

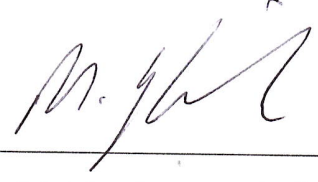
**SOCIAL MOVEMENTS AND NETWORKING: A QUALITATIVE NETWORK ANALYSIS OF
THE LGBTI+ RIGHTS MOVEMENT IN TURKEY**



Begüm Közer

JUNE 2019

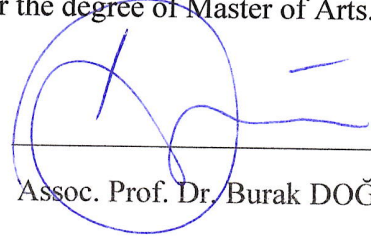
Approval of the Graduate School of Social Sciences



Assoc. Prof. Dr. M. Efe BİRESSELİOĞLU

Director

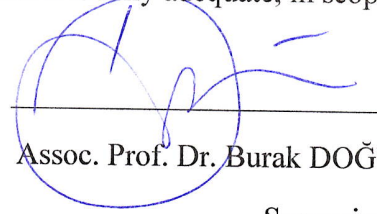
I certify that this thesis satisfies all the requirements as a thesis for the degree of Master of Arts.



Assoc. Prof. Dr. Burak DOĞU

Head of Department

This is to certify that we have read this thesis and that in our opinion it is fully adequate, in scope and quality, as a thesis for the degree of Master of Arts.



Assoc. Prof. Dr. Burak DOĞU

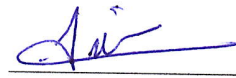
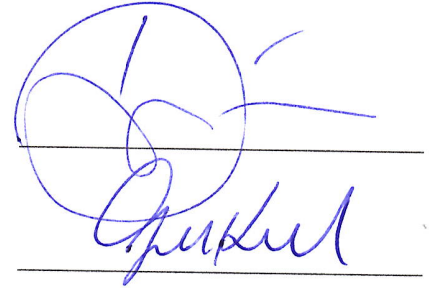
Supervisor

Examining Committee Members

Assoc. Prof. Dr. Burak DOĞU

Assoc. Prof. Dr. Y. Gökçen KARANFİL

Asst. Prof. Dr. İrem ÖZGÖREN KINLI



Abstract

SOCIAL MOVEMENTS AND NETWORKING: A QUALITATIVE NETWORK ANALYSIS OF THE LGBTI+ RIGHTS MOVEMENT IN TURKEY

Közer, Begüm

Media and Communication Studies

Supervisor: Assoc. Prof. Dr. Burak Doğu

June 2019

In this study, the LGBTI+ rights movement in Turkey has been analyzed at the macro and micro level based on social movement theories and networking literature. At the macro level, the political and cultural structures affecting the emergence of the movement, its historical process and its current situation are explained. Moreover, rights violations that LGBTI+ individuals are subjected to because of their sexual identities and sexual orientation in the areas of work, education, health and law and in their daily lives are examined in detail. At the micro level, the focus is on the established networks among individuals and between organizations in order to prevent rights violations; the analysis is based on the content of networks and the effects of networks on the continuity of the movement. Furthermore, at this phase, the effects of social media on the movement are examined.

The network analysis was conducted between January and March 2019 with one representative from seven organizations operating in Istanbul, Ankara and Izmir. These organizations are Lambdaistanbul LGBTİ Dayanışma Derneği, Pembe Hayat LGBTİ+ Dayanışma Derneği, Sosyal Politikalar, Cinsiyet Kimliği ve Cinsel Yönelim Çalışmaları Derneği, Genç Lezbiyen Gey Biseksüel Trans İnterseks Gençlik Çalışmaları ve Dayanışma Derneği, Siyah Pembe Üçgen İzmir Derneği, Lezbiyen, Gey, Biseksüel, Trans, İnterseks Aileleri ve Yakınları Grubu ve İzmir LGBTI+ Aile Grubu. In this study, the semi-structured in-depth interview technique used in qualitative research methods was preferred since the focus was on the content of networks rather than the quantity of networks established among actors. After the interviews, the effects of the networks on the recruitment of individuals to the movement, and the effects on how activities are carried out, on consulting services and on research conducted by the organizations are examined.

In this study, it has been determined that formal, informal face-to-face and mediated communication environment networks have an impact on an individual's involvement in the movement. Moreover, it can be concluded that these networks contribute to the continuity of the movement by enabling the transfer of material and non-material resources between organizations.

Key Words: *LGBTI+, new social movements, qualitative network analysis*



Özet

TOPLUMSAL HAREKETLER VE AĞLAR: TÜRKİYE’DEKİ LGBTI+ HAKLARI HAREKETİ ÜZERİNE NİTEL AĞ ANALİZİ

Közer, Begüm

Medya ve İletişim Çalışmaları

Tez Yöneticisi: Doç. Dr. Burak Doğu

Haziran 2019

Bu çalışmada, Türkiye’deki LGBTI+ Hakları Hareketi toplumsal hareket teorilerinden ve ağ literatüründen faydalanılarak makro ve mikro düzeyde ele alınmıştır. Makro düzeyde, hareketin ortaya çıkışına, tarihsel seyrine ve güncel durumuna etki eden politik ve kültürel yapılar açıklanmış, LGBTI+ bireylerin cinsel kimlikleri ve yönelimleri nedeniyle kurumlar ve toplum tarafından iş, eğitim, sağlık, hukuk alanlarında ve gündelik yaşamlarında maruz bırakıldıkları hak ihlalleri ayrıntılı şekilde incelenmiştir. Mikro düzeyde, hareketi oluşturan aktörlerin bireysel ve örgütsel boyutta yaşanan hak ihlallerinin önüne geçebilmek için birbirleriyle kurdukları ağlara odaklanılmış, ağların içeriği ve ağların hareketin devamlılığına olan etkileri analiz edilmiş, ayrıca bu aşamada sosyal medyanın da harekete olan etkileri görüşülen kişilerin fikirlerine dayanılarak ortaya çıkarılmıştır.

Ağ analizi İstanbul, Ankara ve İzmir’de faaliyet gösteren çeşitli yapılanmalar arasından seçilen yedi örgütten birer temsilci ile 2019 yılı Ocak ve Mart ayları arasında gerçekleştirilmiştir. Görüşülen örgütler, Lambdaistanbul LGBTİ Dayanışma Derneği, Pembe Hayat LGBTI+ Dayanışma Derneği, Sosyal Politikalar, Cinsiyet Kimliği ve Cinsel Yönelim Çalışmaları Derneği, Genç Lezbiyen Gey Biseksüel Trans İnterseks Gençlik Çalışmaları ve Dayanışma Derneği, Siyah Pembe Üçgen İzmir Derneği, Lezbiyen, Gey, Biseksüel, Trans, İnterseks Aileleri ve Yakınları Grubu ve İzmir LGBTI+ Aile Grubu’dur. Çalışmada, aktörler arası kurulan ağların sayısından ziyade, ağların içeriğine odaklanıldığı için niteliksel araştırma yöntemlerinden yarı yapılandırılmış derinlemesine görüşme tekniği tercih edilmiştir. Gerçekleştirilen görüşmelerin ardından, bireysel boyutta ağların aktörlerin harekete dâhil oluş süreçlerine, örgütsel boyutta ise etkinliklerin, sunulan

hizmetlerin ve yürütülen arařtırmaların gerekleřtirilmesine olan etkileri analiz edilmiřtir.

Arařtırmada, bireysel boyutta resmi, resmi olmayan, yüz yüze ve medya aracılıęıyla saęlanan iletiřim ile kurulan aęların kiřilerin deneyimlerine göre harekete dâhil oluř süreçlerine etki ettięi, örgütsel boyutta da aęların maddi ve maddi olmayan kaynakların aktarımına imkân saęlayarak hareketin devamlılıęına katkı saęladıęı sonucuna varılmıřtır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: *LGBTI+, yeni toplumsal hareketler, nitel aę analizi*



ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

First and foremost, I would like to thank my advisor Assoc. Prof Burak Doğu. The door to Assoc. Prof. Doğu office was always open whenever I had questions about my thesis. In fact, whenever I went to his office, instead of answering my questions, he always encouraged me to ask new ones. At such times, I thought that he was confusing me; however, whenever I thought about these new ones, I understood that he had directed me to ask the right ones and had pointed me in the right direction. I would like to thank him also for never refrain to support me during my master education and throughout writing my thesis. I would like to state that I respect his ideas and knowledge, and I consider myself lucky to have been his student.

I would also like to thank Assoc. Prof. Y. Gökçen Karanfil for frequently visiting our office, allocating his time to listening to my concerns, and directing me to taking the right steps. I would like state that I value his experiences, ideas and thoughts very much.

I would like to thank my family for always standing by me and helping me to realize my goals and dreams. I would not be where I am today without their valuable support. I would like to thank also Ülker, it was so valuable for me to exchange ideas with her clarify my thoughts.

I would also like to thank my friends Batuhan Keskin, Türe Şahin and Aytunç Erçiftci for listening to me and calming me down. I have spent most of my time with them, throughout the writing of the thesis and without feeling their support; I could not have completed my thesis.

Of course, I would like to thank to the participant from LGBTI+ organizations. They were always patient and helpful to me, and their doors were always open for me. I feel very fortunate to have had the opportunity to meet all of them.

Finally, I would like to thank to Cem. Without his support, all of this process would have been hard for me. I am grateful that he managed to find the time to make me feel happy and optimistic while writing my thesis.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

ABSTRACT	v
ÖZET	v
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	v

TABLE OF CONTENTS.....	vi
LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS	vi
LIST OF FIGURES	vi
CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION	1
CHAPTER 2: AN OVERVIEW OF SOCIAL MOVEMENT THEORIES	7
2.1 Theories of New Social Movements	10
2.1.1 The European Approach to NSMs.....	13
2.1.2 The US Approach to Social Movement Theories	18
2.2 The New, New Social Movement.....	22
CHAPTER 3: SOCIAL MOVEMENTS AND NETWORKING	29
3.1 Networks of Individuals	32
3.1.1. Socialization Functions.....	32
3.1.2 Structural Connection Functions	34
3.1.3 Decision-shaping Functions	37
3.2 Networks of Organizations	39
3.3 Online Networks of Social Movements.....	41
CHAPTER 4: LGBTI+ RIGHTS MOVEMENT IN TURKEY	48
4.1 LGBTI+s and Violation of Rights in Turkey	50
4.1.1 Rights Violations in the Working Environment.....	50
4.1.2 Rights Violations in Education	52
4.1.3 Rights Violations in the Health Services	53
4.1.4 Rights Violations in Housing.....	54
4.1.5 Attitudes and Behavior of Society and Hate Speech	55
4.1.6 Visibility and Freedom of Speech.....	57
4.2 History of the LGBTI Rights Movement in Turkey.....	57
CHAPTER 5: INDIVIDUAL AND ORGANIZATONAL NETWORKS IN LGBTI+ RIGHTS MOVEMENT	66
5.1 Methodology	66
5.2 Description of the Field and Data Collection	70
5.3 Limitations.....	73
5.4 Findings from Qualitative Network Analysis.....	73

5.4.1 Individual level Qualitative Network Analysis	74
5.4.1.1 Formal and Informal Ties	74
5.4.1.2 Scenes	82
5.4.1.3 Convergence of Attributions.....	85
5.4.2 Organizational Level Qualitative Network Analysis	87
5.4.2.1 Similarities in Values and Activities of SMOs	87
5.4.2.2 Interorganizational Networking	95
5.4.3 The Role of Social Media.....	105
CHAPTER VI: CONCLUSION.....	109
BIBLIOGRAPHY	118
APPENDIX: Interview Questions	133

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

CETAD: Cinsel Eğitim Tedavi ve Araştırma Derneği (Sexual Education Treatment and Research Association)

ÇOÇA: Bilgi Üniversitesi Çocuk Çalışmaları Birimi (Istanbul Bilgi University Child Studies Unit)

ECHO: European Community Humanitarian aid Office

Genç LGBTİ+ Derneği: Genç Lezbiyen Gey Biseksüel Trans İnterseks Gençlik Çalışmaları ve Dayanışma Derneği (Young LGBTI+ Association)

ICT: Information and Communication Technology

Kaos GL: Kaos Gey ve Lezbiyen Kültürel Araştırmalar ve Dayanışma Derneği (Kaos Gay and Lesbian Cultural Research and Solidarity Association)

Kırmızı Şemsiye: Kırmızı Şemsiye Cinsel Sağlık ve İnsan Hakları Derneği (Red Umbrella Sexual Health and Human Rights Association)

Lambdaistanbul: Lambdaistanbul LGBTI Dayanışma Derneği (Lambdaistanbul LGBTI Solidarity Association)

LİSTAG: Lezbiyen, Gey, Biseksüel, Trans, İnterseks Aileleri ve Yakınları Grubu (Families and Friends of LGBTIs in Turkey)

NSM: New Social Movement

Seçbir: Sosyoloji ve Eğitim Çalışmaları Uygulama ve Araştırma Merkezi (Sociology and Education Studies and Research Center)

SPoD: Sosyal Politikalar Cinsiyet Kimliği ve Cinsel Yönelim Çalışmaları Derneği (Social Policies, Gender Identity and Sexual Orientation Studies Association)

SMO: Social Movement Organization

ODA: Ortak Deneyim Atölyesi

Pembe Hayat: Pembe Hayat LBTT Dayanışma Derneği (Pembe Hayat LBTT Solidarity Association)

PPT: Political Process Theory

QNA: Qualitative network analysis

RMT: Resource Mobilization Theory

TAPV: Türkiye Aile Sağlığı ve Planlaması Vakfı (Turkish Family Health and Planning Foundation)

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1: Material Resource Network of the SMOs99

Figure 2: Non-material Resource Network of the SMOs106



CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

In Turkey, Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transsexual and Intersexual (LGBTI+) individuals are exposed to discrimination on several counts because of their sexual identities and sexual orientations. Beginning with their human rights, their education, work, health, housing and visibility are violated with discriminatory behavior and attitudes by society members and several institutions such as schools, hospitals, prisons and state institutions and organizations. Several LGBTI+ rights movement actors, varying from non-governmental organizations, associations, student clubs, family groups, social media accounts to platforms that network with each other and strive to deconstruct heteronormative norms and values and to gain their right to exist with their identities and orientations and create a society that is more equalitarian.

According to Diani (1992), social movements are defined as networks of interactions between a plurality of individuals, groups and/or organizations, engaged in political or cultural conflicts, based on shared collective identities (Diani, 1992, p.1). In social movement literature there are two broad paradigms, the term "*old social movement*" is used for the working class movement that emerged before the 1960s in the industrial age and which focused on economic revendication and redistribution issues and within these social movements conflicts were primarily based on attempting to obtain overall political power. Later on, "*new social movements*" (NSM) are discussed and analyzed in the literature to explain social movements that emerged after 1960s. The central claims of the NSM paradigm are, first, that NSMs are a product of the shift to a postindustrial economy and, second, that NSMs are unique and, as such, different from social movements of the industrial age (Pichardo, 1997, p.412). What is different from the working class movements of the industrial age, is that NSMs such as the environmental movement, the animal rights movement and the LGBTI+ rights movement do not focus solely on economic issues, and they do not aim to achieve political power; rather they operate within daily life practices in accordance with their identities and they try to

change dominant cultural codes by emphasizing quality of life and life-styles. According to Bernstein (1997),

‘Identity’ movements have been defined as much by the goals they seek, and the strategies they use, as by the fact that they are based on a shared characteristic such as ethnicity or sex. Moreover, Identities may be deployed strategically to criticize dominant categories, values, and practices for critique) or to put forth a view of the minority that challenges dominant perceptions for education) (Bernstein, 1997, as cited in Bernstein, 2002, p.539).

The LGBTI+ rights movement can be considered within the new social movements because of its collective identity, areas of activity and sets of demands. Beginning with their coming out, LGBTI+ activists act to make their sexual identities and orientation more visible, they try to deconstruct the social order that is built around a heteronormative ideology and institutions and is attempted to be imposed on every member of society, they try to produce their own symbolic codes and discourses against the heteronormative discourses, and finally they act collectively to gain their social, political and cultural rights on the basis of human rights.

While explaining social movements, Diani (1992) defines four aspects, which are a) networks of informal interactions, b) shared beliefs and solidarity, c) collective action on conflictual issues, d) action that is displayed largely outside the institutional sphere and the routine procedures of social life (Diani, 1992, p.7). From this point of view, a social movement is composed of various actors such as individuals, organizations or platforms that act collectively with common objectives, values and beliefs. To turn these common objectives, values and beliefs into action, there is a need for interaction and communication among the different actors. Collective identity means “actors must define themselves as a part of a broader movement and at the same time, be perceived as such by those within the same movement” (Diani, 1992, p.8). This collective identity is created by the networked actors of the movement and serves to define the boundaries of the movement and to provide the continuity of the movement by increasing the adherence of the actors to the movement. Networked social movement actors act for

cultural, political, and economic change. These social networks such as communication or exchange networks carry information, individuals, behavior patterns, symbolic, cognitive or social resources etc. from the one node of movement to another one by supplying collectivity. Today to transform symbolic codes and to realize the existence of sub or countercultural milieus of “different” identities, new social movements are organized like networks.

To reveal how, why and for which purposes LGBTI+ rights movement actors networked with each other, in the first chapter of this study, the terms of social movements are explained, with reference to the notions of old social movements and NSM. To reveal the difference between the old and the new social movements, working class movements are explained briefly, after that, the conditions that led to the emergence of new social movements are elaborated in detail, and then new social movement theories are explained taking the European and American Approaches into consideration. In the final part of this chapter, the visible effects of new information and communication technologies (ICTs), especially the internet and social media platforms in recent years to the society and interrelatedly to the social movement, together with arguments about this phenomenon and the concept of “*new, new social movement*” are discussed.

In the second chapter of the study, in terms of social movements, the notion of networking, network structures, the process of networking for individuals and organizations, and its contribution to movements are explained. In this chapter, the importance of networks in terms of creating collective identity, sub or countercultural milieu among movement actors is highlighted. In this part of the study, both offline and online networking process among movement actors and their various effects on the defining boundaries, collaboration and supplying the continuity of movement etc. are elaborated.

In the third chapter of the study, the emergence and historical evaluation of the LGBTI+ rights movement in Turkey is addressed. In this part, the real situation of LGBTI+ individuals in Turkey is expounded and the primary area of violations of LGBTI+’s rights

such as the right to live, visibility, work, education, health, housing, freedom of speech and the activists' domains in these areas are explained.

In the fourth and last chapter of the study, the networking practices of movement actors, the content, which means the specific nature of the type of relation linking actors in a network like exchange, kinship, communicative, affective etc. (Emirbayer & Goodwin, 1994, p.1147), of these networks are examined, and the effect of networks on the movement during these struggles are analyzed by means of in-depth interviews with different actors.

This study investigates how the LGBTI+ rights movement as a NSM in Turkey utilizes and establishes different forms of networks for political and cultural changes to obtain equality. It aims to reveal the variety of different actors who are engaged in the LGBTI+ rights movement in Turkey and reveal the process of network building among these actors, and finally investigates the role of networks in this movement.

The main aims of this study can be explained as follows; to discuss the main areas of struggle of the LGBTI+ rights movement actors in Turkey; to reveal the practices of the construction of collective identity around the actors' common values, beliefs, and thoughts; to analyze their demands for change in political, economic and cultural areas and finally, by using qualitative network analysis, to draw conclusions about the movement and the actors' relationships within it. Accordingly, this study seeks answers for the following questions:

- Who are the actors of the LGBTI+ rights movement?
- What does the LGBT+ Rights Movement mean for these actors? What is the “story” and situational definition of the movement from the perspective of these actors?
- Which values, beliefs and sets of ideas are defined by the collective identities of the actors of the LGBTI+ rights movement? What – if any – may be the common norms, values, beliefs, and cultural practices, definition of problems and solutions of these actors?

- Are actors creating networks by communicating and interacting with each other in a personal and/or organizational level in order to turn these sets into action and find common solutions to their common problems? How- if any- are their networking practices?
- What is the content of these networks?
- For which common goals do actors create networks?
- Do individual and organizational networking practices differ from each other?
- Do networks contribute to the continuity of the movement?
- In which places are networks between actors constructed? What makes a place a place to be for organizations or individuals? Where do the actors create/recreate their collective identities, where do they realize their sub or countercultural milieus?
- How does social media contribute to networking among actors?
- Do virtual networks take the place of “real” places?
- What are the activity areas that actors contribute to the movement by creating networks?
- How do LGBTI+ networks in Turkey contribute to the broader rights movement?

Social network analysis gives an opportunity to examine a social movement at both the macro and the micro levels. This study examines the LGBTI+ rights movement at the micro level, which means focusing on individuals and the organization’s internal dynamics in terms of networking; and also at a macro level, that means focusing on the political and cultural structures that affect the movement. Thus, it fills the gap between a macro and a micro level analysis of the movement and makes a contribution to LGBTI+ rights movement studies in Turkey by revealing the “social world” of the movement actors and the structures that affect this.

There are only a few number of studies in Turkey in terms of LGBTI+s and their rights. These studies generally focus on LGBTI+’s problems while benefiting from health

services,¹ discriminatory attitudes and behavior toward them such as by students in school, or by doctors in hospitals², the cultural patterns of places where they are ghettoized³ and finally representation practices in the media,⁴ and the political communication activities of LGBTI+ associations.⁵ When these studies are examined, it can be seen that there is a gap in Turkish literature about the interactionist relationship dynamics among actors that affect both the formation and the continuity of the LGBTI+ rights movement, thus the importance of the present study can also be seen at this point.



¹Kalaycı, E. 2016. "Investigating the relation between social work student's attitudes towards lgbti individuals and social justice advocates." M.A Thesis. Ankara University.

²Ünal, E. (2018). *The views of the instructors related to the individuals with different sexual orientations (LGBTI)*. M.A thesis. Mersin University.

³ Ray, S. (2018). *Spatial trends of LGBTI individuals and homofobic trends of people in a location: Antalya example*. M.A Thesis. Akdeniz University.

⁴Meleke, C. N. (2016). *The representation of LGBTI and hate speech in Turkish cinema*. M.A Thesis. Marmara University.; Çoban, İ. (2017). *A cultural overview of LGBTI identities in cinema: The Zenne movie and viewer comments*. M.A Thesis. Galatasaray University.

⁵ Dilemiz Mol, M. (2016). *LGBTİ Hareketinin Hak ve Temsil Mücadelesi ve Siyasal İletişim Faaliyetleri*. PhD Thesis. Ankara Üniversitesi.

CHAPTER 2

AN OVERVIEW OF SOCIAL MOVEMENT THEORIES

In Europe, the 1830s were the years when both industrial capitalism made great advances and mass movements gained great importance (Uslu, 2014, p. 1). The mass movements that emerged in these years were closely related to the capitalization and proletarianization seen within the industrial revolution that began in the world with the building of the railways and the construction of massive heavy industries in order to resolve the decline of agriculture, to supply an increase in production and efficiency of goods, to attract capital accumulation to more modern areas of the economy and finally to respond to the growing population's need for alimentation (Hobsbawm, 2014).

Throughout the industrial revolution, because of (a) the mechanization in agriculture (b) the migration of workers to industrial towns where factories were concentrated, (c) technological developments and decreased need for human labor, (d) heavy tax obligations, (e) the decrease in the salaries and working and living conditions of the working class began to become worse. In addition to these factors, they were unable to seek their rights in parliament since they were not entitled to equal political representation (Uslu, 2014, p.6). Hence, during these years the working class began to organize mass movements to voice their grievances concerning economic, political and social issues.

On the one hand, in the 1820s and 1830s mass movements advocating labourers' rights became firmly placed on the political map (Tilly, 2008, p.79). For instance, in Britain, from 1812 onwards, workers organized national movements for parliamentary reform. Since 1830 and especially during the 1848 revolution, in France the working class organized around trade unions, organized marches and signing campaigns to achieve their economic and political rights (Tilly, 2008, p.73). During the same years, in England, there was an uprising of agricultural laborers, which was called the "Swing Riots", to protest taxes and the decrease in salaries (Uslu, 2014, p.5). Another example is the Chartist movement, which started in 1838, based on the text of the "People's Charter" prepared

by the Landon Workingmen's association, established in 1836. The demands of this movement were universal suffrage, abolition of property requirements for parliamentary candidacy and equal electoral districts across the country.⁶

On the other hand, there were movements that resulted in revolution like the Paris Commune and the Russian Revolution in 1917 (Feixa & Juris, 2009, p.426). The Paris Commune, which was set up against the regime's authorities because of hard and worsening living conditions, the scarcity of food and the difference in income between different social classes, is an example of social movements that resulted in revolution. The Russian Revolution in 1917, which was carried out against the Tsarist regime in the form of mass strikes and demonstrations of the working class demanding a package of reforms such as recognition of unions, an eight hour working day, minimum daily wages of four to six rubles, respect from employers, more and better quality food and sanitary conditions, was an largest movement that resulted in revolution (Rosenberg , 2016).

In the literature, these movements, which took place during the 19th century, are now referred to as "old social movements" in which the working class, which worked in huge factories and which took on a class identity, was a central actor (Porta & Diani, 2011, p.38). This class demanded equality in economic and political rights and their main struggle was to obtain state power (Çımrın, 2010, p.51). As can be seen, this basic purpose of labor movements is parallel to Marxist theory. According to Marxist perspective, the state is dealt with in the process of class struggle and as a product of this struggle. The Marxist theory of state, above all, reveals how the state is a means of oppression of the ruling class, and reveals how the exploiting minority is organized in their sovereignty over the exploited majority. According to this perspective, every form of government, both fascism and bourgeois democracy, instrumentalizes the state to enforce the oppression and exploitation mechanism on the other side of a particular segment, for this reason, once the working-class revolution occurs, the next step should

⁶ Due to the fact that it is not the main theme of the work, the working-class movement has been mentioned in this work a very limited extent. Detailed studies on this subject can be found in the following sources: Uslu, A. 2014. *Avrupa'da Erken Dönem Sosyalist Teori ve İşçi Hareketleri (1830-1840)*. Akademik İncelemeler Dergisi, Vol.9: 1-24; Tilly, C. 2008. *Toplumsal hareketler: 1768-2004*. İstanbul: Babil Yayınları.

be to abolish the state, because the use of this apparatus by the working class in its own name does not lead to the elimination of oppression, this time the pressure is driven by the working class. However, this apparatus must be dismantled and replaced by the power of the proletariat, the “state without state” (Lewox).

In sum, it is emphasized in the studies carried about “old” social movements that (a) labor movements emerged because of the worsening living conditions and unequal political representation system of the workers, (b) these movements stressed economic-political protest: the primary claims were material; but they were also political and moral: democratization, the right to vote, and equality of rights (Feixa & Juris, 2009, p. 426), (c) class-consciousness was more predominant than individuals’ own consciousness in labor movements and that the actors involved in the movement were often followers of certain leaders, (d) their social base was defined by concrete borders of class, nation and social condition (Feixa & Juris, 2009, p.426), (e) they attempted to change the entire system by a call for revolution (Tilly, 2008, p.73), they were not a part of the system (Tarrow, 2011; Uslu, 2014; Çalı,2006), and finally (f) they were often local, but occasionally involved in revolutionary or reform process at the national and international levels (Feixa & Juris, 2009, p.426).

These movements began to change in second half of the 20th century, especially from the 1960s, due to economic, political and social reasons. The movements that emerged after the 1960s are conceptualized as “NSM” in the literature. According to Della Porta (2011),

The 1960s were important because they saw not only an increase in new forms of political participation, but also a change in the main conflictual issues. Traditionally, social movements had focused mainly on issues of labor and nation, but since the 1960s, NSMs have emerged which have focused on concerns such as women’s liberation, environmental protection etc. (Porta & Diani, 2011, p.6).

In order to comprehend why these movements have changed and become different from the old ones, important political, economic and social transformations in this era need to be explained.

2.1 Theories of New Social Movements

In the 20th century, significant changes occurred in the political, economic, social and cultural spheres. Without understanding these changes, it is not possible to understand why NSMs have been discussed since 1960s in social movement literature since the 1960s.

Taking into consideration the depression after the first and second world wars, the economic crisis, the lack of goods, unemployment, the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century have been called “*the era of disasters*” by Hobsbawm (Hobsbawm, 2002, p.33). These conditions began to change from the 1950s and there were an unprecedented growth and recovery in the economic period following these years. This economic growth and amelioration were closely related with the emergence of the welfare state. Briggs (2011) defines this period as characterized by market intervention to safeguard citizens’ minimum income irrespective of their job, minimizing levels of insecurity and providing citizens with different kinds of social services and market interventions to ensure citizens’ access to social services for an enhanced lifestyle (as cited in Mwendwa & Waweru, 2016, p.120). Moreover, one of the best ways to ensure deployment and the protection of the welfare of citizens was the weapons industry (Hobsbawm, 2002, p.309). During these years, governments invested in the weapons industry and provided employment in this field. It must be remembered that this period was a cold war period when states threatened each other with technological and military dominance without intervening directly in their territories. According to Hobsbawm (2002), in these years, almost full employment had been provided and unemployment had almost disappeared (Hobsbawm, p.310). Furthermore, due to states’ need for technological supremacy in these years (because of the military industry and the need for technological developments) the need for an educated workforce had increased. Thence, in these years, a boom was observed in the number of university students and this led to the formation of a new youth culture. One of the most distinctive features of this educated young generation was that they thought that everything that interested them was actually political, and that personal liberation and political liberation had to go

hand in hand (Hobsbawm, 2002). According to della Porta (2011), these new actors did not so much ask for an increase in state intervention to guarantee security and wellbeing, but especially resisted the expansion of political, administrative intervention in daily life and defended personal autonomy (della Porta & Diani, 2011, p.9). This newly educated young generation had not only shown their oppositional identities in matters involving their bodies and autonomies, but also showed their opposition in other subjects, such as the harmful effects of economic growth, effects of the technological development on nature; pollution and ecological degradation; war, as in the case of Vietnam; armament and so on. As we see among members of societies, there were a transition from material conflictual issues to non-material ones. In consequence, the central actors in social conflicts were no longer classes linked to industrial production, but groups with opposing visions concerning the use and allocation of cognitive and symbolic resources (Porta & Diani, 2011, p.54).

The rapid economic expansion of the 1950s and 1960s and the redistributive policies of the welfare state secured a level of prosperity capable of satisfying basic human needs (D'Anieri et al. 1990, p.445). As Parkin stated, the working class was granted institutionalized political and economic representation and some legal claim to security and protection during the developments of the welfare state. This situation succeeded largely through collaboration among the working class, labor parties, corporations and governments (as cited in Offe, 1985, p.817). As a result of the institutional negotiation system, which consisted of governments, corporations and labor parties, the working class possessed the opportunity of gaining their social and economic rights; therefore, labor movements began to become integrated into the system with representation via political parties (Offe, 1985; Touraine, 1978).

During these years, change was not only seen in the economic area; there were also important social and cultural changes. Hobsbawm (2002) describes this era as one of continuous changes, transformations and cultural renewal. From the social perspective, because of the world wars, there was a decrease in the male labor force; therefore, there was an increase of the role of women and their visibility in the public area and there was

mass entry of women into the paid labor force (Hobsbawm, 2002, p.335). As women began to take their place in the social order with identities as political subjects, this coincided with the rise of the feminist movement during those years. Because of the participation of women in the labor market, they started to migrate from rural areas to urban areas to look for employment, and their liberation from the private area of the house to the public space of the streets caused an alteration in the structure of families in societies (Hobsbawm, 2002, p.372). Therefore, the relationship between generations and genders among family members also began to change as a result. Several issues that are related with the human body began to be discussed these years, such as divorce, birth control, homosexuality and so on (Hobsbawm, 2002, p.493).

