

THE EFFECTS OF SOCIAL STRUCTURE ON SOCIAL MOVEMENTS IN TURKEY

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The main objective of this study is to provide an in-depth analysis the association between a set of social structural factors and the certain types of social movement events in Turkey. The changing nature and significance of social movements over time and space makes this study necessary to understand and explain new trends related to the parameters that constitute a backdrop for social movements.

Social movements are a very common mechanism used by groups of people who decide to take action against an unfair socio-political system, usually an authoritarian government or dictatorship. This kind of reactions, seen in history before, gives birth to a more multidimensional understanding of the relationship between society and state policies. Understanding social movements depends on understanding our own societies, and the social environment in which they are developed. An effective way of understanding this type of social movements is to recognize the perceived concerns of discontented groups in relation to cultural, ideological, economic, and political institutions and values.

Social movement events included in the study refers to collective activities organized by two or more people with the purpose of protesting public policies or of increasing public awareness about certain social issues related to human rights and freedoms, environment, feminism, etc. All these types of events are chased by police forces, and their concerns, statements, and activities are recorded.

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# CHAPTER 1

## INTRODUCTION

### 1.1 Introduction

Social movements are a very common mechanism used by groups of people who decide to take action against an unfair socio-political system, usually an authoritarian government or dictatorship. Social movements are defined as “networks of informal interactions, between a plurality of individuals, groups or associations, engaged in a political or cultural conflict, on the basis of a shared collective identity” (Diani, 1992, p. 13). The wave of demonstrations and protests that started in Tunisia in late 2010 has called attention to the poor quality of life there and depends on human rights and freedoms. In those movements, called the Arab Spring, collectives filled up town squares and demanded freedoms, dignity, justice, and equal distribution of material and other resources. This kind of reactions, seen in history before, gives birth to a more multidimensional understanding of the relationship between society and state policies. Belonging to a society involves legal status, rights, and participation in the decision-making process of social policies (Bloemraad, Korteweg, & Yurdakul, 2008). Thus, individuals demand their rights and freedoms in response to state actions.

The ascending trend in social movements in various countries throughout the world, such as Libya, Egypt, Syria, Greece, Ukraine, Spain, Indonesia, etc., shows that we live in a dynamic society (Meyer & Tarrow, 1998). Referring to World Values Survey Data, Norris (2002, p. 200) indicates that the percentage of participation in

social movements increased dramatically between 1980 and 1990. In the Netherlands, for example, the percentage of participation in demonstrations increased from 12% in 1980 to 25% in 1990. It was the same in West Germany, in which social movement participation increased from nearly 14 to 19.5% in the same period. The increase in the United States was somewhat less, but there was still a notable increase in movement participation from 12% in 1980 to 15% in 1990 (Snow et al., 2004). The trend was also upward in most other countries, including Turkey. It can be argued, then, that social movements have become a tool of expressing resentments by displeased groups who coalesced and created a common identity that is unique from the identity represented by the state (Rawls, 1999). Therefore, understanding social movements depends on understanding our own societies, and the social environment in which they are developed.

An effective way of understanding this type of social movements is to recognize the perceived concerns of discontented groups in relation to cultural, ideological, economic, and political conditions and values. The recognition of perceived concerns fosters more positive attitudes and encourages individuals' integration into the society. If individuals cannot find any expression of their concerns in social policies, they feel excluded from the community and react against the government. Those groups feeling a sense of exclusion often fear or suspect that their culture and way of life will be swallowed by the powerful elites holding state authority. Their reactions emerge in many forms, including indigenous social movements. The increased number of displeased groups come together and create an oppositional and/or new group identity which threaten social solidarity (Tilly, 2003).

Once an identity exists, it can be disseminated through social movement organizations in order to attract more attention to the group and to recruit new members. Then, they organize social movements to affect social policies which they perceived as the sources of injustice and inequalities (Tilly, 2003). These reactions must be directed and managed in a correct manner; otherwise, collective violence and terrorism may serve as a means to reach perceived goals and interests (Della Porta, & Diani, 2006). Therefore, the dynamics and motivations of social movements must be understood by the authorities who are responsible for sustaining public order.

The main objective of this study is to provide an in-depth analysis the association between a set of social structural factors and the certain types of social movement events in Turkey. The changing nature and significance of social movements over time and space makes this study necessary to understand and explain new trends related to the parameters that constitute a backdrop for social movements.

Social movement events included in the study refers to collective activities organized by two or more people with the purpose of protesting public policies or of increasing public awareness about certain social issues related to human rights and freedoms, environment, feminism, etc. All these types of events are chased by police forces, and their concerns, statements, and activities are recorded.

## 1.2 The Concept of Social Movements

Social movements are a form of collective action. There are many types of collective action such as the activities of interest-groups (Snow, 2004). There are

many other examples of collective action that are distinct from the concept of social movements. Collective action refers to any goal-directed activities by two or more individuals (Diani, 1992). It includes a large number of collective activities with a common objective. Snow and Oliver (1995, p. 571) define collective behavior as an "extrainstitutional, group-problem solving behavior that encompasses an array of collective actions, ranging from protest demonstrations, to behavior in disasters, to mass or diffuse phenomena, such as fads and crazes, to social movements and even revolution." If social movements are a form of collective action, which characteristics differentiate social movements from other types of collective action? Snow, Soule, and Kriesi (2004) provide three answers for this question:

First, interest groups who engage in collective action are generally defined in relation to governmental institutions or polity. Social movements, on the other hand, are concerned with various interests related to both governmental policies and other spheres of social life.

Second, the structure and function of social movements is different from other forms of collective action in terms of their actors. Collective activists are generally concerned with legitimate activities within the political arena, while social movements groups are active both inside and outside of the polity in order to gather more support and gain access to the decision-making process of public policies or recognition among political authorities.

A third difference is that interest groups of collective actions organize their activities through formal institutions established by law. For social movements, on the other hand, formal institutions are not necessary, even though they are very effective for the success of social movements. Therefore, they pursue their defined

goals through the use of non-institutional means such as marches, boycotts, and sit-ins. Strategies and tactical behaviors of social movements change over time as political opportunities change.

Whereas the development of social movements depends on prior planning and organization, other forms of collective actions can arise spontaneously and end just as quickly. Sometimes the interests of collective activists and social movements coincide with each other. In such cases collective activists support social movements and become a part of social movement strategies in order to reach their common goals. As a result of the collective identity created in social movements, social movements become more and more institutionalized over time. Depending on these differences, social movements are described as "collectivities acting with some degree of organization and continuity outside of institutional or organizational channels for the purpose of challenging or defending extant authority, whether it is institutionally or culturally based, in the group, organization, society, culture, or world order of which they are a part" (Snow et al., 2004, p. 11). In a similar manner, Touraine's definition of social movement focuses mainly on class conflict. He sees social movements as organized conflicts or as "conflicts between organized actors over the social use of common cultural values" (Touraine, 2002, p. 90).

In accordance with this conceptualization, this study mainly focuses on social movement events challenging authority. However, it must be stated that types of movements vary according to the interests of social movement group, which are explained in the next chapter in detail.

The study is organized in terms of a number of social structural factors that affect the emergence of social movements in Turkey. Social structural factors refer

to the characteristics of the social environment that facilitate or constrain the emergence of social movements. The factors included in the study are economic status, education level, residential mobility, number of voluntary organizations, number of university students, and voting rates of the ruling party and opposing parties across the cities of Turkey.

### 1.3 The Evolution of Social Movements

The evolution and operation of social movements are based on material resources (work, money, or other means) and nonmaterial variables (power, civic engagement, education, ideology, political environment, etc.) available to the movement. These resources are mainly obtained through social movement organizations (SMOs). The forms and functions of an SMO determine the organizational capacity of providing necessary resources for social movements (Snow et al., 2004). External forces, such as the activities of opponent groups and the measures taken by authorities to repress social movements, also affect the availability of resources.

The resources and external factors of social movements change over time. Accordingly, the incentives and formation of social movements change in time and space as well. Most social movement studies, however, tend to either generalize their propositions across movements at different times and places or focus on certain types of movements that occurred at one particular time and place (Koopmans, 2004). Social movements are not independent from cultural, historical, or geographical factors nor are they independent of economic, ideological, or

political factors. Those factors not only affect the formation process, but also produce dynamic interactions among multiple groups (McVeigh, 1995).

According to this concept, every research on social movements provides implications specific to those events occurring in that specified time and space. The incentives and agents of contention in a society vary according to its social, cultural, political norms and values (Koopmans, 2004).

External factors also play a very important role in the development of conflicts between groups. Political opportunities facilitate the dissemination of ideas and sentiments among the population. This in turn may cause many side-effects such as factionalism and schism which lead to polarization in the society. The termination of resentments depends on the mediating efforts of third parties who are not the part of the conflict (Deborah, 1997).

Actors are often in search for new strategies to improve their relative positions and to reach success in changing social policies. Most of these attempts fail and are abandoned, but successful strategies are learned by others through social networks established by social movement organizations. This process continues over time, so no stages are repeated in the same way under the same conditions. Moreover, during intense waves of reactions, interactions between the proponents and opponents of the social movement produce or impact vulnerable social groups which may bear unexpected consequences. Uncertainty and contingency become prevailing factors that determine social stability. In such conditions, nothing is predictable about the course of social movements as new factors and actors may emerge and cause additional conflicts (Gamson, 1990).



As a result, it needs to be stated that successive studies are necessary in order to provide better conceptualization of social movements. Because of changing actors, incentives and external forces, it is not possible to generalize insights from the research on social movements. Thus, many social movement theories have been developed over time with the claim that previous theories could not explain correctly the path on which social movements develop. With the goal to eliminate these challenges, this study analyzes the effects of social structural variables on the certain type of social movement events in Turkey by considering the propositions of social movement theories.

#### 1.4 Statement of the Problem

This study aims to provide an analysis and understanding of social movements challenging state policies in Turkey in the light of social movement theories. For this purpose, the central question of the study is how and to what extent the indicators of social structure (education level, economic status, residential mobility, voluntary organizations, university students, and political structure) affect the emergence of social movement events, which are organized to protest state policies, in the light of social movement theories. The term social movement in this study refers to collective actions that can be defined as "any goal-directed activity jointly pursued by two or more individuals" (McAdam & Snow, 1997, p. 24).

In the sociological literature, social movements are regarded as collective responses to social, cultural and political changes (McCarthy & Zald, 1977; Oberschall, 1973; Tilly, 1978). In this view, groups that feel strain due to the challenges in using legitimate means to find satisfactory solutions for their concerns

form and join social movements. Scholars indicate that any form of emergent social disorganization as a result of economic factors, political crises, technological innovations, or rapid demographic change may pave the way for social movements (Blumer, 1969; Mauss, 1975; Tarow, 1994; Tilly, 1978). The rise of democratic institutions in the last few decades and subsequent social, cultural, and political changes have both led to and increased the number of social movements.

