movement had not been received a large scale public attention until its call for mobilization until June 2013 (Mendes, 2017). As both Purdy (2019) and the representative of MPL who I interviewed with state, the movement's activities on informing and mobilizing young people about the controversial policies of local and national governments on the public transportation had a positive impact on finding a wider audience especially in 2013 compared to the previous years. At this point, it should be mentioned that different protests had already organized against the fee increases in different cities such as Natal since 2012; however, it was the protests led by MPL on 6th June that transformed into a nationwide protests wave (Cavalcante, 2012). Following the announcement of fee increases on 2nd June, MPL organized a protest with the participation of 2000-3000 young activists from high schools and universities by employing tactics such as blockading roads and stopping traffic. Criticized as vandals by the mainstream media, the activists were attacked by police harshly, and the protests were repressed on this day. The police violence and local government's reluctance to withdraw the fee increase resulted in a growing public frustration and protests in both Sao Paulo and other big cities were organized with a gradually increasing but limited number of participants such as around 2000 protesters on 6th June, around 5000 protesters on 7th June, around 12.000 protesters on 11th June (Mendes, 2017). 13th June can be marked

as the first breaking point of the protests: On 13th June, approximately 20.000 peaceful protesters participated in the protests in Sao Paulo, and the police used brutal tactics and equipment such as tear gas, concussion bombs and rubber bullets to repress the protests harshly. The spread of footages demonstrating the violent incidents in social media, increasing numbers of detentions and injury incidents including the journalists, and the changing attitude of mainstream media channels from pro-government to pro-protesters caused a public outrage and the scale of the protest were rapidly increased following diffusion of protests to other big cities such as Rio de Janeiro, Belo Horizonte, Natal, and Porto Alegre (Saad-Filho, 2013) (Mendes, 2017). While 17th June can be labeled as the day when the protests got a massive and nationwide characteristic with an antigovernmental character demanding a general social, political and economic change beyond the regulations on public transportation fees, 19th and 20th June can be marked as the “peak” of the protests when massive protests were sparked in all 27 states and more than 100 cities with approximately 2.000.000 participants across Brazil (Purdy, 2019). On 19th June, Governor Haddad declared that his government withdrew the public transportation increases in Sao Paulo. Following the escalation of protests as an antigovernmental nationwide wave, President Dilma also announced social pacts on improving the public services such as education, transportation, and health (Purdy, 2019). The protests lasted a few weeks more and diminished gradually in August 2013.

As discussed above, the initial objective of MPL was reducing the public transportation fees and demanding a more qualified public transportation service; however, the escalation of the protests and their transformation from local protest series into a nationwide protest wave were motivated by a set of antigovernmental social, political and economic demands and grievances. As it is already discussed in the *Literature Review*

section, the common pattern in these motivations is the general criticism towards the Partido dos Trabalhadores (Workers' Party, PT) government's neoliberal development policies that had a limiting impact on the representative democracy practices in Brazil. Especially the excessive spending for the mega-construction projects that was held for the international events such as 2014 FIFA World Cup and the 2016 Rio de Janeiro Olympic Game and the low quality of public services such as education, health and transportation can be labeled as the major reasons behind the public indignation about the government policies (Mendes, 2017). The mismanagement of public spending and the corruption scandals related to this issue also motivated a significant number of Brazilians to participate in the ongoing protests across the country (Saad-Filho & Morais, 2014). According to the survey conducted by IBOPE where the interviewees select three domestic reasons for the protests, protesters participated in the protests because of the fee increases and poor quality of the public transportation service (53.6%), political environment including corruption and a general dissatisfaction with the governors and politicians (65.0%), poor condition of health services (36.7%) and education system (29.8%) and the excessive World Cup and Confederation Cup spending (Veja pesquisa completa do Ibope sobre os manifestantes, 2013). In addition to these reasons, the conservative policies such as restrictive regulations on women's bodily autonomy and anti-LGBTQ+ policies were highlighted by the protesters during the protests (Saad-Filho & Morais, 2014).

Using excessive force by police against the protesters also ignited a massive public outrage which facilitated the shift in the scale of protests into a nationwide protest wave. Especially the using disproportionate use of violence by police, the injury incidents including shoot of a journalist on her eye by a rubber bullet and spread of footage

demonstrating this incident on 13th June changed the direction of the protests by provoking thousands of Brazilians into taking to the streets against the police brutality on the following days (Mendes, 2017). It is reported that 10 protesters are killed by the brutal protest policing tactics while hundreds of protesters severely injured by the same practices (Vicente, 2018). As mentioned in the *Introduction* section, this is also the period where the Brazilian protesters widely referred to the Gezi Park Protests and Turkish protesters by using placards, flags and slogans such as "Acabou o amor, isso aqui vai virar Turquia" in several big cities such as Sao Paulo, Rio de Janeiro, Porto Alegre, Juiz de Fora or Belo Horizonte. As the police violence diffused from Sao Paulo to other cities between 13th June and 20th June, the slogan "Acabou o amor, isso aqui vai virar Turquia" also spread to these cities as one of the most popular slogans in the protests (Grellet, Werneck, Sturm, & Ogliari, 2013) (de Oliveira, 2013) (Penelas, Granja, & Chalita, 2013) (Oliveira, Müller, Natusch, & Furquim, 2013). Oskay (Oskay, 2014) and Larrabure (2016) even reported that there were several Brazilian protesters wearing t-shirts with Turkish flag motives and waving Turkish flags during the protests in big cities such as Sao Paulo. As mainstream Brazilian media including news agencies Folha, Globo and Estadão, along with the popular Brazilian left-wing news agencies such as Vice Brasil, A Nova Democracia and Brasil de Fato, reported, the Gezi Park Protests and the Turkish protesters were marked as a popular reference point in the slogans and chantes of the Brazilian protesters as the violence in the protests intensified and protests transformed into one of the largest protest waves in Brazilian history.

Chapter 4:

METHODOLOGY

1. Introduction to Grounded Theory and Its Development

Since the existing theoretical approaches and paradigms cannot explain the identifying references to the Gezi Protests in the Jornadas de Junho Protests properly, I prefer using Grounded Theory Methodology as the primary methodological framework in this thesis project. Grounded Theory Methodology can be described as a qualitative research methodology based on the construction of theoretical explanations and conceptual frameworks derived from a systematically collected data by using an inductive, abductive and comparative analysis (Glaser & and Strauss, 1967) (Corbin & Strauss, 1990) (Charmaz, 2006) (Charmaz, Thornberg, & Keane, 2018). Barney Glaser and Anselm Strauss, two American sociologists concentrating on medical sociology, introduced this methodological approach in their book *Discovery of Grounded Theory: Strategies for Qualitative Research* in 1967, and they formulated its principle as “the discovery of theory from data, which is systematically obtained and analyzed in social research” (Glaser & and Strauss, 1967, p. 1). As two social scientists who were facing the criticisms towards the qualitative methodology as a non-systematic and subjective research approach, the major aim of Glaser and Strauss was “to codify and systematize implicit methodological strategies for analyzing qualitative data and moving the analysis into explicit theoretical statements” (Wertz, et al., 2011, p. 57). They defend the idea that the researcher who uses the Grounded Theory Methodology should not have any preconceived ideas or extensive knowledge on the literature before the data collection

and analysis, since the Grounded Theory Methodology consists of the process of conceptualization and abstraction of the empirical findings that are grounded in the data due to discover and build generalizable theoretical explanations and new insights of social realities (Mattoni, 2014). This process of abstraction is primarily achieved through the *constant comparative method*, which is the cumulative process of coding of empirical incidents into abstract categories and concepts to formulate theoretical frameworks by considering the research questions (Glaser & and Strauss, 1967). Glaser and Strauss' work can be considered as one of the early studies that proposed analytical and methodological tools for theory construction in qualitative research tradition and have been marked as a revolutionary step in the development of qualitative methodology (Wertz, et al., 2011).

After the introduction of Grounded Theory Methodology by Glasser and Strauss, three major approaches have been developed in the field: The *traditional approach* chiefly developed by Glasser after their early collaboration with Strauss, the *evolved approach* primarily shaped by the studies of Strauss and Juliet Corbin, and the *constructivist approach* associated with Kathy Charmaz (Mills, Bonner, & Francis, 2006). While all of these three approaches have a consensus on the objective of constructing theoretical explanations grounded in empirical data rather testing existing theories, they have different perspectives on the issues of researcher's position in the data collection process, researcher's attitude towards the existing literature and the data coding and analysis processes (Chun Tie, Birks, & Francis, 2019).

Strauss and Corbin's evolved approach proposes the first challenge to Glasser's traditional and positivist approach by formulating their ideas centered around the

symbolic interactionism. They argue that the agencies' social interactions with the realities they live in have an important role in shaping their interpretations of the context (Corbin & Strauss, *Grounded Theory Research: Procedures, Canons, and Evaluative Criteria*, 1990). Thus, this interactive social interpretation process should also be involved in the analysis part of Grounded Theory methodology to observe the actors' reactions to the dynamics conditions and to their actions' consequences (Okazaki & Mueller, 2012, p. 159). Strauss and Corbin (2015) also underline that the early stages of data analysis should be based on some sensitizing concepts due to making sense of research participant's interaction with both her environment and researcher and to guide the analysis process. This situation requires the researcher to have a familiarity with the existing literature and concepts in the research field. Despite Glaser's strong opposition against their approach, Strauss and Corbin defend the idea that having knowledge on the literature is not an obstacle to direct an open-minded research process and discover novel theoretical explanations grounded in the raw data.

Kathy Charmaz, an American sociologist trained by Glaser and Strauss, challenges this notion of objectivity as the leading figure of the constructivist approach in the Grounded Theory Methodology. Charmaz fundamentally argues that the researcher's personal experience, perception and interactions during the research process should also be covered as the components of the data collection and analysis by emphasizing the notion of reflexivity (Charmaz, 2006) (Mills, Bonner, & Francis, 2006). This fundamental principle leads the scholars of the constructivist approach to formulate their methodological tools by concentrating on analyzing the activity and influence of the researcher in the research process. Especially researcher's previous knowledge and beliefs, the interactions with the research environment, the context and the participants,

and the personal experience and memories during the data collection stage are marked as the variables that should be taken into consideration during the data analysis stage.