As a result of the above changes, claims have emerged that social movements cannot be explained only by Marxist theory. Because as Buechler explains (1995) as follows:

Marxism's economic reductionist approach presumed that all politically significant social action will derive from the fundamental logic of capitalist production, and its class reductionism presumed that the most significant social actors will be defined by class relationships rooted in the process of production and that all other social identity are secondary at last in consisting collective actors" (Buechler, 1995).

In the light of all these developments, scholars have begun to discuss social movements that emerged in this era, calling them *postindustrial*, *post Fordist*, *technocratic* or *programmed* (Offe, 1985; Touraine, 1978; Melucci, 2003), using NSM theories. Theories of NSMs have been used to explain the movements that have emerged since the late 1960s and early 1970s. NSM theorists argue that contemporary movements represent new forms of collective action with new goals, values and constituents (D'Anieri et al., 1990, p.445).

In general, the focus points of these theories are divided into two traditions, which are the American and the European. While the American tradition focuses on issues such as resource mobilization and the political process, the European school stresses issues such as collective identity, the components of the post-industrial society, the new values systems of the emerging actors and their relation to social movements.

At this point of the study, firstly, the European tradition will be explained, and then American tradition, which mainly includes resource mobilization theory and political process theory, will be clarified.

2.1.1 The European Approach to NSMs

From the 1960s onward, one view within the European school was that industrial societies had begun to change socially, culturally and politically aspects consequently a transition was occurring from industrial to postindustrial societies. Within this view, NSM theories, which argue that new movements focus on issues related to equality, diversity, and identity construction rather than economic and institutional politics, are rooted in the continental European tradition of social theory and political philosophy (Buechler, 1995, p.441). The term NSM refers to a diverse array of collective actions that have presumably displaced the old social movement of proletarian revolution associated with classical Marxism (Buechler, 1995, p.442). Although the concept of NSM is used as a common term to describe movements that have emerged since the 1960's, the ideas of the theorists working on this issue vary.

Touraine explains the transition process from the old social movements to the NSMs through the change of social structure from the industrial to the postindustrial society. According to him, this process takes place in seven steps (Touraine, 1978, p.25). The first step is the decline of the old social movements that mobilized against the alienating system of the industrial society based on the exploitation, oppression and destruction of the working classes, as the working classes became integrated into political parties, economic organizations and states. The second step is an emergence of a cultural crisis that can be attributed to the change in the relations between the generations and the genders, the emergence of new identities in the public space, especially the formation of educated youth cultures in the cities that are explained in the social change section. The third step is the search for new balances within the social order. According to Touraine, the first three stages move us further and further away from industrial society; the last three prepare for new collective actions (Touraine, 1978, p.25). He called postindustrial societies "*La société programme*" (Touraine, 1978, p.19), a term that has

been used to explain the transition from the industrial society defined by production relations into societies in which information production and management have become essential. The fourth step is the libertarian criticism of the state, which replaces a social struggle that is still confused. In post-industrial societies, the form of the liberal state is seen as the cause of social conflicts and it is rejected. The fifth step is a rejection of the concentration of power. In the new society, power is not only in the hands of the state or the classes that have production power, it is everywhere. The sixth step is the will of the categories threatened to find their identity while accepting the change. Finally, as a result of the first six steps, the last one is the emergence of the NSMs.

Touraine (1978) argued that,

In this process the old social movements based on class-consciousness and bearing materialist concerns have been replaced by identity and value-based social movements. According to him, in the post-industrial societies in which NSMs emerged, actors are defined according to their cultural orientation and social relations, and he states that the actors in the NSMs act with libertarian reactions which are often mixed with a new liberalism championed by intellectuals who speak and act in the name of those who do not have the word, who are deprived of the capacity to act as in the examples of campaigns against the prison system, the death penalty, psychiatric hospitals and for the rights of cultural minorities such as homosexuals (Touraine, 1978; p.25). Thus, defense is no longer carried out in the name of political rights or workers' rights, but in the name of the right of a population to choose its way of life, or the name of its capacity, which is sometimes called self-management (Touraine, 1978, p.25).

As Buechler (1995) stated,

Touraine argues that with the passing of metasocial guarantees of social order, more and more of society comes to be seen as the product of reflective social action. The growing capacity of social actors to construct both a system of knowledge and the technical tools that allow them to intervene in their own functioning- historicity- makes possible the increasing self-production of society. The control of historicity is the object of an ongoing struggle between classes defined by relations of domination. Such classes take the form of social movements as they enter into the struggle. In postindustrial society, the major

social classes consist of consumer/clients in the role of the popular classes and managers/technocrats in the role of the dominant class. The principal field of conflict for these cases is culture, and the central contest involves who will control society's growing capacity for self-management (Buechler, 1995, p.443).

In sum, Touraine emphasizes that with economic, political, social and cultural changes in European societies, labor movements have relinquished their places to NSMs that are based upon cultural conflicts among new social classes that are determined according to nonmaterial preoccupations.

In the European school, another important name with regard to NSM theories Melucci, who represents the constructivist approach and who emphasizes the role of the cultural sphere for NSMs. He defines social movements as outcomes of exchange negotiations, organizations formal modern of leadership ideologies and forms of communication (Melucci, 2003, p.4), and he focuses primarily on the collective identity issue in social movements. The primary questions that he addresses are how social actors come to form a collectivity and recognize themselves as being part of it, how they maintain their commitment over time, how action together makes sense for the participants in a social movement, and how the meaning of collective action derives from structural preconditions or from the sum of individual motives (Melucci, p.69).

Like Touraine, he also argues that social movements have altered from political action to cultural challenges within the changing social structure from industrial to postindustrial societies. According to him, in contemporary systems, signs become interchangeable and power operates through the languages and codes that organize the flow of information (Melucci, p.8-9), that is why the transformative content of NSMs is realized in a cultural structure (Melucci, p.74) and actors involved in these movements are not merely seeking for material gains, but are fighting for their symbolic and cultural interests. Thus, actors construct a collective identity and their own signs, codes, information and resources against the dominant cultural forms that they rejected by aiming for secure self-autonomy.

According to Melucci (2003), contemporary societies in which information is the source of power, disputes and conflicts are more about “capacity to produce knowledge” than material sources (Melucci, 2003, p.69). Therefore, NSMs express themselves not by political actions but by opposing “codes that shape information and social practices” (Melucci, p.8). Therefore, instead of trying to gain the power of the state using political actions, NSMs create different meanings, new definitions of lifestyles, a new language and reality against the dominant cultural codes and try to be included in the existing system with their differences (Melucci, 1985, as cited in Özen, 2015, p.12). As Buechler (1995) stated,

According to Melucci, in a society increasingly shaped by information and signs, social movements play an important role as messages that express oppositional tendencies and modalities. The very focus personal, spiritual or expressive aspects of modern life typical of NSMs is an implicit repudiation of the instrumental rationality of the dominant society. Perhaps the most important systemic effect of NSMs is to render visible the peculiarity modern form of power that resides behind the rationality of administrative procedures; in this way, collective action emphasizes the socially constructed nature of the world and the possibility of alternative arrangements (Buechler, 1995; p.446).

As can be seen, in Melucci’s approach, there is an emphasis on social actors’ roles in NSMs, not the external factors that affect social movements, such as political opportunities, economic opportunities or class factors. He tries to explain social movements using a constructivist approach that emphasizes the role of actors in the construction of a collective identity against the dominant cultural codes and systems of societies.

In NSM theories, another important name is Offe who emphasizes the role of the “new middle classes” as a determinant actor of these movements. He argues that within the emergence of welfare state policies in the 1950s, the working class became integrated into the political system through representation by political parties (Offe, 1985), and he emphasizes that in this atmosphere a new middle class emerged as a new social actor which is forgotten agenda of institutional politics. Hence, a new paradigm, i.e., the

paradigm of “way of life”, “mode of life” (Offe, 1985), emerged as a reflection of the new middle classes’ grievances.

According to Offe (1985), the subjects of NSMs are the new middle class, elements of the old middle class and decomodified and peripheral social categories. Structural features of this new middle class are a high education level, relative economic security and employment in personal service occupations (Offe, 1985). Moreover, to be mentioned together with decomodified and peripheral social categories are those whose members are not defined directly in their social situation by the labor market and whose time budget, consequently, is more flexible, examples include middle class housewives, high school and university students, retired people, and unemployed or marginally employed youths. One common characteristic of these social categories is that their conditions of life and life changes are shaped by direct, highly visible and often highly authoritarian and restrictive mechanisms of supervision, exclusion, and social control; therefore, these social categories take cognizance of autonomy, self-determination, and identity issues as opposed to centralized control, bureaucratization, dependence, manipulation, regulation (Offe, 1985). Hence, the space of action of these new social categories’ movements is a space of non-institutional politics such as human rights, ecology, environment or feminism that is based on values about identity, body, health, sexuality, and city, cultural, ethnic, national and linguistic heritage and so on.

However, the approach of NSMs as new middle class-based movements has been criticized by some researchers. For instance, according to Buechler (1995) there is no consensus on how this social class base should be defined (p.448), because the notion of middle-class risks including quite a heterogeneous group (Porta & Diani, 2011, p.56-57); or for some, the class approach is a too economic-based reading of social movements (Elder, 1985).

In sum, new theories of social movement have been developed in continental Europe to explain the late 1960s and early 1970s’ civil rights, freedom of expression and student movements; the 1970s women, gay, peace and environment/ecology movements; and 1980’s nuclear disarmament movements. Within the theory, it argues that the ‘new’

post-1960 movements focus on issues related to equality, diversity participation and identity construction rather than economic and institutional politics, and the social base of these movements moved away from class, emphasizing other identity- based criteria: generation, gender, sexual orientation, affect and ethnicity, particularly marginalized communities (Feixa & Juris, 2009, p.426). Criticizing the reductive structural interpretation of collective behavior of classical Marxism, the NSM theorists portrayed the theoretical frame of how NSMs emerged as collective behavior based on different dynamics in movements (Demiroğlu, 2014, p.135). As Buechler (1995) stated,

Despite their differences, all concur that their societies have moved into a distinct social formation that might be designated as postindustrial, advanced capitalism and that the structural features of their societies have shaped the kinds of current collective action as decisively as the structural features of liberal capitalism shaped the dynamics of proletarian protest (Buechler, 1995, p.447).

Finally, the NSM paradigm is a social theory that stresses both the macro historical and micro historical elements of social movements. On the macro level, the NSM paradigm concentrates on the relationship between the rise of contemporary social movements and the larger economic structure, and on the role of culture in such movements on the micro level, the paradigm is concerned with how issues of identity and personal behavior are bound up in social movements (Pichardo, 1997, p.411).

On the other hand, another principal approach that conceptualizes the social movements that have emerged since the 1960s is the resource mobilization and political process theories that emerged from American scholars.

2.1.2 The US Approach to Social Movement Theories

During the 1970s, American sociologists began to think about the process by which the resource important for collective action are mobilized. In their view, collective movements comprise an extension of the conventional types of political actions; the actors participate in this action in an rational manner, following their interests, organizations and movements (Diani and Porta, 2011, p.14).

In addition, what is basically addressed is related to the calculation of the costs and rewards of participation in social movement organizations (SMOs) (McCarty & Zald, 1977, p.1216). While explaining social movement dynamics, they focus on resources that must be mobilized within the SMO, decisions concerning allocations of resources, tactics and strategies of movement components and finally the political context in which social movement activities occur. Emerging from American thought, resource mobilization theory (RMT) and political process theory (PPT) explain social movements by emphasizing the place of SMO in movements.

RMT is the organizational or entrepreneurial model developed by McCarthy and N. Zald in the 1970s to explain social movements in the US case. It became the dominant paradigm for studying collective action in the United States (US). With its characteristic premises of rational actors engaged in instrumental action through formal organization to secure resources and foster mobilization, this paradigm has demonstrated considerable theoretical and empirical merit for understanding social movements (Buechler, 1995, p.441).

Starting by questioning a strong assumption about the centrality of deprivation and grievances (McCarty & Zald, 1977, p.1214) for social movements' emergence and continuity, RMT focuses on the variety of resources that must be mobilized for social movement activity. Resource mobilization theorists analyze how social movements are formed. Traditional theories of social movements argue that social movements are formed from the personal grievances that arise from structural and social change. In contrast, RMT argues that social movements arise from long-term changes in group resources, organization, and collective action opportunities (Simone, 2018).

According to Jenkins (2001), RMT has five main principles:

- a) movement actions are rational, adaptive responses to the costs and rewards of different lines of action
- b) the basic goals of movements are defined by conflicts of interest built into institutionalized power relations

- c) the grievances generated by such conflicts are sufficiently ubiquitous that the formation and mobilization of movements depend on changes in resources, group organization, and opportunities for collective action
- d) centralized, formally structured movement organizations are more typical of modern social movements and more effective at mobilizing resources and mounting sustained challenges than decentralized, informal movement structures
- e) The success of movements is largely determined by strategic factors and the political processes in which they become enmeshed (Jenkins, 2001, p.528).

RMT emphasizes that social movements function by means of SMOs as in the case of industries in the economy, and for the success of these movements, these SMOs must direct and mobilize resources rationally. Therefore, RMT addresses the mesolevel of organization and strategy (Buechler, 1995, p.457). According to this theory, actors within the social movement sectors make rational calculations about the cost and benefits of movement and move via organizations that are created and a social movement industry that functions according to the supply and demand model. It focuses on the linkage of movements to other groups, the dependence of movements upon external support for success and the tactics used by SMOs (McCarthy & Zald, 1977, p.1213). Rather than stressing the importance of ideas, beliefs, identities, grievances or demands of actors within the movement, it stresses the material resources, organizational practices and capacities, and tactics that enable organizations to mobilize support to address their grievances (Roggeband & Klandermans, 2017, p.30).

In the US., several research studies were done using RMT. For instance, Cress and Snow (1996) investigated 15 homeless SMOs and their organizational supporters in 8 U.S cities, namely Boston, Denver, Detroit, Houston, Minneapolis, Oakland, Philadelphia and Tucson, between 1989 and 1992. They focused on four main issues, which were the conceptualization and identification of resources, whether some types of resources are more important than others for mobilization and collective action, resource derivation, particularly the relative importance of externally derived versus internally derived resources, and finally the implication of external support for SMO viability and tactical actions (Cress & Snow, 1996). They focused on resource types, such as moral, material,

informational and human resources, and the resource use strategies of 15 homeless SMOs to reveal their degree of importance to the viability of the SMOs. Their results show that the mobilization of resources profoundly affects the cause and character of SMOs. Regarding the relative importance of some kinds of resources vis-à-vis others, they found that information resources, such as strategic support, technical support that provides knowledge that facilitates goal attainment and organizational development in collective action, leadership and material resources and, especially, having a place to meet were the most important in relation to viability (Cress & Snow, 1996). Moreover, their study emphasized that for these kinds of organizations, which serve poor people, are dependent on external resources for mobilization. Another example of a study that used RMT was done by Barker-Plummer (2002) to investigate the sources of mobilization and media access of the National Organization for Women (NOW). In this study, she asked whether social change groups could strategically access the news making process, can they achieve routine access to news, and how they did so and what cost. The importance of the news making process in changing public opinion, attitudes and communication with mass audiences was highlighted. As can be seen, this research used RMT and focused on the cost and benefits of resources and the possibility of success of the SMO for women. In addition, her study showed that two factors were key to NOW's media access. The first one was material resources such as money, skills, technology, labor, and information that serve as a news source for journalists and the second one is the effective and reflexive media strategies that were developed (Barker-Plummer, 2002, p.189). The results of this study show that to access news media, the most important resources are income base, information such as expert opinions, researches, surveys, policy analysis as sources for journalist; and the usage of a strategy for media interaction such as using already familiar figures in the media, supporting women reporters and identity control strategies (Barker-Plummer, 2002, p.198).

On the other hand, political process theory has focused on conflict and the external environments of social movements, to the extent that they even explain the emergence of social movements as resulting from "opportunities" provided by the state (Goodwin

& Jasper, 2015, p.6-7). This theory also developed in the same years as RMT in US and focuses on the interaction between movement attributes, such as organizational structure, and broader economic and political context (Caren, 2007).

The primary point of the PPT is that activists do not choose goals, strategies, and tactics in a vacuum; rather they are broadly defined by the political context. Analysts of PPT turn their attention to the world outside a social movement by focusing on these elements within the movement:

- a) Mobilizing particular claims rather than others
- b) Advancing particular claims rather than others
- c) Cultivating some alliances rather than others
- d) Employing particular political strategies and tactics rather than others
- e) Affecting mainstream institutional politics and policy (Meyer, 2004).

In sum, so far firstly the rise of “old” social movements in the 19th century in the context of the emergence of industrial society have been explained, then NSM in the 1960s as part of post-industrial society that new modes of collective actions and theories, which are elaborated to explain them have been clarified. However, none of these theories is enough to explain current social movements that emerged in the 21st century, just because they do not refer to the effect of new ICTs on social, political, cultural and economic relationships. Most recently, scholars have begun to discuss and investigate the role of the new ICTs in social movements that will be clarified in the next part of the study.

2.2 New, New Social Movement

The 60s and 70s, which were called the golden years of the social welfare state, in which NSM were a component, entered a crisis era throughout 1975 (Çımrın, 2009, p.197). Neoliberal policies were seen to arise in response to the social crises that have been experienced since these years. The abandonment of welfare state policies and the preoccupation of the competition principle in economic and social life have also caused the process we call globalization to gain momentum. In this period, international and

transnational economic institutions and international agreements seem to have begun to dominate the world order.⁷ In the light of these developments, the discourse of the world entering the “new” order after the 1970s emerges.

According to Castells (2004), there were three important factors behind this new order that he calls informationalism era which are market liberalization and the disengagement of government from social spending and income redistribution, cultural and social movements during 1960s and 1970s and the increase of the autonomy principle among individuals, and the revolution of ICTs (Castells, 2004; p.16-21). He has argued that the world is entering into an era of informationalism in which digital information technologies provide the material basis for the pervasive expansion of what he calls the networking from organizations in every realm of social structure (Castells, 1996, p.468, as cited in DiMaggio et al., 2001, p.309). According to him, the internet creates a new form of identity, and facilitates the establishment of new forms of organizations. He argues that, in this 21st century, almost all relationships among individuals, communities or nations, are directly or indirectly influenced by microelectronic-based ICTs. Today, information tends to be everywhere at every time, therefore it is global and, this century, is characterized by the explosion of portable machines that provide ubiquitous wireless communication and computing capacity which enables social units (individuals or organizations) to interact anywhere, anytime, while relying on a support infrastructure that manages material resources in a distributed information power grid (Castells, 2011, p.23).

After all these developments researchers have begun to argue that societies have changed into new forms, which are called the networked society, the global information-based society and informationalism (Webster, 2006). In recent years, there have been several researches on the relationship between new ICTs and social movements, which investigated the role of these technologies, their impact and the interaction among

⁷ According to Castells, under conditions of fiscal stress and inflationary pressures, the sudden increase in oil prices of 1973-75 by OPEC and its associated multinational corporations both increased inflation and the ensuing search for corrective policies, which caused the emergence of the future form of capitalism in the US as in the rest of the world. (Castells, 2004; p.15)

them. Because today, the practices of policy production, organization, and the practice of organizing activities of many movements use the internet in various forms and levels (Işık, 2013, p.26).

When we look at the work done in terms of the function of the internet in the social movements, two features emerge, which are the facilitating and creative features. In other words, the internet facilitates old traditional forms of action such as sit-ins, occupations, petition campaigns, as well as creating a new repertoire of collective action, like email bombs, online petitions, hacktivism, protest websites, which are can be called virtual actions (Laer & Aelst, 2010, p.1147).

When we look at the evaluations made in terms of the influence of the internet on the spatial characteristics of social movements, there are several views about the social movements of today that have a structure that can affect the local, national and international affects and organizational forms due to new ICTs. In recent years, an important shift has occurred from the national to the transnational level provided by the increased influence that multinational corporations and global trade regimes have over national policies and regional city decisions. An impressive body of literature has started to deal with how the focus of (economic and politic) power has shifted to transnational and global level and, consequently, social movement strategies and actions. As in the case of the Arab Spring, World Trade Organization protests, Occupy Movements, Gezi Movement, Pride Marches, internet-based information technologies moved these protests to global and transnational areas, at the same time affecting local spheres. Therefore, it can be said that, according to these views, new ICTs, especially the internet, give protests a more transnational character by effectively and rapidly diffusing the effects of communication and mobilization (Laer & Aelst, p.1146).

When the effects of the Internet in terms of the structure and dynamics of the social movements are considered, although it is not precise, it can be seen that the new concept of the “new, new social movements” emerges which has been developed by Felix et al (2009). This concept emphasizes that today’s current social movements are mostly affected by and organized via internet-based communication and information

technologies. According to this concept, today's movements are based on intergenerational, transsexual and cross-class struggles, in which networked resistance occurs. Moreover, according to them today, social movements are organized around informal networks facilitated by new ICTs, which are global in geographic reach and thematic scope (Feixa et al., 2009, p.427). Likewise, Castells (2015) also argues that the structure, motivation and strategies of social movements, and the forms of organization have changed in the global network society, and he asserts that one of the common features of these movements is that they have formed many kinds of networks. These movements are in the networks; movements are among the other movements around the world (Castells, 2015). There is no formal leadership or hierarchical organization, rather players share decision-making (Castells, 2000, p.15). According to Castells (2000),

Wireless networks have primarily served to provide communicative autonomy in the network society. Furthermore, according to him, social movements are built in internet networks and wireless communication platforms at the top of our history, but they are continued as necessary and supported with the occupations of the sites. He calls today's communication "self-mass communication". The reason for it being mass is due to the nature of internet and wireless networks being open to everyone's access, and the reason for it being self is that the sender also decides autonomously to produce the message and who the recipient will be, and the way that messages are received from the networks is also dependent on self-selection. Therefore, in this communication environment, to be successful in the struggle for power in society depends on the position of programmers and switchers between and within networks. For the success of today's new social movements, programmability of networks around alternative values, beliefs and interest, and switching dominant power are core elements (Castells, 2000, p.21-24).

These are the reasons behind the movements that form networks in the digital age to represent a new social movement (Castells, 2000, p.28). Additionally, Bennett and Segerberg (2013) also argue,

New movements are driven by self-motivated sharing of already internalized or personalized ideas, plans, images and resources with networks of others. Sharing activist

content becomes self-motivated because it is a form of personal expression and self-validation. The mass sharing of personal action constitutes a new type of action, which they label connective action (Bennett & Segerberg, 2013 as cited in Poell & Dijck, 2018, p.1)

In the literature, it is possible to group researches focusing on the interaction between social movements and the internet under two tendencies, which are the techno-utopian and the techno-dystopian approaches (Liu, 2015, p.568). The techno-utopian approach highlights the benefits of the new ICTs to social movements. According to this approach, these technologies increase political participation and the discussion of politics, thus contributing to democracy by strengthening civil society. Moreover, they contribute to the formation of collective identity by providing social capital accumulation, it also contributes to the diversity of identity in the public sphere by allowing the voice of the societies to be marginalized or attempted to be alienated which cannot be heard in the mainstream media or cannot be represented by institutionalized representation mechanisms, moreover by supplying global or transnational networks among individuals or organizations, new ICTs nourish growth in civil society and the public sphere (Liu, 2015, p.568). For instance, Shirky (2011) argues that as the communication landscape gets denser, more complex, and more participatory, the networked population is gaining greater access to information, more opportunities to engage in public speech, and an enhanced ability to take collective action and social media have become coordinating tools for nearly all of the world's political collective actions (Shirky, 2011, p.29). Or, for instance, Hermida emphasizes that nowadays, subjects that interest the public that edited, commented on and debated by people all over the world (Hermida, 2014), thus people can utter their grievances on social media, can organize people around their ideas without any time and space constraint. These views also emphasize the contributions of the internet to the construction, organization and mobilization of shared emotions and define shared identity among the actors of social movements (Poell & Dijck, 2018, p.2). For instance, Juris (2013) argues that as in the case of Seattle in 1999 transnational collective action or; alternative forums in Prague, Barcelona, Quebec or; the Zapatistas

struggle against free trade, environmental destruction and structural adjustments are facilitated by the greater speed, adoptability, and flexibility offered by new ICTs, which allow for new contemporary network-based organizational and social forms that are based on the ideal of open access, direct participation, consensus-based decision making and the ideal of the free and open circulation of information (in Castells, 2013, p.341-351).

On the other hand, techno-dystopian approaches highlight the possible damage caused by the internet to democracy and are skeptical about new ICTs. In these approaches, is emphasized how the authoritarian regimes can use the internet as a surveillance and control mechanism for social movements is emphasized (Liu, 2015, p.580). For instance, Fuchs (2015) argues that the rise of new ICTs, especially the internet, empowers decentralized surveillance because the state and capitalist system have far greater resources than civil society and citizens, which enables them to conduct much more intensive and extensive forms of surveillance, as in the case of the NSA monitors, the usage of Facebook or Google shows that capital and the state are collective actors as the dominant surveillers (Fuchs, 2015). Furthermore, they emphasize the contribution of the internet to reinforcing the power of ruling regimes by the extension of the ruling class (Liu, 2015, p.568). Alternatively, Acar (2013) argues that traditional media, which tells us what we are going to think about, is being replaced by social media, which tells us what we think and conveys what we think to those in control of political power. In this regard, social media, as an effective weapon of the surveillance society, is actualizing “public mind control”. There are also other possible negative sides of new ICTs such as provocation, clicktivism, slacktivism, or digital fanus effects that are stressed by these views. For instance, Morozov describes “slacktivism” as an apt term to describe feel-good online activism that has zero political or social impact, an ideal type of activism for a lazy generation. According to him, these types of actions, such as just participating in Facebook groups, or online petition campaigns has no effect on the actual quality and effectiveness of these campaigns and in these cases the digital tools of digital liberation

are only driving us further away from the goal of democratization and building a global civil society (Morozov, 2009).

In summary, it can be seen that new communication and information technologies, especially the internet, which have started to show their influence in every field since the 1990s, have created a new world order, which is called cyber culture, digital culture, or the culture of sharing in the existing literature (Poell & Dijck, 2018; Castells, 2015). It is also frequently emphasized in the literature that the structure of the collective movements, the means, the repertoires, the influence areas, and the organizational practices of these movements are also affected and changed in this new order. On the one hand, there are views that defend new ICTs, pointing out that the internet, especially, enhances the collaboration, interaction and communication among social movement actors, therefore increasing their visibility and viability in the more public sphere. On the other hand, there are some views that argue that these new technologies increase the number of lazy people in social movement that do not actually have any real effectiveness in social movements.

This study, which focuses on the networking practices of the LGBTI+ rights movement in Turkey, takes a stance between these two views, i.e. the techno-utopian and techno-dystopian approaches. Without rejecting both views, this study investigates whether in sometimes, online networks in social movement create a “multitude illusion”, or whether these online networks have a serious and concrete effectiveness in the LGBTI+ rights movement for political and cultural changes to obtain equality. Moreover, this study also maintains that although we are living in a world that is shaped by new ICTs, offline networking practices are at least important as online networks within the LGBTI+ rights movement.

CHAPTER 3

SOCIAL MOVEMENTS AND NETWORKING

Social movements' resembles strings of more or less connected events, scattered across time and space; they cannot be identified with any specific organizations either, rather, they consist of groups and organizations, with various levels of formalizations, with linked in patterns of interactions which run from the fairly centralized to the totally decentralized, from the cooperative to the explicitly hostile. Persons promoting and/or supporting their actions do so not as atomized individuals, possibly with similar values or social traits, but as actors linked to each other through complex webs of exchanges, either direct or mediated. Social movements are in other words complex and highly heterogeneous network structures (Diani, 2003, p.1).

Based on this definition of social movements we can say that there are different actors (individual or organization), which are referred to as a "node", that share almost common identities, values, beliefs, lifestyles or grievances, that compose social movements. These actors that share common point of views interact with each other (Wellman, 1998 as cited in Ines, 2006) and create networks, which actually is the set of social relations or social ties among a set of nodes (Jasper & Poulsen, 1995, p.498), in a certain scene (Leach & Haunss. 2009) that serve to unify commitment to the activist's core goals (Smitton, 2017, p.109).

Offe noted that NSM operate in the intermediate sphere that is located between private pursuits and concerns and on the other side the public sphere of institutional, state-sanctioned modes of politics (Offe, 1985; Touraine 1978). The spaces that social movements operate in are called like "free spaces" (Polletta, 1999), "submerged networks" (Melucci, 1985, p.801), or "scenes" (Leach & Haunss, 2009), which are related notions.

By using the term "free spaces" Polletta (1999) refers to small-scale settings within a community or movement that are removed from the direct control of dominant groups, that are participated in voluntarily, and that generate the cultural challenge that

precedes or accompanies political mobilization. According to her, free spaces supply the activist networks, skills and solidarity that assist in launching a movement. Within this definition free spaces are the place (physical or not, like the internet) where counter-hegemonic ideas and tactics can be germinated (Polletta, 1999).

Networked people or organizations that share common countercultural or subcultural orientations gather and interact around social movement scenes. While countercultural movement scenes are necessarily engaged in a political struggle in the sense that they actively oppose and want to change the dominant culture, subcultural scenes are sometimes political and sometimes purely lifestyle oriented (Leach & Haunss, 2009, p.5). Whether subcultural or countercultural a scene has its own culture and is likely to develop around a movement that operates according to a value-rational logic and is concerned with creating, promoting and/or preserving a particular subcultural or countercultural lifestyle (Leach & Haunss, 2009, p.2). To create, promote or preserve them, people or organizations come together in the same scene (today this space could be offline or online places) and network with each other formally or informally to realize their core goals.

According to Haunss (2009) a scene is ultimately constituted through a face-to-face process of self-identification and mutual recognition and it refers simultaneously to an integrated network of both people and specific locales such as meeting places like bars, clubs, parks, concerns, street corners, or the SMO's own building (Haunss, 2009, p.6). These places are needed for the physical existence of networked people. In addition, Fantasia and Hirsh (as cited in Polletta, 1999) count block clubs, tenant associations, bars, union halls, student launches, hangouts, families and consciousness groups as the places that are social movement scenes in where people or organizations create formal or informal networks. These spaces supply the activist networks, skills and solidarity that assist in launching a movement and thus, they are crucial to the very formation of identities and interests that precede mobilization (Polletta, 1999). Melucci (1985) also emphasizes the role of intermediate spaces for NSMs and he states that,

New social movements, which create submerged networks, functions in a new political space that is designed beyond the traditional distinction between state and “civil society”: an intermediate public space, whose function is not to institutionalize the movements nor to transform them into parties, but to make society hear their messages and translate these messages into political decision making, while the movements maintain their autonomy (Melucci, 1985, p.815).

Submerged networks are “movement areas” that “take the form of network composed of abundance of groups that are dispersed, fragmented, and submerged in everyday life, and which operate as cultural laboratories for the experimentation and practice of new cultural models, forms of relationships and alternative perceptions and meaning of the world” (Melucci 1989, p.60 as cited in Leach & Haunss, 2009, p.6). The relationship between individuals and the networks in which they are embedded is crucial for the continuation of action over time (Porta & Diani, 2011, p.116). The influence of social movements at a given political phase is dependent on their structural position, which means on the solidity of the linkages within the movement sectors as well as on the bonds among movement actors within their social milieu (scenes) (Diani, 1997, p.130). Therefore, to understand a certain social movement, which is organized around a specific purpose within its countercultural or subcultural scene, i.e. the actors, the interactions, the nature of social ties and the functions of ties, it is important to reveal the relation and/or the positions of networks within the movement.