Although social movements are regarded as reactions or protests against the social environment, they are not independent from structural factors (Della Porta & Diani, 2006). Within industrialized societies, social movements are very common because diverse populations are less bound by societal traditions and customs (Collins, 1998), while associational life is severely constrained in authoritarian regimes. Because of the domination of the state controlled by the politico-economic power of elites (McAdam, 1982, p. 37), people may engage in social movements through the contacts they develop in social settings, such as cafes, cabarets, religious institutions, etc. (Aminzade, 1995).

In democratic societies, on the other hand, by helping to create a collective identity, the presence of dense organizational structures and social networks may facilitate participation in collective actions. For example, participating in certain associations, attending the same educational institutions, being sensitive about sub-cultural, economic or environmental issues may direct people to join in collective actions (Staggenborg, 2001). In order to contribute to conceptualizing and explaining these differences, this study focuses on the association between the social structure and social movements in Turkey.

## 1.5 Purpose of the Study

Social movements involve activities initiated by large groups of people who want to promote or oppose social change through unconventional means. For the emergence of a social movement, there must be an 'initiating event' that will begin a chain reaction of events in the given society (Smelser, 1962). Several social dynamics lie behind social movements. Industrialization generated the working class that wants to be fairly remunerated for its labor but has sharpened economic differences (Eyerman & Jamison, 1991). Urbanization leads to larger settlements and facilitates social interaction between people (Kriesi, 2004). Social institutions like universities and voluntary organizations provide a better ambiance for social interaction between people with common ideas and concerns. The development of communication technologies has enhanced interactive relations and information sharing and has produced various opportunities for individuals to participate in social movements. The political environment also has great importance for the emergence of these movements (Diani, 1992).

Although social movements are seen in every society in various forms, their effects within that society change according to the perceptions of and reactions to those social movements. The true understanding of social movements helps in developing appropriate intervention methods and promotes democracy and solidarity in the society (Snow et al., 2004). Biased decisions taken by authorities on intervention strategies without adequate information about the roots and motivations of social movements may drag society into chaos (Della Porta, & Diani, 2006).

Therefore, the purpose of this study is to examine the impact of a set of social structural factors on the number of social movement events challenging authority in Turkey.

The research questions examined in this study are:

RQ1: "What is the impact of structural factors on the emergence of social movements in Turkey?"

RQ2: "What is the impact of civic sphere on the emergence of social movements in Turkey?"

RQ3: How does the political environment influence the emergence of social movements in Turkey?

## 1.6 Significance of the Study

Social movements have always been one of the most important issues in Turkish society as a whole. In the last five years, the average number of social movement events in Turkey was about 23,000 with an average of about ten million participants (Public Security Department, 2013). Considering that the population of Turkey was 75 million in 2012, these numbers clearly indicate that there are significant problems in the society which are reproduced by its institutions.

Table 1.1

*Number of Social Movement Events and Participants (per Year)*

| Years | Number of Social Movement Events | Number of Participants |
|-------|----------------------------------|------------------------|
| 2009  | 18,101                           | 9,339,319              |
| 2010  | 17,661                           | 7,560,192              |
| 2011  | 21,146                           | 10,682,712             |
| 2012  | 25,635                           | 7,512,141              |
| 2013* | 32,623                           | 14,000,148             |

\* The numbers were obtained on November 10, 2013

Attributing the social problems to the protesting social groups and using law enforcement forces to oppress the social movement activists do not decrease the intensity of the problem rather tends to increase it. To date, there is no academic research evaluating the roots and dynamics of social movements in Turkey. The existing studies either provide brief information about the history of social movements occurred in Turkish society, or merely explain the types and results of social movements. The primary significance of this study, therefore, is to explain the association between three groups of independent variables and social movement events that challenge authority.

This study differs from the conventional approaches to social movements in several ways. First, most empirical studies on the causes of social movements have focused on micro level patterns of social movements. These studies have analyzed the motivations of individuals who are involved in social movements (Morrison, 1971). Although some studies have focused on the macro sociological issues that

make social movements possible (Locher, 2002; Oberschall, 1973), only a few of these studies analyzed the social structural dynamics of social movements (McAdam et al, 1988; Melucci, 1989; Scott, 1990). This study was designed to provide a contextual analysis of social movement events inside a country, and it attempted to understand how social movement theories are relevant for explaining the geographical distribution of social movement events across the cities of Turkey.

Social movements are frequently initiated by various voluntary organizations or civil society groups (university students were used in this study) devoted to a number of issues related to human rights, justice, and the environment (Smith, 2002; Tarrow, 2001). That is, all social movements depend on some social infrastructure such as a religious, cultural, ideological, economic, political infrastructure and context, and the number of social organizations supporting these phenomena. Information can flow through these organizations to allow for broad exchanges to occur between people with common ideas and beliefs, thus creating rich possibilities for social movements (McAdam, Tarrow, & Tilly, 2001). There are also some catalysts, such as the political environment and ideological fragments that can affect the sequence of the development of social movements (Langman, Morris, & Zalewski, 2001). These findings require the analysis of the effect of social structural factors on social movements.

The main framework of this study, therefore, was based on the propositions of social movement theories and their applicability to social movement events in Turkey. In order to understand the spatial distribution of social movement events, this study used individual cities as the unit of analysis and compared social structural factors across the Turkish cities.

## 1.7 Organizational Map of the Study

The study begins with the statement of the problem and explains the possible contributions of the study to the existing literature. Chapter 2 provides a summary of the theoretical framework to be used in the course of this study. This section also reviews previous studies and research on social movements, and provides basic information about social movements in Turkey. In the light of the proposed theoretical framework, Chapter 3 presents the hypotheses examined and their relation to the theoretical framework. Chapter 4 explains the methodological design and analytic strategy employed in the study. This chapter also includes information about the data sources and measurements of the independent and dependent variables used in the analyses. In Chapter 5, the results of the bivariate and multivariate analyses are presented and discussed in the context of theoretical insights and hypotheses derived from these insights. The study concludes with a detailed discussion of the results obtained from the analyses. Theoretical implications for future research and limitations of the study are also presented in Chapter 6.

## CHAPTER 2

### A REVIEW OF THEORATICAL FRAMEWORKS

#### 2.1 Definition of Social Movements

The term "social movements" was firstly used by the German sociologist Lorenz von Stein (1848) in his book *Socialist and Communist Movements since the Third French Revolution* to indicate political actions directed towards fighting for social rights (Mengelberg, 1962, p. 267). Habermas (1973) viewed social movements as defensive reactions aimed at changing political and economic institutions in order to produce a better society. For Charles Tilly (1978), social movements were forms of collective activities, protests, and campaigns practiced by groups of people in order to affect public politics. Similarly, Tarrow (1994) defined social movements as collective challenges to elites, authorities, other groups or cultural codes.

Turner and Killian, however, distinguished social movements from other collective actions, and defined them in terms of as "a collectivity acting with some continuity to promote a change or resist a change in the society or group of which it is a part" (Turner & Killian, 1987, p. 308). For Della Porta and Diani (2006), social movements are informal networks, based on shared beliefs and solidarity, which mobilize around controversial issues, through the frequent use of various forms of protest.

The definitions of social movements that have been proposed over the last decades regard them as a form of collective action, a set of opinions and beliefs, or as specific collectivities (Neidhardt & Rucht, 1991) because of the lack of attention to the structure of societies (Diani, 2012). However, studies on social movements



indicate that unorganized collective resistance does not have a realistic chance to achieve success (Gamson, 1980; Morris, 1981; Andrews & Biggs, 2006). Therefore, recent definitions of social movements refer to social structural factors more than other factors related to the resistance to the authorities. The history of social movements clearly indicates this definitional change. In the 1930s, the Great Depression triggered numerous social movements throughout the world. By the 1960s, when the United States reached a high level of economic affluence, the American people were mostly concerned with issues of social justice, such as anti-war movements, women's rights movements, and civil rights movements (Pichardo, 1997).

Recent social movements, however, have emerged to promote social change in what Tarrow (1994) calls *waves of protest*. Such waves are triggered by any form of social disorganization emerging due to economic recessions, political crises, technological innovations, or rapid demographic change. McCarthy and Zald (1977, p. 1217) presented the same view and described social movements as "a set of opinions and beliefs in a population which represents preferences for changing some elements of the social structure and/or reward distribution of a society."

Melucci described social movements as processes of complex interactions between social, economic, cultural, and political contexts (Melucci, 1996). Social movements are an analytical category for the researcher to describe a particular form of collective action, the conjunction of collective identity and environment (Poletta & Jasper, 2001). These interactions produce temporary and enduring multiple collective identities. They are not usually constant phenomena; rather, they change

according to the social, cultural and political environment (Koopmans, 2004). This argument was explained by Eyerman and Jamison:

Social movements are the result of an interactional process which centers around the articulation of a collective identity and which occurs within the boundaries of a particular society. Our approach thus focuses upon the process of articulating a movement identity (cognitive praxis), on the actors taking part in this process (movement intellectuals), and on the contexts of articulation (political cultures and institutions). (Eyerman & Jamison, 1991, p. 4)

All of the presented definitions explain different features of social movements. This study applies Tarrow's approach which explains social movements as waves of protest triggered by any form of social disorganization emerging due to economic recessions, political crises, technological innovations, or rapid demographic change. The term social movements includes social movement events emerging as rallies, demonstrations, marches, symbolic and dramaturgical displays, ceremonies, and civil disobedience, along with conventional tactics such as information distribution, petitioning, lobbying, holding press conferences, and lawsuits or other legal maneuvers against public policies.

In Turkey, these social movement events are monitored by authorized local police officials and reported to the Public Security Department (Güvenlik Daire Başkanlığı) at the General Directorate of Turkish National Police in Ankara. The dependent variable of this study – social movement events - is created by using these statistics.

## 2.2 Theories of Social Movements

From the late 1960s onwards, most countries in the world have experienced a surge of protests and demonstrations against government policies, and social changes affecting quality of life (Diani, 1992). Theorists have tried to understand how and why these protests occur to make better future predictions.

Theories of social movements have also changed and developed over time. Karl Marx is regarded as the first social theorist who studied and predicted revolutionary social movements. His writings on the capitalist economic system in the 19<sup>th</sup> century initiated or anticipated the development of social movement theories (Morris, 1984). Marx's approach to social movements is primarily based on the role of class conflicts between the bourgeoisie and proletariat. He called attention to the inequality and related contradictions of capitalist society as the sources of revolutionary movements. For Marx, the proletariat forced into exploitation, poverty, and inequality will eventually overthrow the capitalist system by acting together as a class, which presupposes an associated form of internal organization and networking (Marx & Engels, 1970). Antonio Gramsci (1971), a follower of Marxist tradition, saw an obstacle to this revolution, which he called *ideological hegemony*. In using this term, he asserted that the capitalist class maintains its power by controlling social culture through education, mass media, and religious institutions. These phenomena inculcated the ideology that the existing system was the best for society, so people never questioned capitalist social arrangements (Tarrow, 1994). These theories were further developed by later scholars, and various arguments about social movements were generated.