2. Grounded Theory Methodology in the Field of Social Movements

Despite the implications of Grounded Theory Methodology in different disciplines of social sciences, Alice Mattoni (2014) argues that the potential of this methodological approach has been mostly underutilized by the social movement scholars. Mattoni grounds her argument in two major observations: Firstly, the cultural dimensions of the social movements such as “perceptions, identities and emotions” were not within the scope of social movement studies as popular topics to be systematically analyzed (Mattoni, 2014, p. 11). As a methodological approach that concentrates on the micro-level actors and their social interactions, Grounded Theory Methodology has been offering a wide range of methodological tools to overcome the possible problems related with the operationalization and measurement of these dimensions since its foundation; however, the interest in analyzing these aspects of mobilizations has been increased recently in the field of social movements. Mattoni believes that this is why social movements scholars have not been aware of the potentials of Grounded Theory Methodology yet.

Secondly, Mattoni (2014) argues that although the social movements scholars have been used the methodological tools and practices introduced and acknowledged by the Grounded Theory Methodology such as comparative coding method, they have not been relying on an overall and consistent research paradigm proposed by Grounded Theory Methodology. The way social movement scholars utilize Grounded Theory Methodology, says Mattoni, is “scattered and implicit” (Mattoni, 2014, p. 23). Mattoni claims that a consistent and comprehensive research methodology such as Grounded Theory

Methodology may work well for the direction that social movement studies have been going, and defends the following argument:

“Due to the importance that grounded theory assigns to the perceptions, meanings, and emotions of the subjects under study, this research strategy seems particularly suitable for investigations about cultural processes in social movements, in which the researcher focuses on the meanings and interpretations linked to contentious collective actions.” (Mattoni, 2014, p. 38)

Inspired by Mattoni’s arguments about the potentials of Grounded Theory Methodology for the social movement studies, I prefer using Evolved Grounded Theory Methodology for the following four major reasons:

1) Deviant Characteristics of the Case

As explained in the *Literature Review* chapter, the existing theoretical approaches in the field of cross-national protest diffusion and resonance cannot propose analytical frameworks that explain the identifying references to the Gezi Protests in the Jornadas de Junho Protests properly. These theoretical approaches offer conceptual and explanatory frameworks such as *attribution of similarity*, *theorization*, *diffusion* and *resonance*; still, rather than being able to explain the deviant characteristics of the June case, these frameworks serve well as the sensitizing concepts that guide the research process starting from the data collection. Following Strauss and Corbin’s positive attitude towards the familiarity with the existing literature of research field, I believe that having a knowledge on these concepts and frameworks and using them to formulate new hypotheses can

“stimulate our thinking about properties or dimensions that we can then use to examine the data in front of us” especially for this kind of anomalous cases (Corbin & Strauss, 1998, p. 45). The absence of well-fitted theoretical frameworks for the June case requires the formulation of a novel analytical explanation grounded in the empirical data in order to discover unrevealed mechanisms that caused this theoretically unpredictable resonance process. Thus, a methodological approach such as Grounded Theory Methodology can be considered as the best alternative to overcome this issue of deviance and novelty.

2) Interaction between Microscopic Agencies and Macroscopic Conditions

The central aim in using Grounded Theory Methodology can be defined as conducting a microscopic research that analyzes the interactions of micro-level actors such as individuals or social groups with each other and with the context they live in and formulate a central phenomenon that explains the whole process (Corbin & Strauss, 1990). Although major scope of Grounded Theory Methodology has been characterized as this microscopic research tradition, Strauss and Corbin (1990) argue that the researcher must also analyze the “broader structural conditions” that affect the actors’ motivations and interactions such as “economic conditions, cultural values, political trends, social movements, and so on” (p. 11). They defend the idea that “the analysis of a setting must not be restricted to the conditions that bear immediately on the phenomenon of central interest” and the research must integrate the broader structural conditions into theory to show “specific linkages between conditions, actions, and consequences” (Corbin & Strauss, 1990, p. 11). In a case such as the June case where the resonating practices and identifying references held by individual protesters cannot be explained by only personal motivations, the structural and macro conditions must also be covered from an analytical

perspective. Evolved Grounded Theory Methodology can be counted as an appropriate methodological approach to explain both the interactions and motivations of micro-level actors such as protesters from different countries and the structural reasons that caused these interactive processes in two countries that seem quite unrelated theoretically.

3) Significance of Perceptions, Identities and Emotions

Since Grounded Theory Methodology concerns with the social interaction and interpretation processes, perceptions of micro-level actors and their identity formation mechanisms have been considered as a significant subject to be analyzed by the Grounded Theory Methodology scholars. Corbin and Strauss (1990) deny both a strict determinism and non-determinism by formulating their methodological approach based on the argument that actors “are able to make choices according to their perceptions, which are often accurate, about the options they encounter” (p. 5). From the perspective of Evolved Grounded Theory Methodology, the identities, emotions and perceptions of the actors both shape and be shaped by the contextual and structural conditions they experience interactively. This methodological approach helps the researcher in revealing the dimensions and directions of this interactive process. Since one of the major aims of this research is understanding the perception of Brazilian protesters about the Gezi Park Protests and how their perception shape their reactions during the Jornadas de Junho Protests, Evolved Grounded Theory Methodology functions well as the central methodological framework of this research project because of these reasons.

4) Methodological Tools and Practices

As Mattoni (2014) argues, Grounded Theory Methodology offers a consistent research procedure and methodological practices that have already been acknowledged and used by the scholars of social movements. Methodological tools and data collection practices such as conducting in-depth interviews and participant observations are common popular methods preferred by social movement scholars and Grounded Theory Methodology users. As an advantage of using this methodological approach in social movement studies, Grounded Theory Methodology offers an analytical framework and guideline that formulates the research procedure from the data collection stage and works consistently with data obtained by the qualitative methods. Since it is grounded in the empirical observations and data, it covers the whole process of theory construction rather than only being used in particular stages such as data collection or data analysis. As Klandermans and Staggenborg (2002) mention, its principal research mechanism based on constant comparative coding method also enable researchers to deal with potential operationalization and measurement problems when they analyze the concepts such as identity, perceptions or emotions. Since this research project is primarily based on understanding the perception of Brazilian protesters by analyzing the data obtained through in-depth interviews, the technical advantages of Grounded Theory Methodology may minimize the potential methodological threads that distort both data collection and data analysis processes.

3. Technical Characteristics of Evolved Grounded Theory Methodology

Following the fundamental principles formulated in *Discovery of Grounded Methodology*, Strauss and Corbin describe Grounded Theory Methodology as “a form of qualitative research developed by Glaser and Strauss (1967) for the purpose of constructing theory grounded in data” that “allows for identification of general concepts,

the development of theoretical explanations that reach beyond the known, and offers new insights into a variety of experiences and phenomena” (Corbin & Strauss, 2015, p. 28). Since the data is the main source of theory construction process in Grounded Theory Methodology, it plays a central role in the research process. Strauss and Corbin (2015) states that data collection is managed “by a variety of means” (p. 29); however, observations and interviews can be marked as the most popular data collection types preferred by the Grounded Theory Methodology users. Still, Strauss and Corbin (2015) do not limit the types of data and cover “any type of written, observed, or recorded material” including “videos, journals, diaries, drawings, internal documents and memos, memoirs, Internet postings, and historical records” as the types of data that can be used by utilizing Grounded Theory Methodology (p. 29).

The process of data analysis is operationalized by using a three-staged *coding* procedure (Corbin & Strauss, 1990) (Walker & Myrick, 2006). Coding is the essential methodological procedure of Grounded Theory Methodology and it refers to the process of fracturing the data into meaningful conceptual units by using constant comparison to reveal patterns that indicate a central phenomenon. The first stage in this procedure is called *open coding*. Open coding describes the initial process of abstraction by assigning codes, which can also be named as conceptual labels, to the fractions of the raw data. These fractions primarily cover the empirical incidents in the data, and they are labeled with conceptual *codes* by different coding types such as *line-by-line*, *sentence-by-sentence* or *phrase-by-phrase* (Mattoni, 2014). The researcher constantly compares these codes with each other to reveal the meaningful patterns grounded in the empirical data. This initial stage of conceptualization is followed by the second stage called *axial coding*. Axial coding can be described as the construction of conceptual categories by analyzing

the relations between codes and grouping them under higher-level abstract concepts based on their relations. In addition to the construction of conceptual categories, axial coding also covers the procedure of comparing these categories with each other and formulate their relations in a theoretical form. As Mattoni (2014) explains, the axial coding is the step of research where the theoretical categories that explain the central phenomenon under investigation start to emerge. After the formulation of these categories and revelation of conceptual patterns between them, the research process moves on the last stage, which is named as *selective coding*. Based on the established relations and patterns between the theoretical concepts, the analysis centers around a *core category* that serves as the base for the explanatory framework of the research (Corbin & Strauss, 2015). Other categories and subcategories that are generated during the axial coding stage have direct conceptual relations with the core category, and they serve as the dimensions of the core category. Core category represents the highest level of abstraction in the theory construction, and it proposes a generalizable theoretical framework for the phenomenon of the research. As the result of this three-staged coding procedure, a novel theoretical approach that does not exist in the literature is constructed based on the empirical data.

4. Operationalization of Evolved Grounded Theory Methodology in the Research

The primary methodological tool for data collection is preferred as semi-structured in-depth interviews, which can be marked as the most frequently used methodological practice in Evolved Grounded Theory Methodology (Corbin & Strauss, 2015). Since the major aim of this research project is analyzing the perception of Brazilian protesters who participated in the Jornadas de Junho Protests about the Gezi Park Protests and how their perception shaped the resonating practices and identifying references between these two protest movements, the qualitative data obtained from the semi-structured in-depth

interviews which were conducted with Brazilian protesters is the primary source of information to achieve this objective. The interview questions consist of fifteen open-ended questions and they are formulated by considering the central points concerns following:

1) Can you please describe your own experience of 2013 Jornadas de Junho Protests? When did you decide to participate in the protests? What motivated you more to participate in these protests?