Within this context, social movement researchers have developed network analysis methods to bridge the gap between macro and micro levels of social movement analysis. Macro level analysis focuses on macro political and structural accounts of movement dynamics, and resource mobilization theory, political process theory. On the other hand, micro level analysis focuses on psychological functions related to the participants (McAdam, 1988, p.126). However, network analysis within the social movement analysis focuses both on broader context that the movement emerged from and on individual and/or organizations internal structures at the same time.

3.1 Networks of Individuals

To create subcultural or countercultural milieu and to achieve the core gain of them, individuals with grievances who are against the dominant cultural or political codes and norms create networks. An examination of these networks helps us to understand the behavior of individuals in terms of participation, interaction among them that the means relational or positional place of actors and the creation of cooperation and solidarity within a certain social movement. The involvement of activists in social movements and in movement scenes is related with social networks that have various roles and that intervene at different points in the participation. According to Passy (2003),

To join collective action is a long process that involves both social structures and teleological decisions; social networks intervene throughout this process, at the beginning by building or reinforcing individual identities that create the potential for participation, and at the very end when individual preferences and perceptions eventually prompt people to take action (Passy, 2003, p.22).

According to Passy (2003), networks have a variety of functions. Firstly, networks can intervene in the beginning of the participation process, with helping to build and reinforce the identities of individuals and to create common consciousness in a given movement scene. People engage in collective actions because they share common grievances, common cultural codes, values and norms. Since identities are created and shaped through social relations, networks play a crucial role, therefore in this context; participation in social movements is an *identification process* (Passy, 2003, p.23). Besides socialization functions, networks have also structural connection and decision-shaping function.

3.1.1 Socialization functions

Porta (2011) emphasizes the role of networks in helping to form collective identities among the different actors of movements. According to her, individual participation in a movement's life is by no means restricted to membership in specific organizations. By going to different places, being connected to several groups or associations, patronizing specific venues or cafes individuals create and reproduce dense webs of informal

exchanges as a result; informal social networks constitute subcultural (countercultural can be added) oppositional dynamics that help to keep collective identities alive (Porta & Diani, 2011, p.131). Freeman (1973), likewise, asserts the need for networking within the social base of a movement in order to achieve the goals of diverse actors and emphasize the importance of ideas and like-minded people whose background, experiences or location in the social structure make them receptive to the ideas, values or norms in a given scene of a movement. According to Freeman (1973), in a movement despite the differences among various activists, the most important thing is strong similarities in the way they come together through common norms, values, or agendas (Freeman, 1973, p.800).

Direct personal contacts are important because they allow organizers and potential participators to “align their frames”⁸, to achieve a common definition of a social problem and a common prescription for solving it, in this sense networks are important because of the meanings that they transmit. According to Jasper and Poulsen (1995), meaning alignment is important for conveying and sharing the same values, beliefs, codes or signs, definition of problems and solutions within a specific scene of a movement, supplying continuity of movement (Jasper & Poulsen, 1995, p.493). Hence, networks supply the feeling of mutual identification and solidarity that bond movement actors together and secure the continuation of movements even when specific campaigns are not taking place (Diani, 2000, p.387).

⁸ Within the social movement literature, framing as an act refers to meaning construction. Framing is an active and dynamic process that is realized by social movement activists. The concept of frame as used in the study of social movement is derived primarily from the work of Goffman (1974). According to him, frames denoted schema of interpretations that enable individuals “to locate, perceive, identify and label” occurrences within their life space and the world at large. Therefore, within the social movement literature, frames help to interpret reality, define common social problems, organize experience and guide actions. Collective action frames are action-oriented sets of beliefs and meanings that inspire and legitimate the activities and campaigns of social movement organizations, so it can be said that frames are important in terms of the socialization of activists, gaining bystander support and mobilizing potential adherents. Frames therefore are shared meanings that are constructed through negotiations. In sum, collective action frames are constructed in part as movement adherents negotiate a shared understanding as some problematic condition or situation they define as in need of change, make attributions regarding who or what is to blame, articulate an alternative set of arrangements, and urge others to act in concert to affect change (Benford, R. & Snow, D. 2000).

This identification role of networks is called the *socialization functions* of networks by Passy (2003), in this sense, networks help to convey symbols, rituals or narratives and shape the actor's cognitive frames, therefore enabling them to interpret reality. Embeddedness in formal or informal networks helps individuals to create a salient identity which is an important cultural resource for joining the protest, and which facilitates the emergence of a consciousness related to specific issues. Moreover, individuals who have been strongly socialized and who identify closely with a movement issue are likely to become more intensely involved in a social movement (Passy, 2003, p.30). According to Passy, apart from the socialization function of networks, there are also two other major functions of networks, which are *structural connection* and *decision shaping functions*, that have an impact at the level of individuals.

3.1.2 Structural connection functions

In the literature concerning social movements, an important line of networks research concerns itself with the processes of involvement in social movements and is interested in the definition of interaction and the nature of social ties (Cerulo, 1997; Daini, 2003) among actors. Involvement in movements is important because social movements may emerge in a broad macro context, but their actual development depends on a series of more specific dynamics operating at the macro level (McAdam, 1988), p.127). Studies that are concerned with networks of individuals are termed relational analysis, which are focused on the direct and indirect connections among individuals and explain certain behaviors or process through the fact of social connectivity itself. Some researchers have focused on the nature of preexisting social ties among actors (Passy, 2003; Snow et al, 1980), and investigate whether these ties are strong or weak, constructed formally or informally; some focuses on the nature of communication in the involvement process and investigate whether these ties are constructed through personal or mediated communications (Diani, 1997; 2000; 2003; Snow, 1980).

By focusing attention on the microstructural bases of social movements (Gould, 1991, p.717), Snow et al. (1980) argue that movement involvement is structured by certain sociopolitical factors such as the spatial setting of social life both private and public

(include shopping malls, community sidewalks, airports, bus stations, and city parks, clubs, an office, a sorority or fraternity house, and an apartment or home); or by the means of information dissemination (whether by face to face communication or mediated communication via mails, telephone calls, mass communication mechanisms). By posing the question of whether recruitment among strangers in public places is more productive than recruitment along the other avenues, or whether movement recruits are typically drawn from existing members' extra movement friends, acquaintances, and kin, they reveal that people who have preexisting, extra movement or interpersonal ties are more likely to be recruited by a new movement rather than those individuals who are outside of the members' extra movement network (Snow et al. 1980, p.791). According to their findings, although there are people who become involved in a movement via mediated communications, face to face and interpersonal informal communication and preexisting ties play a more crucial role in gaining new adherents to a movement. Moreover, McAdam (1986) analyzes various motivations for participation in movements and emphasizes the necessity for prior personal contact with a single activist who introduces the recruit to the movement. On the other hand, he also emphasizes preexisting movement involvement that serves as the associational network out of which a new movement emerges. He suggests that individuals' informal friendship ties to movement participants predict individual movement involvement best (McAdam, 1986, p.76), because individual witness (informal ties) or organization involvement are the more crucial elements for recruitment to a new movement, and these ties serve as bloc recruitment for the movement's participants (McAdam, 1986, p.76).

Passy (2003) also demonstrates that individuals with friends or acquaintances already involved in social movements are more inclined to take part in collective action. Within this context, networks play a mediating role by connecting prospective participants to an opportunity for mobilization and enabling them to convert their political consciousness into action. She argues that strong ties have a crucial impact on participation in social movements, mainly because they provide individuals with trust. According to her when recruiters are close friends, potential participants tend to trust

them and become convinced that a particular organization is the one most appropriate for conversion of their political interest into a strong degree of commitment. However, she asserts that the effects of these strong ties are more important for the organizations of less visible movements, and the role of networks are less crucial for publicly visible organizations. For visible organizations, rather than informal ties such as personal acquaintances, mediated and formal ties are more likely to be the source for new recruitment. Because of the lower level of uncertainty about these types of movements, people trust them easily, they easily learn about the movement from the media or the organizations' activities and they do not need strong ties (Passy, 2003; p.34). Therefore, her study suggests that the structural-connection functions of networks in individual participation is also related to the type of organizations that individuals tend to be recruited by, this is not just related with individual ties.

On the other hand, König (1999) argues that individuals lacking strong personal commitments are more available and thus more susceptible to movement involvement under certain conditions, for example, new religious movements have consistently targeted persons lacking a tightly knit friendship network. These structurally available persons lack close emotional bonds and possess an above average amount of free time; sometimes they feel isolated or alienated from their environment, therefore in this sense anomic elements of societies have a stronger tendency to participate in and be recruited by a new movement (König, 1999, p.6).

Within this sense, whether formal or informal, whether strong or weak, and whether interpersonal or mediated, networks are sources of individuals' and collective opportunities, from that particular angle, networks facilitating involvement in social movement activities may be regarded as one particular version of social capital (Passy, 2003, p.33) that affect individual mobilization in the movement (Gould, 1991, p.717). However, as Gould (1991) argues, this kind of research that focuses on individual-level variables (the relationship between A and B) does not consider that network influences on mobilization operate on a supra-individual level (Gould, p.717).

3.1.3 Decision-shaping functions

The *decision-shaping function* of networks interprets involvement by explaining the perception of individuals about the movement by means of looking at other social ties within the movement. This function does not focus on the formal or informal relationship between two actors; rather, it focuses on the supra-individual level of social networks, which means the ebbs and flows (Passy, 2003, p.36) of social interactions.

Two main approaches, which are the rationalist and the relationalist, explain the decision-making process of the individual to engage with the movement. Rationalist approaches explain the decision by focusing solely on individuals as an interdependent process. One of the works within this approach is Olson's "The Logic of Collective Action (1965)". According to him, if individuals consider themselves at an advantage, they will only act in order to create a social movement, thus, the goal is to gain advantage as soon as possible rather than transformation. According to this approach, people try to make possible profit and cost calculations because people decide to participate rationally. According to Olson, people only decide to participate in a movement by force and/or incentives that means without the hope of financial benefit or without oppression individuals will not participate in action (Olson, 1977 as cited in Klandermans, 1984, p.585), therefore, this view is based on the argument of independent decisions (Oliver et al., 1985, p.524).

On the relationalist side, Marvel and Oliver (1985) emphasize the role of interdependence for the decision to become involved in an action. According to them, individuals take account of how much others have already contributed in making their own decision about contributing to a collective action. Here, the basic idea is that cooperative social behavior is an outcome of rational self-interested actors, because they must consider the intentions and actions of others (Oliver et al., 1985, p.531). Relationalist approaches emphasize the nexus between individual decision and social relations in deciding to participate in a movement (Passy, 2003, p.25). Kim and Baerman (1997) also argue that actors tend to base their decision about participation upon others' decisions (Kim & Baerman, 1997, p.73). In real life, this interdependent decision-making

process is conditioned by access to information, because information about the decisions, interests and resources of others is not always accurate or readily available. They recognized that social networks structure the availability of accurate information about the commitment of others. In their model, individuals have accurate information about actors to whom they are directly tied, therefore they criticize the rationalist model and emphasize the actor's network for the decision to participate. They believe that interpersonal relations are invoked to regulate the inclinations of others. According to them, collective action emerges only within the context of social structure (interpersonal ties) that define how personal traits are distributed across populations and how actors are connected with each other. People look at the interests of other actors, the resources of organizations, and the effectiveness and centrality of organizations, and they measure their own position in a network of interpersonal relations. Finally, by interpreting and making sense of their places within these ties, they decide to become involved or not in a movement (Kim & Bearman, 1997, p.74).

According to Passy (2003), joining in collective action involves individual costs which vary according to factors such as the intensity of involvement, the type of protests, and the type of regime under which the action takes place, but at the same time it involves interpretation at the supra-individual level of networks. She argues that social networks bring potential activists to collective actions, because far from solely reacting to interpersonal links and connections, individuals interpret such links and try to make sense of their interaction with others. Individuals, when deciding to become involved in action measure individual effectiveness and collective effectiveness by looking at already existing social ties. According to this argument, individual effectiveness is mainly affected by the interactions of prospective members with their recruiters, because by interpreting these relationships, individuals tend to have an increased sense that their participation in the protest serves to bring about social change. In the same way, collective effectiveness is also affected by social ties, because by looking at solidarity, the collective identity among the other members of movements and the ability to reach the

appropriate authorities to bring about social change, people decide to become involved in a movement or not (Passy, 2003, p.35).

3.2 Networks of Organizations

Curtis and Zurcher (1973) explain social movements through the “multi-organizational field” concept. They suggest that organization setting approximates an ordered, coordinated system that can be identified on two levels, which conceptually overlap: the first one is the individual level, which has been explained previously, and the second one the organizational level where networks are established by joint activities, staff, limits of directors, targets, tactics, information, resources and so on (Curtis & Zurcher, 1973). Mathieu explain the relationships of SMOs through the concept of “space of social movement” (as cited in Lilian, 2007), which designates the universe of practice and sense, relatively autonomous to the interior, of which the mobilizations are united by interdependent relations. The interdependent relations that tend to unite the different patterns of movement, one of the most striking features of contemporary social movements, have the effect of being at the center of specialized issues and linked to each other by the relations of allies. Therefore, the space of social movements seems from this point of view as a zone of mutual evolution. The level of activity of other SMOs, the outcomes of their attempts to match their tactical innovations to their original claims, is the object that is constituted by an alliance between different organizations that are working for the same goal. There are various functions of these networks for SMOs that form networks among themselves to realize their goals.

SMOs establish direct networks to activate and exchange information among themselves. Therefore, one of the most important functions of networks is to ensure cooperation between the organizations to mobilize resources. Ties and associations among actors in social movements represent potential channels for resource flow. According to Rucht (1996), SMOs that collaborate with others achieve a more effective process of mobilization of resources compared with a single SMO that functions singularly. Movement resources are generally conceptualized as anything that SMOs need to mobilize and deploy in pursuit of their goals (Wang, 2015, p.43). Originally,

McCarthy and Zald illustrated the necessity of material resources for the success of SMOs. Material resource flows among networked SMOs can include money from members, from public donations, from other SMOs; hardware devices, facilities, publicity, spaces, and further (Wang, 2015, p.48). However, apart from material resources, networks among SMOs also supply facilities for the mobilization of human resources and in this sense, networks also gain supporters, the utilization of the collective power of activists and they serve to enhance the SMOs' abilities to achieve their core goals (Smitton, 2017, p.109). Networking human resources means that there is an alliance as a social movement community. Founding an alliance also has a symbolic meaning, as a way to increase a movement's legitimacy and to expand the representativeness of the movement, also facilitating the movement's mobilization and operations (Wang, 2015, p.127). Resource exchange or transfer via networks is one of the most common forms of alliance among SMOs. Resource mobilization and exchange is important for SMOs, because larger resources render a SMO more visible and more capable of working on several issues simultaneously and having various resources. In addition, they enable a SMO to promote successful campaigns in which other actors may converge (Diani, 2003, p.108).

Apart from material resources and human resources, there are other important resources such as information, tactical repertoires, and strategies, so it can be said that the other function of organization networks is the exchange of information (Tichy et al., 1979, p.509). Access to information is important because the diversity of information sources is both crucial for the SMO and an important precondition for participation. Cooperation with other actors with regard to information exchange may serve as a means of compensation (Foljanty-Jost, 2005, p.105). Ties and associations among SMOs represent potential channels for information flow (Wang & Soule, 2012, p.1674). For example, SMOs routinely share information about protest contents, tactics and strategies, events of interests, sources of founding, and new ideas for framing movement goals (Wang & Soule, 2012, p.1675). This information exchange function is, according to Diani (2003, p.307), achieved by direct ties between SMOs. When a SMO becomes

associated with other organizations and collaborates with them, important information is circulated among them. In this way, as Smitton (2017) argues, networks seen independently became an efficient way to pool and exchange information about tactics, ideas, and strategies (Smitton, 2017, p.109). Sharing information about interest issues, tactics, strategies, and the repertoire of knowledge is important and enables cross-fertilization (Schlosberg, 1999 as cited in Smitton, 2017, p.109) for SMOs that observe and learn from one another due to the networks created. One of the most important exchanges of information via collaboration is tactics among SMOs. A SMO's tactical repertoire is known as the organization's "playlist" (Wang, 2015, p.7). To some extent, the success of a SMO depends on its ability to make its tactics appeal to many participants; thus, organizations often adopt new tactics to achieve their core goals that they believe will have the potential to mobilize many people (Wang, 2015, p.7). Thus, by exchanging information among them, SMOs establish and empower their sub or counter cultural milieu and can create new power relations or oppose existing ones and can mobilize more participants (Leitner, 2008 as cited in Smitton, 2017, p.111).

Networks also function in terms of gaining support from other organizations (Foljanty-Jost, 2005, p.110). Snow and Grass emphasize the networks role in terms of recognition of a movement's moral ground gained from other organizations. By constructing ties, building consensus, and networking with each other, SMOs can become more visible, can increase their power and can be more effective in terms of policy-making and in terms of gaining the support of the public, and thus increase their legitimacy (as cited in Foljanty-Jost, 2005, p.112).

3.3 Online Networks of Social Movements

Since the 1990s, with the spread of computer-mediated communication technologies, especially the internet and more specifically web 2.0 technologies; debates about contemporary social movements have increased in terms of participation, collaboration, mobilization and other issues. As Porta (2011) states, questions about whether organizations still have a role in mobilization, whether dense networks are still necessary to support collective action, whether identity bonds still need some kind of shared direct

personal experience and/or “real” interaction to develop, have all been made more relevant by technological developments (Porta & Diani, 2011, p.132). According to Garrett (2006), new ICTs, especially the internet and social media, are changing the ways in which activists communicate, collaborate and demonstrate, and discussions and arguments about these effects can be divided into three subcategories, which are participation levels, organizational levels, and opportunity structure levels (Garrett, 2006, p.202).

When the effects of new ICTs are elaborated in terms of the creation of networks by participation, it can be said that in the literature there is a consensus on the benefits of these technologies because they reduce the cost of participation, thus promoting a collective identity and the creation of community. According to Castells (2013), with new ICTs, social movements are building their networks in a new time and space, which have been called respectively “space of flows”, and “timeless time”, respectively. According to him, thanks to new ICTs, especially wireless networks, actors can reach each other inexpensively through the time that they have arranged and come together without the need for being physically in the same place (as cited in Rani, 2008, p.9). Due to the technological and organizational possibility of meeting simultaneously and without configuration, places are connected by electronically powered communication technologies through which flows of information circulate and interact. According to these views, thanks to the free and open circulation of information that is supplied by new ICTs, values, norms, beliefs and information can sustain interaction across vast distances. Likewise, Diani (2000) argues that new ICTs are of considerable benefit to those whose social and geographical isolation discourage collective action and due to these technologies people like this can participate more easily in movements (Diani, 200, p.7). According to him, these technologies create a “transmovement free space”. Therefore, there is a relational context in which activists from different movements may come in contact, thus developing a shared understanding, which guarantees the continuity of collective action across time and space. Zhu (2017) also argues that, due to new ICTs, the cost of spreading awareness and concerns decreases, hence, it leads to

increased individual participation in movements (Zhu, 2017, p.73). According to her, thanks to new ICTs, especially social media, individuals are easily connected to a network that transcends territorial boundaries. Again, as stated by Garrett (2006), by reducing the cost associated with publishing and accessing movement information, ICTs have the potential to alter the flow of information, to reduce the cost of conventional forms of participation and to create new low-cost forms of participation. Moreover, some argue that new ICTs may be able to foster a collective identity across dispersed population, because they allow dispersed, like-minded people to come together (Nisha; 2008, p.9). According to Bonchek (1995) by lowering communication cost, new ICTs facilitate group formation, recruitment and an improved group identity and solidarity that contributes to participation (as cited in Garrett, 2006, p.205). He suggests that lower communication costs facilitate recruitment by increasing the information available about the movement. When studies, which focus on the relationship between SMOs and new ICTs, are examined, it can be seen that they stress that due, to these technologies, the old traditional organizations can connect with each other more easily, therefore they can more easily collaborate (Garrett, 2006) with each other. As reported by Lovejoy and Saxton (2012), the internet and especially social media increase the opportunities for collaboration among SMOs (Levejoy & Saxton, 2012, p. 338), because compared to face-to-face relations and interactions, networked communication technologies support many-to-many communication that encourages dialogue (Sobré-Denton, 2016, p.1717) and dissemination among SMOs on a broad scale. According to some, due to social media, SMOs can more easily interact with each other by giving recognition, thanks, acknowledgment about current events (e.g., Levejoy & Saxton, 2012). Moreover, these technologies offer opportunities to join each other causes (Zhu, 2017, p. 73), and by using social media to build relationships SMOs more affectively expand their reach and influence (Isa & Himelboim, 2018, p.2).

In short, it can be said studies that are interested in the effects of new ICTs, especially the internet and social media on SMOs, generally argue that due to these technologies SMOs come together more easily, and they can mobilize more accessible local, national

or international support, with core actors communicating with each other more frequently and regularly.

On the other hand, according to some researchers, new ICTs also affect social movements with regard to opportunities. As it stated in the first chapter, the concept of political opportunity structures allows us to understand the general context of social movements, through the political environment. Indeed, all movements occur in an environment where there is a structure of political opportunities composed of a number of variables. This environment can contribute favorably to social movements or vice versa. If the political structures are open, the committed actors have more chance to gain access to the political authority and the elites; and the chances of communication with each other without oppression or constraint is also increased (Golsorkhi et al. 2017, p.82). Hence, opportunity structure shapes the environment in which activists operate and activists and organizations must consider them when organizing actions. As Garrett states (2006),

The increasing importance of global political dynamics that characterizes the information society has a profound impact on opportunity structures. The gravity number of relevant political actors has significantly altered activists' ability to identify elite allies... Moreover, these new ICTs increase also the ability to bypass censorship and escape regulation. New ICTs, especially the internet, offer a mode of communication that is fundamentally resistant to state regulation, reducing a state's capacity for repressing by hindering its ability to control the flow of information and political communication (Garrett, 2006, p. 213).

Arguments about the relationship between new ICTs and increasing opportunities for social movements, highlight the fact that these technologies help to bypass the intermediation of authoritative institutions (Zhu; 2017, p.71), because the networks that are created via these technologies are largely citizen driven and are shaped at a global or transnational level in cyberspace.

Along with the increased impact of the new ICTs on social movement, i.e., communication, identity building, resource mobilization, geographical aspects, in recent

years in recent years there has been an increase in research that focuses on the relationship between social movements and new ICTs. Interest in both has increased significantly in recent years, not least as an effect of computing and software developments which have facilitated routine access to sophisticated analytic tools for anybody with a basic PC or laptop and the patience to read one of a number of very clear introductions to SNA (Krinsky & Crossley, 2014, p.1). These interests vary in their focus point according to movement genres (i.e., environment, identity, justice, religions and so on), the type of ICTs (i.e, websites, social media platforms like Facebook, Twitter and so on), selected actors (i.e., activists, SMO, NGOs and so on), finally in the type of networks used (i.e., issue networking, hyperlink networking, geographical networking and moreover). When this kind of research is examined, one of the most apparent subjects is the network among social movement actors. These studies (i.e., Shumate & Lipp, 2008; Sullivan & Xie, 2009; Acklanda & O'Neil, 2011; Konieczny, 2014; Görkemli, 2012; Bakker & Hellsten, 2013; Mena et al., 2015, Doğu, 2017) focus on the online presence of actors and try to show how and for what purpose they construct networks among them and how they coordinate their actions in wider geographical spaces and how they launch campaigns to realize their core goals by using new ICTs. From this point on, these studies analyze the websites and social media accounts of social movement actors and search for the answer to these kinds of questions: Does such an online network exist (about a specific issue)? If so, who are the constituent actors? How do activists use websites or social media to reach like-minded people and how do they use them to enhance their visibility? By using new ICTs, how do SMOs or activists build an online collective identity, how do hyperlink networks among websites or networks among social media reflect social relations among SM actors? By using social media or the internet, how do activists create and organize a subculture or counterculture? What are the most talked issues within a specific social movement, so what are the semantic networks among SM actors? In sum, by using some software tools (i.e., issue crawler tools, hyperlink crawler tools etc., this kind of research examines ties among social movement actors in cyberspace and defines their interaction patterns.

Another subject among researchers that focus on the relationship between social movement and new ICTs is the impact of new technologies on the geographical enlargement of social movements. Castells argues that people have witnessed the development of a new public space that is shaped by the dynamic interaction between cyberspace and urban space, and due to the connection between the internet's social media, people's social networks, and mainstream media, new occupation practices have also emerged (Castells, 2015, p.61-62). By giving examples of the Tunisian Revolution, Indignados in Spain and Occupy Wall Street he makes a comparison between the spread of the movement and viral spread of the networks of wireless internet (Castells, 2015, p.28). According to him, due to the autonomous, interactive, reprogrammable and self-expanding and horizontal (Castells, 2015, p.248) means of communication that is supplied by new digital ICTs, social movement actors surpass space constraints. In recent years, there have been several research studies (i.e., Castells, 2015; Caren, 2007; Juris, 2015; Smith, 2016) that have focused on the question of how these new ICTs have contributed to the enlargement of geographical scale of social movements. This research has shown how different social movement actors from different regions become involved in movements; how they become recruited to a movement which is located in different places; how they mobilize their resources; how online mobilization promotes offline individual and organizational mobilization on a vast geographical scale; and how national or global social movements are organized and coordinated by actors using new ICTs that offer the possibility of online networking.

The other apparent subject is how social movement actors use online networking technologies to communicate with the general public. These kinds of research (i.e., Guo & Saxton, 2014; Lovejoy & Gregory, 2012; Obar et al., 2012) generally focuses on the relationship between the advocacy tactics of social movement actors and their usage practices of new ICTs. By examining the website or social media usage of SMOs, these studies try to explore the features and dynamics of new ICTs based advocacy and identity organizational practices and forms of communications and networking with citizens. Generally, in these studies, research investigates the usage practice of social media or

websites in terms of sharing information, creating communities or calls for action and tries to understand how SMO use their websites or social media accounts to build relationships and create networks with the public and what strategies they use to engage in dialogs with them. In these studies, researchers generally perform organizational level analysis and message level analysis of the usage of new ICTs to examine the interaction of SMOs with the general public and look at whether SMO usage these technologies for sharing info, creating community, i.e., giving recognition and thanks, acknowledgment of current events, responses to messages, planning common events, or action, i.e., promoting an event, donation appeal, selling products.

CHAPTER 4

LGBTI+ RIGHTS MOVEMENT IN TURKEY

The LGBTI+ rights movement has emerged to change policies about gender identities and sexual orientations with its demands for justice, freedom, and equality (Özbek, 2017, p. 143). In order to understand this movement, it is necessary to understand the scale of the historical, cultural and economic heteronormative order's dominance and its discrimination, oppression and exclusion practices towards LGBTI+ individuals. Within this context, the LGBTI+ rights movement and the forms of discrimination and exclusion practices and attitudes that LGBTI+s are exposed to, such as homophobia, biphobia, transphobia that are based on prejudice, fear and hatred, cannot be dealt with independently of society's political organization in line with the dominant heterosexist ideology and heteronormative system (Altunpolat, 2017, p.2).

The term heterosexuality is used for people who experience their sexual orientation with the opposite sex, and it prevails as the dominant ideology in social life. Heterosexism is defined as an ideological system that denies, denigrates and stigmatizes any non-heterosexual forms of behavior, identity, relationships or community (Herek, 1990; p. 316 as cited in Yılmaz & Göçmen, 2016, p. 472). Heterosexual society becomes determinant by the qualities that are passed on to generations through the process of socialization and through mechanisms of control and oppression based on hegemony, which force individuals to act in accordance with gender patterns. Social control mechanisms have emerged by controlling individuals with values and norms, restraining free sexualities, stereotyping individuals and making heteronormative behavior patterns dominant (Kayır, 2015, p.77). Moreover, heteronormativity is a system of power in which all individuals in a society are assumed to be heterosexual, and all judgements, institutions and socio-cultural structures are shaped around this assumption (Altunpolat, 2017, p.2). Accordingly, the LGBTI+ rights movement should be considered within the

NSM since it is struggles against these norms and values systems, the dominant cultural and social codes and strives to produce its own discourse against the hegemonic heterosexist discourse.

There are various views on how heterosexuality is conceptualized as a norm in societies from past to present, how heteronormativity is adopted and imposed as an ideology and form of power. However, the focal point of this study is not the historical origins of the formation of the heteronormative order; rather it focuses on real conjectures (for instance real policies, applications, social behavior, systematic exclusions, stigmas, discriminations, violence and repressive practices that are applied by members of society, institutions and community) that have led to the emergence of the LGBTI+ rights movement in Turkey. That is why in this section, firstly the actors' current areas of struggle and rights violations that have been exposed will be expounded, and then the emergence and the historical process of the LGBTI+ rights movement will be explained.

LGBTI+s, who are stigmatized, oppressed, and marginalized and often ignored because of their sexual orientation and identities that are seen as unsuitable for the heteronormative order, aspire to be recognized as equal members of society with their differences (Erdoğan & Köten, 2014, p. 104). Today, there are many different actors in this movement. These actors are composed of those who are discriminated against; and who those who are coerced into conforming to the strict values and norm shapes that heteronormative ideology considers as appropriate. They try to gain their rights, such as the right to exist, the right to work, the right to health services, the right to housing and freedom of speech. In order to achieve their goals, LGBTI+ rights movement actors try to change the heteronormative social order, moreover they try to reverse dominant cultural codes, and finally they try to expose and change systematic oppression by the dominant order. According to Melucci, NSM are opposed to dominant cultural codes, and try to show there is no single, exclusive rationality in societies (Melucci, 2004, 276 as cited in Diltemiz Mol, 2016, p.2). Within this context, this movement can be considered as a NSM because it challenges the dominant codes in cultural, economic and

social life; and it tries to break down discriminatory and exclusionary discourse practices and symbols.

4.1 LGBTI+s and Violation of Rights in Turkey

In order to understand the struggle areas of the LGBTI+ rights movement in Turkey, it is necessary to explain the rights violations that they are exposed to. LGBTI+s are exposed to oppression, discrimination and violence in many areas, but the most visible ones are experienced in their working lives, in the education system, while benefiting from health services, while finding housing, the attitude of society toward them and their freedom of expression and visibility.

4.1.1 Rights Violations in the Working Environment

The forms of discrimination that LGBTI+ individuals are exposed to in their working life are manifested in various forms, such as not being invited to job interviews, not being employed, being dismissed from employment, being given a low performance rating, being forced to change duties (Öner, 2015, p. 51 as cited in Özbek, 2017, p. 146). People from different sexual orientations often receive unequal pay scales, face difficulties in securing career advancement and their performance is often subject to greater scrutiny and review, indicating that there may still remain hidden mechanisms of prejudice responsible for differential career growth trajectories experienced by lesbian/gay/bisexual versus heterosexual workers (Badgett and Frank, 2007; Berg and Lien, 2002; Meulders et al., 2004 as cited in Öztürk, 2011, p.1101).