### 2.2.1 Collective Behavior Theory

Marxist approaches propose that social movements are “the product of social organization, rather than social disorganization, and as an extension of, rather than deviation from, institutionalized actions” (Aminzade, 1984, p. 437). In contradiction to this view, collective behavior theory formulated by Smelser (1962), Lang and Lang (1961), and Turner and Killian (1987) explain social movements as a form of social action or outcome due to social disorganization.

Their approach, based on structural functionalism, implied that society consists of interdependent parts that function together harmoniously for the benefit of a whole society. When one or more parts fail to function properly, disorder or strain arises and leads individuals to join social movements (Smelser, 1962). In this tradition, social movements are studied under the heading of collective behavior theory. The members of this tradition usually focus on the less organized aspects of social movements, such as street demonstrations. Since they regard social movements as forces of social disorder, they approach social movements with a negative perspective. Smelser (1962, p. 383), for example, proposed that “...people under strain mobilize to reconstitute the social order in the name of a generalized belief.” Outcomes such as Nazism in Germany, Fascism in Italy, and Stalinism in the Soviet Union strengthened this perspective (Tarrow, 1994).

According to Kornhauser (1959), social movements arose as a result of weakened social bonds within families and community due to the changes that emerged as an outcome of industrialization, urbanization, and bureaucratization. Durkheim (1897; 1997) posited that individuals participate in social movements because of social isolation that causes widespread *anomie*, a state of being between

disintegration and integration due to socio-economic crises that stem from industrialization, urbanization, or natural disasters. In the Durkheimian approach, society is seen as an organ in which everything is functioning in a correct manner through social integration and regulations (social equilibrium). The state of anomie holds the idea that all new things are potential threats for the perfect social system. As a result of disharmony due to unexpected changes in the society, social movements may arise. That is, social movements indicate that there is a problem in social order.

For Davies (1962) and Gurr (1970), collective behavior occurs when people cannot meet their own expectations. This sense of relative deprivation, which means “the conscious experience of a negative discrepancy between legitimate expectations and present actualities” (Schaefer, 2008, p. 69), leads to frustration, and accordingly to collective action. They refer to the Civil Rights movements that emerged in the 1960s with the participation of black Americans because of the decision of the Supreme Court, that racially segregated schools were constitutional. These collective behavior theorists, however, paid little attention to how social movements developed (Tarrow, 1994). Only Smelser’s value-added theory referred to the interaction between social movements and social structure. His model posited that structural conduciveness, strain, common belief, precipitating factors, mobilization, and social control agencies, such as voluntary associations and political parties, produce collective behavior episodes. Conduciveness refers to the extent that structural characteristics permit or encourage collective behavior. Social structure is another factor facilitating participation in collective actions. For example, workers within factories in a geographic area constitute labor unions that organize

collective activities (Smelser, 1962). But, critics object that Smelser did not make any contribution to the analysis of the development process of social movements (Diani, 1992).

In sum, collective behavior approaches have been used to explain the origins and development of social movements, and have focused on structural breakdown, and the psychological states of movement participants and their common beliefs. But, they often ignore the role of cultural, structural, political and organizational factors. Although Smelser (1962, p. 10) analyzed specific structural conditions that make social movements possible, he failed to differentiate social movements from other types of collective behavior.

### 2.2.2 Resource Mobilization Theory

The large number of social movements that emerged in the 1960s in the United States forced sociologists to revise their theories. Contrary to earlier social movement theorists, sociologists in this period did not perceive social movements as irrational, because they were participants or sympathizers of the movements (Della Porta & Diani, 2006). They were inspired by the idea that collective action is socially structured and available resources for social movements are provided accordingly. This set of ideas generated the resource mobilization theory (Rootes, 1990a).

Resource mobilization theories focus on what attracts people to participate in social movements. They call attention to the importance of structural factors, such as the availability of resources and the position of individuals in social networks (Marx & Wood, 1975; McCarthy & Zald, 1977; Oberschall, 1973). According to resource mobilization theorists, social changes trigger social movements by

strengthening groups' capacities for collective action. Interests and grievances are articulated by mobilization. Then, "individuals construct their own functions based on their expectations; although these expectations are not necessarily to be real, they are real in their consequences" (Klandermans, 1984, p. 598). In order to achieve their expectations, they create organizations that can help victims, decrease risks or collect money in support of activists. The availability of resources and the presence of opportunities also play a key role in the emergence of collective actions (Oberschall, 1973; Zald & McCarthy, 1979).

In recent studies, sociologists have generally placed emphasis on the interaction between social movements and social structure (Kitschelt, 1986; Rootes, 1990b). The other focus of the resource mobilization scientists is how social movements are organized and succeed or fail. In the pursuit of optimal results, people differently perceive the same social events according to their social situation determined by the organizations they are involved in. This perspective determines the roles of the opponents and proponents, and affects the decision making process to engage in any form of social movement. Then, activities are structured into social movement organizations that provide information shared between participants and other related organizations (Gamson, 1975; McCarthy & Zald, 1977, Oberschall, 1973; Tilly, 1978).

Resource mobilization theorists propose that the mobilization of resources increases the ability to organize social movements. Resources were divided into five categories by Edwards and McCharty (2004).

- 1- Moral resources: Expressions of approval and support coming from outside the movement

- 2- Cultural resources: Shared beliefs and practices
- 3- Social-organizational resources: Existing groups and social networks that can provide access to additional resources
- 4- Human resources: Individuals' time, skills, expertise, and experience
- 5- Material resources: Goods and services, like computers, equipment, transportation, etc.

As the effective use of these resources necessitates coordination and planning, organizations play a key role in a social movement's success or failure.

### 2.2.3 Political Process Theory

In the 1970s, sociologists realized the role of the political environment in social movements and argued that political changes generate new opportunities which then lead to social movements (Dunn, 1972; Skocpol, 1979). In other words, the chance of success for a social movement depends on available opportunities. The Russian revolution, for example, occurred when state power weakened after long-term wars (Garner, 1996). In addition, political decisions and rules may cause widespread grievances among the population, which facilitates the organization of social movements.

Charles Tilly (1973) advanced this theory with the argument that collective action derives from a society's central political processes. He defined a social movement as a sustained series of interactions between national powerholders and persons who aim to change the distribution or exercise of power, and achieve their demands with public demonstrations. Political parties, unions, and other politicized



associations are the chief vehicles by which groups struggle for power and institutionalize their interests. Tilly's approach started a new paradigm shift:

Some sort of solidarity theory should work better everywhere. No matter where we look, we should rarely find uprooted, marginal, disorganized people heavily involved in collective violence. All over the world we should expect collective violence to flow out of routine collective action and continuing struggles for power. (Tilly et al., 1975, p. 290)

Castells' (1977) study on urban protests in Paris brought out the fact that unruly protests were usually ineffective for achieving the desired results. Societies regulated by a decentralized political system are more open to protests, while strongly centralized states provide limited access. Moreover, the study of Armstrong and Bernstein, (2008, p. 87) posited that a society consisting of politically or ideologically divergent groups provides more opportunities for the development of social movements. In other words, sharp competition for political power between groups spurs initiatives for social movement events in order to diminish support for the party in power.

As Blau and Schwartz (1984, p. 84) state, "heterogeneity produces a complex web of group affiliations, and individuals find themselves at the intersection of numerous groups. This creates cross pressures, which is stressful, but which also weakens the power of a given group to enforce restrictions on individuals, thereby expanding freedom of choice." A homogeneous society, on the other hand, exerts pressure on individuals to conform to the dominant values in the social environment (Blau & Schwartz, 1984; Durkheim, 1984; Simmel, 1950; Thomas, 1994). Depending on this logic McVeigh (1995, p. 466) generated a couple of formulations: "where there is inequality and homogeneity there should be a demand for policies promoting economic equality, but little demand for social liberalism. Or, when a

community is characterized by equality and heterogeneity, there should be support for economic conservatism, but a demand for liberal policies on social issues.”

By considering the political environment, this theory filled the gap ignored by previous social movement theorists. However, political process theory underestimated the role of the agents who have an important role to play in organizing social movements. It took into account the external forces, but paid little attention to the decision-making process of social movements. Therefore, in recent years, social movement theorists have primarily focused on the effect of culture, identity and social structure on social movements by challenging the dominance of the political process approach (Morris, 1984). Armstrong and Bernstein (2008, p. 74) clarified the propositions of this new approach and posited that the political process emerges as a result of cultural, economic and social structures.

#### 2.2.4 New Social Movement Theories

New social movement (NSM) theorists primarily focus on the role of social structure and culture in social movements. Major representatives of new social movement theorists, Alain Touraine (1997) and Jurgen Habermas (1973) explain social movements as reactions to the failure of the democratic system in modern society to guarantee individual freedom, justice, and equality. Touraine uses the term *programmed society* to indicate complex social interactions in postmodern society. For him, private life is at the center of public life more than ever. Therefore, conflicts between these two life spheres become inevitable and cause social movements. These movements do not aim at seizing authority, but at eliminating inequalities in civic society. According to Touraine, state, market, and

communication networks are gradually diminishing social liberties and triggering social movements. Social movements are the only way to recover liberties.

Habermas agrees with Touraine and states that government policies and the market economy restrain the public and private life of individuals, which he calls *lifeworld*. Social movements emerge as defensive reactions to these restrictions imposed by government policies and the economic system.

New social movement theorists explain social movements as a response to the changes that threaten the quality of life in post-industrial societies instead of being a response to the changes in the economic, social, and political environments (Buechler, 1995; Inglehart, 1990a). Scott provides a brief summary of the aims of these new movements:

On the basis of much recent discussion of new movements, we can characterize their aims broadly as bringing about social change through the transformation of values, personal identities and symbols. These movements are identity involving and transforming, they self-consciously manipulate symbols and they challenge entrenched values. This can be best achieved through the creation of alternative life-styles and the discursive re-formation of individual collective wills. (Scott, 1990, p.18)

Cohen indicated that "the old patterns of collective action certainly continue to exist" within new social movements (1985, p. 665). However, what is new about NSMs is that their "transformatory potential" is socio-cultural rather than political, (Evers, 1985, p. 49). In this perspective, new social movements take the place of the class struggle. These movements focus on challenges in daily social life such as the expansion of social freedoms and rights, along with use symbolic actions and materials to realize their demands (Bernstein, 2005, p. 54). They are organized on the basis of ideology and values, such as the peace, environmental, youth, and

antinuclear movements (Melucci, 1985; 1989). Participants are highly educated people like professors and university students (Offe, 1985).

The major contribution of new social movement theory is its recognition that contemporary social movements are not necessarily formed around material interests; values and ideas are also important factors (Armstrong & Bernstein, 2008, p. 82). Their major concerns are identity, culture and the role of the civic sphere (Pichardo, 1997, p. 425). The other unique characteristic of NSMs is its self-reflexive character (Cohen, 1985; Gusfield, 1994; Melucci, 1994). This feature has led to the presence of "conscious choices of structure and action" (Pichardo, 1997, p. 415).