2) Were you following 2013 Gezi Park protests in those days? If so, from which communication channel did you hear or follow these protests? Were you in touch with Turkish protestors? How did you perceive or understand Gezi Park Protests?

3) Do you see any similarities between Jornadas de Junho and Gezi Park Protests? Do you think that there were parallels between these two movements?

The primary inclusion criteria for sampling group as applicable in this research project are interviewees' nationality as Brazilian and their active participation in the June Journeys Protests. *Active participation* means interviewees' physical presence at the public demonstrations called as the June Journeys Protests in order to engage in protests explicitly as self-defined protesters. The temporal and spatial scope of the June Journey Protests cover the protest series, which took place from June 1st, 2013 to June 27th, 2013 in over 100 Brazilian cities and cities with Brazilian diasporas around the globe, against the various policies and practices of President Dilma Rousseff, who was the president of Brazil during the protests, and PT government, which was the government-in-charge

during the protests. In addition to these inclusion criteria for sampling, I also followed the procedure of *theoretical sampling*, which is a strategy of purposive sampling in Evolved Grounded Theory Methodology. Since the data analysis in Grounded Theory Methodology begins following the collection of first data (Corbin & Strauss, 2015, p. 147), theoretical sampling procedure draws a route for data collection and interviewee sampling that is shaped by the novel questions emerged during analyzing the available data. While the initial interviews were conducted without any selective criteria except being Brazilian and active participation in Jornadas de Junho Protests, the theoretical sampling led me to involve the journalists and researchers who were aware of the parallels between the Gezi Park Protests and the Jornadas de Junho Protests, and the violent incidents during the Gezi Park Protests as the result of theoretical sampling.

The initial recruitment process is based on snowball sampling by contacting my personal connections, academics in Brazil, members of activist organizations and journalists that either participated in the Jornadas de Junho Protests in Brazil or know people that fulfill my initial inclusion criteria and theoretical sampling procedure. As a result of this procedure, I conducted thirteen in-depth semi-structured interviews with Brazilian people who participated in the Jornadas de Junho Protests. While eleven of these interviewees can be defined as regular protesters without any organizational ties with activist movements during protests, one of them is a former-militant of Movimento Passe Livre, which was the leading social movement especially during the initial stage of the protests. In addition to these protesters, I also conducted an interview with the representative of Movimento Passe Livre in order to understand and analyze the perception of this crucial social movement during the protests as a result of theoretical sampling.

Most of the interviews are conducted through voice over Internet Protocol (VoIP) software application Skype in English; however, in the cases where participants do not feel comfortable to reflect their ideas in English, they are allowed to speak or write in Portuguese as well in the preferred online communication platforms. While the duration of participation for a single interview is between 25 and 40 minutes, the duration of the entire data collection process lasted around 3 months. In order to achieve the goal of confidentiality and anonymity, the interviewees are given ID numbers instead of using their names in order not to compromise their personal identities.

In addition to these thirteen interviews, I also used twelve more interviews that are conducted by Mahmut Hamsici, a prominent journalist in BBC Turkey, and Mert Kaya, a researcher who is also the producer and director of the documentary *Acabou o Amor*. While eight interviews conducted by Mahmut Hamsici is publicly available, public access to the documentary involving four interviews is restricted by the director Mert Kaya. Because the interviews conducted by Mahmut Hamsici is publicly available, the interviewees participated in these interviews are presented with their names, years, and cities they located during the protests in June 2013. For the interviewees from the documentary directed by Mert Kaya, the procedures of confidentiality and anonymity are followed in the same form. These twelve interviews from secondary sources fulfill the inclusion criteria completely, and the questions and conversations with the protesters are totally compatible with the purpose and procedures of this research. Thus, the empirical data that is analyzed in this research project consists of these twenty-five in-depth interviews. The data collection process also involves more than twenty informal and unrecorded conversations with the academics, journalists and activists from both Turkey and Brazil. Although these conversations are not analyzed systematically with Evolved

Grounded Theory Methodology, they provide a better understanding and comprehensive insight on the topics under investigation. In addition to these conversations, I investigated how the local newspapers in Brazil and international media agencies covered the 2013 Turkish Gezi Park Protests in order to analyze the answers of interviews which referred to these media channels as their main source of information about those protests. To achieve this goal, I checked the Brazilian newspapers such as Folha de Sao Paulo and Globo, and international newspapers such as New York Times, CNN, BBC, Washington Post and the Guardian to see how the 2013 Turkish Gezi Park Protests were framed.

As it is mentioned before, the three-staged coding procedure developed by Strauss and Corbin is applied to the answers of these twenty-five interviews. After the transcription of the interviews into a written form, the textual data is analyzed through sentence-by-sentence coding during the open coding stage. After reaching the saturation point where the data started to repeat itself and to reveal analytical patterns, the major conceptual categories is generated during the axial coding stage. This conceptualization and categorization process is further deepened by combining these categories into more comprehensive and abstract categories, which then transform into the dimensions of the core category. The last stage of the methodology is concentrating on the core category and formulating a novel theoretical mechanism that explains the anomalous June case and revealing the relations and patterns between the core category and other categories. Details of this process will be discussed in the next chapter.

Chapter 5:

DATA PROCESSING AND DATA ANALYSIS

1. Data Processing

As the practical models of how Grounded Theory Methodology can be applied to the social movements studies, Anna-Britt Coe's research (2009) *'Being in the Spaces where Decisions are Made': Reproductive Rights Advocacy and Policy Influence in Two Regions of Peru*, Anna-Britt Coe, Isabel Goicolea and Ann Öhman's research (2013) *How gender hierarchies matter in youth activism: young people's mobilizing around sexual health in Ecuador and Peru* and Alice Mattoni's book chapter (2014) *The Potentials of Grounded Theory in the Study of Social Movements* are followed in this research project. Coe's research (2009) primarily analyzes how reproductive advocacy coalitions had an impact on the policies of Peruvian government during the 1990s, while her collaboration with Goicolea and Öhman (2013) concentrates on the comparative study of analyzing youth activism about sexual health in Peru and Ecuador. Both of these studies employ a form of Grounded Theory Methodology which is dominated by the combination of Strauss and Corbin's evolved approach and Charmaz's constructivist procedures. Although Mattoni's piece (2014) is not an empirical research, it explains how the Grounded Theory Methodology can be applied in a fruitful way to social movements studies by analyzing her research (2012) *Media Practices and Protest Politics: How Precarious Workers Mobilise* step-by-step. Based on the practical and analytical procedures and strategies used in these studies, I employed the Evolved Grounded Theory Methodology in a form that works properly for this research project.

As the first stage of data processing, I transcribed the recorded interview answers into textual data and applied the *open coding procedure* to these empirical data consisting of twenty-five in-depth interview results. Considering the suggestions of my thesis advisor Prof. Gunes Ertan, I preferred sentence-by-sentence coding type rather than line-by-line coding type, which is another popular coding type in Grounded Theory Methodology. By employing the constant comparative method starting from this stage, I analyzed every sentence in the textual data by comparing them with each other and labeling these sentences with concepts, gerund forms of words (-ing forms) or conceptual phrases that can be defined as *codes*. In addition to coding sentences in a conceptual way, I also used a coding technique called *in vivo coding*, which is assigning a word or phrase used by the interviewee as a code because of “sounding particularly meaningful and evocative” (Mattoni, 2014, p. 31). The research questions and the sensitizing concepts such as *diffusion*, *attribution of similarity* and *neoliberalism* were the central themes that navigated the conceptualization in this coding procedure. In order to increase the level of coding accuracy and quality (Mattoni, 2014), I repeated this coding procedure for three times by comparing the results of every round with each other. As the result of this initial coding process, approximately 170 codes were constructed to be analyzed in a comparative way to further abstraction and conceptualization in the *axial coding stage*. In this point, it is important to note that the initial sensitizing concepts lost their validity as the central themes, and novel sensitizing concepts such as *violence* and *resonance* started to emerge during the open coding process as analyzing the obtained data.

Following the construction of 170 codes grounded in the textual data, I applied *the axial coding* to these codes by sorting them into conceptual categories based on their relations with each other and the research questions under investigation. In addition to the

exploration of conceptual relations between the codes, irrelevant or less important codes also became more and more evident as the coding advanced into a deeper level. Since axial coding stage can be considered as the procedure where “specific conceptual categories begin to emerge due to the recombination of codes disseminated in the documents” (Mattoni, 2014, p. 31), the preliminary theoretical frameworks based on these conceptual categories started to emerge in this stage of coding. As the result of the first round of the category formation in the axial coding, the following 15 major conceptual categories were formed:

Major Conceptual Categories
1. Crisis of representation
2. Antigovernmental motivation of contention
3. Accumulation of demands and grievances
4. Environmental and urban problems
5. Struggle for advanced democratic rights
6. Intensification of violence
7. Localization of contention
8. Superficiality of identification
9. Chaotic perception
10. Uncertainty about the transmitters
11. Mediatic visibility of violence
12. Resonance
13. Sympathy based on violence and repression
14. Willingness to face repression
15. Sensitivity and vigilance about the intensification of violence

Figure 1: Major Conceptual Categories formed during Axial Coding

The formation of these conceptual categories in the initial axial coding process also constructed the base for the selective coding process, since analyzing the relations of these

categories with each other and the codes they are covering started to reveal which codes occupy a more central position in explaining the case under investigation. As the second round of axial coding was continuing, the categories related with violence and repression such as “Sympathy based on violence and repression”, “Willingness to face repression”, “Sensitivity and vigilance about intensification of violence” were distinguished as the dominant conceptual categories in the search for the motivations behind the identifying references to the Gezi Park Protests during Jornadas de Junho Protests. By estimating this variance in the centrality and capacity of conceptual categories in explaining the research questions, I recombined the major conceptual categories into four explanatory categories in the second round of axial coding:

Explanatory Categories	
First round of Axial Coding	Second Round of Axial Coding
Crisis of representation Antigovernmental motivation of contention Accumulation of demands and grievances Environmental and urban problems Struggle for advanced democratic rights	Contextual similarities as a necessary condition
Mediatic visibility of violence Catalyst for action of agency Chaotic perception Sympathy based on violence and repression Sensitivity and vigilance about the intensification of violence Willingness to face repression	Identification based on violence and repression (Cathartic Resonance)
Uncertainty about the transmitters Superficiality of identification	Superficial identification
Resonance Localization of contention	Transformative localization

Figure 2: Explanatory Categories recombined during Axial Coding

Following the formation of four major explanatory categories as presented under the section of the second round of axial coding in *Figure 2*, I further proceeded the selective coding procedure which I had started to employ during the first round of axial coding.