To understand the employment situation of LGBTI+s in both the public and private sectors, Kaos Gay and Lesbian Cultural Research and Solidarity Association (Kaos Gey ve Lezbiyen Kültürel Araştırmalar ve Dayanışma Derneği, Kaos GL) has been conducting the *Conditions of Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Trans and Intersex Employees in Public and Private Sector in Turkey Survey*⁹ since 2015. According to the survey reports conducted with 198

⁹ For detailed information, see: Kaos GL, Raporlar, 2017. *Türkiye’de Kamu Çalışanı Lezbiyen, Gey, Biseksüel, Trans ve İnterseklerin Durumu 2018 Yılı Araştırması*. Available from:

people working in the private sector in 2018, 89 of the participants stated that they were hiding their identities completely, 32 of them mentioned that they were completely open, 19 of them stated that they were partially open, 46 of them indicated that they didn't feel the need to be open and finally 3 of them reported that their identities were learned without their consent. These statements can be interpreted in the following way. During the recruitment process, LGBTI+ individuals cannot express their sexual identities and orientations openly and freely. According to the report, the reasons for not being open during the recruitment process include the fear of not being recruited to the job, the fear of being exposed to hate speech and exclusion, the fear of not being taken seriously in their work and concern about not being able to do their jobs. Additionally, according to the survey conducted with 89 public employees, 7% LGBTI+ individuals stated that they were open in their workplaces. Only 22% of the participants mentioned that they were not exposed to discrimination in their workplace because of their sexual identities and orientations, and they stated that the reason for this was that they were not open about their identities.

To reveal the employment conditions of LGBTI+ individuals in Turkey, Volkan Yılmaz and İpek Göçmen (2016) conducted a focus group research (14 focus group interviews with 139 LGBTI+ individuals conducted in ten provinces, which were Ankara, Adana, Antalya, Edirne, Eskisehir, Gaziantep, İstanbul, İzmir, Mersin and Trabzon, in the first half of 2014). According to their results, the respondents of the focus groups do not believe that they have equal access to every profession, a restricted number of professions are perceived to be more suitable for out LGBTI+s. According to them, in Turkey there are "sectoral ghettos" for LGBTI+s, which are the art industry and sex work. Moreover, they indicate that, in Turkey, the orthodoxy of heterosexism limits, shapes and channels the career decisions of even highly educated people, as workers in most sectors are expected

<http://www.kaosgldernegi.org/resim/yayin/dl/kamu_calisani_2017.pdf>. [14 January 2019]; Kaos GL, Raporlar, 2018. *Türkiye'de Kamu Çalışanı Lezbiyen, Gey, Biseksüel, Trans ve İntersekslerin Durumu 2018 Yılı Araştırması*. Available from: <<http://www.kaosgldernegi.org/yayindetay.php?id=232>>. [14 Ocak 2019]; Kaos GL, Raporlar, 2018. *Türkiye'de Özel Sektör Çalışanı Lezbiyen, Gey, Biseksüel, Trans ve İntersekslerin Durumu 2018 Yılı Araştırması*. Available from: <<http://www.kaosgldernegi.org/yayindetay.php?id=234>>. [14 January 2019]

to display and adhere to certain prevailing social norms of dress, speech and behavior (Yılmaz & Göçmen, 2016, p.478).

The conclusion that can be drawn from these studies and reports is that, in Turkey, LGBTI+s cannot exist with their own identities and they have a problem of visibility in both the private and public sectors. Due to concerns such as dismissal, exposure to hate speech and discrimination (Öztürk, 2011), LGBTI+s are reluctant to be open about their sexual identities, which in turn damages their rights to having equal citizenship. Actually, this situation derives from the lack of legislative regulations and protection for sexual orientations and identities, which is one of the main issues of the struggle of the LGBTI+ movement in Turkey. With regard to sexual orientation diversity, one of the most important debates in the LGBTI+ rights movement in Turkey mostly pivots around the question of putting policy into practice and getting the best out of the legal-economic system in order to ensure the full equality of all sexual minorities in the workplace (Colgan et al., 2007 as cited in Öztürk, 2011, p.1100).

4.1.2 Rights Violations in Education

The other main area, in which LGBTI+s are exposed to discrimination and in which the LGBTI+ rights movement's actors struggle to eliminate them, is the Turkish educational system. Both educators and students, who have sexual orientation and identities apart from coded gender norms according to the heteronormative order, may be subjected to pressure and discrimination by their friends, colleagues and their families on the grounds that they exhibit behavior other than "normal" and that often exhibit behavior which contradicts established social norms (Özbek, 2017, p.148). According to Amnesty International's interviews with transgenders in Turkey, they are forced to give up their education because of their sexual identities and they are not allowed to enter university buildings because their appearance does not match with their identities (Uluslararası Af Örgütü, 2011, p.24). Moreover, according to Lambdaistanbul's *"İt İti Isırmaz, Bir Alan Araştırması İstanbul'da Yaşayan Trans Kadınların Sorunları"* research, trans individuals stated that the main difficulties that they experience during their education life are

having to abandon their education life, changing their school or universities, exposure to discrimination by other students and the administration in their dorms (Lambdaistanbul LGBTT Dayanışma Derneği, 2010).

The biggest obstacles that LGBTI+s are faced with during their educational life are the heteronormative structure of the educational system, homophobic behavior and attitude of educators, counselling services and the administration in schools, and finally peer victimization. In addition to these difficulties, there statements exist in disciplinary regulations such as “*ahlak bakımından dengeli*” and being LGBTI+ is defined as expressing immorality. As a consequence, LGBTI+s cannot freely express themselves with their sexual identities and orientations in these areas, and violations of the right to education are also followed by violations of working life and LGBTI+ individuals who cannot receive the necessary education for the profession they want are forced instead to take up sex work (Tar, p.29).

4.1.3 Rights Violations in the Health Services

Another area is related to the rights violations suffered by LGBTI+s while benefiting from health services. Yılmaz and Göçmen explain that these violations can be placed into three categories: (a) institutional ignorance, (b) denial of medical treatment and (c) LGBTI+s’ aversion to seeking medical help (Yılmaz and Göçmen, 2016, p.483).

In Turkey, institutional ignorance is experienced mainly in the area of the sex transistions’ process and sex reassignment surgery (Yılmaz and Göçmen, p.483). According to Yasin et al.’s research (2012, p.108) which focuses primarily on discrimination that was based on sexual identities, medical faculty students stated that during their education they hardly ever encountered subjects such as sexual identities, sexual orientations, LGBTI+ health, and they stated that they felt themselves to be inadequate in these subjects. Because of insufficient information in medicine and psychology curriculums, LGBTI+s might be exposed to discriminatory or false treatment approaches The second issue that Yılmaz and Göçmen (2016) mentioned is the denial of

medical treatment. The findings of their studies demonstrated that heterosexism among medical personnel might reach a level of denial in providing services for LGBT individuals. Some examples are the denial of prescribing the necessary medication during hormonal therapy, pathologizing homosexuality and transgenderism; imposing heteronormative norms during psychological treatment etc. Finally, the last issue is the lack of medical staff's know-how and Turkey's health care system failure to offer suitable gender reassignment services, which are especially important for transgender individuals. Additionally, as a result of the negative experiences of LGBTI+s while being treated by the health services because of the discriminatory practices of medical personnel, they avoid seeking medical help in order not to face discrimination (Yılmaz and Göçmen, 2016, p.484). Within this context, the LGBTI+ rights movement in Turkey continues to strive for the elimination of these violations and to enable non-discriminatory health services.

Areas of struggle of the LGBTI+ rights movement within the context of health services, are raising awareness among medical personnel about discriminatory approaches to LGBTI+s; identifying the primary health needs and solutions of LGBTIs; ensuring that the Turkish medicine system becomes non-sexist and non-biphobic, non-transphobic and non-homophobic; and finally creating a treatment system where therapists accept differences and different sexual identities and orientations and do not produce heteronormative discourses that attempt to impose a heteronormative order. In order to achieve this, various actors among the LGBTI+ rights movement carry out activities to inform medical personnel, perform medical practice workshops, arrange communication activities to raise public awareness etc. In short, LGBTI+ rights movement actors struggle for a medical system that functions according to scientific decisions, not social norms.

4.1.4 Rights Violations in Housing

Another area where LGBTI+s are exposed to discrimination and violations of their rights is housing. The housing rights of LGBTI+s in Turkey is violated in many ways, such as the sale of houses where they live because of community pressure, demanding rent much higher than the going rate, and real estate agents refusing to rent homes. In addition,

there are the violations of the rights of housing of LGBTI+ students in dormitories. Because of these practices, LGBTI+s are subjected to stigmatization and exclusion and they are exposed to a ghetto-like existence. At this point, the LGBTI+ rights movement fights to gain their right to respect in their private lives and housing.

4.1.5 Attitudes and Behavior of Society and Hate Speech

Another subject is related with the attitudes and behavior of society toward LGBTI+s who are exposed to heterosexist attitudes and behavior in their everyday lives. LGBTI+s are exposed to discriminatory attitudes and practices through aggressive gestures, mobbing, and threats while walking in the street, in restaurants and bars, when out shopping, in cultural activities and so on. According to Hakan Yılmaz's (2010) research, 93% of the participants think that different sexual orientation apart from the heterosexual one should be restricted in Turkey, and these results shows that there is no tolerance and respect for "different" sexual orientations in Turkey and that they are seen as a threat. Yılmaz (2010) names individuals who have sexual orientations apart from the heterosexual one "ultra-others" (Yılmaz, p.6) of the Turkish community. LGBTI+s may be subject to insulting views, gestures, negative attitudes and aggression by members of the Turkish community and their human rights can be violated on the grounds that they are not "normal". The LGBTI+ rights movement has also struggled against the rigid value judgments considered as norms in society, above all to gain access to human rights and to be equal citizens with all individuals, and to prevent ideological and systemic attitudes and behaviors, practices and discourses that reproduce the heteronormative social and cultural organization of society.

Moreover, one of the most important issues LGBTI+ individuals are exposed to in their social lives is hate speech and subsequent hate crimes. Discourse is an ideology that is coded socially within the language. Critical discourse analyst Van Dijck states that it is necessary to control or produce discourse in order to provide mental control in society, and the first condition for controlling discourse is to control its context (İnceoğlu and Sözeri, 2012, p.23). The discourse of the dominant ideology on the basis of the definition

of “us”, presents “other” groups as threatening factors for public safety and provokes prejudice and hate against them by using negative and acrimonious statements, disinformation, insults and humiliation (İnceoğlu and Sözeri, 2012, p.24). Hate speech is produced because of the victims’ unchangeable properties such as race, ethnicity, nationality, religion, sexual identities and orientation. Moreover, hate speech is at the root of hate crimes that target people’s very existence. According to Göregenli, hate crimes are defined as the threats of aggressors to the victims’ existence (Kaos GL, 2012, p.290). In Turkish society LGBTI+s, who are constantly exposed to hate speech in their life, experience social and psychological problems; they are condemned to negative emotions and experiences, ranging from anxiety, tension, depression, stress, anger, and alienation from society (Kaos GL, 2012, p.294). One of the most important areas that LGBTI+ rights movement actors are active in is the fight against these hate speeches and hate crimes. This struggle shows us why the LGBTI+ rights movement might be considered to have a place among NSM. Discourse is related with the reproduction of dominant ideology, norms, values and signs in society, and the LGBTI+ rights movement actors try to challenge them in order to exist with their own identities, and they try to eliminate the dominant discriminatory discourses in order to prevent human right violations. During these struggles, they question the ideological background of discourses that support hate speech and crimes, and they query all of the and relationships among people, laws, media representation that work together with the dominant ideology. To prevent hate speech and crimes, LGBTI+ organizations publish hate speech reports; furthermore, they organize workshops to challenge homophobic and transphobic discourses, and finally they follow case procedures about hate speeches and crimes with their lawyers.¹⁰

¹⁰ See, Pembe Hayat LGBTT Dayanışma Derneği and Kaos GL Derneği, Reports, 2017, CİNSEL YÖNELİM VE CİNSİYET KİMLİĞİ TEMELLİ İNSAN HAKLARI İZLEME RAPORU 2013 - 2014 - 2015 - 2016 – 2017. Available from http://www.kaosgldernegi.org/resim/yayin/dl/rapor_web.pdf. [18 April 2019]

4.1.6 Visibility and Freedom of Speech

Finally, the last example of their struggle is related with their visibility and their freedom of speech. In Turkey, the LGBTI+s' freedom of speech is precluded because of public morality (Kaos GL, 2011, p.66). There are several facts about these violations. For example, one of the most important marches for LGBTIs is the Pride March, but these marches in İstanbul and Ankara have been banned since 2015 by the governorships of those provinces. In addition, film screenings have been prohibited by governorships and district governors on the grounds of social sensitivity (Karan, 2018, p.130, 196). Attacks have taken place against them during some events in universities, in public spaces and elsewhere. All this is an indication that the state and its institutions in Turkey have systematically violated the freedom of expression of LGBTI+s, their right to hold meetings and demonstrations. One of the most important of the LGBTI+ activists' struggles is against the systematic prohibitions of the state.

4.2 History of the LGBTI Rights Movement in Turkey

There is no information about oppression and discrimination against LGBTI+ individuals before the 1970s, especially before the 1960s. Apparently, these people lived freely until these years; they could work and live in nightclubs, theatres without any intervention¹¹. However, this situation changed in 1974 after the CHP won the elections. Because it could not establish a government alone, it had to form a coalition with the MSP, a pro-Islamic nationalist party. The political atmosphere following the elections led to discriminatory and oppressive practices toward LGBTI individuals. Nightclubs and brothels where sex workers worked and at the same time where they lived were closed, the police departments stigmatized LGBTIs and the effects of this systematic oppression and discrimination was felt especially in big cities like İstanbul, Ankara and İzmir (Çetin, 2016, p.7).

¹¹ For detailed information see Çetin, Z. (2016). Working Paper. The Dynamics of the Queer Movement in Turkey before and during the Conservative AKP Government. Available from: <https://www.swp-berlin.org/fileadmin/contents/products/arbeitspapiere/WP_RG_Europe_2016_01.pdf>. [18 April 2019]

The tendency of LGBTI+s in Turkey to take a more united stand has become noticeable since the 1970s (Yıldız), when they have come together in big cities such as İstanbul, Ankara and İzmir to form safe living and working spaces in certain places (Çetin, 2016, p.8). These places can be evaluated as the first places where LGBTI+s form their countercultural or subcultural milieus, where they share their common identities. However, LGBTI+s who started to become ghettoized in certain places also appear to have been subjected to systematic violence and oppression in these regions and exiled from these living spaces and thus LGBTI+s began taking the first steps towards becoming organized (Siyah Pembe Üçgen, 2012, p.12) with the Şarololar Derneği in Ankara, and İbrahim Eren's therapy sessions for LGBTI+s within the Çevre Sağlığı Derneği in İzmir. That is to say, despite or perhaps as a result of police repression, a collective political identity began to form in parts of the Turkish LGBTI + community (Çetin, 2016, p.8).

The 1980s especially were a landmark for this movement in Turkey, because along with the military coup, all organizations were viewed with suspicion and several NGOs were closed down and some of them were LGBTI+ associations. The years following of the 12 September 1980 coup are considered as years of systematic pressure and human rights violations for LGBTI+s, as well as years in which LGBTI+s who lived in big cities started to act in line with their organizational needs. The military administration set itself the task of not only ending violence in the country, but also redesigning public morality. One of the various measures applied to LGBTI+s in this period was that a ban was imposed on men wearing women's clothes on stage in places like bars and nightclubs¹². As a result, many transgender people and gays who lived in the places, where they worked, were forced to stay on the street due to their work being prevented and they had to become sex workers because they had lost their jobs (Siyah Pembe Üçgen, 2012). In the same years, LGBTI+s were forcibly deported from major cities such as İstanbul, Ankara and

¹² This ban was applied to the circular by the decision of the Interior Ministry dated 19 March 1981, which included the prevention of the employment of men in women's clothes in places such as bars and pavilions. For detailed information: Erdoğan, B. and Köten. E. 2014. *Yeni Toplumsal Hareketlerin Sınıf Dinamiği: Türkiye LGBT Hareketi*, Marmara Üniversitesi Siyasal Bilimler Dergisi. Vol. 2 (1): 93-113, Doi:10.14782/SBD.201416302

Izmir. Moreover, they were kept hungry in custody, their right to gender surgery was removed (Yıldız), and all these practices can be considered as reproduction heteronormativity itself through oppression by the State. Moreover, as Çetin (2016) mentions,

In this period sustained police, legal and military repression led to numerous activists fleeing to Europe and the USA, where they joined anti-military, environmental, and feminist movements, which provided them with insights into these new social movements, this was also the case for many members of the queer movement. The experiences of these temporary exiles would later become significant for the new social movement in Turkey. The military coup largely annihilated the radical left, temporarily debilitated the radical right, and thus unwittingly opened up public and political space for new social movements, among which was the queer movement (Çetin, 2016, p.8).

The actions that emerged in response to the increasing pressure during these years can be regarded as the first steps towards the visibility of the movement in the street and the first step for an organized movement, such as the hunger strike and sit-in in Taksim initiated by four transwomen in Gezi Parkı in 1987, and subsequently, the meetings called “Çarşamba Çayları”, which were organized under the guidance of İbrahim Eren (Yıldız). As a result of the persistent 1980s’ spiral of violence, stigmatization, insulting discourses, pressure and coercion, conditions suitable for LGBTI+s to begin an organized struggle around a common identity and raise their voices more rapidly and strongly were accelerated.

With the 1990s, a growth in the LGBT+ rights movement was observed, its activism increased, and its attempts to organize around the association and fanzines intensified (Diltemiz Mol, 2016, p.64). As Ali Erol mentions, after the second half of the 1980s, LGBTI+s began to gradually find each other in places that are seen as “abnormal” in the cities like parks, bars, cinemas, small and enclosed places and they began to create networks among themselves. Forcing LGBTI individuals to live in certain places due to exclusion created networks of solidarity among them because of this ghettoization, which allowed them to strengthen their identity struggle (Erdoğan & Köten, 2014, p.101).

Later on, there was an attempt to move beyond the parks, cafes, tea meetings etc. to associations around organizations and magazines, which were formed during the second period of the LGBTI+ rights movement in Turkey, which coincided with the 90s (Erol, 2014, p.279). In the 1990s, this movement began to gain visibility in the public sphere. As a turning point in the overcoming of the visibility barrier, Lambdaistanbul in İstanbul and Kaos GL in Ankara participated with rainbow flags in 1 May Labour Day Celebrations in the 1990s (Yılmaz, 2014, p.174). Later, as LGBTI+ activists wanted to organize an honor march alone, but were not allowed to by the governorship, the establishment of Lambdaistanbul was achieved in 1993 as one of the first organizations of the movement in İstanbul and it became a member of ILGA (International Lesbian and Gay Association) in the same year (Bianet). Moreover, in 1994, Kaos GL magazine published its first issue on 20 September 1994, since then LGBTIs have begun to organize around this magazine in Ankara, and in the following years in 1999, its cultural center was opened. Both initiatives received additional support from Turkish NGOs such as the AIDS Savaşım Derneği, the feminist group Mor Çatı, and the İnsan Hakları Derneği (Çetin, 2016, p.11). In the 1990s, the emergence of Kaos GL in Ankara, Lambdaistanbul LGBTI Solidarity Association (Lambdaistanbul LGBTI Dayanışma Derneği, Lambdaistanbul) in İstanbul, Bilinçli Eşcinseller Topluluğu in Eskişehir, Spartaküs in Bursa, LEGATO in ODTÜ and Boğaziçi Universities etc. were signs that the LGBTI movement could no longer be confined to invisibility (Siyah Pembe Üçgen Tarih Dizisi, 2013, p.12-13). During the 1990s, with a movement towards a rapprochement and cooperation among the actors of the LGBTI+ movement in Turkey it experienced many improvements, on 27 September 1998 the first homosexual meeting, which was named “İstanbuluşma”, in Turkey was arranged with the participation of Kaos GL, Sappho’nun Kızları, Spartaküs, and Almanya Türk Gay. These activities were carried out in Ankara under the name “BaharAnkara” and in İstanbul as “Güztanbul” until 2004. Deniz Yıldız explains the emergence and the agenda of these meetings of different LGBTI movement actors in this way:

Increasing number of communities brought up the idea of “assignation”. This assignation happened on September 7, 1998 with the contribution of Kaos GL, Sappho’nun Kızları,

Spartaküs and Türk Gay's this event hosted by Lambdaistanbul. The point of this meeting was to agitate these people so that they know each other better. After some meetings and long conversations, some ideas were brought up to table. These were, with these types of gatherings gays could find a place where they can find people like them self, argue about agenda of this community and to decide what could be done in order to act together. In addition, this ambiance would create a perfect place for these people to inform each other on what is going on separately. After this specific meeting, they concluded that there should be meetings in every 6-month interval. They added that these meetings and events should go according to a program. They chose Ankara for the next meeting spot and starting from Ankara meeting, they called Ankara meeting as BaharAnkara and Istanbul meeting as Güzstanbul (Yıldız).

The 2000s were also important years for the LGBTI+ rights movement in Turkey, because in this period the movement began to become formally established. From 1993 to 2005, organizations such as Lambdaistanbul or Kaos GL existed but they didn't have a formal and registered structure; people gathered in coffee houses, bars, held Sunday meetings in homes or parks to discuss their problems and possible solutions and to share tasks (Erol, 2014, p.279). After coming to power, the AKP government concentrated on harmonization with the EU, and began to pass harmonization packages to support demands for joining the European Union. These packages included some expressions of political will for EU membership such as freedom of thought and expression, the prevention of torture, the strengthening of democracy and civilian authority, the freedom and security of the individual, the right to privacy, the inviolability of the domicile, freedom of communication, freedom of residence and movement and freedom of association and gender equality (Republic of Turkey Ministry of Foreign Affairs Secretariat General For EU Affairs, 2007, p.4). In addition, there were some measures, which directly affected the LGBTI+ organizations' situation in Turkey such as changes in the Turkish Associations Law. The Law on Associations numbered 2908, which entered into force in 1983, was amended during the harmonization process with the EU, the new Law on Associations No. 5253 came into force on 23.11.2004. With this Act, audits on associations were greatly reduced and state control over associations was abolished

(Gökalp, 2005, p.209-210). After these developments, Turkey's first LGBTI+ association was founded in 2005 and it was recorded as Kaos GL. After then, Lambdaistanbul in 2006, Pembe Hayat LGBTT Solidarity Association (Pembe Hayat: Pembe Hayat LGBTT Dayanışma Derneği, Pembe Hayat) in 2006 and Siyah Pembe Üçgen Derneği in 2009 gained legal status.

However, these positive developments for LGBTI+ organizations and the attitudes of the AKP government toward them did not last a long time, and the AKP government's egalitarian attitude towards human rights began to change over time. In 2004, in order to amend Article 3 of the Turkish Penal Code¹³ and add "sexual identity and sexual orientation" statements, Kaos GL and Lambdaistanbul associations reported their demands to parliamentary deputies, but achieved no positive results because of the resistance of Minister of Justice Cemil Çiçek who defended the position that the statement "sex" in this article included these terms (2001'den 2015'e AKP'in LGBTİ Tarihi). There are also other facts that show us how the AKP policies and attitudes changed negatively towards LGBTI+s. Following gaining the status of association by Lambdaistanbul, İstanbul Governorship a filed lawsuit to close it by claiming that this association was against the law, morality and Turkish family structure (Lambdaistanbul için kapatma davası açılıyor, 2007). However, after a two-year trial this decision was overturned by the Supreme Court in 2008 because of unjust termination (Söyle, 2009). During this period, the group members and activists conducted a signature drive, they received support from EU parliamentarians, national and international NGOs, and in 2009, a decision was made in favor of the association (Çetin, 2016, p. 14). Moreover, in 2006 the Şişli police department established a team to tackle transgenders (Yılmaz and Demirbaş, 2015, p.239), Bursa Governorship filed a law suit to close Gökkuşuğu Derneği by claiming again that this association was against the morality of Turkish society; and finally Selma Aliye Kavaf, who was the state minister in charge of women and family

¹³ According to Turkish Penal Code Article 3, In the implementation of the Criminal Code no one shall receive any privilege and there shall be no discrimination against any individual on the basis of their race, language, religion, sect, nationality, color, gender, political (or other) ideas and thought, philosophical beliefs, ethnic and social background, birth, economic and other social positions.

stated “Homosexuality is a biological disease” of about LGBTI+s. Similarly, in the process of drafting the new constitution, which started in 2011, the common demand of the LGBTI rights movement to include “sexual identity and orientation” additions in the matter of equality was not addressed.

Another important year and experience for the LGBTI+ movement in Turkey was the year of the Gezi Movement. Because of the scope of the thesis, here, the Gezi Movement will not be discussed in detail; however, it should be said that the mass protests of 2013 against the destruction of Gezi Park and also the neoliberal policies of the AKP government were significant for the opening up of the LGBTI+ rights movement to society, largely because a wide variety of groups from various movement joined forces there and LGBTI activists were particularly visible in the conflict. Furthermore, during the movement they organized their own demonstrations, rallies and discussion events and they built networks among different actors of both the LGBTI movement and other movement actors. With these protests, the visibility of LGBTI+ individuals and activists in the public space increased dramatically and due to social media, this visibility expanded swiftly. According to Yıldız Tar,

Gezi Park has been always a place where LGBTI individuals have found each other to socialize. According to him, in Turkey where homophobia dominates society, parks, bathhouses etc. are really important for the LGBTI+ subculture that is why it was normal that LGBTI+ individuals were seen in Gezi Park during the protests and increased their visibility. However, what was different about this protest was that apart from their own organizations, activists were also informed about the existence of other ones and new ones emerged.

During and after the Gezi protests numerous new LGBTI+ organizations were founded in many regions, with or without legal status of, including Trans Dayanışma Derneği, Red Umbrella Sexual Health and Human Rights Association (Kırmızı Şemsiye Cinsel Sağlık ve İnsan Hakları Derneği, Kırmızı Şemsiye), Queer Adana, Mersin LGBT 7 Renk and Dersim Roştîya Asmê LGBTİ (Çetin, 2016, p.15). The role of social media should also be

elaborated at this point. Edođan and Koten (2014) emphasize the importance of the internet for the construction of networks among LGBTI+ individuals, and for the increase in the number of groups or associations and their support for the movement (Erdođan & Koten, 2014). According to Gorkemli (2012), the internet provided the means by which otherwise isolated individuals with nonmainstream gender identities and/or sexual orientations could connect with each other to form communities (Gorkemli, 2012, p.73). Gorkemli mentioned the important role of the internet in encouraging members to take part in offline activities, informing them, and encouraging them to communicate with each other. As also seen during the Gezi Protest and during the following years, the internet and social media support any kind of social movement actors who are not represented or misrepresented in mainstream media (Gorkemli, 2012, p.73).

Parallel to the political presence and dominance of the AKP, LGBTI+ persons were increasingly laying claim to rights and status. Despite the conservatism of the AKP, in a kind of emancipatory counter reaction-, queer groups were being organized at universities, in the areas of health and education and, in the job market (etin, 2016, p.14). Today, mainly in İstanbul, Ankara and İzmir but not only limited to these cities, several LGBTI organizations exist in Turkey and network with each other (ztunalı, 2015) to overcome all of the violations mentioned above. Among them there are İstanbul LBGT Dayanışma Derneđi, Kaos GL, Kırmızı Őemsiye, Social Policies, Gender Identity and Sexual Orientation Studies Association (Sosyal Politikalar Cinsiyet Kimliđi ve Cinsel Yonelim alıřmaları Derneđi, SPOD), Lamdaistanbul LGBTİ dayanışma Derneđi, Mersin LGBT 7 Renk Derneđi, Pembe Hayat, Siyah Pembe uđgen İzmir Derneđi, Trans Danışma Merkezi Derneđi (T-DER), Gen LGBTİ+ Derneđi as associations; abunya Bođazii LGBTİ topluluđu, GSÜ Lion Queer, LEGEBİT, İTÜ Cins Arı, Bilkent Renkli Düşün, Ankara Homofobi, Bifobi, Transfobi Karşıtı Öğrenci Ađı, Bilgi Gokkuřađı etc. as student clubs; Families and Friends of LGBTIs in Turkey (Lezbiyen, Gey, Biseksüel, Trans, İnterseks Aileleri ve Yakınları Grubu, LİSTAG), various family groups in İzmir, Ankara, Denizli and so on, Antalya Pembe Hayat, Ceratta LBQB, Giresun Gokkuřađı Grubu, Keskesor Diyarbakır LGBTİ, Dersim Rařtiya Asme LGBTİ, Mor El Eskiřehir LGBTİ, Queer Adana, Hebun LGBT as groups. These actors

construct and reconstruct their gay, lesbian, bisexual, and transgender identities, creating their own narratives consistent with their culture and experiences (Engin, 2015, p.4) and act to make their identities visible and orientations in order to gain their human rights. These actors strive firstly for legal protection, therefore achieve the addition of the description “sexual identity and sexual orientation” to Turkish Penal Code Article 3, Labour Law Article 5¹⁴; modification of the process and conditions for reporting for the Gay and Transnational for Health Ability Regulation of the Turkish Armed Force¹⁵; to regulate Civil Code Article 40¹⁶ properly for human rights and after achieving this legal protection they will try to gain their rights in education, health services and housing equally with the other citizens of Turkey.

¹⁴ See, Principle of equal treatment, Labour Law 4857. 2003. Available from <http://turkishlaborlaw.com/turkish-labor-law-no-4857/19-4857-labor-law-english-by-article>. [18 April 2019]

¹⁵ See, Siyah Pembe Üçgen İzmir, Reports, 2014-2016, LGBTİ’LERİN İNSAN HAKLARI DURUMU. Available from http://www.siyahpembe.org/wp-content/uploads/2017/11/spu-lgbti_haklari-raporu-2014-2016.pdf. [18 April 2019]

¹⁶ Article 40 of the Turkish Civil Code stipulates that a court permission must be obtained in order to undergo gender reassignment surgery. According to the article, the permission can only be given if the person is over 18 and unmarried, if the person has obtained official medical board reports to prove that the operation is psychologically needed and that the ability to reproduce is permanently lost. However, this article necessitates the mental health report for gender reassignment, which may lead to situations in which citizens can be stigmatized in the future in their future work life. Please see, Akpınar, Ö. 2016. Turkish Constitutional Court to review Gender Reassignment Law. Available from: <http://kaosgl.org/page.php?id=21001>. [18 April 2019]

CHAPTER 5

INDIVIDUAL AND ORGANIZATIONAL NETWORKS IN LGBTI+ RIGHTS MOVEMENT

In this chapter, firstly the methodology, which is employed in this study, will be explained. Then, after giving a description of the field and giving information about actors, individuals' and organizations' networks within the LGBTI+ rights movement in Turkey will be explained.

5.1 Methodology

To reveal networks among the actors of the LGBTI+ rights movement and to answer the questions that are mentioned above, firstly, an attempt was made to locate actors and a prestudy was carried out for this. In this prestudy, the Twitter accounts of Kaos Gey ve Lezbiyen Kültürel Araştırmalar ve Dayanışma Derneği (Kaos GL) and Lambdaistanbul LGBTT Dayanışma Derneği (Lambdaistanbul), which are the oldest associations that exist in this area, were used. Firstly, accounts that they follow were listed, then other accounts followed by these accounts were listed in an excel sheet. By using the snowball method, this list was continued until the same accounts appeared again. After getting a general idea about who the actors were, student clubs, groups and organizations that are active in İstanbul, Ankara and İzmir were filtered. After the filtering process, the actors were contacted via telephone, mail or social media accounts in order to conduct semi-structured interviews with them. Among these actors, were Kaos GL, Lambdaistanbul, Pembe Hayat LGBTT Dayanışma Derneği (Pembe Hayat), Siyah Pembe Üçgen İzmir Derneği, Young LGBTI+ Association (Genç Lezbiyen Gey Biseksüel Trans İnterseks, Genç LGBTİ+ Derneği), Sosyal Politikalar Cinsiyet Kimliği ve Cinsel Yönelim Çalışmaları Derneği (SPoD), İzmir LGBTİ+ Aile Grubu, Levander LGBTİQ+, DEU Eşit Şerit Toplumsal Cinsiyet Araştırmaları Topluluğu, ODTU LGBTİ+ Dayanışması, Boğaziçi Üniversitesi LGBTİ+ Çalışmaları Kulübü. However, Levander LGBTİQ+, DEU Eşit Şerit Toplumsal Cinsiyet Araştırmaları Topluluğu, ODTU LGBTİ+ Dayanışması and Boğaziçi Üniversitesi LGBTİ+ Çalışmaları Kulübü said that there were no students available for interview, and Kaos GL

did not reply. Therefore, semi-structured interviews were carried out with Lambdaistanbul, Pembe Hayat, Siyah Pembe Üçgen İzmir Derneği, Genç LGBTİ+ Derneği, SPoD and İzmir LGBTİ+ Aile Grubu.