However this theory does not provide any explanation about conservative movements that are also a reaction to post-industrial society (Pichardo, 1997). Therefore, recent studies on social movements have attached great importance to culture, shared ideas, beliefs, and practices. Scholars have started paying attention to the crucial role of culture in social movements in two senses. They point out that movements interact with the larger cultural environment and that social movement organizations and participants create their own internal cultures (McAdam, 2003). Collective identity, a shared sense or beliefs of individuals in a group about the objectives of the group (Melucci, 1988), is another important phenomenon that increases group consciousness and facilitates participation in social movements (Taylor, 1989). In the next section of the study, the interaction between civil society agents and participation in social movements is discussed.

### 2.3 Civil Society and Social Movements

The history of civil society goes back to the Greeks. The term "civil society" was first used by Hegel. For Hegel, civil society represented and promoted the interests of social classes, individuals, and autonomous corporations. Hegel emphasized the link between capitalism and civil society. Agreeing with Hegel, Marx (1970) proposed that the latter represented the interests of the bourgeoisie. Marx perceived civil society as "the cat's paw of the bourgeoisie" (Marx & Engels, 1972). Following the Marxist approach, Gramsci stressed the crucial role of civil society as the arena where societies can defend themselves against the market and the state (Piotrowski, 2009).

In recent studies, civil society is considered as an important part of the democratic order filling the gap between the state, the market and the public. Linz and Stepan define civil society as an "arena of the polity where self-organizing groups, movements, and individuals, relatively autonomous from the state, attempt to articulate values, create associations and solidarities, and advance their interests" (1996, p. 7). In this context, civil society is usually associated with the emergence of nongovernmental organizations and social movements (Piotrowski, 2009, p. 168).

Civil society consists of non governmental institutions that engage in lobbying, and persuasive activities that are in line with their political, social, cultural, legal and environmental objectives (Cohen & Arato, 2009). They are non-profit organizations and people can voluntarily join in these organizations. Associations, foundations, chambers of commerce, and trade unions are types of civil society organizations. They are constituted by law and act independent from governmental institutions (Bostanci, 2005, p. 46). Voluntary organizations are seen as representatives of civil

society. They provide a space for the people who are lost in the social milieu or have some problems with ongoing social policies. People join voluntary organizations because they are looking for ways to more ably live their lives (Piotrowski, 2009, p. 181).

According to Putnam, the agents of civil society are supposed to build social capital, trust and shared values. By organizing collective actions, they help in developing a common policy that holds society together. Another reason is to meet the expectations of their members. As the primary agents of civil society, voluntary organizations organize social movements to change social policies by challenging those in power. As a result, they promote participation in social movements (Putnam et al., 1994). Engaging in voluntary organizations provides people not only with the means to reach their common perceived interests, but also with an opportunity to learn how political institutions work, which constitutes social capital (Klendemans & Toorn, 2008, p.996; Putnam, 1993; 2000). In other words, people learn about politics from participation in voluntary associations.

Almost all social movement theories call attention to the role of social movement organizations. Edwards and McCharty define Social Movement Organizations as groups of people who pursue or resist social change (2004, p. 621). By employing this definition, they indicate that voluntary organizations are constituted to affect the articulation of society's demands and discontents. As the primary organizers of social movements, they play a very important role in structuring state – market – society relations. Paxton, indicates that voluntary organizations accumulate social capital, which "provides space for the creation and dissemination of discourse critical of the present government, and it provides a way

for active opposition to the regime to grow" (2002, p. 257). They also provide the resources necessary for the organization of social movements. As a result, embeddedness in social networks fosters participation in social movements.

McAdam, McCarthy, and Zald (1977, p. 1227) state that "the interest of many scholars in social movements stems from their belief that movements represent an important force for social change." Based on this idea, university students are most willing to become a member of voluntary organizations, and accordingly, to participate in social movements, because they see themselves as the agents for the new order. By institutionalizing educational mechanisms or by joining in voluntary organizations, university students try to transform public beliefs and behaviors (Lipschutz, 2005).

On the other hand, social movements need public support, specifically the help of a favorable public opinion, in order to achieve their defined goals (Burstein, 1985; Costain & Majstorovic, 1994). In other words, social movements need the help of mediators in order to gain access to the political system (access responsiveness) and obtain access to the political agenda (agenda responsiveness).

As Andrews argued (2001, p. 72-76), voluntary organizations are necessary tools for strengthening social movement groups' claims. Therefore, social movement groups establish organizations in order to create a collective identity by developing consciousness. Social movements try to achieve goals such as (Gamson, 1990; Kriesi et al., 1995):

1. Affecting the decision making process
2. Changing an institutions' goals and priorties
3. Securing favorable implementations and policies

#### 4. Ensuring equal distribution of institutional resources

##### 2.4 Participation in Social Movements

Motivations to participate in social movements have been scrutinized by many sociologists (McAdam, 1986; Zuckier, 1982). The common attributes of these studies is the focus on certain characteristics of individuals that lead them to participate in social movements. The most cited characteristics are a strong personal sympathy with the goals of the movement and expressed grievances consistent with the movement's ideology. Poletta and Jasper (2001, p. 284) argue that people join social movements when they know they can attain common interests jointly. They pointed out that logically it would not be in individuals' interests to contribute to collective actions if they could benefit from group gains without personally bearing the costs of the collective action. For Olson (1965), this free rider problem was at the core of the puzzle of collective action.

The benefits may vary according to individuals' expectations and concerns. As social movements primarily aim to achieve collective interests, only few individuals participate in social movements because others seek to "free-ride" and wait someone else to advocate their rights while striving for individual benefits. On the other hand, individuals may also be in a search for career benefits or just for self satisfaction that means to be involved in a specific group (McCharty & Zald, 1977).

Some sociologist explain individuals' leanings to engage in collective action with the effect of early childhood socialization (Lewis & Kraut 1972; Thomas, 1971), while others describe them as a result of expressed social-psychological grievances (Gurney & Tierney, 1982). However, some studies (Bibby & Brinkerhoff, 1974;



Bolton, 1972; Harrison, 1974) on social movements emphasize the prior contacts individuals had with a recruitment agent (Snow, Zurcher & Eklund-Olso, 1980, p. 789). This argument brings out the fact that structural dynamics are more important than individual dynamics in explaining individual participation in social movements.

Organizations can create a social network that can serve as recruiters drawing individuals into a movement. Melder's (1964) study, "The Beginnings of the Women's Rights Movement in the United States", supports this argument by indicating that most attendants in the 19<sup>th</sup> century women's rights movement came from existing abolitionist groups. On the other hand, organizations keep the motivations of the members alive for the purpose of their continued participation in the movement. As Oberschall (1973, p. 125) highlighted, "mobilization does not occur through recruitment of large numbers of isolated and solitary individuals. It occurs as a result of recruiting blocs of people who are already highly organized and participants."

Risk and cost assessments also affect the personal and ideological commitment to the movement. In his study *The Case of Freedom Summer*, McAdam provides an example related to this issue:

...the case of a college student who is urged by his friends to attend a large "anti-nuke" rally on campus. In deciding whether to attend, the potential recruit is likely to weigh the risk of disappointing or losing the respect of his friends against the personal risks of participation. Given the relatively low cost and risk associated with the rally, this hypothetical recruit is likely to attend, even if he is fairly apathetic about the issues in question. (McAdam, 1986, p. 68)

McAdam's approach depends on rational choice theory developed by Beccaria (1963), Bentham (1789), and Olson (1963) in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Advocates of rational choice theory argue that "in cases when there is no

direct and reliable evidence of actors' orientations, instrumentally rational action is the least ambiguous and therefore the most understandable to the analyst" (Hechter & Kiser, 1991, p. 801). Rational choice theorists have argued that just as economic action depends on the exchange of goods and services, so too social interactions depend on the exchange of rewards and costs. According to rational choice theorists, individuals pursuing their wants and goals act on the basis of the information they have about the specific conditions in which they live (Gamson, 1975; Oberschall, 1973). As it is not possible to achieve all the goals they are pursuing, individuals have to choose some of them which are likely to give them greatest satisfaction. The threat of punishment and the promise of a reward may also affect the choice of social interaction (McCharty & Zald, 1977). As long as all participants benefit from the social interaction they get involved in, that type of behavior continues to attract them. If some of the participants experience a loss, they will seek out alternative interactions by which they are likely to gain more benefit from. People are willing to accept the imbalance between rewards and costs only on the condition that the loss can be traded in for a counter-balancing profit at some time in the future (Blau, 1964).

Some sociologists, however, see actors not just as rational but also socially constituted and argue that people behave both rationally and irrationally. Traditions, customs, emotions, and various forms of value-oriented actions may affect social interactions (Parsons, 1951; Merton, 1968; Weber, 1978; Durkheim, 1997). These phenomena determine individuals' beliefs and orientations, which lead them to participate in social movements. Social interactions involve the exchange of approval and various types of values shaped through culture, ethnicity, location,

historical period etc. Consisting of a very dense web of social interactions, social movements are very complicated phenomena involving various agents that have to be considered potential participants.

People rapidly learn certain type of behaviors that lead to mutual advantage, and accept them as a norm in social interactions. This type of behaviors enhances social integration by uniting members of society. Social integration persists as long as the integrated members believe that their integration in their society is more beneficial for them than their separation from that society. Social bonds may vary according to attributes of social structures people are involved in. Two forms of interaction are necessary for social integration into a group: "how attracted each person is to the group, and how attractive each person is to the rest of the group" (Ridley, 1996). A person's strong will to integrate into a group clearly does not make him an integrated member of it. He is considered to be an integrated member of the group if his qualities are valued by the other members of the group (Blau, 1960, pp. 545- 546). Namely, the choice of individuals to participate in social movements is not enough, they must be accepted as members by others in the group.

Once individuals are accepted by a social movement, they are better able to become aware of their deprivations through their engagement with the social movement and make a choice between common group interests and individual interests (Marwell & Oliver, 1993, pp. 174-178). Through the multiplexity and density of relations, individuals who belong to different subgroups may bring about a general trust, which is necessary for collective actions. In such a web of interactions, individuals who are members of distinct subgroups become interconnected and build a common social identity. Strong social bonds connect those who are distant in

terms of ethnicity, social status, or age to the social movement and lead them to strive together for the common goals (Bian, 1997).

The multiplexity and density of relations in social movement organizations, however, are not sufficient to maintain collective identity. They must be constantly renovated by means of meetings and other gatherings. Individual interactions are formed through these rituals, so that they can have an innate tendency to use natural symbols to represent collective identity and consciousness (Durkheim, 1995). Through these rituals, individuals get closer to each other, exchange ideas, share sentiments and emotions, and become potential participants of social movements through which they reach their common goals and interests (Diani, 2012).

In sum, people participate in social movements because of experienced grievances stemming from relative deprivation, frustration, and perceived injustices (Berkowitz, 1972; Gurr, 1970; Lind & Tyler, 1988). The situation of relative deprivation by a group is an especially important factor in determining participation in collective action (Major, 1994; Martin, 1986). On the other hand, people are more likely to engage in collective action when they believe that the possible gains will exceed the possible costs (Klandermans, 1997, p. 995).