Because selective coding is based on the construction of a core category that “function as the pivot of theorization and abstraction in the research” (Mattoni, 2014, p. 32), I concentrated on the category of “Identification based on violence and repression” as the potential core category of this research project. This category has a dominant position in the analytical understanding of the research process in general since it has direct relations with every explanatory and major conceptual category either in a causal, correlational or endogenous way, which is explained in the *Data Analysis* Section. By locating the category of “Identification based on violence and repression” into the center of theory building process as the core category and synthesizing the conceptual categories into a general framework, I constructed the novel concept of *cathartic resonance* as the conceptual mechanism that explains both the motivations behind the identifying references in the Jornadas de Junho Protests and the possible impact of the Gezi Park Protests on the transformation of local protest series into a nationwide protest wave in Brazil during the Jornadas de Junho Protests. Thus, the original theoretical product of this whole methodological journey starting from the collection and analysis of first interview can be considered as the concept of *cathartic resonance*, which functions as a novel mechanism of cross-national resonance of protests movements in the absence of proximity factors and direct ties between the protesters in different countries during the post-2008 global wave of protest (see details in the *Figure 3* in *Data Analysis* section). The details are discussed in the *Data Analysis* section.

2. Data Analysis

This section consists of two main sub-sections: *Findings* sub-section, which covers the introduction and analysis of interview results, and *A Novel Concept: Cathartic Resonance as the Explanatory Mechanism* sub-section, which explains the theoretical fundamentals

of the novel concept of *cathartic resonance*, its function in the June case, and its contribution to the literature of social movement and protest diffusion.

2. 1. Findings

Since the primary objectives of this research are explaining the reasons behind the identifying references to Gezi Park Protests during Jornadas de Junho Protests and discovering whether the Gezi Park Protests influenced the evolution of Jornadas de Junho Protests, the interviewees are asked whether they were following the 2013 Gezi Park Protest, and from which media platform they heard about and followed these protests if they did. While the common pattern in the interview results reveals that Brazilian protesters were following and knowing about the 2013 Gezi Park protests at that time, there is a variation in their source of information about these protests. Interviewee_8 answers the question of whether she was following the 2013 Gezi Protest in the following way:

Yes, I was following. I remember that in Brazilian TV shows, the protests in Turkey were broadcasted and the ones that were happening here did not have the same visibility. Only after a few days did the Brazilian media understood what was happening, the proportion of the movement, and began to do the coverage. I did not have contact with anybody from Turkey during the protests, I just followed what was broadcast on Brazilian television. (...) I believe that these references (To 2013 Gezi Park Protests) were due to the fact that the Brazilian media informed the population about the protests in Turkey and, of course, there was an identification with what happened at the same time in Brazil.

Interviewee_11, who was a researcher and a local journalist at the time of protests, also responds the question in a way that indicates the local media coverage of the 2013 Gezi Park protests:

Everyone in Brazil was following the Gezi Park protests and I was reporting it as a journalist. I was in touch with Turkish journalist and friends, who were active on the protests. But not always were easy to talk to them.

To further explain the local media coverage of Gezi Park Protests in Brazilian media and how they might have an impact on the Jornadas de Junho Protests, Interview_1 describes the situation as follows:

I'm searching over in Portuguese 'Isso aqui via virar Turquia', and, the first link that appears is from the date June 13th, which is a breaking point in the protests here in Brazil. Because, it was the most violent day of the protests. (...) And I think that day transformed the protests, you know. The police violence of that day made lots of people want to go to the streets. And that was something important to mention; when you asked me at the beginning why people were going to the streets, I think that's this very important day that made a difference. And, this coincides with these placards (in the protests) that referred what was happening in Turkey. So, I think that's a very important thing to mention.

These statements are consistent with Saad-Filho's research (2013) on the Jornadas de Junho protests, which indicates the popularity of the Gezi Park Protest in the mainstream Brazilian media in order to overshadow the early phases of Jornadas de Junho during first

two weeks. In addition to this kind of statements on the visibility of the Gezi Park Protest in the Brazilian media, the coverage of the protests in international media platforms and newspapers enabled Brazilian protesters to hear and follow the events in Turkey during the time of protests. Interviewee_1 mentions the international media platforms as the major source of information about 2013 Gezi Park Protests:

At that time, I think that's something that was close to Brazil, because I thought the protests started because of a park. It was an environmental question; an urbanistic question. I think I heard about the protests through international media. I don't speak Turkish, so I read about it through international media, New York Times, CNN, and the Guardian.

Another protester, Interviewee_3 also mentions:

I specifically remember the things I read in New York Times about the Gezi Protests. I remember it started about a park; so, I think that it was more environmental issue, and it was like “we have to appropriate these space in the city, we have this place here so we can't lose it”.

Although the answers emphasizing the local and international media platforms as the major source of information can be counted as the dominant pattern in the findings, use of social media platforms to follow the events in Turkey were also popular among the protesters during the protests. Interviewee_14 states that:

The situation in Turkey attracted my attention. When we were experiencing the June here, the situation in Turkey was quite popular in social media. We were seeing too many photographs and videos.

Regiane Smocowisk Miranda, a 27-year-old activist from São Paulo, also indicates the role of social media platforms with the following statement:

We followed all the news about the recent protests in Turkey. The truth was transmitted to the rest of the world through social media. What happened in Turkey had an enormous impact on the people here in the streets. We see that we were not fighting alone.

To explain how she was following Gezi Park Protests, Interviewee_12 states that:

I remember of sharing information on it on my Facebook and commenting like: "when is it going to happen in Brazil?". I didn't know that it was pretty close to happen. I had no contact at all with Turkish protestors. I just followed the news, mostly on social networks. I see the Gezi Protests as a sign that people became worn out of the current system. As far as I know it started with an environmental and urbanistic issue that arose a profound discontentment in many different areas. Like in Brazil, the system was not able to give an effective response to it and people were no more willing to accept breadcrumbs anymore.

This variation in the source of information and role of local and international mass media platforms as significant communication channels between Turkish and Brazilian

protesters refute the hypotheses that social media platforms can be considered as the dominant channels of protest resonance for the June case. However, as it can be interpreted from the interview results including Interviewee_12's or Regiane Smocowisk Miranda's answer, despite their relative incompetence, it can be claimed that social platforms still played an important role in the cross-national resonance and diffusion processes by providing both individuals and mass media actors such as news agencies with a virtual space where they can function well.

The interview results also indicate that most of the interviewees have a general knowledge of the shared political and economic grievances, and similar motivations of Brazilian and Turkish protesters. To explain how the challenges of neoliberalism motivated both of the protester groups in a similar way, Interviewee_1 answers the question on the similarities between the motivations as follows:

I would answer this by talking about the lack of accountability about of the governments. I think we live in a neoliberal era democracy. The parliament and democracy itself are (neoliberal). The institutions are bought by money; and they are kidnapped by the big money. And normal people, regular people, middle class or poor, they have had trouble for the government to listen to them. I think that this was a parallel I would make between of these two protests.

The answer of Interviewee_2, who states that he has a little knowledge on Turkey and 2013 Gezi Park protests, can be considered as a supporting point for the argument of the problem of "not being heard by the government":

The similarity is that the population wanted to make itself heard by the rulers.

Interviewee_6 also mentions the demands for the expansion of democratic rights in both of protests as a common trait:

I think they (Brazilian protesters) respected, or even used the Turkish protests as a benchmark. So, I think that's why there were the parallels traced there. And also, because, in the end, people want more democracy, and people want freedom; and so, I think the greater values are always the ones that are in common.

The answer of Marcelo Noah, a 35-year-old protester from Sao Paulo, supports these statements on democratic rights and institutions:

We do not want democratic governments that act as dictatorships. Democracy is like a plant; it should be treated carefully. I have been following the protests in Turkey since their beginning. In fact, it was what was happened in Turkey that led me to go to the streets in Brazil.

The representative of Movimento Passe Livre concentrates on the exclusion of common people from the public spaces and services, and the demand for the right to the city as another effective common point that connects two protest movements:

In the struggles of June in Brazil the central issue was the increase in the cost of transportation tickets in cities. The increase has serious consequences for the poor people and families living in the city, ranging from the immediacy of not having

the money to buy food to pay the bus fare until you cannot go to a show and theater in the center or visit friends and family who live in other parts of the city. An increase of 20 cents in the ticket costs more or less for those living on the outskirts, far from the urban centers, but what is in common is the fact that with each increase the appropriation of the city becomes even more difficult and more painful, a true privilege for those who can afford it. And perhaps it is at this point that the protests of the Gezi Park and the Journeys of June meet, in the struggle for spaces in the city that are denied us daily, spaces that can gain life and sense by the presence of those who are excluded from the city, and not by absence.

Interviewee_11's answer is also consistent with the argument of the representative of MPL on the right to the city:

The main reason for these two protests was linked to the right to the city; it was led by young people; and it was very radical, with the presence of Black Blocks and other radical political groups.