Social network analysis aims at producing and analyzing “relational” data and focuses on analyzing sets of “ties” between actors (Edwards, 2010, p.6). Networks among LGBTİ+ rights movement actors also define their “social world” in the interactionist sense. That is, a world of shared meaning purposes, knowledge, understandings, identities, conventions etc., all of which affect the way those within it act (Crossley, 2008, p.7). To reveal how, why, for which purposes and in which circumstances, and shared meanings, identities, using numbers that explain just the existence or nonexistence of ties among actors is not enough. That is why quantitative data are not enough for a deep understanding of the networks among actors. For this study, qualitative research methods were preferred because reducing relationships to numbers ignores the dynamics and an evaluation of the nature of relationships (Crossley, 2008, p.8). Ties among actors are not standard, fixed, constant and meaningless “things”. These ties that create networks have different stories, different meanings, different content, different reasons for different actors, so to reveal them for this study the qualitative network analysis method was preferred.

According to Ahrens (2018),

Qualitative network analysis enables the visualization of where and which formal and informal networks exist among activists and social movement organizations; it also makes it possible to detect whether and why networks exist and what kind of content social movement actors attribute to them. Qualitative social network analysis allows an understanding not only of the quantity and formation but also of the quality of networks (Ahrens, 2018, p.2).

As employed in Ahrens’ study, in this study qualitative network analysis was used. Qualitative research methods help the researcher to gain an insight into the process involved in the co-construction of meaning, lived experiences, cultural rituals and oppressive practices (Atkinson, 2017, p.60). Qualitative analysis is a means by which we

can retrieve and analysis the content, interactions, expectation, nature of relationships, unique history and meanings of social ties, symbolic commonness and distinctions and finally shared experiences while including the agent as a subject of the research, accordingly, qualitative tools can engage more directly and straightforwardly with meanings, identities, situational definitions and stories (Crossley, 2017, p.13). For these reasons, during the study a semi-structured in-depth interview method used.

In-depth interviewing is a qualitative research technique that involves conducting intensive individual interviews with a small number of respondents to explore their perspectives on a particular idea, program, or situation (Boyce & Neale, 2006, p.3). This technique is useful when the researcher wants detailed information about a particular person's thoughts and behavior. Kvale (1996) explains the in-depth interview method as the "traveler" method; the interviewer is seen as a traveler who journeys with the interviewee. The meanings of the interviewee's "stories" are developed as the traveler interprets them (Kvale, 1996 as cited in Maruster, 2013, p.141). In order to achieve the aims of this research, for this study traveling with actors was seen as the most appropriate method. Therefore, their "social worlds" (Crossley, 2008) were examined in depth by conducting interviews with them. As Maruster stated,

The semi-structured interview provides a repertoire of possibilities for researchers. It is sufficiently structured to address specific topics related to the phenomenon of study, while leaving space for participants to offer new meanings to the study focus. A key benefit of the semi-structured interview is its attention to lived experience while also addressing theoretically driven variables of interests. It allows for considerable reciprocity, or give and take, create space for the researcher to probe a participant's responses for clarification, meaning making and critical reflection (as cited in Galletta & Cross, 2013, p.24).

For in-depth interviews from the perspective of a social movement, research questions require researchers to: 1) identify the activists, 2) note what makes them activists, 3) relate their activism to a particular research site, and 4) distinguish the primary unit of analysis (Atkinson, 2017, p.67), which is the relations among LGBTI+ rights movement

actors for this study. In this study, in order to conduct semi-structured in-depth interviews, these steps the following. In the first section of the questions, some open-ended questions were asked to the participants to get some information about themselves, their perception about defining the LGBTI+ rights movement in Turkey, their personal history about becoming a member of this movement, their experiences in this area and so on. In this way, space was given to the participants to initiate a discussion about the subject and an attempt was made to understand the process that made them become activists. The first part was prepared to make the interviewees relate themselves to the research. In the second section of the questions, questions that were more specific were asked to the participants to gain details about the focal point of this study, i.e. the individual and organizational level of networking practices. In this way, after noting what made actors activists, the second section of the questions related their activism with the networking part of the study, which was the primary aim of the study. In this part, questions were asked to analyze the formal and informal networking effects on activists' decisions and their participation in the LGBTI+ rights movement in Turkey and the social movement organization that they were members of. In addition, these questions were asked to obtain details about the construction practices and values and principles of their collective identities and finally to observe the networking practices in the social movement organization and the content of these networks, i.e., resource mobilization, information exchange, staff exchange, organization of an event etc. Moreover, there were questions about the effects of social media on the movement. At the last stage of the interview, the participants were asked whether there was a topic that they would like to add and if there was any, they were free to continue talking about them. So, in the analysis there are two part which are individual level and organizational level. In the first level of the analysis, the aim was to reveal the effect of formal and informal ties on the activists' networking practices. In the second level, the aim was analyze interorganizational networks considering the specific resource exchanges based on material and non-material resources. In the next step, Gephi was used to visualize the relationships between SMOs.

For this study, the purposive sampling method was selected. To represent the LGBTI+ rights movement universe, organizations, groups and student clubs were selected from the three big cities in Turkey, which are İstanbul, Ankara and İzmir. The fact that both the historically oldest associations and the groups which have more experience and knowledge on the movement are located in these cities, I have selected the associations in these three cities. The actors selected are mentioned above. Moreover, while selecting interviewees from these associations or groups the network sampling method (Lecompte & Shesul, 1999) was used, which means that after conducting the first interview recommendations for other individuals who might also be willing to participate in the study from other associations or groups were requested.

5.2 Description of the field and data collection

Data for this research was collected over a five-month period (from January to May) in 2019 in İstanbul, Ankara and İzmir by conducting seven interviews. For this study, to apply qualitative network analysis, the data was gathered by using the semi-structured interview method. QNA is a useful technique to shed light on personal perceptions of reality and relationships that individuals develop (Hollstein and Straus, 2006 as cited in Ahrens; p.2). QNA tools allow the examination of what agency means in a certain context, how policy processes and actors are connected, and which dynamics occur in (social) networks (Hollstein, 2011 as cited in Ahrens, 2018; p.2). The sample consists of SMOs from İstanbul, Ankara and İzmir. Actors interviewed are LİSTAG, SPoD from İstanbul; Pembe Hayat from Ankara, Genç LGBTİ+ Derneği, Siyah Pembe Üçgen Derneği and İzmir LGBTİ+ Aile Grubu from İzmir. These selections were made according to the cities where LGBTI+s were based and different structures such as associations, student clubs and family groups. Interviews were conducted with one representative from each organization. Before conducting the interviews, an informative text was sent to the participants about the research to be conducted according to the ethical compliance requirements and the consent text for audio recording was signed. Therefore, all interviews were recorded. Moreover, each interview lasted approximately 50 minutes.

Moreover, it should be noted that, throughout the transcription process, I used pseudonymous for all participants' names.

The first interview was conducted with Selva from the Genç LGBTİ+ Derneği. This association was established in 2016 to research the problems that LGBTİ+ young people face during their lives, to voice their opinions and bring them to public attention, to produce solutions to these problems and to offer suggestions to the authorities. This association defines people who are between 18 and 38 years old as young and youth studies are among their primary concerns. However, for the past three years they have also helped LGBTİ+s from all ages with education, health and housing issues. Firstly, an e-mail was sent to the Genç LGBTİ+ Derneği in 31 January 2019 to inform them about the contents of the thesis and ask whether one person, that could represent them, would participate in an interview. After getting a positive response, in 7 February 2019 the interview took place in their offices, located in Kıbrıs Şehitleri Street, Alsancak. After the interview, the interviewee was asked whether she knew other people from other SMOs that could be chosen and if she could ask them whether they could participate in this study. Therefore, in this study the network sampling method was used. Selva contacted people from İzmir LGBTİ+ Aile Grubu and Lambdaistanbul and directed them to me.

The second interview was conducted with Saye from İzmir LGBTİ+ Aile Grubu. After calling her on the phone number that Selva gave, contact with her was achieved. The interview was carried out on 21 February 2019. It took place in Bostanlı in İzmir and lasted about 40 minutes. This group has been active since 2008 and consists of families that have LGBTİ+ children. Their first aim is to support LGBTİ+ children and help their families.

The third interview was conducted with Furkan from Siyah Pembe Üçgen İzmir Derneği at İzmir University of Economics. It was established in 2009 to protect LGBTİ+s from hate speech and crimes that are based on sexual identities. Moreover, it provides all kinds of legal and social advocacy activities for the protection of their rights. Furkan has been active since the establishment of this association.

The fourth interview was carried out with Talay from Lambdaistanbul and he has been active from the first years of the association. Contact was initially made with him throughout the recommendation of Selva from the Genç LGBTI+ İzmir Derneği. Lambdaistanbul founded in 1993 and it is one of the most important actors for the emergence of the LGBTI+ rights movement in Turkey. It acts to organize solidarity among LGBTI+ people, to fighting against transphobia, homophobia, and biphobia. At the same time, it does not limit itself to the struggle against rights violations that are based on sexual orientation and identities, it also against all kinds of discrimination, such as that based on religion, language, race, nationality, age. The interview was conducted with Talay from this association on 26 February 2019, and it was at his house in Kadıköy/İstanbul.

The fifth interview was with Ayla from LİSTAG. Talay gave her phone number. The interview was conducted on the telephone on 2 March 2019. It lasted about 35 minutes. LİSTAG is a non-governmental group that has been continuing its activities since 2008, to support LGBTI+ families and their children who have a need to share their experiences and challenges.

The sixth interview was with Lemi from SPoD, it was conducted via telephone on 8 March 2019. SPoD was founded in 2011 by a group of academics, lawyers and activists to produce sustainable and comprehensive solutions for the problems of LGBTI+s in İstanbul and to reduce the pressure, violence and discrimination they are exposed to. The first contact had been by e-mail, and then they said that they had some conditions, like informing them in detail about the thesis, and sending them a CV. After sending detailed information about the type, content and method of this research, they agreed to have an interview with me. The interview was conducted via telephone.

The last interview was with Rengin from Pembe Hayat. It was conducted via phone on 25 March 2019. This association is the first transgender based association in Turkey and established in 2006 and their primary work areas are protecting transgenders from discrimination, stigmatization, violence, hate speech and crimes.

5.3 Limitations

For this study, the main limitation was the boundary problem that is common for researches employing network analysis as their methodology. The boundary problem is the problem of defining the population of actors to be studied through network analysis in a way, which does not depend on priori categories; in other words, the problem of delimiting the study of social networks that may have no limits (Emirbayer & Goodwin, 1994, p. 1447). During the study, it can be seen that there are various actors that constitute the LGBTI+ rights movement in Turkey, which vary from associations, groups student clubs, social media accounts to platforms that network with each other and provide the continuity of the movement. Moreover, these networks are not limited to the ties among these actors, LGBTI+ right movement actors also network with external stakeholders, such as international LGBTI+ associations, local administrations, psychology associations, medicine associations, fund committees, consulates and so on that are also networked with other actors. Thus, networks are limitless and not fixed “things”, they always change, decrease or enlarge, new actors are always entering the network and some others exiting. Moreover, the content of the network may also change from time to time. That is why defining the boundaries of the network need some limitations. During studies, the investigators should set boundaries for the inclusion of actors by focusing on the articular components of the network (Laumann et al., 1983). For this study, the LGBTI+ rights movement actors’ networks were limited to the associations and groups that are located in İstanbul, Ankara and İzmir, the five actors they cooperated with the most, and the content of these relationships.

I should also indicate that in this study I did not concentrate on the philosophical discussions about identities and orientations. Given the space limitation for this thesis, I rather grounded my perspective on new social movements literature instead of queer theory.

5.4 Findings from Qualitative Network Analysis

The analysis part of the study consists of two parts, which are the individual level network analysis and the organizational level network analysis. Firstly, the individual

level will be explained and the content of individual networking practices will be elaborated, later the organizational level will be analyzed and their convergence in their actions and interorganizational ties construction practices will be explained.

5.4.1 Individual Level Qualitative Network Analysis

In the first level of the study, the aim was to reveal the effect of formal and informal ties on the activists' perception of protest issues and their decision-making processes about participation in the movement and in SMOs. In order to obtain this information during the interviews I asked participants the following questions: Have you ever been a member of another social movement? Did your beingness affect your decision to participate in the LGBTI+ rights movement? How did you decide to participate in the movement and SMO that you are a member of? Did your acquaintances, your friends or your family members have an impact on your involvement in the LGBTI+ rights movement?

At the individual level of networking analysis, I also tried to examine the socialization function of networks. Socialization function refers to the creation of a disposition to protest by exposing an individual to symbols and narratives that create consciousness towards given issues (Passy, 2003, p.6). In this part, I tried to examine where they conveyed the symbols, narratives, values and principles of the LGBTI+ rights movement. Furthermore, I tried to analyze how activists frame this movement, in other words, whether activist within the same movement have culturally close networks that means networking with other activists with similar frames.

5.4.1.1 Formal and Informal Ties

In the first phase of the first level, the aim was to analyze the effects of formal and informal ties on individuals' perception about the movement and the decision process to participate in it. As mentioned before, involvement in movements is important because the actual development and enlargement of the movement and SMO depends on a dynamic operating at the macro level (McAdam, 1988, p.127). When the interviews were analyzed four of the participants, who were Selva from the Genç LGBTI+ Derneği, Furkan from Siyah Pembe Üçgen Derneği, Ayla from LİSTAG, and Lemi from SPoD,

mentioned that they were already members in numerous social movements and organizations before deciding to participate in the LGBTI+ rights movements. In addition, they mentioned that this situation affected their decision to become involved in the LGBTI+ rights movement. Saye from İzmir LGBTİ+ Aile Grubu and Talay from Lambdaistanbul mentioned lack of formal ties, which means they have never been involved in any other social movement or SMO before the LGBTI+ rights movement. Moreover, for Selva, Furkan, Ayla, Rengin and Saye informal networks (interpersonal ties) have an impact on their first contact with the SMO that they are members of, for Talay and Lemi mediated communication played a role during this process.

Selva mentioned that she always had a close relationship with leftist movements, and during her university years, she followed public releases, marches, moreover she was always active in the women's movement during these years and according to her, these circumstances affected her activist identity. She mentioned that these activism practices allowed her to become involved in the LGBTI+ rights movement because she realized that she had tendency toward becoming involved in political or cultural issues. Therefore, it can be said that formal ties, which means her already existing activism in other social movements, had an impact on her activism in LGBTI+ rights. Her experience supports Passy's argument. She argues that individuals who were already involved in the solidarity process or movement tend to be ideologically closer to political issues and these processes have an impact on their involvement in other movements (Passy, 2003; p.16). When Selva decided to participate in the LGBTI+ rights movement, she saw a group page, which was "Kampüste heteroseksist düzene karşıyız" (We are against the heterosexist order in the campus) on Facebook and that made her decide to participate in their meetings. It was observed that social media, thus mediated communication networks, also have an impact on her participation in the LGBTI+ rights movement, which means rather than personal contact or informal friendship; the media environment encouraged her to join the movement. However, after participating in first meeting that was announced on this Facebook page, with other people who she met and were concerned about the same issues, they decided to establish a student group, which was

“LeGeBİT Cinsel Yönelim ve Cinsiyet Kimliği Araştırmaları Topluluğu (LeGeBİT)”. To attract more people, they opened stands and organized activities; however, after their activities were prohibited in their university¹⁷, with her close friends LeGeBİT, they decided to start an association, which was Genç LGBTI+ Derneği. Here, her strong ties were instrumental in the establishment of this association. As Passy argues, close friends are the most appropriate tie for conversion of their political interest into a strong degree of commitment (Passy, 2003; p.19) so for institutionalization of their activities and becoming an association, her prior personal contacts and informal friendship ties had an important impact. She explained the effects of their already existing ties that she constructed through LeGeBİT in the establishment process of Genç LGBTI+ Derneği as follows:

“After seeing the Facebook group “Kampüste heteroseksist düzene karşıyız” (We are against the heterosexist order in the campus), we decided to go to a meeting with friends. After meeting with other friends here, we started to meet regularly and decided to name it. We wanted to be a student club; we wrote a constitution in order to become one of the school’s clubs. Until the prohibitions began, we were active at school every week. The first thing that came to our mind was to open a stand; it was very easy to open a stand at that time. Our purpose in opening these stands was to ensure that other LGBTI+ students could see that they are not alone. Thanks to these stands, our number of people increased, and we have been able to do something. Firstly, we started giving some instruction in the school. We put forward the name of our group, LeGeBİT. It was an advantage for us to open stands and be in front of the faculties because these are the areas where women’s organizations and the left organizations are active and where their activism is on display. We started to organize with them. We came together with all these organizations, joined together with them on marches and this was good for our visibility. The fact that when we say, “Where are you my love?” and leftist organizations answered “I am here my love” touched our activist soul. We went to these activities for three years but in 2015, there was an incident and a state of emergency was declared in the school, and the activities of all organizations were restricted, stands were closed. We’ve become

¹⁷ The subject mentioned here is the implementation of a state of emergency after the death of Firat Çakıroğlu, a student of the Ege University Faculty of Letters.

unable to reach out to everyone. We have decided that the school community has become insufficient to be able to reach everyone, to be more visible, to speak to more people, and to socialize and with our close friends we decided to establish Genç LGBTI+ Derneği (personal communication, February 7, 2019).”

Another interviewee, Furkan, was also already involved in other social movements and he stated that his involvement influenced his activism in the LGBTI+ rights movement. He mentioned that, during his university years, he was active in the peace movement and the women’s movement and he followed their marches and actions. Moreover, during these years he met with other activists who were active in the LGBTI+ rights movement. He explained as follows:

“In 2006, I got together with some friends who I had met before during my past activism. Thinking that the activities of LGBTI+ organizations had been interrupted and with a small cadre, we started meeting regularly. In the beginning of the 2000s, we reached some friends who worked in this field. We were a group of about 10 people. Some of us were students, some were doctors, and some others were lawyers. Having lawyers among us gave us confidence, for example, when we had legal work. Thus, we took the first step towards forming an organization (personal communication,2019).”

From his explanation, it can be seen that his ties that came from his previous activism experiences had an impact on his decision to organize within the LGBTI+ rights movement. As he mentioned, having acquaintances like lawyers and doctors gave them a feeling of trust. According to Gambetta (Gambetta, 2000), we interpret trust as confidence in the ability or intention of a person to be of benefit or to be trustworthy at some time in the future (Netrvalova and Safarik, p.1). Here, his acquaintances that he met from his previous activism experiences gave him a source of trust, and this facilitated the establishment of an association for LGBTI+s rights in İzmir, because he thought that during their organization process, they would need people who would have an active role in tasks such as preparing the association’s rules, or giving advice to their counselee. Ayla had also already been a member of women’s and leftist movements during her university years and stated that she always defended the rights of women who were

oppressed, marginalized or victimized, and defended the rights of the working class. In addition, she stated that during her university years, she had been an active member of “Devrimci Gençlik” and her experiences that she had in the past had an impact on her activism in the LGBTI+ rights movement. However, her first meeting with this movement was because she learned that her son was homosexual. She explained her first meeting as follows:

“When I learned that my son was a homosexual, my son wanted to introduce me to the families of his homosexual friends. I always wondered who he was friends with and about their families, therefore I agreed to meet with his friend and his mother, and we met in Taksim. We told each other what we had experienced. We talked about the same things, so we got closer. I learned that there were also other families like us and they wanted to introduce us to them. Especially, we had a child who did his doctorate during these years and was an active member in Lambda Istanbul, he introduced us to other families. The number of people involved increased, and we became a family group that met at Amargi Cafe in Taksim or other cafes and poured out our grief to each other and tried to learn something from each other. Our children also thought about improving our relations on this issue. We had just been introduced to this community; we were just being acquainted with terms like transsexuals, we had an insatiable desire for knowledge. Our children wanted to help us improve, and our organization began in this way (personal communication, March 2, 2019).”

In her experience, her family ties had an impact on her involvement in the LGBTI+ rights movement. Her experiences support Granovetter’s arguments. He argues that, people associate more easily with those most like themselves, moreover mutually beneficial cooperation occurs more readily among people of similar social identities, who are relatively equal and who share common bonds and interests. Such relationships are often characterized by emotional bonds of friendship, intimacy and reciprocity, and they tend to endure over time (Granovetter 1973 as cited in Ashman et al, 1998, p.154).

Lemi, like the others, had also been already interested in political issues during his high school years and this experience affected his activist identity in the LGBTI+ rights movement, thus for him formal ties influenced his LGBTI+ rights activism. What was

different from the others was that he was a member of Özgürlük ve Dayanışma Partisi Gençlik Kolları that is not a SMO, rather a political party organization. However, he mentioned that due to this membership, he had chance to experience activism. He explained as follows:

“In the high school years, I was preparing for the university exam and the questions of the exam were stolen. I also started to participate in a political organization to fight against this injustice. I can say that my organizational experience has influenced my identity as an activist in later years (personal communication, March 8, 2019).”

Different from the interviewees mentioned above, Lemi’s first contact with the LGBTI+ rights movement was not affected by informal relationships. His involvement in the movement was due to mediated communication. He mentioned that,

“In the years that I decided to participate in the LGBTI+ movement, blogs were very fashionable. Too many LGBTI people started their own blogs and created a space for themselves. In 2011-12, I started doing keyboard activism. I participated in the movement in an anonymous way. I started a blog and started to tell everyone about my whole life, about what I had experienced, my first excitement, my frustration, my experience of coming out to my family and so on. Then people started to get in touch with me. After Twitter started to become fashionable, I moved there and continued my activism from there. However, participating in LGBTI activism in an organized sense started with my internship experience. At that time, Pembe Hayat gave internship opportunities to social service experts. In 2015, I was involved in organized activism at the time of my internship. After my internship, I continued to work there. Now, I work for SPoD as a social service expert (personal communication, March 8, 2019).”

From his experience, we can see that media (like social media, blogs, internet sites and so on) can be important recruitment channels for SMOs. From these channels, people can learn the organizations’ working areas, their needs and they can evaluate their positions in these organizations and can decide to join them or not.

In sum, from Selva, Furkan, Ayla, Rengin and Lemi’s experiences, their previous involvement in other movements, and their past activism, and encountering some

concepts such as women's rights, peace, discrimination and oppression are precursors for their involvement in LGBTI+ rights movement activism. On the other hand, it can also be seen that both strong and weak ties, face to face interpersonal and media networks play a mediating role because when they know someone who is already involved in a movement, or when they learn information from media their inclination to join a SMO was increased.

On the other hand, Saye and Talay had never been involved in any other social movement before. Talay explains as follows:

"I've never been involved before in any other movement. It was not easy for me to meet LGBTI+ activism and Lambdaistanbul. When I came out to myself and my friends, and accepted my identity, I started to do research on the internet. At the time, there were no sources in the Turkish language, there were mostly sources in English and American based. When I read them, I learned that there were many organizations there. I thought there should be an organization like this in a big city like Istanbul. Lambdaistanbul had a web page, which I accessed in 1997. I learned that it had regular meetings. I had a lot of theoretic information, but I had no practical experience, so I decided to be actively involved in the struggle. I did not know anyone, I was afraid, I had some prejudices against these groups. I was scared even to ask others for directions; therefore, I was hardly able to find Lambdaistanbul's office. When I walked into the room and started talking to people, I was relieved for the first time, feeling like I had come home. When I realized that there were people who had experienced very similar things and shared the same feelings, I decided to be a member of Lambdaistanbul in 1997 (personal communication, February 26, 2019)."

In his experience, the media environment also played an important role. Like Lemi, his first encounter with LGBTI+ activism started due to internet. From the webpage of Lambdaisanbul, he learned that in Turkey, there were LGBTI+ SMOs and he decided to join Lambdaistanbul after seeing this page. Their experiences show that interpersonal relationships are not always needed for the recruitment process; in some situations, the media environment can also affect the enlargement of the social movement and SMO. Moreover, Talay's recruitment process supported König's argument, according to him,

in some situations because of anomic elements of some individuals in society who lack close bonds and relationships, they have a stronger tendency to participate in and be recruited by a new movement (König, 1999, p.6). As is seen from Talay's interview, he did not know anyone like himself, he even also had some prejudices toward LGBTI+s, therefore he was in need of meeting others who could share his problems and experiences and that is also why he participated in meetings and afterwards joined Lambdaistanbul.

Saye had never taken part in any other social movement. When she realized and learned that her son was homosexual, she firstly decided to go to psychiatrists over a six-month period. During this period, she learned from them about homosexuality, about how she should express herself and behave towards her son. After that, one of these psychiatrists, who was a member of Sexual Education Treatment and Research Association (Cinsel Eğitim Tedavi ve Araştırma Derneği, CETAD) informed her about other families that had LGBTI+ children in İzmir and this psychiatrist suggested to her that it would be beneficial for her and her son to get into contact with them. Thereby, Saye's first contact with the İzmir LGBTI+ Aile Grubu took place. Therefore, from her experience, we can also see how informal ties like those with her psychiatrist acquaintances can also become an important source for new recruitment to a SMO.

Lastly, Rengin's involvement in the LGBTI+ rights movement was due to her close ties. Her family supported her in joining this movement. She explained her experience as follows:

"I joined the LGBTI + movement with my family's support and guidance. They were taking me to the doctors, and one of them told me about the movement in Turkey. At this time, Kaos GL published a fanzine. The doctor that I mentioned gave me these fanzines, and after reading them, I decided to participate in Kaos GL's meetings (personal communication, March 25, 2019)."

When the interviews are analyzed both formal/informal and face-to-face/mediated relationships are important sources for new recruitment to social movements and SMOs in the case of the LGBTI+ rights movement in Turkey. From all of the experiences that are

mentioned above, people who have common problems and demands and who have similar experiences, need to find people who are like them. And after realizing that they need to organize in order to socialize with other people like them, or to become involved in political or cultural issues that they concerned about, people search for contacts, and at this step both formal and informal, mediated and face-to-face relationships are important sources for recruitment to the movement, and subsequently for the enlargement of the movement and the SMO .

5.4.1.2 Scenes

In the second phase of the individual level networking analysis, I tried to examine individuals' socialization practices. One of the important functions of networks is socialization. For social movements and SMOs, sharing strong similarities in the form of common norms and values is important for strong collective identities among people, and this commonness is constructed through daily interactions and socializations with other members of movement. By going to different places, specific venues, or cafes and associations individuals create and reproduce common sets of meaning about the issue that they concerned about, and this commonness affects the solidarity among the actors. Questions related to the socialization functions of network were prepared to examine how activist define the shared values of the LGBTI+ rights movement. How do they frame LGBTI+ rights? Moreover, where do they discuss and reproduce these common understandings about shared values? In other words, where do they interact with other movement members and their constructed commonness? A frame is not simply a constant or a static "worldview." It is actively created by participants in a movement as part of a struggle over symbols and meanings (Snow and Berfford 1988, 1992; Snow et al., 1986 as cited in Noonan, 1995, p.86). So, the socialization function of the network emerges at this point, since networks help to build and reinforce the identification of the activist. As Freeman (1973) stated, in a movement the most important thing is strong similarities in the way people get together through common norms, values, and agendas (Freeman, 1973, p.800) and as Porta and Diani (2011) discussed by going to specific

venues, cafes, association buildings and creating exchanges between them, activists define and show alignment to their values (Porta & Diani, 2011, p.131).

One of the most important places for the LGBTI+ rights movement in Turkey are university campuses. By opening stands, by meeting at university cafes LGBTI+s can exchange their experiences, their ideas and can define their common points, they can negotiate their common values and principles. From Selva's statement, we can observe how university cafes and other places are used as a scene of the LGBTI+ rights movement. Selva explains her experiences as follows:

“First, we started to hold meetings in the classrooms, and then we decided to write our rules and become an official student club. To discuss and explain the basic concepts, the first thing we did was to open a stand in front of the faculty of literature. It was so easy; you just took a table from one of the cafes and there was no problem. We thought that if we firstly we opened stands; people could see that they were not alone and we could discuss things together, we could do something. Then the number of members and meetings increased. After the state of emergency in the university, we have been unable to continue. We decided to establish an association to be able to talk to more people, to socialize and to reach out to everyone. University meetings were held in cafes, but those with visibility concerns could not come to these meetings. That is why we thought it would be good to have an association and our own office (personal communication, February 7, 2019).”

Her statements can be associated with Jasper's description of activist “collective effervescence” as a sense of “participating bigger than you” (Jasper, 1998, p.194) and Gould's (Gould, 2001, p.147) as the emotional energy of people who see themselves as in some way connected (as cited in Creasap, 2012, p. 186). By gathering in cafes, by opening stands, by collaborating with other movements that are active in universities, people's effervescence and participation and recruitment to the movement is increased. On the other hand, the importance of private spaces for LGBTI+s, such as SMO's own offices, has also been observed. The reason for this is that in some situations people do not want to participate in demonstrations, do not want to gather in cafes because of their identities. LGBTI+s who have not come out with their identities need private spaces

where they can participate comfortably in the movement and become networked with other people.

From Furkan's experience, we can observe the importance of "non-mainstream" cafes for the negotiation of values and principles, and for conveying narratives. When they decided to organize, Furkan explained that they met in non-mainstream cafes to discuss ideas and to agree on common values. He also said that they preferred to go to cheap, out-of-the-way places. Furkan explained his experiences as follows:

"When we first decided to organize, our first meetings were in cafes. We thought that political party buildings could be used before, but we decided to gather in cafes in order to be more inclusive because we did not want to get together with political groups too often. We chose cafes that were unpopular to be able to speak comfortably (personal communication, 2019)."

Ayla also stated that cafes are important places for them to exchange their experiences, to obtain information from other activists, to discuss values and define principles among them. Moreover, from her statement it can be observed that another socialization scene for LGBTI+ rights activists and for conveying the values of the movement is organizing cooking. She explained her experience as follows:

"We eat together once a month at the house of one of us. New families also attend these meetings. Here they could meet families who have already learned that their child is LGBTI+. Parents exchange their feelings, experience and knowledge with each other at these meetings (personal communication, March 2, 2019)."

Another important place that was observed from the interviews is LGBTI+ friendly bars. As Talay explained, socialization is important for LGBTI+ because they are generally excluded from public places; therefore, they need to find certain places like LGBTI+ friendly bars to supply them with some "free spaces". He stated that sometimes they organize parties and socialize in these bars and during these parties they discuss their experiences. Talay's and Ayla's experiences support Creasap's (2012) indications, in which she argues that participating in demonstrations, in direct action, prefigurative practices scenes, such as cooking together, planning parties, are also important for a

social movement because they create a sense of belonging among scene-goers (Creasap, 2012; p. 187).