## 2.5 Types and Forms of Social Movements

There are various methods of classifying social movements according to their goals and forms. With respect to their individual concerns, social movements may be described as urban social struggles, environment or ecological movements, women's and gay liberation movements, peace movements, and cultural revolts (Boggs, 1986,

pp. 39-40). Another description classifies social movements into four categories based upon two characteristics: (1) what is the movement attempting to change and (2) how much change is being advocated (Aberle, 1966) and labeled as alternative, redemptive, reformatory, and revolutionary social movements. This classification is presented in Figure 2.1.

Alternative social movements target a selective part of the population. For example, Planned Parenthood activities are directed to mainly married couples who want to have more children to create awareness about the consequences of sex. The expected change, therefore, is limited in this type of movements.

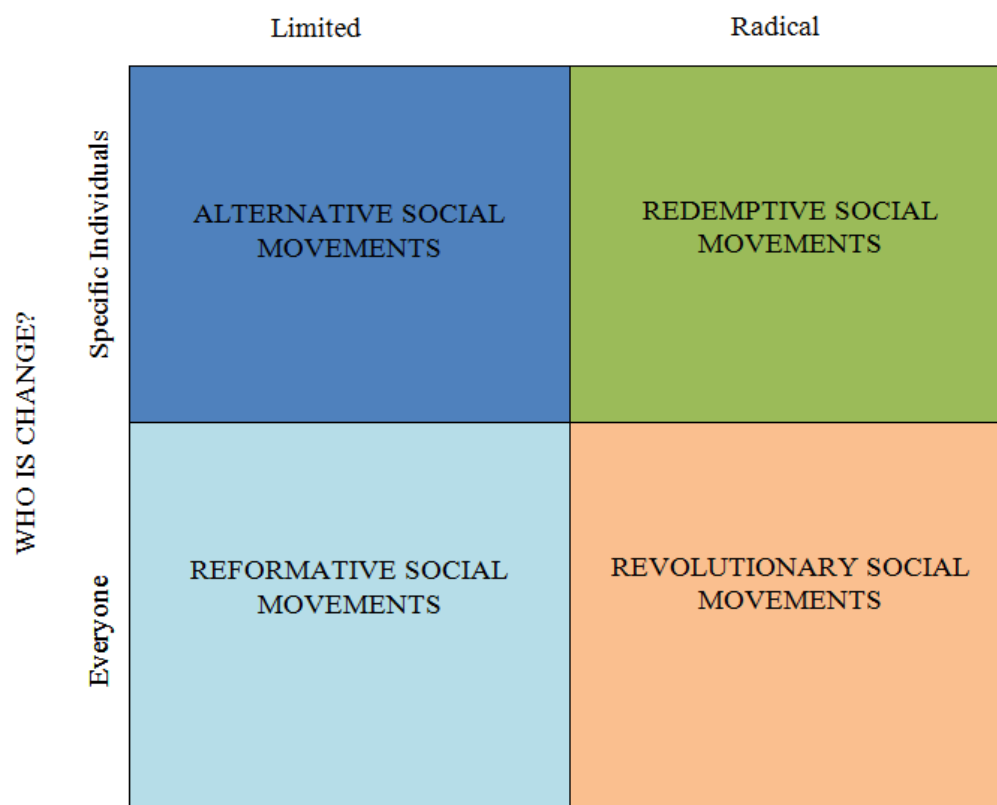


Figure 2.1 How much change? (Aberle, 1996).

Redemptive social movements include mainly fundamentalist religious groups and individuals. The objective of this type of movements is to seek individuals'

perception of a particular topic through radical activities. Their targets are specific individuals rather than groups. The Jesus movement is a prime example of redemptive movements. The Civil Rights movement could also be seen a redemptive movement.

Reformative social movements target the whole society, but they seek a limited change in some legal norms. The most suited example here is the environmental movements, which try to promote common awareness in the society about the critical role of the environment in their lives.

Revolutionary social movements are dedicated to changing the whole society. The ultimate objective of this type of movements is to create a new social order. In order to achieve this objective, the revolutionary movement strives for destructing the existing system. Communist movements are an example of this because they want to radically change society's social institutions.

Aberle's classification of social movement types depends on the target audience and the level of change sought. The forms of social movements that arise out of these concerns include (1) rallies, demonstrations, and marches, (2) symbolic and dramaturgical displays, vigils, and ceremonies, (3) civil disobedience activities, (4) strikes, pickets, and boycotts, (5) riots, conflicts, and attacks, and (6) conventional tactics such as information distribution, petitioning, lobbying, holding press conferences, and lawsuits or other legal maneuvers (Aberle, 1966, p. 17).

Amenta et al. identified 34 major social movement families by surveying all national and social movements in the U.S. that appeared in *The New York Times* in the twentieth century. The most covered movements were those of labor, African American civil rights, veterans, feminists, nativists, and environmentalists (Amenta et

al., 2009). However, Amenta et al. emphasized that regardless of the type of social movement, the main purpose of all social movements is to reform the social structure in order to extend the exercise of democratic rights and to ensure justice and equality in society (Amenta et al., 2010, p. 289).

## 2.6 Stages of Social Movements

Although social movements differ according to their goals and forms, they have many common characteristics, especially with regard to their life cycle. Social movements tend to develop in four stages: Emergence, coalescence, bureaucratization, and decline (Blumer, 1969). These stages provide a comprehensive understanding of the development of social movements and their effects in the past and present.

People are generally not suddenly dissatisfied with the existing system and suddenly interested in creating a social movement based on intense resentment that leads to mass demonstrations (Diani, 2012). It begins with the stage of emergence, where many people may be discontented with some policy or social condition, but they have not been involved in any collective action. They reveal their resentment by writing letters of complaint to the authorities, or by giving statements to the media. There may be an increase in the general sense of discontent if the negative conditions are sustained. Then, seeing that things are not getting better, and possibly worse, some people who share similar views come together and set up a social movement organization. They try to attract as much attention as possible in order to be successful in changing the system (Della Porta & Diani, 2006). Social movement organizations are established for this purpose by people who share the same goals and feelings. Student coordinating committees, for example, organize

protests against university or government policies in many countries. Social movement organizations (SMOs) and their members have a crucial role in delivering grievances to the wide public in the emergence stage. This helps to increase the level of discontent among the general population (Andrews & Biggs, 2006).

In the second stage, there is a period of coalescence, where more people start coming together for the purpose of talking about the problematic rules and conditions (Blumer, 1969). In this stage, unrest becomes more public, and rising discontent steadily leads people toward collective action. Consequently, people become aware of their power to start a collective action (Hopper, 1950). Mass demonstrations may occur in order to show the strength of their collective powers and to make clear their demands. Individuals in these groups are more organized and develop strategies for realizing their demands.

The third stage, bureaucratization, includes higher levels of organization and collective elements. In this stage, individuals become aware that a coordinated strategy is necessary across all SMOs sharing similar goals to succeed in changing the system. SMOs become more institutionalized with their trained staff to lead social movements in an organizational manner. Institutionalization broadly refers to the “normalization” of movement activities (Martin, 2008, p. 1068). If this stage is not completed, social movements usually end in failure (Hopper, 1950).

In the last stage, social movements can decline in four ways: repression, co-optation, success, or failure. Repression occurs when authorities use law enforcement forces. Co-optation occurs when movement leaders change their sides and start working for the goals of authorities rather than the goals of the movements. If a movement is institutionalized properly, it is more likely to achieve



success. The size of movement groups is also very effective in achieving success “because larger groups have more resources and are more likely to have a critical mass of highly interested and resourceful actors” (Oliver & Marwell, 1988, p. 1). Finally, the movement may not attract enough attention to sustain its existence and thus fail (Miller, 1999).

The four stages of a social movement mentioned above provides an analytic tool for understanding how social movements develop. However, some movements that occur in response to cultural and social issues may not fit into these stages (Tilly, 1978).

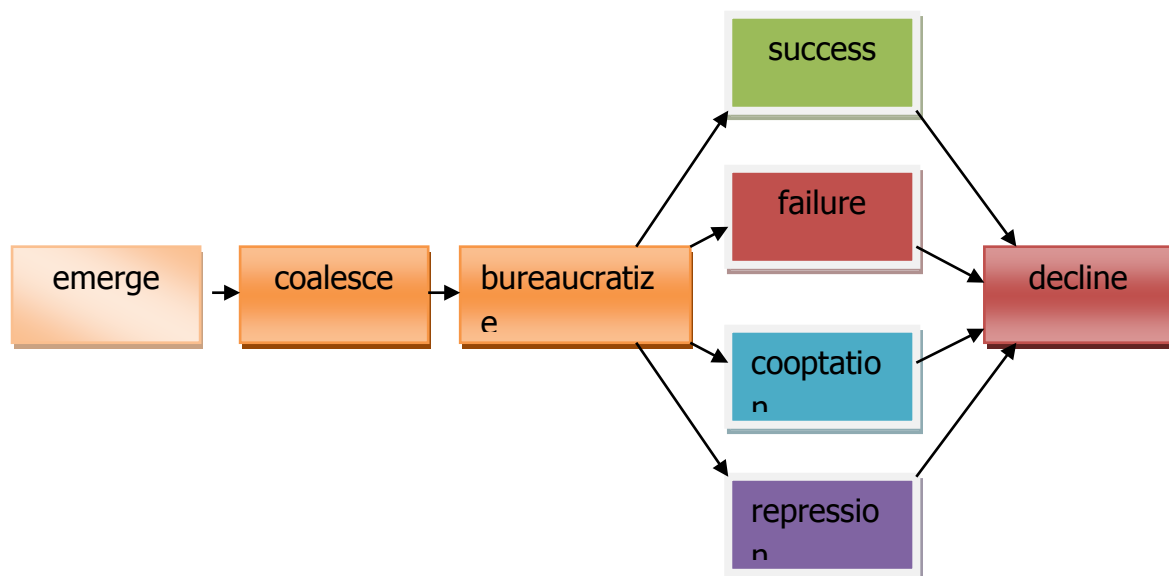


Figure 2.2 Stages of social movements (Blumer, 1969).

## 2.7 Social Movements in Turkey

In Turkey, social movements are generally described as legal or illegal collective activities organized by groups of people with either a common goal to

annunciate their perceived ideas, or to protest something in the course of life for the purpose of changing the current system through public awareness (Cinoglu & Gunes, 2003; Kocaoglu, 2009). According to Article 34 of the Turkish Republic Constitution:

Everyone, without prior permission, has the right to organize unarmed and peaceful meetings and demonstrations. The right to organize meetings and demonstrations can only be restricted by law for the purpose of national security, public order, crime prevention, or for the protection of public health, public morals and the rights and freedoms of others. The terms and procedures to be applied in the right to organize meetings and demonstrations are prescribed by law.

The law referred to by the Article 34 was legislated with the title "The Law on Meetings and Demonstrations." In the article 2, social movements are described as "meetings and demonstrations organized by natural and legal persons to enlighten the public on certain issues by molding public opinion." Since these kinds of collective actions usually end with press releases, they are also considered in the concept of social movements (Hancerli et al., 2013).