In addition to these answers on specific issues, some of the interviews draw a more general framework that explains the similarities between the two protests. Interview_8 explains:

I think that the similarities, in short, are: the denial of traditional political representation, a strong questioning of institutions traditionally regarded as democratic, the heterogeneity of protest lines and the intensive use of social networks in the convening of protests.

Felipe Gonçalves, a 30-years-old protester from Rio de Janeiro, summarizes the similarities and the impact of 2013 Gezi Park Protests in the following way:

It is certain that the protests in Turkey has a significant impact on the protests in Brazil as an example and source of inspiration. Even some of the slogans used in Brazil is inspired from Turkey. Brazil and Turkey have their own characteristics and peculiarities; however, they have also common points and similarities as well. The escalation of protest suddenly, the role of Internet, the collective demands raised by the masses, and the massive public support to the demonstrations are identical in both of the cases. I think we are witnessing the reborn of direct democracy.

Some interviewees also explain the similarities between two movements by analyzing them in the context of the post-2008 global wave of protest. Interviewee_12 answers the question of the motivations behind the Turkish references by stating that:

There was some synchronization between the movements in Brazil and Turkey and that helped to motivate people to take action and to foster the feelings of a connected global reaction.

Interviewee_5 states that 2013 Gezi Park protests enabled Brazilian protesters to locate their struggle into a global context:

I think that there was a sense when people were in the street in June. I can't remember exactly when I first heard about the protests in Turkey but what I could

say that you had the idea that it was a kind of global stuff when we were in the street in June 2013. You know, global one establishment, and everyone knew that there were references to things that were happening elsewhere.

André Veloso, a 24-years-old protester Belo Horizonte, also supports this argument as follows:

I was very excited when I heard about the protest in Turkey. There were different reasons behind of these two protests, but Turkey had a very important role in the escalation of protests in Brazil. A few weeks ago before protests, we gathered to support the protests in Turkey in the city of Belo Horizonte. From my point of view, the case of Turkey is crucial because the experience of “Arab Spring” can only be transmitted to the Europe through Turkey and vice versa.

Although these answers reveal that Brazilian protesters had knowledge on Gezi Park Protests which enabled them to draw parallels and make connections between two movements, it would be a mistake to conclude that they knew the details of Gezi Park Protests and the motivations behind the protests comprehensively. In fact, the Brazilian protesters have only a superficial level of knowledge on the objective and contextual similarities between the two cases. It is crucial to note that this knowledge is hard to be defined as the dominant source of identification process behind the resonating practices during the 2013 Jornadas de Junho protests. Interviewee_1 explains this situation by stating that:

You know, I think that people had a superficial view of what was happening in Turkey. They saw the people were protesting the government; the government were responding in a violent way. People were having trouble to be listened by the government. I think that these three things were why some people had seen themselves similar in what was happening in Turkey.

Interviewee_5 mentions the superficiality of the perception about 2013 Gezi Park protests as well:

You know, most of the people in Brazil wouldn't have the details of what's happening Turkey. It was an unconscious (process). What I could say that we had this idea that we are changing things in the world. It was not something just in Brazil. (...) It was generic idea that something was happening elsewhere as well.

Another protester from Sao Paulo, Kadj Osman, indicates the issue of lack of accurate information about the events in Turkey during the protests:

People have heard and read something about the protests in Turkey. However, we do not have accurate and reliable information about what is happening in Turkey. We must salute the Turkish people for standing up for their rights, fighting for a different type of society and protesting an authoritarian government. Here, we have seen people waving Turkish flags in protests.

The answer of Interviewee_8 also confirms this argument:

I did not have detailed information about what happened in Turkey, but the way the protests started in the two countries was similar, in the sense that there was an initial motivation, that this motivation had a strong police repression and that this violence was the "drop of water" that was lacking to inflate the dissatisfied people with the government and the social injustices that occur.

This answer of Interviewee_8 also demonstrates a major finding of this research project: A process of sympathetic identification based on the shared experience of violence and repression during the protests. Despite the variation in the answers regarding the source of information and the similarities between the motivations of two protest movements, the escalation of police violence and intensification of clashes between police and the protesters are emphasized as the central and common themes in the perception of interviewees about Gezi Park protests. As Interviewee_1 explains the meaning of the slogan of "Acabou amor, isso aqui via virar Turquia", he states that:

It was some kind of alert to the government, to the Brazilian government: "This is going to be like Turkey, we're going to protest it in a violent way".

As it can be seen in this statement, it is hard to claim that the chaotic perception of the Gezi Park protests was shaped around the victimization of Turkish protesters who are exposed to the harsh protest policing practices. Rather, these protests were perceived as a fight or resistance movement where violence was intensified as protesters actively resisting to the police forces by using violent repertoires of actions. It was considered not only as a source of inspiration to engage in action, but also a reference point to intimidate

the Brazilian government. The comments of Interviewee_4 on the slogan of “Acabou amor, isso aqui via virar Turquia” also confirms this argument:

It is not a good phrase, man. (...) When we say “Acabou amour”, it means “we are going to the fight and you will not be more safe and secure. OK, we are going into the fight”. And, probably they use Turkey as a reference, because all things were escalated very badly in Turkey at that time. On that time, protests in Brazil were getting worse; things were escalating very badly. And, people were not just protesting anymore. I think, on that time, the collective thought was to fight. So, if the police and cops don't hear us on the street, maybe, we need to use force so we can get what we want. I think it's that why this phrase is used at that time.

Interviewee_5 also describes the meaning of the slogan as follows:

There is one chant that is a kind of classical and used by left wing supporters in Brazil. That is “Acabou amor, isso aqui via virar Inferno”; and inferno is like hell. So, they changed hell to Turkey in this, you know.

Interviewee_16 explains the motivation behind using the slogan in the following way:

I think that when we started chanting ‘Acabou amor (isso aqui vai virar um Turquia)’, we declared that we were out of patience, right? The patience that we had since the beginning of events, the tolerance we had, it was over.

To explain how the use of violence led Brazilian protesters to identify themselves with the Turkish protesters, Interviewee_11 states:

When the protests started here, we used to sing: Love is over, Brazil will become Turkey. For us, it was very touchable because the police violence was super normal for us as well. We could see the same police strategies here. We mirrored ourselves in the protests in Gezi Park. I do think that were many similarities, I do point out this on my Ph.D. thesis as well. The most striking to me, with no doubt, was the police violence and how we managed to be alive; to resist to it. The situation is, Turkish protests was our school. We learned how to protect ourselves, how to use some radical strategies from the Turkish videos on YouTube. That connection was beautiful.

Interviewee_15 also explains the motivational impact of the Gezi Park Protests on the Brazilian protesters as follows:

(...) I mean, we knew about Taksim, we knew about it very well. It was a great identification process for us. There was that epic photo, of the woman being... wearing a super pretty dress, I think it was red, I don't know. And a cop, with pepper gas spraying in her face. And she turning her face away. They used that in the movement here. We had... were suffering the same thing here in the public square. We identified a lot with the... We identified ourselves with them as public that demanding something collectively and being repressed harshly by the government. It was the representation of same people. Similar things were happening, we were identical... And you having had Tahrir, having had Occupy,

having had Taksim... It provides strength. We say like this, "Well, if they did it, we can do it, right?" We... It empowers in a way, like, the whole world.

Supporting the argument on the inspirational influence of the Gezi Park protests, representative of MPL emphasizes that:

Chants that made mention of Turkey in 2013 lifted people's morale in their actions, their willingness to face repression and reminded them that demonstrations could be victorious, that we had strength.

Before proceeding with the introducing the mechanism of cathartic resonance to explain the June case, it is crucial to clarify that Gezi Park Protests were neither the major reason behind the first escalation of protests that was initiated by the Movimento Passe Livre after the bus fare increases nor remained as the popular reference point after the transformation of local protests into a nationwide protest series. It must be emphasized that there was not a causal relationship between the escalation of Gezi Protest and the emergence of Jornadas de Junho protest in Brazil. The representative of Passe Livre describes this situation by clarifying that:

By 2013, the movement was well matured in its strategies and ways of stopping the fighting, bringing with it the accumulation of struggles of previous years. When the Gezi Park protests began, the movement was already completely immersed in its activities of preparation for the struggle, pulling regional acts in peripheral and central neighborhoods of the city in conjunction with high school students in the state's public school network.

Interviewee_4 explains how the interest towards the Gezi Park protests changed by time:

We were so get involved in our protest, so I just thought about the protesting that time, our protests. We were not looking everywhere or trying to worry about other cause because we are so much involved.

Interviewee_5 also indicates the loss of interest towards the Gezi Park protests with the following statement:

It was not something just in Brazil. But then, it changed because it was more about the national stuff.

In this point, it is also important to note that the interview answers uncover the insights that ease the refutation of the alternative explanations. The alternative explanations can be grouped under two major categories: The first one that analyzes the references to 2013 Gezi Park protests by covering the similarities in the political and economic grievances of Brazilian and Turkish protesters as a central position as the primary analytical framework; and second one that explains the rising popularity of the 2013 Gezi Park Protests during the 2013 Jornadas de Junho Protests as a result of a coincide in the timing of two protests. Since the hypothesis that are formulated around the first alternative explanation is refuted in the discussions above, it would be better to proceed with the second alternative explanation, which can also be considered as the dominant one in the discussions on the Turkish-Brazilian case.

Since the Gezi Park protests escalated approximately two weeks before the escalation of Jornadas de Junho protest, identifying references to the Gezi Park protests and saluting Turkish protesters could be considered as a collective reflex and a natural result of the timing of the protests. From this perspective, the coincide in the timing of the protests can be marked as an answer to the research questions of this research project. However, as it can be seen in the interview results presented above, the connections with the Gezi Park protests are far from being only cosmetic references; rather, they reflect a sympathetic identification and inspiration process that has not been experienced before during any other foreign protest movements such as Occupy Movement, Arab Uprisings, Indignados or other anti-austerity movements that emerged in Europe after 2007-2008 Financial Crisis. Although Brazil was hosted various local protest movements between 2010-2013, which is a period when the post-2008 global wave of protest was intensified, none of these local protest movements had been transformed into massive protest series where foreign protest movements resonated or diffused as it was experienced in June 2013 (Mendes, 2017). It can be claimed that despite being saluted by the Brazilians, the previous foreign protest movements were not identified or collectively inspired in a way that motivated them to engage in collective action. The representative of Movimento Passe Livre explains this situation as follows:

It is difficult to say that there was a direct relationship between the June days and the movements that broke out in the Arab Spring countries or the Occupy. (...) The Arab Spring and Occupy Wall Street protests at that time occupied the imaginary of some student organizations or social movements as a symbol demonstrating great mobilizations were possible, but it was not even present in the struggle waged on the street by the population as a whole.