5.4.1.3 Convergence of attributions

The third phase of the first level is related with how activists frame LGBTI+ rights, and whether there is any convergence of the meanings that they produce. When all the interviews are considered together, it can be observed that almost all of them emphasize that the LGBTI+ rights movement is based on human rights. Selva mentioned that the Genç LGBTİ+ Derneği defines the common values of the LGBTI+ rights around human rights and she stated that the LGBTI+ rights movement in Turkey tries to eliminate violations in housing, health, working life and access to laws. Furkan also emphasized that, according to him and to the Siyah Pembe Üçgen Derneği, LGBTI+ rights are firstly human rights. Furthermore, this movement is based on equality, transparency, solidarity, pluralism and anti-discrimination. During the interviews, he emphasized that all LGBTI+ associations in Turkey place great importance on the principles and values of the movement, all of them have spent a long time working on this issue in order to get together and determine the principles and values, therefore he mentioned that all the principles are consistent for all of the organizations. He explained as follows:

“LGBTI+ organizations place a lot of importance on the principles and values of the LGBTI+ movement. Including the process of the of establishment of my organization, other organizations and activists also spent a considerable number of working hours to determine their values and principles, to identify LGBTI+ rights and the LGBTI+ rights movement. All of us came to agree with these values and principles. This is how we prepare our manifestoes. These values include values such as equality, transparency, pluralism, solidarity, respect for animal rights, expressing anti-speciesism, being anti-war. It is possible to talk about a collective culture based on these values for all LGBTI+ organizations (personal communication, 2019).”

Rengin from the Pembe Hayat also mentioned that the main value of LGBTI+ rights movement in Turkey is human rights, which is against discrimination, sexism and hatred. According to Ayla, also, the LGBTI+ rights movement is based on human rights and all

values are defined around it. She mentioned that most important principles and values of this movement are equality, anti-discrimination in working life, housing, education, health and in the family. Talay stated that the LGBTI+ movement has an integrated approach to principles and values, and it is a movement that places itself together with those faced with other forms of oppressions. He emphasized that although this movement is based on LGBTI+ rights and tries to abolish discriminatory practices and oppression in public and private life, it is also in solidarity with other oppressed groups and groups discriminated against, like women and Kurdish people in Turkey. From the İzmir LGBTI+ Aile Grubu, Saye also mentioned that the LGBTI+ rights movement is based on human rights and concerns include the LGBTI+s' right to live under protection and eliminating discrimination in their families. Finally, like the others, according to Lemi also, the common values and principles of this movement are derived from the discrimination that LGBTI+s are exposed to and they try to eliminate it. He stated that:

“In Turkey, politics, government and society have adopted a pattern. I defined that as “HEST”. If you are heterosexual, male, Sunni and Turkish, you are persona grata in Turkey. This definition does not include also women, they are also persona non grata, and they are of secondary importance. Masculinity, the definition of a male, the form of the penis is in the first place. Staying out of this pattern brings us together. Everyone gets hurt differently, but the common point is that we are out of this order (personal communication, March 8, 2019).”

These statements show us how the LGBTI+ rights movement actors interpret reality in common. Frames help to interpret reality, define common social problems, organize experience and guide action (Passy, 2003, p.30). All the interviewees interpreted the reality of the situation of LGBTI+s in Turkey in the same way, and remarked about the same problems, such as discrimination in working life, housing, education, health services and in the private sphere, like in the family and with friends. As Lemi mentioned, although the experiences that LGBTI+'s have can be varied, exclusion from society because of sexual identities and orientation brings them together around the same values and forces them to take action collectively against discrimination and oppression.

These common values are addressed by activists within the framework of human rights. All of them emphasize that all of the third generation of human rights are violated systematically in Turkey and these violations, and discrimination bring LGBTI+s together and push them into taking action. To sum up, all of the interviewees emphasized the common problems as a lack of basic of the third generation of human rights, such as the right to life, freedom of speech, the right to association, the right to education, the right to health, housing rights, that are normally guaranteed to all human beings, but which they are denied because of their sexual identities and orientation. In addition, actors build their values based on these rights and try to take action firstly in these areas.

5.4.2 Organizational Level Qualitative Network Analysis

According to Burstein & Linton (2002, as cited in Sommerfeldt & Yang, 2017, p.830) SMOs are groups of individuals who are united together, either formally or informally, to seek after or resist to social change. Whereas progressively adopting varied organizational shapes, SMOs coordinate their activities around certain social issues, and they strive to define those issues, propose solutions, mobilize issue-related collective actions, communicate issues to their supporters and the general public, and push for (or stand up to) legislative actions.

5.4.2.1 Similarities in values and activities of SMOs

To pursue or resist social change and direct their activities SMOs form interorganizational networks as it can be seen in the LGBTI+ rights movement in Turkey. I attempted to examine interorganizational networking practices among LGBTI+ SMOs. At this level, there are two parts. In first part, I focused on the activities of SMOs and by looking at these activities; I attempted to investigate whether there are similarities in the SMOs' values. In the second part, I focused on collaboration among SMOs and I tried to investigate interorganizational networking.

In order to analyze the activities of SMOs and whether there are similarities in their values, I asked the interviewees, "Can you describe the activities of this organization? Could you inform me about the activities you have organized like workshops, conferences, marches etc.? Do you have regular reports published?" In order to analyze

interorganizational networking, I asked the participants, “Do you have relationships with other organizations (LGBTI and other platforms)? If so, what common goals do you work for. Could you tell me about the five partnerships you have established over the past five years and how these partnerships were established? What were your most important motivational resources when establishing partnerships? When determining these partnerships, did you have any specific criteria? Can you tell me about new opportunities and challenges that arose during the partnership? Do you receive support from different people or groups? Which kinds of support? Do you support different people/groups?”

In this part, I attempted to examine similarities in the LGBTI+ rights movement SMOs’ values by asking participants what the main working areas were and the activities of the SMO, which they were a member of. After conducting interviews with members of the SMOs, I divided into six categories the issues, which were health, law, education, housing, visibility, and socialization. In this section, the data was obtained by the in-depth interview technique as the first step, and then in the second stage it was supported by the information that had been obtained from secondary sources, such as websites and the social media accounts of SMOs.

Health

One of the predominant issues was health. It is possible to classify the issues of health as following: (a) Informing health personnel, (b) Informing LGBTI individuals about their health rights, (c) Demands of health services from municipalities.

When we look at the activities for informing health personnel, it appears that the common purpose of the SMOs is to cultivate health personnel in order to increase their respect for the sexual identity and sexual orientation of LGBTI + individuals, to encourage a non-discriminatory attitude towards them, to not have them try to impose a heteronormative order, and to make conscious interventions to support the health needs of LGBTI+s. Selva, from the Genç LGBTI+ Derneği, stated during the interviews that they placed great importance on informing health personnel, especially for the trans transition processes and stated that they have been giving training to health personnel.

SPoD also gives great importance to health services and, for example, organizes a six-day training program for mental health professionals to raise their awareness about LGBTI+s. During this education, psychiatrists, psychosocial counselors and social workers are educated under the headings of sexual identity and sexual orientation, and then they are included in the SPoD psychotherapy network. Moreover, SPoD also provides education in the departments of mental health in universities. Talay mentioned that Lambdaistanbul carried out a mental health internship program until 2016, but now the association does not continue working in areas such as health and education because it considers socialization to be more important.

Another issue that SMOs value in the field of health is the increasing awareness of LGBTI+s about their health rights. Selva explained why this is very important for the Genç LGBTI+ Derneği as follows:

“The fact that LGBTI+s are informed about their health rights is one of the most important issues for us in order to prevent discriminatory interventions that may occur because of the recognition of heterosexual identities as normal (personal communication, February 7, 2019).”

The Genç LGBTI+ Derneği organizes health workshops moderated by psychologists and experts to inform LGBTI+s. In these workshops, LGBTI+s talk about their sexual orientation and identity, and the problems that they face and experts in workshops offer support to them. SPoD also places importance on informing LGBTI+s about their health rights. For example, they conduct a Gender Compliance Process Consultancy. The transitions process therapy group meet on the first Wednesday of each month in the presence of psychiatrists, and sexual-identity based problems, solutions and information are shared, moreover they provide psychosocial support to transgenders who are in different stages of the transition process. SPoD also organizes mental health meetings to inform LGBTI+s. In addition, they have counselling services to inform and help LGBTI+s about HIV and other sexually transmitted infections. Lemi mentioned that now they work on an application about the transitions process for transexusals, and by using this application, they will have knowledge about every stage of this process and how to reach

rights services and health personnel. LİSTAG and İzmir LGBTI+ Aile Grubu, like the others mentioned that with the support of CETAD's volunteer psychiatrists and psychologists, they organize meetings to share experiences and information about sexual identity and sexual orientation. Pembe Hayat organizes similar activities to help transgenders and they work to direct them to sympathetic doctors who are not homophobic and not transphobic.

Another issue that the SMOs emphasize in the field of health is the transmission of demands related to health services to municipalities in order to overcome deficiencies. Representatives of the organizations who participated in the interviews stated that the first issue that they demand is the opening of free and anonymous HIV test centers. Now, in Turkey these centers are only located in Şişli, Çankaya, Beşiktaş, Mersin and Konak. The Genç LGBTI+ Derneği continues to work for the establishment of centers within the İzmir Metropolitan Municipality. According to the Genç LGBTI+ Derneği, many people are reluctant to undergo HIV testing with concerns such as deciphering, privacy violations and discrimination. This is caused by an insufficiency of the necessary measures and the lack of awareness of health professionals. They have launched a campaign that demands the opening of free and anonymous test centers including a consultancy service and the raising the awareness of health professionals from İzmir Metropolitan Municipality. Talay also underlined that Lambdaistanbul places considerable importance on free and anonymous HIV tests and he stated that they organize a free HIV test day in the Şişli Municipality on the first Thursday of every month.

Training and Education

During the interviews, I have observed that education is another area where the SMOs value and operate within the LGBTI+ rights movement. It is possible to group their activities and services in this field as follows: (a) Training for persons in contact with LGBTI + persons, (b) Training to improve the capacities of LGBTI + in various areas (c) to contribute to LGBTI studies in the academic field.

The Genç LGBTI+ Derneği organizes education modules for social workers who are in contact with LGBTI+s; organizes education for dormitory managers and employees in İzmir; for employers of İzmir Metropolitan Municipality and they provide education to the İzmir LGBTI+ Aile grubu and explain basic concepts related with sexual identity and orientation. The Siyah Pembe Üçgen Derneği also provides education to Konak Municipality about basic concepts relevant to LGBTI+s. Furkan also mentioned that if any demand comes from high schools, universities and so on they try to provide education to them. SPoD organizes education for lawyers who work for LGBTI+s. In cooperation with universities and bar associations, they provide general information about LGBTI+s and organize training for lawyers in cases in which LGBTIs are exposed to violence and discrimination. In addition, SPoD published an Education Strategies Report. By asking how the various actors of education process can become involved in the struggle to eliminate discrimination of LGBTI+s and how they can develop educational strategies more equitable and inclusive, they have prepared education strategies. Moreover, SPoD provides education to social workers. Ayla from LİSTAG underlines that one of the most important area where LGBTI+s are faced with discrimination is the business environment and to prevent this discrimination they conduct a LGBTI+ friends companies project. Within the scope of the project, they organize meetings with companies with foreign capital and afterwards get them to watch the “Benim Çocuğum” documentary film; they provide education to employers about human rights and LGBTI+ rights. She believes that this project will be a gateway for employment for LGBTI individuals in the future.

When we look at SMOs working areas, it can be seen that they try to improve the capacities of LGBTI + in various areas, Genç LGBTI+ Derneği, for instance, organizes an activism school. There are various modules in this school, about what discrimination is, where they faced with it, how they can struggle against it; how they can communicate with public institutions, how they can edit and deliver documents, how they can utilize legal mechanisms, how they can apply for their legal rights; video shooting techniques, social media usage and creating an online campaign. SPoD organizes a politics school and organizes workshops to encourage activists to participate in politics.

It can be observed that SPoD works effectively to support LGBTI studies in the academic field. SPoD provides academic research consultancy services to support academicians who do research in the field of LGBTI+ rights. In addition, since 2011 they have organized seminars twice a year and bring together academicians and students studying in the field of LGBTI+ and queer rights. Genç LGBTI+ Derneği is another SMO that provides academic research consultancy services. It provides support to the researchers for the preparation of academic materials related to sexual orientation and gender identity, access to resources and dissemination of these materials.

Law

As a result of the interviews conducted with the SMOs operating in the field of LGBTI+ rights, it has been observed that another issue that is important to them is access to law and justice. Selva mentioned that the Genç LGBTI+ Derneği ensures the provision of legal support services in many situations, such as the gender transition process, illegal dismissal, discrimination in schools, name changing, and the pink discharge paper for military service exemption. Furkan mentioned that the Siyah Pembe Üçgen Derneği follows up human rights violations and reports them. Lemi stated that SPoD provides a legal counseling service to enable people who have been subjected to discrimination or violence due to sexual identity and sexual orientation to obtain the correct information and to make model decisions for all LGBTI+s. The Pembe Hayat prepared a political document against harassment. The board of directors of the association provides access to the relevant person in cases of sexual harassment, mobbing, discrimination, sexual abuse, sexual assault, examining the application of the person and provides support for the initiation of the process and the completion of the investigation. Lastly, Talay mentioned that Lambdaistanbul was active in the field of law, visited parliament when the new Turkish Criminal Law was prepared in 2004, and conducted meetings in parliament to add suitable phrases concerning sexual identity and sexual orientation to Article 10 in the process of drafting the new constitution that started in 2007.

Socialization

Providing socialization areas for LGBTI+s is another issue that LGBTI+ rights movement actors consider important. Considering the discrimination, oppression, hate speeches and hate crimes that they are exposed to in their private and public life because of their sexual identities and orientation, creating free spaces where they can freely exist with those identities is important. Talay underlines that Lambdaistanbul mostly directed their activities towards the socialization area because of the increasing pressure in public life in recent years, and explains the situation as follows:

“For LGBTI+s socialize in Turkey is extremely difficult, we can just meet in some bars or virtual environments. There are very few social environments where we can get together in the daytime without hiding our own identity. We keep our identity secret in schools, business environments, even among our friends. Thanks to the socialization activities organized by the association, we can socialize with our own identity. Furthermore, these activities enable us to be aware of the issues that concern us (personal communication, February 26, 2019).”

Lambdaistanbul engages in various activities for socialization. These included organized parties for both entertainment and income, “Saturday Chats”, and “Tea & Talks” for LGBTI+s who do not speak Turkish. During the interviews, Selva also underlined that the Genç LGBTI+ Derneği values socialization, and for this purpose, they have organized various activities like the “Youth Festival” organized at the end of April or the beginning of May and includes concerts, theaters, trainings sessions, workshops, presentations, or summer picnics. LİSTAG also organizes socialization activities such as dinner meetings with families, movie-screening days. The Siyah Pembe Üçgen Derneği also stresses the importance of socialization and organizes a culture and arts festival. This activity, which was organized once a year for 10 years, initially started as a hate crime awareness event. However, the association no longer uses this name; instead, it prefers to call it a culture and art festival. Furkan explains as follows:

“The concepts of hate and crime are two negative concepts. When these two concepts come together, they bring unhappiness and negativity to mind. Now, the association has moved away from that negative and pessimistic point of view, it tries to explore ways of

being happy all together. Therefore, we prefer this name. We organize this festival to change the consciousness of people through less didactic ways such as culture and art (personal communication, 2019.)”

The Pembe Hayat also organizes festivals like Kuirfest. This festival includes design workshops, literary interviews, film screenings and theaters, and during these activities, LGBTI+s can socialize without hiding their sexual identities and orientation. Moreover, this SMO has a YouTube channel and through this channel they have shown videos about places that they have discovered and visited such as LGBTI+s friendly cafes and bars where LGBTI+s can freely socialize without being exposed to discrimination and oppression.

Housing

During the interviews, it was observed that associations considered the housing issue to be highly important, but they experienced the most distress in this area. Saye explains İzmir LGBTI+ Aile Grubu’s distress as follows:

“One of the most important issues that should we should be supported with is the shortage of accommodation. There are not only families coming to us from İzmir, but also from nearby or remote districts such as Foça or Torbalı, and they ask where they can stay when they come, moreover among them there are families with financial difficulties. There are also families who have children to undergo surgery. It would be nice if we could accommodate them in our own guesthouse. Now this process continues with one of us offering accommodation. If someone came and there is no place to stay, one of us has them to stay as their guest... (personal communication, February 21, 2019).”

Lemi from SPoD stated that while housing is important to them, they cannot provide a service to LGBTI+ individuals because of financial restraints. He mentioned that in order to provide a housing service the association would need either an extra budget or a house. Lemi explains as follows:

“In case of a very difficult situation, we ask other activist friends and we say that someone needs a place to stay. In particular, transgenders sometimes need housing. We

cannot afford direct housing; however, we give training to municipalities or to people in shelters. We try to teach them that LGBTI+s are humans and if someone defines themselves as a woman, they should be treated as a guest regardless of their identity, colour. We are trying to develop this consciousness (personal communication, March 8, 2019).”

Selva also said that they could not provide direct housing services like the others. She mentioned that when someone comes with a request for accommodation, the Genç LGBTI+ Derneği tries to help by posting this request on social media accounts, or with solidarity groups.

5.4.2.2 Interorganizational Networking

New movements utilize networking and grassroots mass-mobilization efforts to change cultural values and lifestyle alternatives (Stolley, 2007; p.193). An interorganizational network is defined simply as “the set of linkages, representing transactions and relationships between actors of a population.” Through these relationships, SMOs share resources, ideas about policy and innovations in action repertoires (Phillips, 1991). In this part of the study, I attempted to investigate the linkages of the members of SMOs. Linkages are measured by considering the specific resource exchanges. The resources types are adapted from Bootrom et al’s categorization. They define resource types into four categories that are a) material resources (financial resources, equipment, voluntary and paid working times), b) cognitive resources (expertise, experience, relevant key knowledge), c) symbolic (name recognition, NGO’s logos), and finally, d) social (access to useful networks) (Bootrom, M. et al. 2015, p.763-764). Here, the important thing is this measurement method provides a snapshot of network relations at a specific point of time, so I asked participants to explain me five collaborations that their organization made in the last five years.

Networking for Material Resources

Firstly, different SMOs collaborate with each other or other actors in order to provide space to organize their activities or perform their services for LGBTI+s. For instance, housing is one of the most important problems for transgenders, and when someone

came with demanding a place to stay, because of the lack of places to provide accommodation for transgenders, Lambdaistabul collaborates with Trans Misafirhanesi that is in İstanbul. Moreover, Lambdaistanbul organizes its “Cumartesi Sohbetleri” and “Tea&Talk” activities in other organization’s offices, which are Cinsel Şiddetle Mücadele Derneği and Şişli Ortak Deneyim Atölyesi (ODA) because of the lack of formal association office space. Another example is the collaboration between LİSTAG and CETAD, and the same İzmir LGBTI+ Aile Grubu and CETAD. Because of the lack of official office space, LİSTAG and İzmir LGBTI+ Aile Grubu organize their information and sharing meetings in CETAD’s offices. As can be seen from these relationships, actors network with each other to supply a space carry out their activities and provide their services. Mobilizing resources to supply or acquire a space for organizing events is important also in restricted situations. For instance, because of the permanent prohibition of LGBTI+ activities in Ankara¹⁸, in 2018 the Pembe Hayat collaborated with SPoD and organized the 20 Kasım Nefret Suçu Mağduru Transları Anma Günü etkinlikleri in İstanbul. Another networking aim is again concerned with providing a space, but more specifically related to socialization. For instance, Genç LGBTI+ Derneği collaborates with LGBTI+ Dostu Kafeler to provide solidarity with LGBTI+ people. This is located in Bornova Sokağı, which is frequented by street sex workers and they organize parties, exhibitions etc. Finding a space is an important factor for organizing meetings and other activities that bring SMOs together. Furkan explains as follows:

“Although this is not the case now, finding a place for student clubs in the past was an important problem. We provided a place for the student clubs from Dokuz Eylül Üniversitesi, Ege Üniversitesi and Ekonomi Üniversitesi to get together in the same building. In addition, we tried to help them with issues such as fanzine printing, brochure printing, we tried to help them with stationery costs... (personal communication, 2019).”

The second networking activity that arose from the interviews was related with financial resources. It was observed that a variety of material resources were mobilized and accumulated by SMOs to organize their activities and to achieve their goals, such as

¹⁸ For detailed information see <https://bianet.org/bianet/lgbti/191668-ankara-valiligi-nden-lgbti-etkinliklerine-suresiz-yasak-karari> [18 April 2019]

spaces, equipment, funds, and voluntary working times. The category of material resources combines what economists would call financial and physical capital, including monetary resources, property, office space, equipment, and supplies (Heijden, 2016; p.212). As it can be seen from Furkan's contribution, SMOs network with each other to meet their financial needs, like cash. The other example of financial support is that of the İzmir LGBTI+ Aile Grubu for the Genç LGBTI+ Derneği. Saye explains that,

“Although we cannot provide a large amount of financial aid, we sell our home-made cakes and so on at the stand of the Genç LGBTI+ Derneği, and then we give them the money to spend on their needs (personal communication, February 21, 2019).”

Another networking type is voluntary working time for common values and to achieve goals. For example, as Lemi explained,

“This year we developed an application for the gender transition process, and we will receive support from the Pembe Hayat for videos to be shot for this app (personal communication, March 8, 2019).”

The Pembe Hayat supported SPoD by their members giving voluntary working time while they were developing an application. The reason for this support was the Pembe Hayat works mainly for transgenders, and this application that was developed by SPoD is aimed at transgenders. With this collaboration, on the one hand the Pembe Hayat supported its members (transgenders), while on the other hand SPoD both supported them and contributed to its own work. This is because, associations are kept afloat by funds and employ their staff with these funds. These funds are mostly provided by writing projects and implementing projects on time. Thanks to this application project, SPoD also kept itself going within the movement. Another example that can be given for voluntary working times among the material resources is the announcement of the activities, needs and services of each other through their social media accounts, in other words they advertise each other to increase the visibility of each other.

Finally, the most problematic material resource type that was observed during the interviews was funds. During the interviews, it was observed that SMOs cannot channel their financial resources to each other due to their own material insufficiency; and they can only keep themselves going through the funds they receive. Members of the SMOs

who were interviewed underlined the fact that the Dutch and British Embassies were active and supportive in this field. For example, between the years 2007 and 2010 Lambdaistanbul did his project with the support of Holland ministry. With the given fund Kaos GL and Holland umbrella LGBTI+ organisation COC, they kept working on education, laws and health issues. One other project of Lambdaistanbul named “İt İti Isırmaz” which was funded by the consulate general of United Kingdom. With this fund they paid the publishing of their book related with the project and pollsters’ labours. Also Genç LGBTI+ Derneği, on the establishment stage found a supporter foundation which didn’t want their name to be revealed. Some foundation (which names as “X” in the map) helped on the education of İzmir LGBTI+ Aile Grubu on how to use social media trainings. This foundation helped the movement by financing material resources.

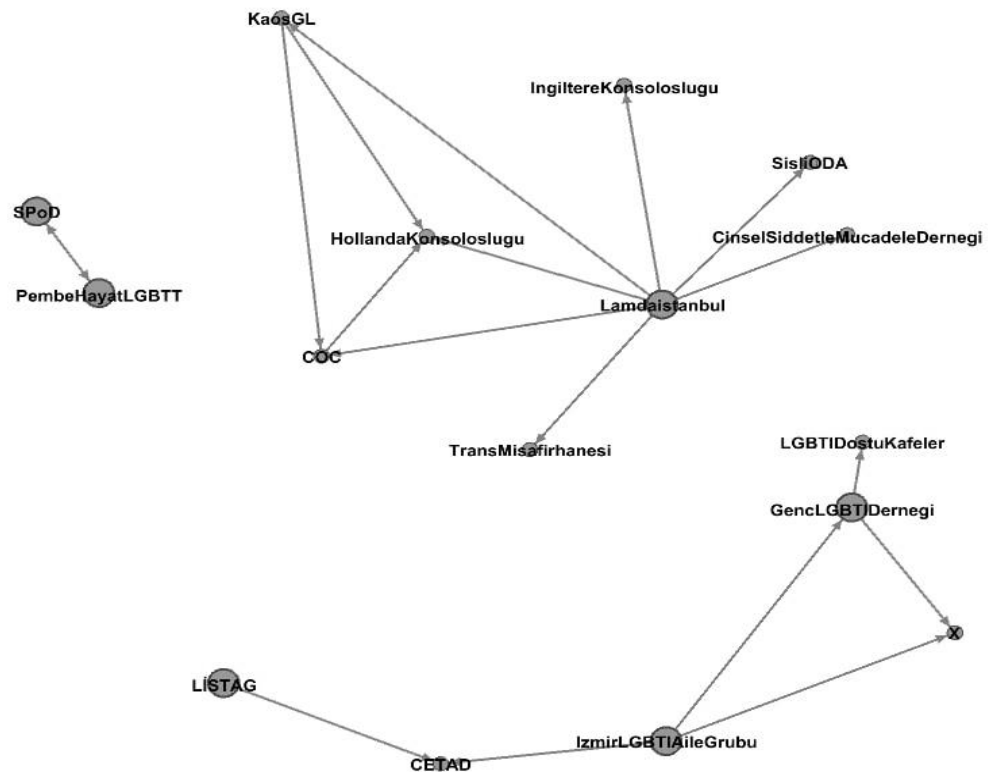


Figure 1: Material Resource Network of the SMOs

“X” was used to show the foundation that provides funding for social media usage training of İzmir LGBTI+ Aile Grubu and for the establishment and festivals of Genç LGBTI+ Aile Grubu. The reason for this is that two SMOs did not want the name of the foundation.

Networking for Non-material Resources

SMOs do not network with each other solely for obtaining material resources. These resources can be also cognitive, symbolic or social. One of the clearest examples of networking for these kinds of resource is the relationship between the Siyah Pembe Üçgen Derneği and Kaos GL during the establishment of the Siyah Pembe Üçgen Derneği. Furkan explains as follows:

“When we decided to establish an association in İzmir, Kaos GL found support from the Sivil Toplum Geliştirme Merkezi. They began a new project to establish a network among LGBTI+ activists in Turkey. Two of us went to the meetings concerned with this project. When we returned with our notes taken during 2-3 days of meetings, we started to do a swot analysis. We started to make maps to map out our strengths, weaknesses, external supports and threats. Then we went to regular meetings. We continued to send representatives to these meetings every two months. At that time, our relationship with the Kaos GL association was strengthened. We told them that we wanted to establish an organization in İzmir. There was also an organic bond between us, because a friend of ours was distributing Kaos GL magazine in İzmir. When we told them our ideas, they helped us with transferring their information, documents and so on. Ultimately, we decided that our name should be Kaos GL İzmir, because it was the most well-known organization in Turkey, moreover, due to its physical location they had access to political parties, embassies etc. So, getting that name was good for us. However, the most important characteristic of the LGBTI+ organizations in Turkey are, their non-hierarchical horizontal organization structure, non-hegemonic relationship set up, and, finally, equal representation. Therefore, we said that our name would be Kaos GL İzmir, but not as one of its branch offices. At this time, Kaos GL carried out a project in İzmir with the Ministry of Health and our partnership. This was a HIV test project. In order to reach people in İzmir, Kaos GL proposed us as an operational auxiliary organization. We earned some money from the project and after we were able to rent the office. Our office was

announced through our websites and other SMO's websites. In 2009, we became an association by gaining legal status and we decided to give our association their name Siyah Pembe Üçgen (personal communication, 2019)."

As it is seen from this statement, the founding team of the Siyah Pembe Üçgen Derneği was networking with Kaos GL for several purposes. One of them was name recognition that is one of the symbolic resources. In order to reach more people, due to familiarity of the Kaos GL's name, they preferred to use Kaos GL's name. Secondly, having obtained information and documents from Kaos GL, they received expertise and experience, which are cognitive resources. Thirdly, they were networking for social resources that means access to useful networks, when the physical location of Kaos GL is considered. Thus, on the one hand to play an influential role in İzmir, on the other hand to play an influential role in politics and governance by benefiting from Kaos GL's relationships with politicians, parliaments, embassies, the founding team of Siyah Pembe Üçgen established networks with Kaos GL. In a roundabout way, due to this network they also accumulated financial resources. After conducting the project with the Ministry of Health, they received financial support and they were able to rent and open an office. The relationship between them was useful both for the two SMOs and LGBTI+s. The opening of a local association that was not based in Ankara and Istanbul has positively affected the formation of other SMOs in other local regions. Furkan explained this development as follows:

"In our years, the associations in Ankara and Istanbul naturally thought that they should reach everywhere and everyone. People from all over the provinces, from Manisa, Van to Diyarbakır tried to reach Lambdaİstanbul or Kaos GL. When taking into consideration the number of people who participated in our meetings, our organization showed that this movement can be successful in local areas also. Our association created a hope that the work in this area would not be carried out only from Istanbul and Ankara. After that, organizations in local areas such as Bursa or Eskişehir began to go about their work and activities wholeheartedly (personal communication, 2019)."

Interorganizational networks can also help SMOs in areas where they feel insufficient by themselves. Due to interorganizational networking, SMOs can mobilize and accumulate

experience, expertise, and relevant key knowledge and contribute to increasing and improving the broader LGBTI+ rights movement in Turkey and can provide more efficient services for LGBTI+s. Ties between CETAD and Genç LGBTI+ Derneđi, between CETAD and LİSTAG or CETAD with İzmir LGBTI+ Aile Grubu are the examples of this. Due to the work of volunteer psychiatrists in de CETAD, these SMOs can access the right information about sexual identities and orientation and can provide efficient and reliable services for their clients. The provision of these services by professional and trained doctors to LGBTI individuals contributes positively to the movement in terms of access to the correct information and the correct health services. Another example is ties among SMOs that are active in LGBTI+ rights movement and refugee organizations. For instance, representatives from the Genç LGBTI+ Derneđi and Lambdaistanbul mentioned that if a LGBTI+ refugee came for a consultation to their associations, they would direct them to organizations which were working in the field of migration, and they mentioned that they were connected with Pozitif Yaşam Derneđi and Kırmızı Şemsiye in this field, because these two associations have refugee support centers and a refugee support hotline which are supported by Avrupa Birliđi Sivil Destek ve İnsani Yardım Ofisi (ECHO). Within these associations that the Genç LGBTI+ Derneđi or Lambdaistanbul collaborate with, there are several services for LGBTI+ refugees like gender-based violence, human rights violations, psychosocial support for post-violence trauma effects.

Organizations that work directly for the same purpose also established interorganizational networks for each other to develop and become more effective. For instance, during the establishment process of LİSTAG, the family group in Florence, Italy was effective. After attending a family group meeting in Italy, LİSTAG members acquired information and experience from them, and when they returned to Turkey, they had more information and motivation about the LGBTI+ rights movement in Turkey and began to organize more efficiently. Moreover, members of LİSTAG begun to convey their knowledge and experience to other family groups in İzmir and Ankara. Ayla from LİSTAG explained her experiences as follows:

“We did not consider the İzmir or Ankara family groups as branches of LİSTAG, but we have helped their development working with CETAD. In 2008, after returning from Italy,

we asked the president of CETAD to work as a moderator in our family group meetings. Likewise, CETAD members helped family groups in İzmir and Ankara. During this process, we participated in meetings in Ankara and İzmir to share our knowledge and experiences. We explained our principles to them, how they should work on the hotline, how they should behave in meetings. In order to help them, we also gave them information in writing. We invited them to the training sessions we undertook. I mean, we included them in what we did for our own development (personal communication, March 2, 2019).”