Studies in Turkey indicate that the effects of social movements on socio-political life are very limited, because they are bounded by institutional aspects that they cannot overcome (Yıldırım, 2012). The history of social movements in Turkey started with the development of trade unions, which became more effective after the enforcement of the 1961 Constitution (Dogan, 2008). In the period lasting through the 1980 military coup, social movement activists increased their collective activities by utilizing constitutional rights and, in turn, started being effective in government policies. This period, in which collective activities were mostly generated by trade unions, ended with the 1980 coup. The movements of this period resulted in the term "democratic mass organizations" that focused mostly on democratic rights and social freedoms.

At the end of the 1970s, the ascending trend in collective activities was oppressed by law enforcement forces. The primary trait of these movements was that their route was determined by the organizations they created, not by their own. As they could not get rid themselves of organizational rules and bureaucracy, organizational interests were much more important than movements' goals till the 2000s (Yıldırım, 2012). The movement of 555K, organized by university students against oppressive practices of the government at 5 o'clock on May, 5 in 1960, is an example of this type of movement.

Social movements have become more powerful in accordance with an increase in the number of university students (Akyol, 2010). Social movements became more systematized when they transitioned to NGOs after 1980s. Civil society and NGOs were now primary social movement actors whose targets were social life issues rather than government policies. Through their professional staff, NGOs facilitated the use of political opportunities and resource mobilization by establishing connections with the elites and government authorities. Feminist and human rights movements, in particular, used this process effectively and created a common sense among the public surrounding their issues such as domestic violence and violence against women. Through the Human Rights Association and Human Rights Foundation in Turkey, issues related to human rights began to be discussed between the public and government authorities, an event which had never occurred before (Yıldırım, 2012).

The establishment of private channels and media institutions after the 1990s improved the population's ability to express resentment and stimulated support for social movements. The movement called One Minute Darkness for Constant Light

which was against corrupted relations in the governmental structures is an example of a successful social movement during this period (Coskun, 2006).

NGOs have always been the primary actors of social movements in Turkey. Since the late 1990s, NGOs have become more distinct in those movements organized against the practices of the World Trade Union and International the Money Fund (IMF) in Turkey. However, the actions by groups with characteristics of the new social movements became more evident after 2000. The peasants' long lasting struggle against cyanide in Bergama, campaigns against cutting Sorgun forests, and struggles against nuclear power plant proposals are examples of this type of movement (Kartal & Kümbetoğlu, 2011).

The Saturday Mothers Movement is the best example symbolizing the characteristics of movements that emerged during this period. Participants of this long-lasting movement wanted the authorities to find missing persons who get lost in an unknown manner. The other important movement with broad participation is related with the turban. These movements started with the demands of university students to attend classes with a turban, which was prohibited by university authorities throughout Turkey. This movement succeeded in putting its demand on the ruling party's agenda. The ruling party, Justice and Development Party (AKP in Turkish acronym), who then made a couple of legal arrangements in the administrative system of universities as a result (Coskun, 2006).

All these forms of resistance brought together people who had never been in contact with each other before, and created a common understanding between them on a specific issue. They formed a social basis for their concerns through various organizations and affected government policies, which contributed to the further

development of democracy (Celebi, 2010). Owing to communication technologies and social media, the possibility of success for social movements reached very high levels. Participants of movements also used political opportunities, sensitivities and concerns to fulfill their demands (Celebi, 2004). As human rights, feminist, and environmental movements are the most common movements in Turkey, they are explained separately in the next part of the study.

### 2.7.1 Feminist Movements

Traces of feminist movements in Turkey date back to the Ottoman Empire and were later known as early feminist movements. Arranged marriages, the monopoly of divorce laws, and polygamy were the primary obstacles confronting the education and liberation of women during that period. This situation continued after the establishment of the Turkish Republic up until the late 1990s. However, educated women perceived the republican regime provided an opportunity for stating women's rights explicitly. They established the Women Folk's Party in 1923 to obtain political rights for themselves and other women. The equality of women with men in political life, domestic violence and gender discrimination in business life were the top issues on the party's agenda. However, this attempt ended in failure, and the party was transformed into an association called the Women's Union in 1927 (Tekeli, 1982).

After the 1980s, feminist movements became more visible in social life. Women activists organized the first meeting, Women's Solidarity against Domestic Violence, in 1987 which resulted in the establishment of Purple Roof, the organization providing security for women against domestic violence, in 1990. In

that same year, the government implemented a ministry of state to address the problems of women in Turkey. This formation, however, was perceived as a state intervention for promoting to feminist activities, and feminist activists spent considerable effort to express their opinions in the academic realm. They succeeded in constituting departments of women studies in universities. One of the prominent activities during this period was Islamic feminism which was mainly concerned with wearing the turban. This movement started to succeed especially after 2000s when the AKP become the ruling party (Kartal & Kümbetoglu,2011).

These movements were represented by two groups: A reformist group and an Islamic group. While the first group was arguing that the acquisition of women's rights depends on reformist policies, the Islamic group was arguing that the Koran is the guide for all women's rights and, therefore, those holy rules should be adopted in social life. The main characteristics of the feminist movements in Turkey are that their supporters are highly educated women from the middle class living mostly in urban areas. Elite women as yet have not given much support to feminist movements (Cakir, 1993).

### 2.7.2 Peace Movements

Peace movements emerged in Turkey during the 1950s when Turkey became involved in the Korean war. In the 1960s, the number of anti-war protests increased in accordance with the rise of students and left wing mobilizations. The most prominent example of these movements during this period came from student protests against the warcrafts and took place in Istanbul in 1968. These movements were generally anti-militarist protests managed by two organizations. The first,

called the Peace Lovers Association, was founded in 1950, and had opposed Turkey's involvement in the Korean War. The founders of this organization were mostly socialist intellectuals and academicians. The second was the Peace Association founded in 1977 by a group of socialist authors, artists and academicians. This organization focused on the abolition of military alliances and nuclear disarmament, but its activities were mostly associated with political parties (Baydar, 2003).

"New social movements" is the general term representing social movements which have emerged in the United States and Europe since the 1960s, and these have generally focused on issues related to human rights, gender discrimination, environment, identity, and peace. The basic distinction separating the new social movements from the old types of movements is that their actors were university students and individuals from the middle class who had tried to protect their private lives from interventions by state and the market. Contrary to the classic movements, they did not build their identities on class belongingness (Habermas, 1981). This type of movements which appeared in Turkey after the 1970s, became widespread after the year 2000 when an increase in feminist campaigns was observed. Peace movements in Turkey are divided into two categories. The first category mainly focused on preventing the involvement of Turkey in wars such as the recent wars in Iraq, Afghanistan, and Philistine (nowadays in Syria). The second category has been formed by Kurdish groups who felt excluded from society. They generally dealt with peace building issues between ethnic groups inside Turkey.

The military intervention of the United States after the 9/11 terrorist attacks changed the nature of social movements throughout the world. They have become

more decentralized, more transparent, and more flexible allowing larger groups of people to participate in the movements. Collective identities were no longer built in a very formal manner and more people could find a place in the movements. Owing to the nature of these network organizations, social movements tended to prefer inclusive stances rather than radical ones, which increased public support for the movements (Karakas, 2005). For example, the Platform of No To War constituted in 2002, received strong participation from different ideologic and religious groups. Along with their participation in this platform, the 100s Council was composed of 100 representatives from 20 different occupational groups in 2003. In March 2003, a meeting organized by the council to oppose the involent of Turkey in Iraq War received more than 100.000 participants. This movement led the Turkish Grand National Assembly not to accept the proposal bringing Turkey into the war.

The general charateristic of all these movements is that they are usually formed by various organizations as network groups with the goal of making changes in the decision-making mechanisms (Yıldırım, 2012).

### 2.7.3 Environmental Movements

Indutrialization, urbanization, and rapid population growth have generated ecologic distrupcion, and climate change all around the world. Correspondingly, environmental awareness has increased in societies that have experienced these changes. Environmental sensitivity in Turkey started in the 1970s and came close to the world average, which was 57.4% of the population in 2007. The World Value Survey in 2007 revealed that 57.1% of Turkish respondents gave more importance to the protection of the environment than to the development of industry. 83.4% of



respondents stated that “If I had known that it will be spent for preventing environmental pollution, I would donate a portion of my salary” and 78.3% of respondents accepted possible increases in taxes for the prevention of environmental pollution. As to social institutionalization, Turkey is far behind the world average with 1.2% of respondents as members of environmental organizations compared to the rest of the world average of 13% (Baykan & Ertunc, 2011).

The first environmental organizations in Turkey were the Association for Natural Life established in 1975 and the Turkey Environment Foundation established in 1978. Since the mid 1980s, environmental institutionalization has expanded at the national level. A study conducted in 2008 brought out the fact that 76% (439) of the 575 NGOs active in environmental issues were founded between the years of 1995-2007 (Paker & Baykan, 2008). Environmental organizations such as Turkey’s Fighting with Erosion and Forestation Association (TEMA in Turkish acronym) and the Nature Association have been most active in big cities.

The protests against the construction of a thermal reactor in Gökova and the nuclear power plant in Mersin attracted many participants including local people, experts on environmental issues, and academicians. The construction of tourist facilities in Köyceğiz-Dalyan, which is the *Caretta caretta*'s habitat, also faced many adverse reactions from environmentalists. The latest example of environmental movements emerged in June 2013 against the proposed transformation of Gezi Park in Istanbul to a shopping center. In order to prevent this transformation, many protests and demonstrations with a broad range of participation were organized by

various NGOs across the many city centers of Turkey. These movements recently ended with the cancellation of the project.

The primary trait of environmental movements is that the movement organizations usually form a network at the national and international levels in order to increase public awareness about environmental issues. The state of being universal is another important characteristic leading to the success of environmental movements.

The total number of social movement events recorded in 2012 in Turkey is 25.635. Compared to the previous 3 years, it seems that the numbers have consistently increased. The total number of social movements was 17.661 in 2010, and increased to 21.146 in 2011.

## CHAPTER 3

### THEORY AND HYPOTHESES

#### 3.1 The Promises of Social Movement Theories

Collective behavior theories posit that social change due to industrialization, urbanization or rapid rise in unemployment lead individuals to participate in social movements in an attempt to change social policies and correct the problems from these issues. Smelser points out that “writers on collective behavior assume almost universally that people enter episodes of such behavior because something is wrong in their social environment” (1962, p. 47). This theory draws attention to the ways in “which spontaneous gatherings of individuals serve as the basis for an emergent collective identity which cannot be explained merely with its individual members” (Eyerman & Jamison, 1991, p. 13). That is, emotional reactions and interactions in the process of the development of social movements arise from collective identities.