As it can be seen in this statement, without the presence of dimensions where protesters can identify themselves with the foreign protesters in other countries, the timing of two or more protests cannot lead to the emergence of a resonance or diffusion process between these movements by itself. Rather than being defined as an explanatory variable or a mechanism that can explain the June case, it would be more accurate to label the timing of protests as a facilitating condition for the identifying references to be used in the protests. Thus, the timing of protests plays an important role in the June case; still, it cannot be marked as the primary reason that caused it. Since the interview results clearly demonstrate that these two major alternative explanation cannot solve the puzzle of the case under investigation, a novel concept that is derived from the interviews and constructed upon the theoretical basis of the concept of resonance is proposed as the explanatory mechanism of this research project.

2. 2. A Novel Concept: *Cathartic Resonance* as the Explanatory Mechanism

In order to explain the case under investigation, I introduce the novel mechanism of *cathartic resonance*. I derive the theoretical base of this mechanism from Ross and Oikonomakis' theorization of *resonance* (2014). Based on their definition of resonance and Gerbaudo's use of the term (2013), a cross-national resonance can be defined as the spontaneous actualization of latent potentialities for mass mobilization in a local context through inspiration and identification provided by similar experiences and grievances in another foreign context. In this point, it is crucial to clarify that rather than labeling the June case as a form of cross-national protest diffusion, it is theoretically more accurate to analyze this phenomenon as a cross-national resonance. As explained in the *Literature Review* chapter, the concept of resonance refers to an endogenous and cross-directional mechanism of mobilization that is triggered or eased by the presence of another similar

movement rather than a causal and linear model of protest diffusion between adopter and transmitter groups. This deconstructed relationship between adopter and transmitter groups recategorizes these groups as *imitators* and *initiators* that both function as transmitters and adopters at once. The concept of resonance also invalidates the unidirectional relationship between these groups through relational, non-relational and mediated channels of diffusion by proposing a model of mobilization fed by multiple sources of information and inspiration through diverse communication channels simultaneously. As a result of this condition, the concept of *spontaneity* figures fundamentally in this model. Resonance emerges spontaneously as the horizontal mobilization ignited by the similar experiences in a foreign context is materialized through decentralized and unorganized grassroots movements. Based on this definitive theoretical framework, Roos and Oikonomakis (2016) concentrate on the shared structural conditions such as the global crisis of representation intensified by the 2007-2008 Financial Crisis and the horizontal movement experience with pre-existing activist networks as the necessary conditions for a cross-national resonance to emerge, while Gerbaudo (2013) focuses on “a common cultural sphere in which discourses of resistance could easily be transmitted” as explaining the cultural resonance that leads cross-national protest diffusion (p. 95).

Although the theoretical principles of resonance function properly in order to label the June case as a cross-national resonance, the advanced theoretical models proposed by the researchers such as Roos, Oikonomakis and Gerbaudo cannot be utilized as the mechanisms to explain this case analytically. Despite these models’ success in analyzing the similarities in structural and cultural conditions as the necessary conditions of the cross-national resonance, protesters’ experiences and perceptions constructed during the

protests and how these experiences and perceptions can affect the process of resonance have been largely neglected in these models of cross-national resonance. Since politics of becoming and new identity formation processes have been characterized as the essential aspects of the recent post-2008 global wave of protest, the perceptions and interactive experiences of protesters with both their own context and the foreign contexts during the different phases of mobilizations should be analyzed as the central components of cross-national resonance in order to explain the mechanisms behind identification and inspiration processes.

In order to fill this gap in the theoretical framework of resonance, I have theorized the concept of *cathartic resonance* grounded in the findings of my research project. The word cathartic is derived from the Latin word *catharsis*, which is a term primarily used in various visual art forms. It can be defined as “the intense emotional effect that a tragedy has on the audience through sympathetic identification with the tragic protagonist” (Catharsis, 2018) (What is Catharsis? Definition, Examples of Catharsis in Literature?, 2018). A catharsis occurs in the form of purgation of emotions such as fear or pity when the protagonist, which can be related and identified by the audience as a result of their shared experiences, encounters a tragic or catastrophic incident. Based on this concept, cathartic resonance can be defined as the *stimulation of mass mobilization through sympathetic and superficial identification with a tragic protester group in a similar foreign context by the potential protesters in the local context.*

In this definition, the concept of *tragedy* has a crucial significance and it is used by its meanings in both common language and the terminology of literature and visual arts. In the context of social movements and protests, *tragedy* can be defined as the collective

sufferings and distresses experienced by the protesters such as political marginalization, extreme use of police force and violence, or explicitly unlawful and discriminating practices towards them during the protests. As it can be interpreted in Connolly's prominent work on the fundamentals of the politics of becoming (1996), the identity-based sufferings of a subject actualizes the formation of new identities in a dialectical way, which identifies collectively experienced tragic incidents as a necessary condition for the birth of new collective identities. In addition to this meaning in common language, the word tragedy is also preferred deliberately because of its terminological use in literature and visual arts. As a term, tragedy can be defined as a "branch of drama that treats in a serious and dignified style the sorrowful or terrible events encountered or caused by a heroic individual" in order to invoke the catharsis for the audience (Catharsis, 2018). Two fundamentals of this terminological use of tragedy have a significant role in understanding the essence of cathartic resonance: Firstly, the perception and emotional experience of the audience is determined through the actualization and visualization of the incidents in a tragic manner. Rather than the objective and multi-dimensional occurrence of the incidents and how the protagonist behaves in this complex environment, the tragic presentation of the incidents and their devastating effects on the protagonist are marked as the characteristics of tragedies. This fundamental principle of tragedy functions correspondingly in cathartic resonance: Rather than having an in-depth knowledge and comprehensive understanding about the reasons and the development of the foreign protest, the potential protesters in the local context are generally exposed to the "worth-to-share" tragic moments and both heroic and traumatic visualization of foreign protesters through the channels of mass and social media. This unrealistic image of the foreign protest leads the potential protesters in the local context to have a chaotic and tragic perception of the foreign protest, which is a necessary phase for the cathartic resonance.

The other fundamental characteristic of tragedy is the interactive emotional experience of the audience. The audience is not only a passive group of assembled spectators, but emotionally involved bystanders who are the actual subject of the tragic presentation of incidents in a tragedy which can invoke the catharsis for them. Thus, the process functions as an emotionally interactive experience between the tragic protagonist and the audience who relate to or identify with this protagonist. The potential adopters of the cathartic resonance also perform as the *audience of a tragedy*: Because of the contextual and motivational similarities between the potential adopters and the foreign protesters, witnessing the tragic incidents happening during a relatable foreign protest not only triggers a sense of anxiety and fear, but also stimulates the motivation to engage in a collective action as the result of the identification. Considering this condition, the impact of a tragic incident on the potential protesters can be theorized under two major dimensions: *Dimension of vigilance*, which can be defined as the process of sensitization to the potential tragic incidents in the local context because of witnessing them in a similar foreign context during the protests; and the *dimension of inspiration*, which can be described as the activation of collective agency for mobilization by the inspirational perception of the foreign protesters. While the former can be considered as the *intensification of emotions* during a tragedy, the later can be marked as the *purgation of these emotions* as the *catharsis*. Both of these dimensions are constructed upon the *perceptions* rather than the *facts*: Dimension of vigilance is based on increasing the level of consciousness about the potential threats and hostile actions that are perceived as the warnings and reflections of the tragic incidents emerged in the relatable foreign context. This dimension has a positive impact on the indignation of protests in local context since it reduces the cognitive and emotional threshold that is necessary to be passed in order to participate in collective action against policies and practices that can be perceived as the

early signs of tragic incidents. While these policies and practices can be introduced as novel tactics of repression and protest policing, they can also be existing ones that have not been perceived or reacted as sources of tragic incidents before. While the dimension of vigilance indicates the potential tragedies, the dimension of inspiration praises the heroic presence of the foreign protesters as a source of inspiration to engage in collective action in the local context. As an identifiable figure of resistance and uprising against injustices, the foreign protesters in a similar context can inspire the potential protesters in the local context to mobilize against their own grievances. It can be claimed that this inspirational perception of foreign protesters despite their tragic experiences during the protests provoke the release of emotions which activate the agency of collective action.

In this point, it is important to clarify that *contextual and motivational similarities* between two protest movements provide a basic dimension for identification to occur; however, unlike in Roos and Oikonomakis' theorization of resonance, the impact of these similarities on the identification process is at a minimal level. While macro-level contextual similarities between two countries' political, economic and social conditions, the biographical resemblances between the protesters, and the shared motivations of protesters provide the potential protesters with the ground for empathy and sympathy, these objective and factual similarities cannot be perceived and proceeded by the potential protesters comprehensively because of their ignorance and apathy about these similarities in general. As it can be seen in the June case, a superficial and simplified knowledge on this complex and interdependent structure of resemblances can enable potential protesters to identify themselves with the foreign protesters that have already engaged in the collective action. Based on the combination of these arguments and McAdam and Rucht's ideas (1993) claiming that a minimum level of identification is required for a diffusion to

happen, the contextual and motivational similarities can be theorized as the necessary condition for the cathartic resonance to occur by providing the basic ground for the identification between potential protesters and foreign protesters. Despite the requirement of these similarities as a necessary condition, it is the *tragic protesting experience of a foreign but relatable group* that functions as the *catalyst* for the cathartic resonance.