Interorganizational networks established to gain information or experience can be diversified with examples from the interviews. For instance, while organizing World AIDS Day activities, the Genç LGBTİ Derneği received support from Pozitif-İz Derneği and collaborated with them, or while organizing International Sex Workers Day they received support from Kırmızı Şemsiye, or while organizing education modules for social workers in the municipalities they collaborated with Sosyal Hizmet Uzmanları Derneği. Another example is the ties established between the İzmir LGBTİ+ Aile Grubu and the Genç LGBTİ+ Derneği. They network with each other to organize “Gökkuşuğu Aile Buluşmaları”. In this activity, the coming out process of LGBTİ individuals is discussed. The aim of organizing this activity together is to consider this process from both the viewpoint of families and from the viewpoint of young people. By meeting together, both sides can share their own experience, problems and information and by discussing these issues they can find solutions that are acceptable to both sides. Another example is the ties established between the Cinsel Şiddetle Mücadele Derneği and SPoD. The Cinsel Şiddetle Mücadele Derneği request resource (experience) was a transfer in the panel (Cinsel Şiddetle Destek Sistemi Nerede Paneli) that they organized with help from SPoD to explain to them how to set up a LGBTİ+ hotline. Another example for expertise and experience resource utilization is the ties established between the Genç LGBTİ+ Derneği and SPoD. They have prepared together the LGBTİ+ friendly municipality protocol. The protocol text was prepared in order to remind to mayoral candidates who ran in the local elections, which took place on March 31 of their responsibilities for the protection of LGBTİ+ rights. With this context, LGBTİ+ movement actors demand that candidates are aware of rights

violations, discrimination, oppression on LGBTI+ individuals, and making policies to guarantee the LGBTI+s' rights in the field of housing, health, education and working life. The reason for the collaboration among them is that these two SMOs have activists who actively work in the field of politics¹⁹. The fact that both SMOs work in the politics of the LGBTI + movement encouraged them to cooperate with each other in the 2019 local elections and they prepared the protocol by exchanging knowledge, experience and expertise between them. There are also supportive and follower organizations for this protocol, these SMOs are Adana LGBTI+ Dayanışma, Anadolu LGBTI+, BİZ, Boysan'ın Evi, Pembe Hayat, Özgür Renkler LGBTI+ Derneği, ODTU LGBTI+ Dayanışma, Muamma LGBTI+ Dayanışma Derneği, queer deer, LİSTAG, Lambdaistanbul, Family and Relatives Support Group for LGBTIQ+ (LGBTIQ+ Aile ve Yakınları Destek Grubu, LADEG), Kocaeli LGBTI, Siyah Pembe Üçgen, Keskesor, Kaos GL and Denizli LGBTI Aileler Grubu.

Organizations that are not directly involved in the movement but who want to provide services to LGBTI+ individuals, who are the subject of the movement, also establish ties with LGBTI+ organizations. For instance, as Lemi from SPoD explained, Yeşil Ay Derneği got in touch with SPoD to reach LGBTI+s while doing their work on alcohol and drug addiction and they wanted SPoD to consult with them concerning this project. Mültecilerle Dayanışma Derneği's request to get in touch with SPoD to develop strategies while they were working with LGBTI+ refugees are similar example. Another example is the ties established between Sociology and Education Studies and Research Center (Sosyoloji ve Eğitim Çalışmaları Uygulama ve Araştırma Merkezi, Seçbir) and SPoD, where they cooperate to prepare education strategies reports. SPoD and Seçbir teams jointly worked with students, teachers, activists and experts between 1 May 2015-30 June 2016 to develop strategies to fight against discrimination based on sexual orientation and gender identity. There are Two groups were formed for this study, which were the education-working group and the strategy-working group. The education-working group was a group of 15 people working in public schools, minority schools and private schools,

¹⁹ For detailed information, see Kaos GL. (2019). SPoD ve Genç LGBTİ+'dan "LGBTİ+ Dostu Belediyecilik Protokolü". Available from <https://kaosgl.org/sayfa.php?id=27448> [18 April 2019]

working at primary and high school levels, including classes, department and guidance teachers. The strategy-working group was a group of 12 people from LİSTAG, Liseli LGBTİ Oluşumu, İstanbul Bilgi University Child Studies Unit (İstanbul Bilgi Üniversitesi Çocuk Çalışmaları Birimi, ÇOÇA), Turkish Family Health and Planning Foundation (Türkiye Aile Sağlığı ve Planlaması Vakfı, TAPV), SPoD and Seçbir. The work of these two groups, which was carried out separately and jointly, was completed with the support of some experts. Participants from CETAD, LİSTAG, İstanbul Bilgi University Faculty of Law, Boğaziçi University Social Policy Forum and Ege University Psychology Department contributed to the strategies developed by sharing their knowledge and experiences with these groups. As can be seen here, the networks established in activities for the subjects of the LGBTİ movement are of a very wide range.

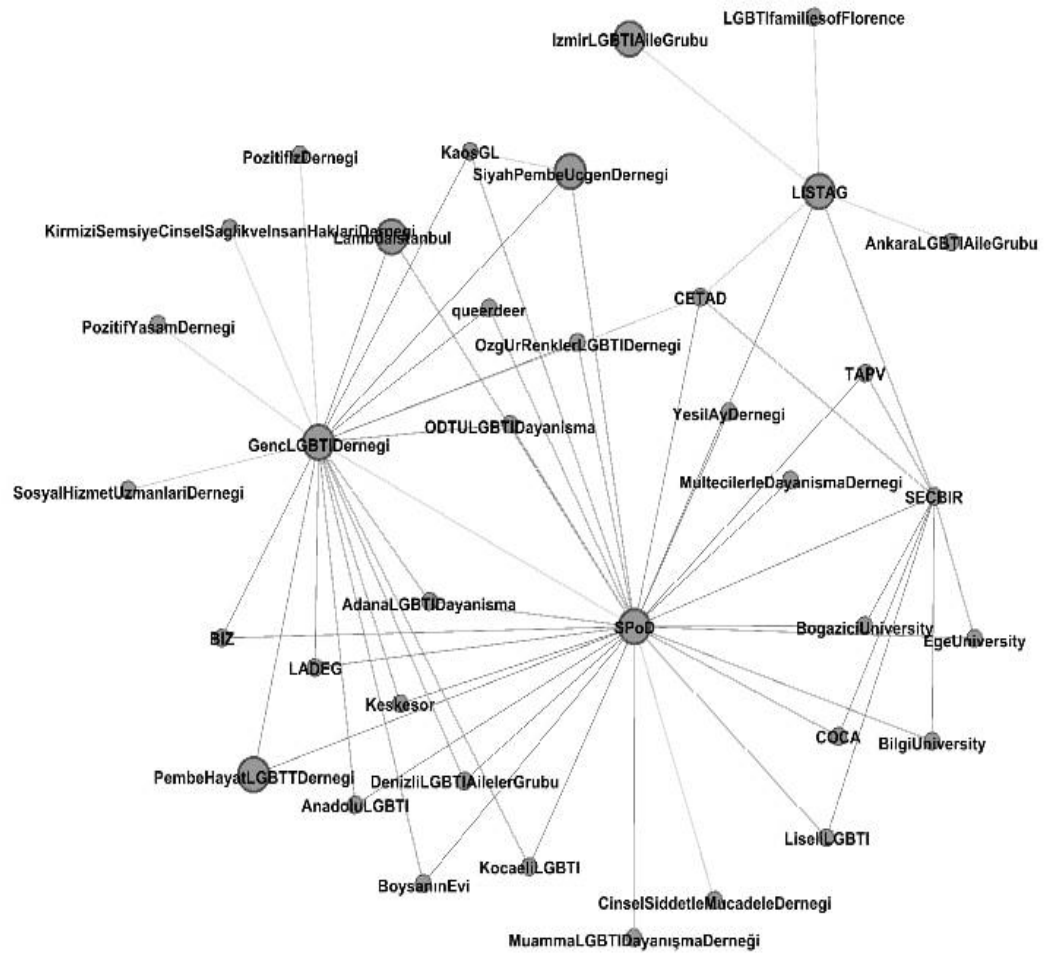


Figure 2: Non-material Resource Network of the SMOs

5.4.3 The Role of Social Media

During the interviews, questions were asked to determine the role of new ICTs, especially social media, on the movement. I asked the participants “How do you evaluate the effects of social media on the movement?”, “What is the contribution of social media to the communication process?”, “What is the role of social media in getting support for material and non-material resources?” Among the responses obtained, there were both positive and negative perceptions about social media’s effects on the movement.

Among the positive effects, participants emphasized social media’s contribution regarding expanding the reach and influence on other actors of social movements and

enhancing new opportunities for collaboration among actors. Selva explained her perception about social media's effects as follows:

“Social media has a very important place in our organization. It is a very effective tool to communicate with other institutions, or to reach out to LGBTI people directly or for them to reach us. Social media accounts provide a faster communication between the institutions than the e-mail. In addition, we are not always in the association; it allows us to communicate with others in these cases (personal communication, February 7, 2019).”

Participants also pointed out the positive effects of social media for the acceleration and increase of the information flow and for creating new collaboration or areas of support among actors. Selva mentioned that by means of networks established by social media accounts, the problems of individuals can be solved more effectively. She gave the example of the need for clothes for transgender individuals. Thanks to social media accounts, they could immediately announce these needs and provide a means of communication between people in need and donors. She also emphasized that announcement groups on these accounts make a significant contribution to the movement. She mentioned that they have two Facebook groups, which are the İzmir LGBTI+ İlan Grubu and the İzmir LGBTI+ Araştırma Grubu, and through these groups, they can announce someone's need for accommodation, work or academic support and they can reach many people at the same time.

Doğukan considered social media to be the greatest power of our age. He emphasized that due to social media, the movement's ability to reach and influence people has increased, and opportunities for finding local, national even international contacts have multiplied. He explains his opinions as follows:

“For example, someone who wants to undergo a transition process, or who is waiting for support on any issue, can start his own campaign and get support through social media. They can collect donations through social media. On the other hand, the announcements about help nights are announced via social media accounts. Social media is a very effective tool in terms of finding support as well as disclosure. Someone can easily reach the whole world through these tools to explain their problems (personal communication, March 8, 2019).”

Doğukan also pointed out the importance of social media in terms of information flow and memory formation for the movement.

“Social media is a very important tool to pass something on from us to the next generation. It is important to show them how far the movement, struggle and achievement goes. It is important not to repeat the same things; it is important for understanding things that cannot get results and looking for solutions. I think that in this respect Kaos GL’s working on oral history or Pembe Hayat’s YouTube Channel are so important (personal communication, March 8, 2019).”

Talay also emphasized the positive contributions of social media to the movement. He drew attention to its contribution to the geographical enlargement of the movement; and explained his opinions as follows:

“With the beginning and spread of the Internet, there was a huge leap in the movement. Before the internet, LGBTI individuals could only be found in certain areas of the big cities. This has changed with the development of the Internet, especially with the emergence of social media. During the Gezi Movement and increased effect of social media during this period, people who did not know much about the LGBTI+s have begun to be aware of the existence of LGBTI+s. New organizations began to form in various parts of Anatolia, so the movement became enlarged (personal communication, February 26, 2019).”

All of the participants agree about and highlighted the importance of the contribution of the internet and especially the social media to free and open circulation of information. They all stated that they would not be able to make announcements if they were not to use social media and the Internet. They would also not be able to inform other actors about their activities and not be able to inform the public. On the other hand, there were some negative opinions about the internet and social media’s impact on the movement. Furkan explained as follows:

“The most basic contribution of the internet is that if we cannot use it, we cannot make our announcements. However, Turkey is not a country that has media literacy. Therefore, everyone reads information on social media like they watch television. The internet and social media is a huge world of information. This also creates the problem of inability to reach the right information. For example, when you write “homosexual”

on the internet in Turkey, you encounter vary bad and false images. There is a problem with choosing the right information. Therefore, the internet and social media are very important channels for us because we were able to establish our own media for the first time. We became bloggers, we opened websites, we had Facebook pages, and our followers have increased... However, it is necessary not to evaluate its effects only by looking at numbers. For example, Kaos GL has a hundred thousand followers. Nevertheless, can they reach all these followers? Are all the followers following them for the same purpose or consciously? Therefore, if the conscious usage of social media does not increase, it can become a medium that can harm us in the long-term because of false information (personal communication, 2019).”

Thus, we see that the free and open circulation of information does not always gain favor with social movement actors, because of the spread of misinformation and the lack of media literacy in society. In this case, the free and open circulation of misinformation can lead to an increase in widespread impressions about stigmatized groups in society, like LGBTI+s in Turkey. Moreover, in some cases the social media environment has also led to an increase of polarization among people as Ayla explained:

“According to me, social media is a very important tool, however it affects the LGBTI+ rights movement negatively in Turkey, because it causes the increase of polarization, divisions and hate speeches toward LGBT+s. We generally encounter that expressions that have led to the marginalization of LGBTI+s, that have increased discrimination. This situation results in hate crimes (personal communication, March 2, 2019).”

In sum, related to social media’s effect on social movements that have been explained in the first and second chapter of the study, both positive and negative views to be seem as acceptable for the LGBTI+ rights movement. On the one hand, it contributes to the movement by facilitating communication and collaboration, dissemination of information and reaching the public. However, on the other hand it led to dissemination of false information or reproduction of common values and believes that are accepted in society and at the same time it encourages divisions and polarization among members of society by increasing hate speeches and discriminatory and oppressive expressions.

CHAPTER 6

CONCLUSION

Throughout the study, I have aimed at examining both the macro dynamics and the micro dynamics that affect the LGBTI+ rights movement in Turkey, by focusing on the historical and the current situation of the movement, and by focusing on interviewed actors' own narratives about networking practices. In the introduction part of the thesis, I asked several questions to ascertain the internal dynamics of activists and SMO's that are active in this movement. In the thesis, rather than focusing on the number of constructed ties, I focused on the content of the networks. I tried to sort out why, for which purposes and with whom LGBTI+ right movement actors create ties and what the content of these ties are, that is why I preferred to use qualitative methods in my study.

I constructed the framework of this thesis from social movement theories including old social movements, and new social movement theories by referring to European and US approaches and current discussions concerning the role of the new ICTs on social movements. Moreover, while constructing the framework of the study, I benefited from networking literature to develop a deeper comprehension of the LGBTI+ rights movement actors' internal dynamics.

In the first chapter, I addressed arguments about social movements and I tried to explain the emergence of the new social movements by using historical evaluation. In this chapter, I benefited mostly from, Melluci, Touraine and Offe's arguments about the characteristics of NSMs and Hobsbawm's discussions about cultural, political and economic changes that have affected the emergence of NSMs. Furthermore, I also tried to investigate discussions about the impact of new ICTs on the social movements, and examined new arguments about the "new, new social movements".

In the second chapter, I narrowed down my subject area in the networking literature and I tried to explain networking practices within the social movement by referring to individual and organizational levels. In this part of the study, I tried to explain why

networking analysis is a good way to understand the internal dynamics of the actors of a given social movement.

In the third chapter, I tried to illustrate examples of rights violations towards LGBTI+s in Turkey and the emergence and the historical process of the movement to fight against such violations. In this part, at the macro level I have examined the situation of the LGBTI+ rights movement in Turkey. Benefiting from existing literature about the LGBTI+ rights movement in Turkey, I tried to explain in detail the emergence and the evaluation of the movement in three steps. In the first step, I explained the impact of LGBTI+s groups in big cities such as Istanbul, Ankara, and İzmir on the emergence of their first collaboration. In the second step, I explained their first actions like sit-ins in the streets or hunger strikes that led to an increase in the visibility of the movement in public spaces. In the third step, I explained the impact of the attempts to achieve harmonization with the EU on the institutionalization of the LGBTI+ rights movement and the emergence of various actors such as student clubs, family groups, platforms or associations, and I explained the current situation of the movement. In this part of the study, I explained the political and cultural structures that affect the movement and I tried to examine how LGBTI+s are exposed to discrimination and oppression like torture, abuse or murder, and how their rights are systematically violated by institutions like hospitals, educational establishments, the military, the media, and by members of society such as peer groups, families, or others by using hate speeches and in this way producing and reproducing the heteronormative order. Furthermore, I showed how the insufficient accountability of the Turkish government and the existing protection laws have negative implications for their human rights and I tried to show the attempts of LGBTI+s to work towards producing their own knowledge to create an order in which all sexual identities and orientations have equal rights and opportunities.

In the fourth chapter, benefiting from the networking literature I have analyzed the LGBTI+ rights movement by focusing on individual's and SMO's internal dynamics based on the interviewed actors' own narratives. In this part of the thesis, I tried to analyze several issues.

Firstly, I examined which actors form this movement. I observed that this movement consists of two types of actors that are directly and indirectly engaged with LGBTI+ rights. I realized that actors that work directly for LGBTI+s vary according to their characteristics. There are LGBTI+ associations like Lambdaİstanbul LGBTT Dayanışma Derneđi, Kaos GL, Siyah Pembe Üçgen Derneđi, Genç LGBTI+ Derneđi, Pembe Hayat LGBTT Dayanışma Derneđi, BİZ Cinsel Yönelim ve Cinsiyet Kimliđi Arařtırmaları Derneđi, SPoD, Kırmızı Şemsiye, Özgür Renkler LGBTI Derneđi, Muamma LGBTI Dayanışma Derneđi; student clubs such as ODTU LGBTI Dayanışma, Queer Deer in Hacettepe University; Family groups like İzmir LGBTI+ Aile Grubu, LİSTAG, Denizli LGBTI+ Aile Grubu, Ankara LGBTI+ Aile Grubu LADEG; platforms such as Keskesor, Anadolu LGBTI. There are also several actors not directly acting for LGBTI+ rights but collaborating with LGBTI+ SMOs to improve their rights. These actors include those from the educational field like Sosyoloji ve Eđitim Çalıřmaları Uygulama ve Arařtırma Merkezi, from health like CETAD, Türkiye Aile Sađlıđı ve Planlaması Vakfı, Pozitif-İz Derneđi, Pozitif Yařam Derneđi, Yeřil Ay Derneđi, from those working with refugees like Mültecilerle Dayanışma Derneđi, from social services like Sosyal Hizmet Uzmanları Derneđi and from education like different university departments. I showed the ties among these actors with a networking map in the analysis part of the study. This map also shows how LGBTI+s rights are violated in a variety of different ways, that is why LGBTI+ SMOs who directly strive to gain their basic human rights make connections with different organizations outside of the LGBTI+ rights movement.

In this part of the study, I also focused on how the LGBTI+ rights movement actors define values, believes and sets of ideas, in other words which values, definition of problems and solutions form their collective identities. Based on the interviewed actors' own narratives, when I considered all the values, beliefs and practices, I observed that all of them lay emphasis on the priority of gaining human rights. I realized that all of them focus on equality, respect for diversity and identity construction. That is why the LGBTI+ rights movement in Turkey can be explained using new social movement theories. I observed that SMOs strive to produce their own information against the

heteronormative order for both LGBTI + s and people who are in contact with them. For NSMs, Touraine and Melluci argue that these movements are based on non-materialist values and that they fight for their symbolic and cultural interests (Melucci; Touraine, 1978), and I observed these arguments during the interviews by examining the SMO's values and activities. As Melluci argues, for NSMs, information is the source of power, conflict is more about the capacity to produce knowledge than material sources (Melucci, 2003; p.69). Whether in the health, education, law or socialization fields, all of the SMOs emphasize the importance of human rights or they organize their resources to produce their own information and codes in order to create an egalitarian system to overturn the heteronormative order. In addition, they do this in order to achieve the opportunity for all sexual identities and orientations to exist in equal conditions. The LGBTI+ rights movement in Turkey produces new definitions of lifestyles and a new reality against the dominant codes that are accepted as "normal" by most members of society.

I also tried to determine the content of the networks among LGBTI+ rights movement actors. I observed that actors construct ties with others that have common values, problems and aims both at an individual level and at an organizational level. I realized that, for individuals, both formal and informal and personal and mediated communication networking practices have an impact on the construction of ties with others and, therefore, recruitment to the movement. I deduced that individuals who have formal ties, which means those who have already been involved in other movements, such as the women's rights movement, peace movement etc. have a tendency to be recruited to this movement. After the interviews, I realized that people who already have such a tendency and have experience in one movement are more easily engaged and recruited to another movement because of their previous experience and understanding of political and cultural issues. Another important issue that I observed during the interviews was that for people who are active in family groups, informal ties like having LGBTI+ children have an important impact on their involvement and recruitment to the movement. Furthermore, at individual level networking, I

observed the importance of mediated communication for people who do not have any acquaintances or prior activism experience and search for a way to join the movement. This is because it provides information about the movement and SMOs who are active in this field. By becoming informed from various media platforms such as social media accounts and the web sites of SMOs, people can learn about the areas that SMOs work in, their places, their working times, other people who are active in these SMOs etc. and can decide to join the movement. On the other hand, from these platforms SMOs can offer different positions for people like doing an internship in their SMOs or being a worker in their offices etc. and people who are discriminated against in their working life can prefer to work for these organizations and, therefore, they learn about activism and may become a member of this movement. Moreover, I realized that mediated communication is important for people who do not want to be visible but want to become involved in the movement, because it provides anonymity. People can share their opinions, beliefs, values, problems and possible solution on these different platforms and anonymity can construct ties with others who share same the experiences as themselves.

Throughout the thesis, I have focused also on the content of the interorganizational networking. I analyzed the content of these networks by dividing it into two categories, which are networking for material resources and for non-material resources. I observed that due to lack of internal financial income LGBTI+ SMOs cannot directly network with each other for financial resources like money, rather they construct ties for these resources mostly with advisors or foundations when they want to carry out their projects, research or activities. I observed that within the area of material resources they mostly construct ties to organize or arrange venues to carry out their activities, because several SMOs have a lack of official spaces for carrying out their activities, training, and services. I discovered that they networked with each other mostly for non-material resources such as for key relevant knowledge, for information sharing, for sharing experiences, for sharing expertise, for recognition or for social capital. I observed that non-material resource organization and arrangement is important for all of them to carry

out their work in different fields like education, health, social services and law. Moreover, by networking SMOs benefit from each other's professions and accumulation of knowledge in different fields.

The other important issue for me during the analysis was finding out whether networks contribute to the continuity of the movement. I observed that they are important for the continuity of the movement by contributing to each other's projects, research, activities, training, services and so on. However, the clearest indicator of the impact of networks on the continuity of the movement is the example of the ties between Kaos GL and Siyah Pembe Üçgen Derneği. Benefiting from Kaos GL's name, cadres of Siyah Pembe Üçgen Derneği increased its visibility and increased its ability to reach the authorities, such as ministries. Actually, ties between Kaos GL and Siyah Pembe Üçgen Derneği helped the development of a new SMO in another city, therefore, in turn contributing to the enlargement and the continuity of the movement. Moreover, the establishment of LGBTI+ SMOs in another city apart from İstanbul and Ankara for the first time encouraged attempts to establish organizations in other cities in Turkey. Due to name recognition as a symbolic resource, the establishment of a SMO in another city and subsequently other cities also had an impact on the continuity of the movement. The ties between LİSTAG and İzmir/Ankara LGBTI+ Aile Grubu can be given as a similar example. By transmitting key relevant knowledge, information and experience LİSTAG helped the establishment and development of other family groups in different cities. I discussed these kinds of interorganizational networks in detail in the analysis section of the thesis and I observed that networks contributed to the continuity of the movement.

During the research, I was also interested in the places used by LGBTI+s, I wanted to find out where they socialized and discussed their problems, solutions etc. I realized that university campuses, non-mainstream cafes, association offices, and places that municipalities offer for SMOs are important places for the movement actors. I observed that both public and private spaces are important for them. On the one hand, public spaces like university campuses, cafes or LGBTI+ bars are important for the visibility of the actors and the movement. On the other hand, association offices, non-mainstream

places are important for people who do not want to be disclosed and become visible. I also wanted to learn whether virtual places take the place of “real” places. In addition, subsequently, how the contribution of new ICTs, especially social media to the movement can be evaluated. I realized that “real places” are still important places for the socialization of activists and for the activities of SMOs. To carry out their training, services, events and so on, they do not prefer virtual places. They prefer use platforms as supplementary tools. Social media does not take the place of real relationships or real places where these relations occur. However, it creates new opportunities for collaboration by contributing to expanding the reach of the movement and its influence on other actors, by accelerating and increasing information flow, by contributing to the geographically enlargement of the movement and by enhancing the free and open circulation of information. However, throughout the analysis I observed negative aspects of the social media for the movement, such as due to the free and open circulation of information, misinformation has also increased; therefore widespread negative impressions about LGBTI+s have spread. By giving opportunities for the dissemination of hate speeches, the use of social media in this situation has led to increased polarization and dichotomy among the public. These findings about the new ICTs, especially social media, on the social movement obliged me to the reconsider their effects, and new, new social movement arguments. I realized that, rather than a new, new social movement for LGBTI+ rights movement we should analyze it with new social movement theories, because it is still active in real places, and the precise impact of new ICTs is still relatively unclear.

Further research should be conducted to get the whole picture of the LGBTI+ movement in Turkey. The analysis was carried out by interviewing with associations and family groups from İstanbul, Ankara and İzmir; however, the involvement of actors outside these cities, such as from Diyarbakır, Mersin, Denizli, Eskişehir etc., future studies would contribute to a more comprehensive understanding of the micro dynamics of the movement. Furthermore, I think that the inclusion of various social media platforms, which could not be interviewed during the study but which have an important place in

the movement, would be useful in future studies in order to understand the effects of social media on the movement more comprehensively. Despite these points which need to be clarified, this study has made a significant contribution to the understanding of the historical process and the current situation of the LGBTI+ rights movement in Turkey, and the awareness of the rights violations suffered by LGBTI+ individuals just because of their sexual orientation and identities, as well as to different actors' motives in this movement, and the relationships between them. Although there are several points to be completed, I think this study has made an attempt to make a contribution to both social movement literature and LGBTI+ rights literature. Firstly, throughout the writing process of my thesis, I determined how studying LGBTI+ rights within the context of Turkey is crucial to understanding how Turkey's shortcomings in the human rights field. I also realized that the study of LGBTI+ rights is valuable for an understanding of the failures of Turkish democracy, because throughout the writing process systematic oppression toward them continued, i.e., police intervention during the Pride March that takes place every year in METU, police obstruction during 17 May, Buse Şeker's murder etc., all of which served to show me once again the importance of the subject of the study. Throughout the study, I was careful not to approach LGBTI+ individuals as victims. In other words, I thought that it was not enough to show how they are represented in the media and what the attitudes and behavior of society is towards them and the areas of rights violations they suffered, rather I tried to focus on how LGBTI+s frame LGBTI+ rights and how they act against rights violations. For the development of a society, all members must have equal rights. If all citizens cannot benefit equally from human rights, if a certain part of a society cannot benefit from the right to life, education, health, housing and the right to work, it is impossible to achieve full development in that country. By commenting on these subjects, this study contributes to the LGBTI+ rights and human rights literature.

Moreover, this study should be seen as an attempt to blend European and American approaches within social movement literature. Throughout the thesis, I explained these approaches, because there are some differences. While theorists within the European

school approach the subject within a broad perspective, the American approach is within a micro perspective. The European approach was useful in order to understand the emergence and the distinctive characteristics of new social movements by explaining cultural, political and economic factors, while the American approach was useful in order to analyze the rational choice process for the utilization of resources by SMOs. I tried to blend these two approaches. That is to say, I focused on the cultural, political and economic structures that affect the movement and the internal dynamics of SMOs. I think that the study contributes to the field of social movements studies due to the attempt to blend both approaches.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Abascal-Mena, R., Lema, R. & Sèdes, F. (2016) Detecting sociosemantic communities by applying social network analysis in tweets. *Social Network Analysis and Mining*, Springer, 5(1),1-17. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s13278-015-0280-2>

Acar, N. O. (2013). Özgürlük Alanı Olarak Sunulan Sosyal Medya ve Taksim Gezi Parkı Eylemleri. *Akdeniz İletişim Dergisi*, 20, 202-217.

Ahrens, P. (2018). Qualitative network analysis: A useful tool for investigating policy networks in transnational settings? *Methodological Innovations*, 1-9. <https://doi.org/10.1177/2059799118769816>

Akpınar, Ö. (2016). Turkish Constitutional Court to review Gender Reassignment Law. Available from: < <http://kaosgl.org/page.php?id=21001>>.

Altunpolat, R. (2017). LGBTİ'lere Yönelik Ayrımcılığı Tarihsel ve Politik Temelde Kavramak, *Türk Tabipleri Birliği Mesleki Sağlık ve Güvenlik Dergisi*, 17(64), 2-14.

Ashman, D., Brown, D., Zwick, E. (1998). The Strength of Strong and Weak Ties Building Social Capital for the Formation and Governance of Civil Society Resource Organizations, *Nonprofit Management & Leadership*, 9(2), 153-171. <https://doi.org/10.1002/nml.9203>

Atkinson, J. (2017). *Qualitative Methods*. In Journey into Social Activism: Qualitative Approaches NEW YORK: Fordham University.

Badgett, M., & Frank, J. (2007). *Sexual Orientation Discrimination: An International Perspective*. New York, NY: Routledge.

Bakker, F., & Hellsten, I. (2013). Capturing Online Presence: Hyperlinks and Semantic Networks in Activist Group Websites on Corporate Social Responsibility. *Journal of Business Ethics*, 118(4), 807-823. DOI: 10.1007/s10551-013-1962-1

Benford, R., & Snow, D. (2000). Framing Processes and Social Movements. An Overview and Assessment. *Annual Review of Sociology*, 26, 611-639. Available from <http://www.jstor.org/stable/223459>

Bennett, W. L., & Segerberg, A. (2013). The logic of connective action: Digital media and the personalization of contentious politics. *Cambridge: Cambridge University Press*. <https://doi.org/10.1080/1369118X.2012.670661>

Berg, N., & Lien, D. (2002). Measuring the effect of sexual orientation on income: Evidence of discrimination?. *Contemporary Economic Policy*, 20(4), 394-414.

Bernstein, M. (1997). "Celebration and suppression: The strategic uses of identity by the lesbian and gay movement." *American Journal of Sociology*, 103(3), 531-565. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1086/231250>

Bernstein, M. (2002). Identities and Politics: Toward a Historical Understanding of the Lesbian and Gay Movement. *Social Science History*, 26(3), 531-581. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0145553200013080>

Bianet. (2017). Ankara Valiliği'nden LGBTİ Etkinliklerine Süresiz Yasak Kararı, Available from < https://bianet.org/bianet/lgbti/191668-ankara-valiligi-nden_lgbti_etkinliklerine-suresiz-yasak-karari >. [18 April 2019]

Bonchek, M. S. (1995). Grassroots in cyberspace: recruiting members on the Internet or do computer networks facilitate collective action? *A transaction cost approach, paper presented at the 53rd Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association*, Chicago, IL.

Boyce, C., & Neale, P. (2006). Conducting In-Depth Interview, A Guide for Designing and Conducting In-Depth Interviews for Evaluation Input. *Monitoring and Evaluation. Pathfinder International Tool Series*, 1-12.

Boström, M., Rabe, L., & Rodela, R. (2015). Environmental non-governmental organizations and transnational collaboration: The Baltic Sea and Adriatic-Ionian Sea regions. *Environmental Politics*, 24(5), 762-787. <https://doi.org/10.1080/09644016.2015.1027057>

Buechler, S. M. (1995). New Social Movement Theories. *The Sociological Quarterly*, 36(3), 441-464. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1533-8525.1995.tb00447.x>

Caren, N. (2007). Political Process Theory. *The Blackwell Encyclopedia of Sociology*, 1-4. <https://doi.org/10.1002/9781405165518.wbeosp041>

Castells M. (1996). The Rise of the Network Society. *Vol. 1 of The Information Age: Economy, Society and Culture*. Oxford, UK: Blackwell's

Castells, M. (2000). Materials for an Exploratory Theory of the Network Society. *British Journal of Sociology*, 51(1), 5-24. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1468-4446.2000.00005.x>

Castells, M. (2011). *Communication power*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Castells, M. (2013). *İsyen ve umut ağları: İnternet çağında toplumsal hareketler*. Sarıyer İstanbul: Koç Üniversitesi Yayınları.