Strain and relative deprivation are central mechanisms for explaining collective behavior because these experience soppose and weaken social controls and moral norms that normally constrain collective behavior (Kornhauser, 1959; Lang & Lang, 1961; Turner & Killian, 1987). In his well-known study *Suicide*, Durkheim’s analyses revealed some of the reasons for breaches in the social order that lead to chronic strains. Strains due to weakened social bonds escalate suicide rates and the best remedy for that strain is to increase social integration (Durkheim, 1897). These insights were employed in the analyses of collective behavior by European theorists. They recognized civil violence as the result of “the breakdown of

rational control over human behavior through the spread of what one might call 'crowd mentality' " (Rule, 1988, p. 83). US early sociologist Robert Park called attention to the relationship between social integration and social control and suggested that forms of collective behavior emerge with the breakdown of social control (Park, 1972, p. 22).

Blumer (1969) developed this approach and emphasized that "collective behavior involves group activity that is largely spontaneous, unregulated, and unstructured. It is triggered by some disruption in standard routines of everyday life that promotes circular reaction or interstimulation with the qualities of contagion, randomness, excitability, and suggestibility "(cited in Buechler, 2004. p. 49). Turner and Killian (1987, p. 252) applied Blumer's approach to collective behavior. Their two-fold approach indicates that collective behavior may promote communication and interaction among individuals, while it triggers strain and disruption in normal social routines. Davies (1962) and Gurr (1970) combined strain theories with relative deprivation and stated that relative deprivation breeds strain in society and triggers participation in collective behavior.

Collective behavior theories were confronted with challenges in 1960s. Sociologists started to attach more importance to social values, integration, and consensus than to strain and relative deprivation. Collective behavior was associated with social changes and political challenges in a new approach called resource mobilization. According to McAdam (1982, p. 31), the approach that social movements are a response to social strain was problematic, because it ignores the larger social structural context in which movements developed. Resource mobilization theory puts emphasis on strategic interactions of individuals based on

cost-benefit calculations. In this approach social movements are a strategic response to a coercive social system that produces resentments for some groups of people (McAdam, 1982, p. 20). Since this theory regards individuals as rational actors who make cost-benefit calculations to maximize their interests, its proponents argue that individuals and collectives only engage in social movements if the gains are greater than the costs. Collective action is based on the "selection of incentives, cost-reducing mechanisms or structures, and career benefits" (McCarthy & Zald, 1977, p. 1218). In order to ensure stability and the continual supply of vital resources, this theory argues that the existence of social movement organizations is necessary in the development of social movements to achieve success in changing the social system.

With the rise of resource mobilization theory, social movements are recognized as normal and rational political challenges by aggrieved groups. Collective action was redefined away from the perspective of deviance and social disorganization. Collective activists were perceived as rational actors rather than those who were provoked by the emotions of frustration and strain. External causal mechanisms gained more importance than internal movement dynamics (Buechler, 2004, pp. 50-53).

Political process theorists criticized the propositions of resource mobilization theory and argued that social movements arise due to political concerns that involve efforts to be recognized as political actors in society. Political opportunities and mobilization due to political preferences are other factors indicated by this theory. Tarrow defines political opportunities as "consistent—but not necessarily formal, permanent, or national – dimensions of the political struggle that encourage people

to engage in contentious politics" (Tarrow, 1998, p. 19). McAdam determines a clear set of criteria about political opportunities that facilitate the engagement of individuals in collective action (McAdam, McCharty & Zald, 1996). They are:

- 1) The relative openness or closure of the institutionalized political system
- 2) The stability or instability in the political system
- 3) The presence or absence of political allies
- 4) The state's capacity and propensity for repression

This theory also accepts social movement organizations as necessary mechanisms in the development of social movements and argues that both formal (political parties) and informal (voluntary organizations) networks can facilitate the emergence of social movements. In this context, civil society is seen as "the terrain but not the target of collective action" (Cohen & Arato, 1992, p. 499).

Critiques of these theories appeared with the emergence of new social movement theory in the 1980s. This theory has focused on the content of movement ideology, the concerns motivating activists, and the arena in which collective action was formed. Prominent theorists, such as McAdam, Tarrow and Tilly, have made great efforts to explain how and why social movements emerge. They have tried to explain the process in which social movement actors generate their preferences to apply to social movements. They argue that social movements are a construction of complex interactions between social, cultural, and political contexts based on collective identities (McAdam, 1982; McAdam, Tarrow & Tilly, 2001).

In sum, social movement theorists' approaches to social movements differ according to the conditions of the age in which they lived. Since new social

movement theorists benefited from previous approaches, they were able to provide more comprehensive perception than previous theories. Therefore, this study primarily employs new social movement theories and aims to make in-depth analysis of a wide range of components, such as culture, identity, public policies and social structure to explain social movements. In the next section these components of social movements are explained in detail.

### 3.2 The Cultural Context of Social Movements

Social movement studies focusing on culture started appearing in 1980s. Theorists who conceive cultural contexts as primary mechanisms motivating individuals to participate in social movements have focused on the deployment of symbols, claims, and identities in the pursuit of activism (Williams, 2004). For example, Benford (1993) analyzes the stories shared among social movement participants and their impact on participant motivation. Berbrier (2002), on the other hand, focused on the efforts of social movements to distance themselves from stigmatized statuses in order to find cultural space. After examining gay and lesbian movements, Bernstein (1997) concludes that movement groups develop strategically collective identity in pursuit of their perceived interests. That is to say, social movements, participants, and the meanings associated with the movements are the core issues analyzed by scholars who are primarily concerned with the cultural contexts of social movements.

The concept of "culture" was described by Clifford Geertz (1973, p. 331) as the combination of symbols, stories, and public performances shared by a group of people to understand themselves and their world. Studies on culture include not only

norms and values, but also significant events, stories, and rituals such as funeral marches, ceremonies and festivals. Giddens (1976, pp. 36-37) calls attention to the simultaneously enabling and constraining characteristics of culture. Weber (1958) is another prominent scholar who focused on the effect of culture on social movements. He proposed that culture produces sets of practices and symbols that are external to movements and their members. These practices and symbols are often created through institutional activities and thus "variations in the ways social contexts bring culture to bear on action may do more to determine culture's power than variations in how deeply culture is held" (Swidler, 1995, p. 31). In fact, it can easily be stated that "understanding cultural change becomes less a matter of how individuals change their minds (or hearts) and more a matter of understanding how symbolic practices get combined and recombined" (Williams, 2004, p. 100). These conceptions indicate the need for examining the relationship between social movements and culture.

Social movement studies often miss the extent to which the cultural environment affects the development of social movements. Williams proposed two analytic requirements to provide a better comprehension of the cultural environment: Boundedness and resonance. Boundedness refers to certain historical periods or cultural formations conducive to the development of social movements. Resonance, on the other hand, indicates the variation in cultural effectiveness. The variation will occur across groups within the general population, across issue areas or arenas of social life, and over time, depending on events. The intersection of boundedness and resonance creates the conditions in which cultural environment evolves (Williams, 2004, pp. 102-103).



There is a variation in the opportunities provided by culture for social movements. This variation affects culture's effectiveness in social movements that have to work within the socially acceptable norms and values. As recent social movement theorists have emphasized, collective actions emerge as a result of a lack of social integration into the system, or as the inability of the system to reproduce alternatives (Inglehart, 1990a, p. 56). The emergence of contemporary social movements, such as environmental and human rights movements could be interpreted as evidence of the failure of social functions produced by social institutions to address challenges coming from industrialization. The characteristics of the culture of a given society shape the components of social movements and influence the determination of goals and strategies. Moreover, cultural values breed the motivations necessary to sustain social movements (Snow et al., 2004).

Since culture is the combination of norms and values reproduced by the society, it has also a constraining effect on social movements. Rochon (1998, p. 112) focused on this constraining characteristic of culture and suggested that culture serves to integrate social life through socially accepted values. In sum, culture not only stirs social movements, but also promotes social integration and solidarity.

### 3.3 Identity and Social Movements

The connection of identity with social movements refers to the process by which social actors recognize themselves as a part of social movements (Melucci, 1989). The adaptation of collective identity to social movements can force individuals to develop emotional attachments to it (Polletta & Jasper, 2001). According to Della Porta and Diani (2006, p. 92), collective identities are based on

“shared orientations, values, attitudes, worldviews, and lifestyles, as well as on shared experiences of action.” The new social movement perspectives “hold that the collective search for identity is a central aspect of movement formulation” (Johnston et al. 199, p. 10). As Melucci (1988, p. 343) explains:

The propensity of an individual to become involved in collective action is thus tied to the differential capacity to define an identity, that is, to the differential access to resources that enable him to participate in the process of identity building... Circumstantial factors can influence the structure of opportunities and its variations. But the way in which the opportunities are perceived and used depends on the differential access of individuals to identity resources.

Identity represents feelings of belonging to a certain group. Building identities is an important process through which individuals find a suitable social space for themselves based on their own experiences over time (Della Porta, 1995). Moreover, the construction of identity refers to both a positive definition of those sharing the same objectives and interests, and a negative identification of those who actively oppose the objectives of the first group (Touraine, 1981). It also includes those who are in a neutral position between two groups. The groups identified in the construction process of collective identity are named as “protagonists, antagonists, and audiences” (Hunt, Benford, & Snow, 1994).

The analyses of social conflicts indicate that collective identities determine individuals’ prospects and possibilities of participating social movements (Touraine, 1981). Rooted in certain socio-cultural environments, collective identities are developed through interactions between “protagonists, antagonists, and audiences.” Creating a sense of “we-ness” is the primary objective of collective identities, as this sense is the most effective tool to ensure individual participation in social movements (Hunt et al., 2004). In this concept, collective identity is described by Calhoun (1994, p. 28) as personal and political projects in which individuals

participate. Identity is an essential part of collective action. However, it should not be accepted as a precondition for collective action, because collective action occurs when actors strictly define themselves, opponent groups and mutual relationships. (Touraine, 1981, p. 80; Bernstein, 1997, p. 531). Moreover, collective identity facilitates and promotes the development of informal communication networks, interaction, and mutual support.

The period following the Second World War is a very good example indicating the role of collective identity (Giddens, 1991, p. 70). The shift from industrial to post-industrial society caused profound social changes that led to the emergence of social movements. This sudden shift resulted in the erosion of traditional morals and values within society and promoted individualization. Consequently, the minority groups that emerged at the end of this period created and maintained collective identities, which, in turn, paved the way for social movements (Durkheim, 1997).

### 3.4 Public Policies and Social Movements

Aforementioned theories indicate that social movements are closely linked to public policies determined by governmental authorities. This link between institutional factors producing public policies and social movement development are clearly explained by Alexis de Tocqueville (1969). He proposed that "a system in which the state was weak and civil society strong (the United States) would face a constant but peaceful flux of protest from below. Where the state was strong and civil society weak (France), on the other hand, episodic and violent revolt would result" (Della Porta & Diani, 2006, pp. 201-202). Even though this argument was criticized by later scholars (Tarrow, 1994), the influence of the strength or weakness

of states on social movement development is generally accepted by many social movement theorists (Della Porta & Diani, 2006).