While cathartic resonance can be empirically observed through the identifying references and practices in a local protest series, it functions as a mechanism to understand the impact of a foreign but similar protest movement on the transformation of a local protest movement into a massive and nationwide protest series, which can be analyzed as an *upward scale shift*. As it is already explained in the early sections of this chapter, cathartic resonance cannot be considered as a mechanism that explains a causal and linear process of protest diffusion from one country to another. It can be claimed that cathartic resonance causes neither the emergence of a new protest movement in the local context nor approximate adoption of a foreign protest with its peculiar motivations and repertoires of action as a whole. Rather, its impact can be labelled as *a localized transformation* as a form of upward scale shift, in which cathartic resonance functions as one of the facilitators of mobilization during the early phases of a local protest movement whose influence then vanished when the movement pass the threshold and reach the critical mass following the domestication of the movement. Thus, cathartic resonance serves as a *bridge* between the stages of the local and particular protest movement and the massive protest series where large segments of population mobilized around the domestic grievances and struggles. Although it may not be the only variable that can explain the upward scale shift, the findings indicate that it has an explicit positive impact on the transformation of a local protest movement into a nationwide protest series.



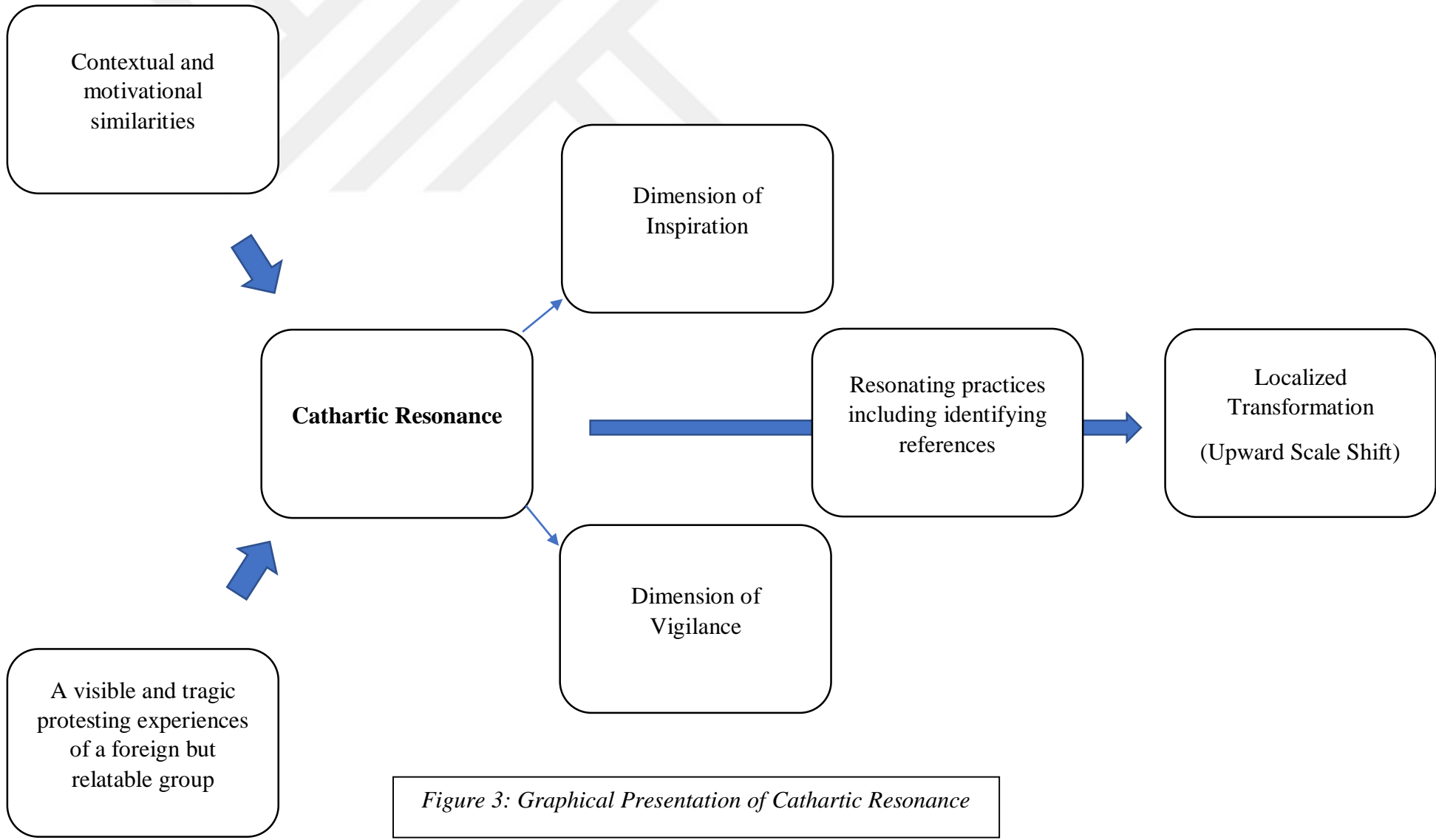


Figure 3: Graphical Presentation of Cathartic Resonance

2. 2. 1. Analyzing Turkish-Brazilian Case as an Example of Cathartic Resonance

As it is discussed in the *Literature Review* chapter, the cases of Turkey and Brazil have several contextual and motivational similarities that provided Brazilian protester with the basic ground to identify themselves with the Turkish protesters during June 2013. The interview findings indicate that while these similarities are not acknowledged comprehensively by the Brazilian protesters, their simplified interpretations such as considering Turkish protests as a struggle for democratic rights in a flawed democracy similar to Brazil, familiarity with the lack of accountability and trust in both governments, collective feeling of exclusion of common people from the publicly available spaces and services facilitated the Brazilian protesters' sympathetic but superficial identification with Turkish protesters which is a necessary condition to proceed the cathartic resonance. Following this initial and basic identification, the cathartic resonance was actualized by a series of tragic and relatable incidents during the Gezi Park protests, which is the extensive use of force by the police and the intensification of clashes between the police and protesters during these protests. Visibility of the intensified violence during the Gezi Park protests in local, international and social media platforms activated both dimensions of the cathartic resonance for potential Brazilian protesters: Firstly, as witnessing the intensification of violence and repression in an identifiable foreign context caused potential Brazilian protesters to sensitize to the similar tragic incidents based on the extensive use of force by police or violent confrontations between police and the protesters during the initial phases of Jornadas de Junho protests. This dimension of vigilance based on the increasing sensitivity to the violence and repression in protest policing had a facilitating impact on reacting to the similar protest policing practices by

the potential Brazilian protesters and on participating in the ongoing protests in June 2013.

In this point, it is crucial note that police brutality or excessive use of force in Jornadas de Junho Protests cannot be considered as novel experiences that function as a solely explanatory variable for the upward scale shift during the protests. Interviewee_5 explains the normality of police violence in the protests of Brazil and why it cannot be covered as the reason behind the escalation of protests as follows:

I think that (police violence) was not an exception. The police in Brazil is violent. I have been covering things with the police, like, before and after; and there is no exception. And, I think that it is one of the common senses about 2013; that is wrong: Violence of the police caused people to protest; that's not true. Because, you know, causality: If you've seen an event happening lots of times, why it hasn't happened before. The police were violent for years; that's not different.

Interviewee_11 also states that:

When the protests started here, we used to sing: Love is over, Brazil will become Turkey. For us, it was very touchable because the police violence was super normal for us as well. We could see the same police strategies here. We mirrored ourselves in the protests in Gezi Park.

These type of statements mentioned by the interviewees indicates that how sympathetic identification with Turkish protesters might lead Brazilian protesters to react to a

previously latent tragedy, which was the police violence that had been perceived as normal and had not caused an upward scale shift in Brazil before June 2013. The violent and chaotic perception of Gezi Park protests caused them to be extra vigilant about the similar violence as a tragedy to be reacted. Interview results also demonstrate that dimension of motivation based on the inspiration drawn from a foreign protester group functioned properly for the June case. The slogans such as “Acabou amour, isso aqui vai virar Turquia” or the interview results discussed in the *Findings* section can be considered as the examples of how Turkish protesters and Gezi Park protests were considered as an identifiable benchmark that “lifted people's morale in their actions, their willingness to face repression and reminded them that demonstrations could be victorious, that we had strength”, as the representative of Movimento Passe Livre stated. Especially the chaotic perception of Gezi Park Protests where the Turkish protesters were perceived as heroic rebels resisting police by using violent repertoires of action can be marked as the core idea behind this inspirational impact of Gezi Park Protests. Despite not being the reason that started the Jornadas de Junho Protest, Gezi Park protests and this chaotic perception explicitly inspired to and motivated a considerable number of Brazilian protesters to actualize their potential for mobilization during the ongoing Jornadas de Junho Protests.

While the impact of cathartic resonance between Gezi Park protests and Jornadas de Junho protests can be explicitly observed through the identifying references which also constituted the puzzle of this research project, it can be explained with the concept of *localized transformation* as well. While the Gezi Park Protests were followed during the first two weeks of the June, where the early phases of Jornadas de Junho were initiated as a local movement by MPL but not popularized among the larger segments of Brazilian population yet, it can be claimed that their popularity reached its peak during the

intensification of mobilization in Brazil between June 13 and June 20. Still, following the transformation of Jornadas de Junho into a nationwide protest series after this date, Gezi Park Protests lost their popularity in Brazil as interview findings reveal. Thus, it can be argued that Gezi Park protest only had a positive impact on the upward scale shift that resulted in the domestication of the protests. Thus, cathartic resonance functions as a valid mechanism that can explain the Turkish-Brazilian case with all of its components.