Castells, M. (2015). *Networks of outrage and hope: Social movements in the internet age*. Cambridge: Polity Press.

Cerulo, K. (1997). "Reframing Sociological Concepts for a Brave New (Virtual?)World." *Sociological Inquiry*, 67(1), 48–58. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1475682X.1997.tb00428.x>

Colgan, F., Creegan, C., McKearney, A., & Wright, T. (2007). Equality and diversity practices at work: Lesbian, gay and bisexual workers. *Equal Opportunities International*, 26(6), 590–609. DOI: 10.1108/02610150710777060

Creasap, K. (2012). Social Movement Scenes: Place-Based Politics and Everyday Resistance. *Sociology Compass*, 6(2), 182-191. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.17519020.2011.00441.x>

Cress, D. M., & Snow, D. A. (1996). Mobilization at the Margins: Resources, Benefactors, and the Viability of Homeless Social Movement Organizations. *American Sociological Review*, 61(6), 1089-1109. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/2096310>

Crossley, N. (2008). Pretty Connected: The Social Network of the Early UK Punk Movement. *Theory, Culture & Society*, 25(6), 89-116. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0263276408095546>

Curtis, R., & Zurcher, L. (1973). *Stable Resources of Protest Movements: The Multi Organizational Field*. *Social Forces*, 52(1), 53-61. Doi: 10.2307/2576423

Çalı, H. (2006). "Çevreci Toplumsal Hareket Olarak Greenpeace- Türkiye Hareketi." PhD Thesis. T.C. Ankara Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü Sosyal Çevre Bilimleri Anabilim Dalı.

Çetin, Z. (2016). Working Paper. The Dynamics of the Queer Movement in Turkey before and during the Conservative AKP Government. Available from: https://www.swp-berlin.org/fileadmin/contents/products/arbeitspapiere/WP_RG_Europe_2016_01.pdf [18 April 2019]

Çımrın, K. (2009). Küreselleşme, Neo-liberalizm ve Refah Devleti İlişkisi Üzerine. *Muğla Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü Dergisi (İLKE)*, 23, 198-204.

Çımrın, K. (2010). Yeni Toplumsal Hareketler ve Kentsel Yaşam, *Gümüşhane Üniversitesi, Sosyal Bilimler Elektronik Dergisi*, 2, 45-58.

Çoban, I. (2017). "A cultural overview of LGBTI identities in cinema: The Zenne movie and viewer comments." M.A Thesis. Galatasaray University.

Golsorkhi, D., Bergeron, H., Castel, P., Durand, R. & Leca, B. (2011). Mouvements sociaux, organisations et stratégies. *Revue française de gestion*, 217(8), 79-91. <https://www.cairn.info/revue-francaise-de-gestion-2011-8-page-79.htm>.

Demiroğlu, E. T. (2014). Yeni Toplumsal Hareketler: Bir Literatür Taraması. *Marmara Üniversitesi Siyasal Bilimler Dergisi*, 2(1), 133-144.

del Cerro Santamaría, G. (2007). The Network Society: A Cross-Cultural Perspective. *International Sociology*, 22(2), 213–216. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0268580907074549>

Dernekler Kanunu 2004. Available from: <http://www.resmigazete.gov.tr/eskiler/2004/11/20041123.htm>. [18 April 2019]

DiMaggio, P., Hargittai, E., Neuman, R., & Robinson, J. (2001). Social Implications of the Internet. *Annual Review of Sociology*, 27, 307-336. <https://doi.org/10.1146/annurev.soc.27.1.307>.

Diani, M. (1992). The Concept of Social Movement. *The Sociological Review*, 40(1), 1-25. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-954X.1992.tb02943.x>

Diani, M. (1997). "Social Movements and Social Capital: A Network Perspective on Movement Outcomes." *Mobilization: An International Journal*, 2 (2), 129–147.

Diani, M. (2000). "Social Movement Networks Virtual And Real." *Information, Communication & Society*, 3(3), 386–401. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13691180051033333>

Diani, M. (2003). *Social Movements and Networks: Relational Approaches to Collective Action*. Oxford Univ. Press

Diani, M. (2003). 'Leaders' or Brokers? Positions and Influence in Social Movement, in

Diani, M., *Social Movements and Networks: Relational Approaches to Collective Action*. Oxford Univ. Press

Diltemiz Mol, M. (2016). "LGBTİ Hareketinin Hak ve Temsil Mücadelesi ve Siyasal İletişim Faaliyetleri." PhD Thesis. Ankara Üniversitesi.

D'Anieri, P., Ernst, C., & Kier, E. (1990). New Social Movements in Historical Perspective. *Comparative Politics*, 22(4), 445-458. Doi:10.2307/421973

B.Doğu. (2017) Environment as politics: Framing the Cerattepe protest in Twitter. *Environmental Communication*, 13(5), 617-632. DOI: [10.1080/17524032.2017.1406384](https://doi.org/10.1080/17524032.2017.1406384)

Edwards, G. (2010). *Mixed-Method Approaches to Social Network Analysis*, in ESRC National Centre for Research Methods Review paper

Elder, K. (1985). The “New Social Movements”: Moral Crusades, Political Pressure Groups, or Social Movements?. *Social Research*, 52(4), 869-890. Available from <http://www.jstor.org/stable/40970400>

Emirbayer, M., & Goodwin, J. (1994). Network Analysis, Culture, and the Problem of Agency. *American Journal of Sociology*, 99(6), 1411-1454. DOI: 10.1086/230450

Engin, C. (2015). LGBT in Turkey: Policies and Experiences. *Soc.Sci*, 4, 383-358.

Erdoğan, B., & Köten. E. (2014). Yeni Toplumsal Hareketlerin Sınıf Dinamiği: Türkiye LGBT Hareketi, *Marmara Üniversitesi Siyasal Bilimler Dergisi*. 2(1), 93-113.

Erol, A. (2014). Eşcinsel Kurtuluş Hareketi'nin Türkiye Seyri. *Toplum ve Hekim*, 29(4), 277-287.

Yılmaz, V. (2014). *Yeni Anayasa Sürecinde LGBTİ Hakları Hareketi'nin Eşit Yurttaşlık Mücadelesi: Çoğunlukçu Demokrasiye Karşı Anayasal Demokrasi Farklılıklarının Birlikteliği: Türkiye ve Avrupa'da birarada yaşama tartışmaları*, Jean Monnet Mükemmeliyet Merkezi İstanbul Bilgi Üniversitesi. Available from [https://eu.bilgi.edu.tr/media/files/Farklılıkların Birlikteliği BASKI.pdf](https://eu.bilgi.edu.tr/media/files/Farkli%20Klar%20n%20Birliktelig%20i%20BASKI.pdf). [18 April 2019]

Feixa, C., Pereira, I., & Juris, J. S. (2009). Global citizenship and the ‘New, New’ social movements: Iberian connections. *YOUNG*, 17(4), 421-442. <https://doi.org/10.1177/110330880901700405>

Foljanty-Jost, G. (2005). NGOs in Environmental Networks in Germany and Japan: The Question of Power and Influence. *Social Science Japan Journal*, 8(1), 103-117.

Freeman, J. (1973). The Origins of the Women’s Liberation Movement. *American Journal of Sociology*, 78 (4), 792-811.

Fominaya, C. F. (2010). Collective Identity in Social Movements: Central Concepts and Debates. *Sociology Compass*, 4(6), 393-404. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1751-9020.2010.00287.x>

Fuchs, C. (2015). Surveillance and Critical Theory. *Media and Communication*, 3(2) 6-9. DOI: 10.17645/mac.v3i2.207

Galletta, A., & Cross, W. (2013). *Mastering the Semi-Structured Interview and Beyond: From Research Design to Analysis and Publication*. New York; London: NYU Press

Gould, R. (1991). Multiple Networks and Mobilization in the Paris Commune, 1871. *American Sociological Review*, 56(6), 716-729. Available from <http://www.jstor.org/stable/2096251>

Goodwin, J., & J. M. Jasper. (2015). *The social movements reader: Cases and concepts*. Chichester, West Sussex, UK: Wiley.

Gökalp, S. (2005). *Yeni Dernekler Kanunu. TBB Dergisi*, 58, 209-214.

Görkemli, S. (2012). "Coming out of the Internet" Lesbian and Gay Activism and the Internet as a "Digital Closet" in Turkey. *Journal of Middle East Women's Studies*, 8(3), 63-88. <https://doi.org/10.2979/jmiddeastwomstud.8.3.63>

Guo, C., & Saxton, G. D. (2014). Tweeting Social Change: How Social Media Are Changing Nonprofit Advocacy. *Nonprofit and Voluntary Sector Quarterly*, 43(1), 57-79. DOI: 10.1177/0899764012471585

Heijden, H. V. (2016). *Handbook of political citizenship and social movements*. Cheltenham, UK: Edward Elgar Publishing.

Hermida, A. (2014). Twitter as an Ambient News Network. In K. Weller, A. Bruns, J. Burgess, M. Mahrt; C. Puschmann (Eds.), *Twitter and Society*. Peter Lang, New York.

Hobsbawm, E. J. (2002). *Kısa 20. yüzyıl, 1914-1991: Aşırıliklar çağı*. İstanbul: Sarmal.

Hobsbawm, E. J. (2014). *The Age of revolution: Europe 1789-1848*. London: Abacus.

Hollstein B. (2011). *Qualitative approaches*. In: Scott J and Carrington PJ (eds) Sage Handbook of Social Network Analysis. London; New Delhi, India: SAGE.

İsa, D., & Himelboim, I. (2018). A Social Networks Approach to Online Social Movement: Social Mediators and Mediated Content in #FreeAJStaff Twitter Network. *Social Media + Society*. <https://doi.org/10.1177/2056305118760807>

İşık, G. (2013). Yeni Toplumsal Hareketler ve Sanal Gerçeklik Boyutunda Gezi Parkı Eylemleri. *Selçuk İletişim*, 8(1), 19-33.

İnce, E. (2014). LGBTİ: Kaldırımın Altından Gökkuşuğu Çıkıyor. Available from: <http://bianet.org/bianet/lgbti/160544-lgbti-kaldirim-altindan-gokkusagi-cikiyor>. [18 April 2019]

Inceođlu, Y., & Sözeri, C. (2012). Nefret Suçlarında Medyanın Sorumluluđu: “Ya sev ya terk et ya da...” in İnceođlu, Y., ed., *Nefret Söylemi ve/veya Nefret Suçları*, Ayrıntı Yayınları, 23-37

Jasper, J., & Poulsen, J. (1995). Recruiting Strangers and Friends: Moral Shocks and Social Networks in Animal Rights and Anti-Nuclear Protests. *Social Problems*, 42(4), 493-512. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/3097043>.

Jeffrey S. Juris in Castells, M. (2015). *Networks of outrage and hope: Social movements in the internet age*. Cambridge: Polity Press.

Jenkins, J. (2001). *Social Movements: Resource Mobilization Theory*. International Encyclopedia of the Social & Behavioral Sciences. 527-553

Jonathan A. Obar., et al. (2012). Advocacy 2.0: An Analysis of How Advocacy Groups in the United States Perceive and Use Social Media as Tools for Facilitating Civic Engagement and Collective Action. *Journal of Information Policy*, 2, 1-25.

Kalaycı, E. (2016). “Investigating the relation between social work student’s attitudes towards lgbti individuals and social justice advocates.” M.A Thesis. Ankara University.

Karan, U. (2018). İfade Özgürlüğü Anayasa Mahkemesine Bireysel Başvuru El Kitapları Serisi 2. Available from https://www.anayasa.gov.tr/bireyselbasvuru/pdf/Kitaplar/02_Ifade_ozgurlugu.pdf . [18 April 2019]

Kaos GL. (2011) *ANTI-HOMOFOBİ KİTABI / 3 Uluslararası Homofobi Karşıtı Buluşma*. Available from <http://www.kaosgldernegi.org/kutuphanedetay.php?id=3>. [18 April 2019]

Kaos GL. (2012). Nefret Suçları Kimin Sorunu? LGBT Bireyler, Nefret Söylemi ve Medyadaki Temsil, in İnceođlu, Y., ed., *Nefret Söylemi ve/veya Nefret Suçları*. Ayrıntı Yayınları, 289-306

Kaos GL. (2017). Türkiye’de Kamu Çalışanı Lezbiyen, Gey, Biseksüel, Trans ve İntersekslerin Durumu 2018 Yılı Araştırması. Available from: <http://www.kaosgldernegi.org/resim/yayin/dl/kamu_calisani_2017.pdf>. [14 January 2019]

Kaos GL. (2018). Türkiye’de Kamu Çalışanı Lezbiyen, Gey, Biseksüel, Trans ve İntersekslerin Durumu 2018 Yılı Araştırması. Available from <http://www.kaosgldernegi.org/yayindetay.php?id=232>. [14 January 2019]

Kaos GL. (2018). Türkiye’de Özel Sektör Çalışanı Lezbiyen, Gey, Biseksüel, Trans ve İntersekslerin Durumu 2018 Yılı Araştırması. Available from <http://www.kaosgldernegi.org/yayindetay.php?id=234>. [14 January 2019]

Kaos GL. (2019). SPoD ve Genç LGBTİ+’dan “LGBTİ+ Dostu Belediyecilik Protokolü”. Available from <https://kaosgl.org/sayfa.php?id=27448> [18 April 2019]

Kim, H., & Bearman, P. (1997). The Structure and Dynamics of Movement Participation. *American Sociological Review*, 62(1), 70-93. DOI: [10.2307/2657453](https://doi.org/10.2307/2657453)

Klandermans, B. (1984). Mobilization and Participation: Social-Psychological Expansions of Resource Mobilization Theory. *American Sociological Review*, 49(5), 583-600. <http://dx.doi.org/10.2307/2095417>

Konieczny, P. (2014). Signs of a Generational change in Social Movements—Activists’ Use of Modern Information and Communication Technologies. *Polish Sociological Review*, 187, 261-290.

König, T. (1999). PATTERNS OF MOVEMENT RECRUITMENT Why dense networks help recruitment to new social movements, but obstruct recruitment to the New Age movement, in the ASA Annual Meeting 1999, 1-22. Available from: < http://www.gwdg.de/~uspw/tkoenig/papers/recruitment_patterns.pdf >

Krinsky, J., & Crossley, N. (2014). Social Movements and Social Networks: Introduction. *Social Movement Studies*, 13(1), 1-21. <https://doi.org/10.1080/14742837.2013.862787>

Kvale, S. (1996). *InterViews: An Introduction to Qualitative Research Interviewing*, Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage

Labour Law 4857. 2003. Available from <http://turkishlaborlaw.com/turkish-labor-law-no-4857/19-4857-labor-law-english-by-article>. [18 April 2019]

Laer, J. V., & P. V. Aelst. (2010). Internet and Social Movement Action Repertoires. *Information, Communication & Society*, 13(8), 1146-1171. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13691181003628307>

Lambdaistanbul için kapatma davası açılıyor. 2007. Kaos GL, 4 June 2007, Available from: <http://kaosgl.org/sayfa.php?id=1189>. [18 April 2019]

Lambdaistanbul LGBTT Dayanışma Derneği. (2010) “İT İTİ İSİRMAZ!” Bir Alan Araştırması: İstanbul’da Yaşayan Trans Kadınların Sorunları

Laumann, E. O., Marsden, P. V. & Prensky, D. (2017). The Boundary Specification Problem in Network Analysis, in Freeman, L. C., White, D. R., & Romney, A. K., ed., *Research methods in social network analysis*. London; New York: Routledge.

Leach, D., & Haunss, S. (2009). Scenes and Social Movements, 1-24.

Leitner, H., Sheppard, E., & Sziarto, K. (2008). The spatialities of contentious politics. *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*, 33(2), 157–172.

Lovejoy, K., & Saxton, G. (2012). Information, Community, and Action: How Nonprofit Organizations Use Social Media. *Journal of Computer-Mediated Communication*, 17, 337–353. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1083-6101.2012.01576.x>

Lewoxx, “Marksist Devlet Düşüncesi: İktidarsız Toplum.” *Altüst Dergisi*, Available from: www.altust.org/2012/04/marksist-devlet-dusuncesi-iktidarsiz-toplum/ >. [18 April 2019]

Liu, Y. (2015). Tweeting, re-tweeting, and commenting: Microblogging and social movements in China. *Asian Journal of Communication*, 25(6), 567-583. <https://doi.org/10.1080/01292986.2015.1013971>

Maruster, L. (2013). *Qualitative research methods*. Sage.

Mathieu, L. (2007). L’espace des mouvements sociaux. *Politix*, 77(1), 131-151. doi:10.3917/pox.077.0131.

Mccarthy, J. D., & Zald. M. N. (1977). Resource Mobilization and Social Movements: A Partial Theory. *American Journal of Sociology*, 82(6), 1212-1241.

McAdam, D. (1986). Recruitment to High-Risk Activism: The Case of Freedom Summer. *American Journal of Sociology*. 92(1), 64-90. Available from <http://www.jstor.org/stable/2779717>

McAdam, D. (1988). “Micromobilization contexts and recruitment to activism”. *International Social Movement Research*, 1, 125–154.

Meleke, C.N. (2016). “The representation of LGBTI and hate speech in Turkish cinema.” M.A Thesis. Marmara University.

Melucci, A. (1985). The Symbolic Challenge of Contemporary Movements. *Social Research*, 52(4), 789-816.

Melucci, A. (1989). *Nomads of the Present: Social Movements and Individual Needs in Contemporary Society*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press.

Melucci, A. (2003). *Challenging codes: Collective action in the information age*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Meulders D., Robert, P., & Rycx, F. (2004). Introduction: Earnings inequalities: Gender, race and sexual orientation. *International Journal of Manpower*, 25(3/4), 244–250.

Meyer, D. S. (2004). Protest and Political Opportunities. *Annual Review of Sociology*, 30(1), 125-145. <https://doi.org/10.1146/annurev.soc.30.012703.110545>

Michelle, S., & J. Lipp. (2008). Connective collective action online: An examination of the hyperlink network structure of an NGO issue network. *Journal of Computer-Mediated Communication*, 14, 178–201. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1083-6101.2008.01436.x>

Morozov, E. (2009). The brave new world of slacktivism, Available from: <<https://foreignpolicy.com/2009/05/19/the-brave-new-world-of-slacktivism/>>. [18 April 2019]

Mwenzwa, E. M., & Waweru, S. M. (2016). *The Oscillating State's Role in the Provision of Social Welfare Services in Kenya*. *International Journal of Humanities and Social Science*, 6(5), 119-128.

Netrvalova, A., & Safarik, J. Trust Model for Social Network. Available from : <<https://www.kiv.zcu.cz/~netrvalo/publikace/source/TrustModelForSocialNetwrk.pdf>>

Noonan, R. K. (1995). Women against the state: Political opportunities and collective action frames in chiles transition to democracy. *Sociological Forum*, 10(1), 81-111.

Offe, C. (1985). New Social Movements: Challenging the Boundaries of Institutional Politics. *Social Research*, 52(4), 817-864.

Oliver, P., Marwell, G., & Teixeira, R. (1985). A Theory of the Critical Mass. I. Interdependence, Group Heterogeneity, and the Production of Collective Action. *American Journal of Sociology*, 91(3), 522-556. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1086/228313>

Olson, M. (1977). *The Logic of Collective Action. Public Goods and the Theory of Groups*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Öner, A. (2015). *Beyaz Yakalı Eşcinseller-İşyerinde Cinsel Yönelim Ayrımcılığı ve Mücadele Stratejileri*, İletişim Yayınları, İstanbul.

Özbek, Ç. (2017), "Ayrımcılıkla Mücadelenin Kamusalılığı: LGBT, Hareket ve Örgütlülük". *Toplum ve Demokrasi*, 11(24), 141-165.

Özen, H. (2015). Meydan Hareketleri ve 'Eski' ve 'Yeni' Toplumsal Hareketler. *Mülkiye Dergisi*, 39(2), 11-40.

Öztunalı, K. G. (2015). Sosyolojik Değerlendirme: LGBT Bireyler Açısından Cinsiyet Kimlikleri Meselesi. *Akdeniz Üniversitesi İ.İ.B.F Eğitim Bilim Toplum Dergisi* 13(51), 73-97.

Öztürk, M. B. (2011). Sexual orientation discrimination: Exploring the experiences of lesbian, gay and bisexual employees in Turkey. *Human Relations*, 64(8), 1099–1118. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0018726710396249>

Passy, F. (2003). *“Social Networks Matter. But How?” Social Movements and Networks* Relational Approaches to Collective Action, Oxford University Press

Pereira, I. (2006). Networking social movements through individuals multi-participation. CIES e-WORKING PAPER N° 20, Available from: < https://repositorio.iscte.iul.pt/bitstream/10071/258/4/CIES-WP20_Pereira_.pdf>

Pembe Hayat LGTBTT Dayanışma Derneği & Kaos GL Derneği. (2017). *CİNSEL YÖNELİM VE CİNSİYET KİMLİĞİ TEMELLİ İNSAN HAKLARI İZLEME RAPORU 2013 - 2014 – 2015 - 2016 – 2017*. Available from http://www.kaosglderneği.org/resim/yayin/dl/rapor_web.pdf. [18 April 2019]

Phillips, S. (1991). Meaning and Structure in Social Movements: Mapping the Network of National Canadian Women’s Organizations. *Canadian Journal of Political Science*, 24(4), 755-782. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0008423900005655>

Pichardo, N. A. (1997). New Social Movements: A Critical Review. *Annual Review of Sociology*, 23(1), 411-430. <https://doi.org/10.1146/annurev.soc.23.1.411>

Poell, T., & Dijck, J. (2018). Social Media and new protest movements. In *The SAGE Handbook of Social Media*, 546-561, edited by Jean Burgess, Alice Marwick & Thomas Poell. London: Sage

Polletta, F. (1999). “Free Spaces” in Collective Action. *Theory and Society*, 28(1), 1-38. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/3108504>.

Porta, D., & Diani, M. (2011). *Social movements: An introduction*. Malden, MA: Blackwell.

Republic of Turkey Ministry of Foreign Affairs Secreteriat General Foru EU Affairs. (2007), Political Reforms in Turkey. Available from: < <https://www.ab.gov.tr/files/pub/prt.pdf>>. [18 April 2019]

Rani, N. (2018). Online Media and Environmental Activism: Study of Indian Environmental Movements, *IOSR Journal Of Humanities And Social Science*, 23(5), 9-15.

Ray, S. (2018). "Spatial trends of LGBTI individuals and homophobic trends of people in a location: Antalya example.". M.A Thesis. Akdeniz University.

Robert, A., & M. O'Neil. (2011). Online collective identity: The case of the environmental movement, *Social Networks*, 33, 177–190. DOI: 10.1016/j.socnet.2011.03.001

Roggeband, C., & Klandermans. B. (2017). *Handbook of social movements across disciplines*. Cham, Switzerland: Springer International Publishing.

Rosenberg, W. G. (2016). *Strikes and revolution in Russia, 1917*. Princeton University Press.

Rucht, D. (1996). The impact of national contexts on social movement structures: A cross movement and cross-national comparison. In D. McAdam, J. McCarthy, & M. Zald (Eds.), *Comparative Perspectives on Social Movements: Political Opportunities, Mobilizing Structures, and Cultural Framings* (Cambridge Studies in Comparative Politics, pp. 185-204). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

R. Kelly Garrett. (2006). Protest in an Information Society: a review of literature on social movements and new ICTs. *Information, Communication & Society*, 9(2), 202-224. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13691180600630773>

Schlosberg, D. (1999). Networks and mobile arrangements: Organizational innovation in the U.S. Environmental Justice Movement. *Environmental Politics*, 6(1), 122-148. <https://doi.org/10.1080/09644019908414441>

Shirky, C. (2011). The Political Power of Social Media: Technology, the Public Sphere, and Political Change. *Council on Foreign Relations*, 90(1), 28-41.

Simone, F. I. 2018. Social Movement Theory: Resource Mobilization Theory. *Social Movement Theory: Resource Mobilization Theory*, 4(1). Available January 22, 2019.

Siyah Pembe Üçgen İzmir. (2014-2016), *LGBTİ'LERİN İNSAN HAKLARI DURUMU*. Available from http://www.siyahpembe.org/wp-content/uploads/2017/11/spu-lgbti_haklari-raporu-2014-2016.pdf . [18 April 2019]

Siyah Pembe Üçgen Tarih Dizisi. (2012). *80'lerde Lubunya Olmak*, İzmir.

Siyah Pembe Üçgen Tarih Dizisi. (2013). *90'larda Lubunya Olmak*, İzmir.

Smitton, B. (2017). "The LGBT Movement Inside the United States Government: Analysing Social Movement Networks in Political Spatialities". *Journal of Young Investigators*, 108–122.

Smith, J. (2016). Social Movements and Political Moments: Reflections on the Intersections of Global Justice Movements & Occupy Wall Street. In Ancelovici M., Dufour P., & Nez H., ed., *Street Politics in the Age of Austerity: From the Indignados to Occupy*, Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 205-226.

Snow, D., Zurcher, L., & Eklund-Olson, S. (1980). Social Networks and Social Movements: A Microstructural Approach to Differential Recruitment. *American Sociological Review*, 45(5), 787-801. Available from <http://www.jstor.org/stable/2094895>

Stolley, K. S. (2007). *The basics of sociology*. Westport, CT: Greenwood.

Sullivan, J., & Xie, L. (2009). Environmental Activism, Social Networks and the Internet. *The China Quarterly*, 198, 422-432. DOI: 10.1017/S0305741009000381

Sobré-Denton, M. (2016). Virtual intercultural bridgework: Social media, virtual cosmopolitanism, and activist community building. *New Media & Society*, 18(8), 1715–1731. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1461444814567988>

Sommerfeldt, E. J., & Yang, A. 2017. Relationship networks as strategic issues management: An issue-stage framework of social movement organization network strategies. *Public Relations Review*, 43(4), 829-839. DOI: 10.1016/j.pubrev.2017.06.012

Söyle, F. (2009) "Lambdaistanbul'a Karşı Kapatma Davası Kronolojisi" *Bianet*, Available from: < https://bianet.org/bianet/toplumsal-cinsiyet/114196-lambdaistanbul_a-karsi-kapatma-davasi-kronolojisi >. [18 April 2019]

Tar, Y. (2016). Çalışma Hayatında Ayrımcılık ve Ayrımcılığa Karşı Mücadele. Available from :<https://kaosgildernegi.org/resim/yayin/dl/calisma_hayatinda_ayrimcilik.pdf#page=1
1> [18 April 2019]

Tarrow, S. G. (2011). *Power in movement: Social movements and contentious politics*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Tichy, N., Tushman, M., & Fombrun, C. (1979). Social Network Analysis for Organizations. *The Academy of Management Review*, 4(4), 507-519. Available from <http://www.jstor.org/stable/257851>

Tilly, C. (2008). *Toplumsal hareketler: 1768-2004*. İstanbul: Babil Yayınları.

Touraine, A. (1978). *La voix et le regard*. Paris: Les Éditions du Seuil

Uluslararası Af Örgütü. (2011). Available from <https://amnesty.org.tr/public/uploads/files/Rapor/TURKEY%20'NOT%20AN%20LNESS%20NOR%20A%20CRIME'%20LESBIAN%2C%20GAY%2C%20BISEXAL%20AND%20TRANSGENDER%20PEOPLE%20IN%20TURKEY%20DEMAND%20EQUALITY.pdf>. [18 April 2019]

Uslu, A. (2014). Avrupa'da Erken Dönem Sosyalist Teori ve İşçi Hareketleri (1830-1840). *Akademik İncelemeler Dergisi*, 9, 1-24.

Ünal, E. (2018). "The views of the instructors related to the individuals with different sexual orientations (LGBTI)." M.A Thesis. Mersin University.

Yasin, Y., Çebi, M., & Şapçı, I. (2018). Web tabanlı bir araştırmanın düşündürdükleri üzerinden LGBTİ+ sağlığı. *Türkiye Halk Sağlığı Dergisi*, 16(2), 106-116.

Yıldız, D. *Türkiye tarihinde eşcinselliğin izinde escinsel-lik hareketinin tarihinden satır başları-1:80ler*. Available from: <<http://kaosgilderqi.com/dosyasayfa.php?id=2186>>. [18 April 2019]

Yılmaz, H. (2010). 'Türkiye'de 'Biz'lik, 'Öteki'lik, Ötekileştirme ve Ayrımcılık: Kamuoyundaki Algılar ve Eğilimler".

Yılmaz, V., & Göçmen, I. (2016). Denied Citizens of Turkey: Experiences of Discrimination Among LGBT Individuals in Employment, Housing and Health Care. *Gender, Work & Organization*, 23(5), 470-488. <https://doi.org/10.1111/gwao.12122>

Yılmaz, V., & Demirbaş, H. (2015). TÜRKİYE BÜYÜK MİLLET MECLİSİ'NDE LEZBİYEN, GEY, BİSEKSÜEL VE TRANS (LGBT) HAKLARI GÜNDEMİNİN ORTAYA ÇIKIŞI VE GELİŞİMİ: 2008-2014. *Alternatif politika*, 7(2), 230-256.

Zhu, Q. (2017). Citizen-Driven International Networks and Globalization of Social Movements on Twitter. *Social Science Computer Review*, 35(1), 68-83. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0894439315617263>

Wang, D., & Soule, S. (2012). Social Movement Organizational Collaboration: Networks of Learning and the Diffusion of Protest Tactics, 1960-1995. *American Journal of Sociology*, 117(6), 1674-1722. doi:10.1086/664685

Wang, J. (2015). "Mobilizing resources in networked social movements: cases in Hong Kong and Taiwan." PhD Thesis. Hong Kong Baptist University.

Webster, F. (2006). *Theories of Information Society*, New York: Routledge.

2001'den 2015'e AKP'in LGBTİ Tarihi. 2015. BiAMAG, 26 September 2015, Available from:<[https://m.bianet.org/biamag/lgbti/167837-2001-den-2015-e-akp-in-lgbti tarihi](https://m.bianet.org/biamag/lgbti/167837-2001-den-2015-e-akp-in-lgbti-tarihi)>. [18 April 2019]

Wellman, B. (1998). From Little Boxes to Loosely-Bounded Networks: The Privatization and Demostication of Community. *Sociology for the Twenty-First Century: Continuities and Cutting Edges*, 1-16.



APPENDIX:

Interview Questions

1. Can you tell me about yourself?
2. Have you ever been a member of another social movement? Did your beingness affect your decision to participate in the LGBTI+ rights movement?
3. How did you decide to participate in the movement and SMO that you are a member of? Did your acquaintances, your friends or your family members have an impact on your involvement in the LGBTI+ rights movement?
4. How you define common norms, values, beliefs, and cultural practices, definition of problems and solutions of this movement?
5. Can you describe the activities of this organization?
6. Is there a premise of the existing organization?
7. Could you inform me about the activities you have organized like workshops, conferences, marches etc.? Do you have regular reports published?
8. According to you what are the contribution of this SMO to LGBTI+ rights movement in Turkey?
9. Do you have relationships with other organizations (LGBTI and other platforms)? If so, what common goals do you work for.
10. Could you tell me about the five partnerships you have established over the past five years and how these partnerships were established?
11. What were your most important motivational resources when establishing partnerships? When determining these partnerships, did you have any specific criteria?
12. Can you tell me about new opportunities and challenges that arose during the partnership?
13. Do you receive support from different people or groups?
14. Which kinds of support? Do you support different people/groups?
15. How do you evaluate the effects of social media on the movement?
16. What is the contribution of social media to the communication process?
17. What is the role of social media in getting support for material and non-material resources?