Chapter 6:

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

This research project is designed to achieve the objective of exploring whether the Gezi Park Protests in Turkey had any impact on the Jornadas de Junho Protests in Brazil by analyzing the perceptions and ideas of Brazilian protesters about the Gezi Park Protests. Starting with questioning the motivations and reasons behind the identifying references to the Gezi Park Protests made by the Brazilian protesters during the Jornadas de Junho Protests, the interaction between two protest movements is investigated through the semi-structured in-depth interviews conducted with the Brazilian protesters. Since the theoretical studies in the field of protest diffusion cannot propose a comprehensive framework that can explain this case systematically, this research project also seeks to discover novel mechanisms and theoretical explanations by employing Evolved Grounded Theory Methodology based on constant comparative method and a three-staged coding procedure.

Before discussing how the findings can contribute to the further research, the limitations and challenges of this research project should also be clarified. The major limitation of conducting this research can be emphasized as the language barrier. Since I cannot speak Portuguese at an advanced level, I preferred to conduct the interviews in English, which had a restricting impact on the sampling process. This preference required to find interviewees who can speak and understand advanced English, which excluded a wide population of Brazilian protesters from the sampling. Even some interviewees had to translate some phrases or words from English to Portuguese, or preferred to answer some

questions in Portuguese to express their ideas more precisely. Thus, the language is an obstacle to both the sampling process and obtaining the raw data without any editing or translation. Another limitation is the inability to travel to Brazil and to conduct fieldwork there because of the lack of time and financial resources. This condition put some spatial and temporal limits on the sampling procedure, so the research project is designed to contain only online interviews with the Brazilian protesters who had an active Internet connection. This limitation also prevented me from conducting observational research in Brazil where I could have a more comprehensive understanding of the case. In addition to these limitations, another challenge was asking interviewees to answer questions on an event that happened approximately six years ago. While some interviewees found it hard to remember the details about the Gezi Park Protests, some others asked for additional time to recall what they had felt or thought about these protests during the interviews. Interviewing about the past events may also trigger the *hindsight bias*, which can be defined as a psychological phenomenon that occurs “when people believe that an event is more predictable after it becomes known than it was before it became known” (Roese & Vohs, 2012, p. 411). The possibility of experiencing a hindsight bias in the interviews should also be considered as interpreting the interview results. Lastly, the sample size causes the problem of generalizability. Glaser and Strauss (1967) strongly emphasize that the theoretical saturation rather the quantity of data should be the focus of the researcher who employs Grounded Theory Methodology; still, twenty-five interviews can be counted as a relatively small number in order to draw a generalizable conclusion. Scholars such as John W. Creswell (2007) recommend twenty to thirty interviews to be conducted “in order to develop a well-saturated theory” if the researcher prefers Grounded Theory Methodology (pp. 126-127), but the number of interviews can be multiplied to increase the validity of the results.

Despite these limitations, the findings reveal that at least a group of Brazilian protesters superficially and sympathetically identified themselves with the Turkish protesters based on the shared experience of intensification of violence during the protests. While Brazilian protesters had a superficial and simplified knowledge on the contextual and motivational similarities between two movements, common patterns of the excessive use of force by the police against the protesters in both countries and the visibility of police violence against the Turkish protesters in local, international and social media had an inspiring and facilitating effect on the mobilization of Brazilian protesters following the initial emergence of the protests in Brazil. It is certain that the emergence and escalation of the Jornadas de Junho Protests were dominated by the domestic reasons and motivations such as the neoliberal development projects, corruption or low quality of public services; however, this research systematically discovers that the Gezi Park Protests can be considered as one of the facilitators of mass mobilization during these protests. In addition to these empirical findings, this research project also introduces the novel mechanism of cathartic resonance in order to explain this case with a theoretical framework. As a term that can be defined as the stimulation of mass mobilization through sympathetic and superficial identification with a tragic protester group in a similar foreign context by the potential protesters in the local context, cathartic resonance functions as a mechanism of cross-national protest interaction that facilitates the escalation of upward scale shifts in another country. The research findings indicate that the June Case can be considered as an ideal example to understand how cathartic resonance functions empirically.

These findings can also contribute to the studies of social movements by opening the door to further discussions in the field. Firstly, the centrality of police violence in the

perception of Brazilian protesters and its dominance in their identification with Turkish protesters may provide an insight for the recent discussions on protest policing and politics of becoming. Militarization of police, standardization of less-lethal arms and the popularization of coercive strategies against the protesters have been characterized as the common trends of protest policing especially since early 2000s (Della Porta & Reiter, *Policing Protest*, 2013) (Atak, *Encouraging coercive control: militarisation and classical crowd theory in Turkish protest policing*, 2017). The techniques used by the police during the post-2008 global wave of protests indicate that these practices have remained popular and common government responses to the recently escalated protests in both authoritarian and democratic settings (Della Porta, *Can Democracy Be Saved? Participation, Deliberation and Social Movements*, 2013). Turkey and Brazil have also followed this trend under the regimes of AKP and TP: As emerging powers that have experienced similar neoliberal transitions with an erosion of democracy, both countries have adopted protest policing policies based on militarizing the police to increase the levels of protest control in the recent years (Atak, *Encouraging coercive control: militarisation and classical crowd theory in Turkish protest policing*, 2017) (Light, Prado, & Wang, 2015) (Hartmann, 2018). The intensification of police violence during the Gezi Park Protests and the Jornadas de Junho Protests perfectly exemplifies these popularized practices of escalated force by police in both countries. Still, the research findings demonstrate that this common trend of repressive protest policing strategies also created a new dimension of identity formation for Brazilian protesters based on their shared experiences against the standardization of police violence with Turkish protesters. This condition led Brazilian protesters to identify themselves with the Turkish protesters on a dimension that had never revealed before the escalation of June protests in both countries. As Della Porta (2017) states, “identities do not yet exist, rather they are formed” in the streets where

Turkish and Brazilian protesters suffered from the simultaneous exposure to police violence during the protests (p. 25). These politics of becoming through collective suffering from the similar patterns of repression and violence constructed new forms of solidarities that motivated mass mobilizations between the distinct groups without previous interactions in the June Case. The further research can trace similar patterns of interaction between different episodes of the post-2008 global wave of protests by concentrating on the question of how the standardization and militarization of repressive protest policing have an impact on the resonance or diffusion of protest movements in this period.

Observing a protest resonance through the sympathy for the subjects of a similar tragedy may also moderately challenge the traditional approaches on the facilitating criteria of protest diffusion. As it is discussed above, the June case demonstrates that the militarization of protest policing created new dimensions of identities where the shared grievances and sufferings can resonate in another similar context even in the absence of facilitating factors of diffusion such as cultural, linguistic or geographical proximity. Especially increasing visibility of tragic “worth-to-share” movements in the local, international and social media platforms and their activating impact on the mass mobilizations raise the question of whether these proximity factors still matter as the facilitating criteria for the spread of frames, identities, or repertoires of actions from one country to another. Starting with these questions, investigating the undiscovered factors and dimensions that facilitate the cross-national protest interactions between the recent protests from a critical perspective can deliver new insights on the changing dynamics of the post-2008 global wave of protests.

This research also provides the literature of social movements with an arena for the theoretical discussions on whether the paradigm of protest diffusion theory and the concept of diffusion itself function properly as a general theoretical approach to explain the cross-national interaction of protests, especially the recent ones that emerged as the episodes of post-2008 global wave of protest. Although theory and concept of protest diffusion proposes a general and widely acknowledged theoretical framework for the cross-national spread of protests, the recent critical approaches and mechanisms such as *resonance*, *imitation*, *mimesis* and *inspiration*, and their implications in analyzing the endogenous and interactive essence of post-2008 global wave of protests have challenged the traditional, linear and causal ontology and epistemology of protest diffusion. As it is already discussed in the *Literature Review* section, the supporters of these new approaches such as Oikonomakis and Roos are critical about the traditional theory of protest diffusion for being unable to explain the complex interconnectedness and multi-directional interactions of the recent protests. Inspired by this critical perspective, the mechanism of cathartic resonance also aims at explaining the June Case, which is moderately puzzling and anomalous for the traditional approaches in the protest diffusion field. In doing so, it offers a more emotion-based theoretical explanation for the cross-national protest interactions by theoretically concentrating on the trilateral relations between the emotions, inspirational identifications and stimulation of mobilization in a foreign context. Emotions have already been discussed in the social movements literature as the facilitators of protest diffusion by the scholars such as James Jasper and Jeff Goodwin, but their role in the cross-national protest interactions and how they have been affected by the recent trends of protest policing and political violence forms have been largely neglected in the field. Critical approaches and mechanisms such as cathartic resonance may help to deepen these theoretical discussions in the era where the cross-

national protest interactions become popular phenomena. At this point, it should be noted that in addition to providing theoretical frameworks of protest interactions to explain and analyze the dynamics of the recent global protest wave, the critical perspectives these mechanisms and approaches offer may enable the social movement researchers to reconsider the past protest interactions and waves and to discover the unexplored dimensions of the cross-national protest interaction. The case of 1968 June Movement in Turkey and how the potentiality of mass mobilization was positively affected by Turkish protesters' sympathetic identification with the European protesters who faced political violence during the protests in May 1968 can be considered as a potential case where the mechanism of cathartic resonance may provide a more insightful understanding than the traditional protest diffusion approaches. It is possible to multiply the number of similar cases; and analyzing both recent and past cases by employing critical perspectives and theoretical approaches may provide a more comprehensive understanding of cross-national protest interactions in general.

In conclusion, this research may not be typical causal research; still, it casts a new light on discovering the identities and mechanisms that connect the protesters from different cultural, linguistic and geographical backgrounds around the globe. In the century where two global waves of protests have already been experienced, analyzing these connections between distinct groups and how these connections inspire new movements in different parts of the world are crucial to understand both current dynamics and the future of the global politics of change. More importantly, explaining the complex interactions between the horizontal protest movements that challenging the classical approaches in the social movements literature illustrates how the common people in the streets of different cities can inspire each other despite the distances between them, and how this novel form of

inspiration leads them to become more and more influential actors of change in both domestic and global politics. The journey of a new spirit has begun at the dawn of the new millennium, and exploring the route of this journey through systematic research may enable us to remove the potential obstacles on its road.



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