The scope of social movements allows us to analyze the extent to which people living in a specific territory are incorporated into society. Individuals as members of a society claim three sets of rights (civil, political, and social) and the institutions through which such rights might be exercised (Tilly, 2003). Rawls (1999) developed the principle of shared entitlement as a fair source of social unity in pluralist societies and argued that shared rights are a basis of social unity. This unity is achievable only by pursuing common good, although there are various condition-based individual interests. People can overlook their personal specific interests only on the condition that the society provides requirements such as a desirable social role and status. If these requirements are not met, individuals may not be willing to maintain their role or status in the community (Rawls, 1999). He states that;

To act autonomously and responsibly a citizen must look to the political principles that underlie and guide the interpretation of the constitution. He must try to assess how these principles should be applied in the existing circumstances. If he comes to the conclusion after due consideration that civil disobedience is justified and conducts himself accordingly, he acts conscientiously. (Rawls, 1999, p. 341)

The legitimacy of social rights and institutions must depend on mutual ethical obligations that exist between members of society and state authorities. Miller (1995) indicates that only the policies aiming at maintaining social justice can constitute a unifying identity. Therefore, state policies should encourage some kinds of collective activities by influencing the formation of groups, ideas, and demands (Skocpol, 1985). A community should be constituted with ethical norms and values that consist of rights and obligations for individuals to support common interests. Otherwise, people may feel excluded from the society and create sub-groups.

State actions shape individual or group attitudes, and accordingly, social trust and civic engagement. Skocpol (1985) indicates that organizational activities of states encourage some kinds of group formation and collective actions by influencing the formation of groups, ideas, and demands. She highlights the French Revolution, and argues that the activities of the monarchical regime led some aristocrats to adopt revolutionary ideas. Elites who are exposed to repressive socioeconomic conditions use administrative resources already in their hand to reshape social policies (Skocpol, 2008, p. 11).

The comparison of the United States and Canada by Irene Bloemraad (2006) shows very clearly that immigrants' integration into society changes according to the policies of governments. Similarly, Evans (1997) shows that efficient and honest state bureaucracies affect the success in social and economic development. According to Social Capital Theory developed by Robert Putnam (1994), the effective democratic actions taken by governments trigger collective actions and make public administrations more efficient and responsive.

Charles Tilly (2003) proposes a similar argument that social movements involve common demands from authorities. Identities are social arrangements "in which people construct shared stories about who they are, how they are connected, and what has happened to them" (Tilly, 2003, p. 608). Such stories can range from excuses, explanations, and apologies for committed wrongs, to appreciations, and honors in the national histories. All these play a significant role in social integration. Thus, public policies are very influential in affecting social integration. If the state cannot provide a determinate basis for collective identity, social groups may start to mobilize their oppositions and resort to violence. Social movements indicate social

demands, supports, or oppositions meaning that the existence of a social group is questioned and denigrated in terms of its worthiness. Political rights and obligations lose their meaning for that discontented social group. This situation is described by Habermas (1973) as "legitimation crisis"; the inability of the state in persuading its citizens to obey its rules and obligations.

The state tries to strengthen common identity as a source of social integration, and uses social policy to either strengthen loyalty to the state or to weaken oppositions against national unity and state authority (Parsons & Smelser, 1957, pp. 14-19). Social policies developing and sustaining social unity are very important for the development of the welfare state because they have great influence on the degree of shared social identity to overcome the role of conflicting interests (Weale, 1990, p. 475). As Rawls (1999, p. 10) pointed out, a community can maintain its social unity by advancing social policies through its institutions. Since the unity of the community depends on strong social ties, the norms shaping the prospects for realizing social justice and paving the way for accommodating diversities should be generated through the institutions.

The most prominent attribute of a community is that its members are willing to help one another in times of need due to a sense of social solidarity (Durkheim, 1997, p. 31). This attribute develops shared responsibility, mutual support and cooperation in the community and constitutes "we-feeling" or a "sense of belonging" that shapes a common identity (Böckenförde, 2006, p. 33). Once a group of community members is excluded from the mainstream of opportunities within the community, they start exercising their civil rights such as protesting authorities (Madanipour, 1998). In the long run, this will engender a strong effect on the

structure of the community and the state. A sense of exclusion emerges in society, the equal distribution of economic resources is distorted, and social solidarity in that society is ultimately undermined, which, in turn, causes social movements (Ottmann, 2010, p. 24).

The evolution of social movements is related to three main areas: territorial decentralization of power, functional dispersal of power, and characteristics of public bureaucracy (Kitschelt, 1986; pp. 61–64). Decentralization of power refers to the distribution of central state power to local executives. The general assumption is that greater distribution of power enhances the level of attendance in the decision-making process of public policies. However, as suggested by political process theories, dispersing power to local executives may produce new opportunities for social movements to develop new strategies. Functional dispersal of powers ensures the greater division of tasks between the legislature, executive, and judiciary. Accordingly, the system provides more a secure environment to access to the decision-making process of public policies and decreases the attempts for forming social movements. The role of public bureaucracy in the evolution of social movements appears when there is structural fragmentation and a lack of internal coordination and professionalization are prevailing in the system. These institutional fragmentations and disorders halt the flow of public services and provoke individuals to organize in social movements (Rawls, 1999). As a result, research on public policies indicates that “the greater the opportunities of access to the decision-making system, the more social movements tend to adopt moderate strategies” (Della Porta & Diani, 2006, p. 222).

### 3.4.1 The Shift from Social Movements to Collective Violence

Social movements are conditioned by the social structure of the societies in which they develop. Intervention strategies also affect the form of social movements (Della Porta & Diani, 2006). Kriesi (1989a, p. 295) emphasizes that “national strategies set the informal and formal rules of the game for the conflict between new social movements and their adversaries.” According to this assumption, societies adopting a strategy of inclusion (tolerant strategies) will produce unifying mechanisms that strengthen social solidarity. Societies practicing a strategy of exclusion (repressive strategies), on the other hand, will be open to polarization in the population, which breeds conflicts between opposing groups. These conflicts emerge as social movements and may turn into violent activities if necessary measures are not taken. The research on repression of labor union movements in the United States, Britain, and Germany indicates:

State repression of the rights of workers to combine in the labor market appears to have had three related consequences for unions. First and most obviously, repression politicized unions because it compelled them to try to change the rules of the game . . . A second consequence of repression is that, if sufficiently severe, it could reduce differences among workers originating in their contrasting capacity to form effective unions . . . Finally, . . . repression politicized unions in an additional and more subtle way, by giving the initiative within the labor movement to political parties. (Marks, 1989, pp. 14–15)

As explained before, social movements are a form of collective behavior as the expression of real grievances over underlying social, economic, and political changes or lack of such changes that have appeared in society (Gurr, 1970, pp. 3-4). Collective action may also be explained by the term of “propaganda of the deed” which indicates a certain change had to be, and action would make it easier. Propaganda of the deed seems to be accepted by Marx and his supporters. They



mostly favored some forms of revolutionary collective action such as demonstrations and strikes (Laqueur, 1999).

The most systematic attempt to create an ideology of collective violence is that of Jean-Paul Sartre (Wilkinson, 1979, p. 71). Sartre was not only important because he took an extreme position concerning violence, but because he opposed all liberal values and a liberal state or society. For him, the true motivational force of history is scarcity: "Each man is an enemy to every other because each is a dangerous rival in the struggle against scarcity" (Wilkinson, 1979, p. 72).

Those groups victimized due to the changes in a society, or its unchangeable structure, want to declare their grievances in a legal way first. But if the social authority does not accept this and prepare ground for the release of those grievances, collective action may turn into collective violence (Senechal de la Roche, 1996). Social movement activists generally resort to violence after the failure of legitimate methods which initially do not include violence (Reich, 1998, p. 10). If legitimate methods fail or are not permitted by the authorities, people may turn to violent methods as a result of feelings of rage and helplessness over the lack of alternatives (Knutson, 1981). Depending on these propositions, it can be stated that violent collective action is the last legitimate choice of deprived and desperate individuals to achieve social change.

The sense of exclusion may also be a cause that leads people toward social movements. Social exclusion is a notion "of being shut out, fully or partially, from any of the social, economic, political or cultural systems which determine the social integration of a person in society" (Walker & Walker, 1997, p.8). According to Madanipour (1998, p.22), social exclusion is a multi-dimensional process in which

various forms of exclusion are combined; i.e. participation in decision making and political processes, access to employment and material resources, and integration into common cultural processes. Social equality, justice and solidarity have always been at the core of social integration in the welfare state (Baldwin, 1990, p. 3). Thus, the existence of a state can only be justified by virtue of realizing and maintaining these values through its institutions. The common satisfaction of a group flows from a sentiment of solidarity. People are aware that social solidarity serves for common interests of all involved parties; and therefore, they are eager to overlook their selfish aspirations (Inglehart, 1990b).

The groups who feel excluded from society may react against the government in various ways including violent methods. In such a case, states usually take a number of security measures restraining social rights and freedoms, which results in undesirable effects. Groups dissatisfied with the state's actions start questioning the legitimacy of social norms. Shared ideas and sentiments, which are the basis of social solidarity, are destroyed, and groups may pursue their own selfish interests by breaking their bonds with the state. Consequently, they may resort to collective violence causing social fragmentation and ultimately a condition of anarchy and social anomie (Durkheim, 1897).

According to Durkheim, anomie is a breakdown of social norms and it is a condition where norms no longer control the activities of members in society. Individuals cannot find their place in society without clear rules to guide them. Changing conditions as well as adjustment of life leads to dissatisfaction, conflict, and deviance (Durkheim, 1897, pp. 47-55). As a result, anomie emerges in the society because of the inability of authorities to regulate social life for the members

of the society. Individuals or groups who are exposed to undesirable activities by the government begin to react against the state by organizing social movements. If the state neglects their reactions, they resort to collective violence and terrorism (Habermas, 1991).

### 3.4.2 Intervention Strategies for Social Movements

Social movements are organized to force authorities to accept the goals and interests of the movements. As they get involved in activities which may disturb public order, governments have to respond with appropriate strategies for social movements without further constraining civil liberties. These strategies must be in accordance with the rule of law in order to maintain public order. If they are not in line with the law, governments lose public support and deepen grievances in society. Since social movement activists are members of society, inappropriate strategies such as use of excessive force may result in serious fragmentation within that society (Snow et al., 2004).

The ultimate aim of social movements is to change social policies that are recognized as unjust, damaging, or prohibitive by the social movement. Even if they may not succeed in obtaining their demands, groups can keep organizing social movements in order to strengthen collective identity. Inappropriate intervention strategies applied by the authorities may result in polarization within society and pave the way for the enlargement of social movements. Ignoring the demands of movement activists, on the other hand, may encourage them to use violent methods in order to reach their defined goals (Diani, 1997). The number of studies scrutinizing appropriate strategies is very limited.

Della Porta and Reiter (1998) suggest three main intervention strategies: coercive strategies, persuasive strategies, and informative strategies. Coercive strategies include use of force to take social movements under control, while persuasive strategies attempt to use mediation methods by using prior contacts with activists and organizers. Informative strategies, on the other hand, consist of gathering information related to social movements and developing and delivering counter arguments in order to minimize public support.

Trager and Zagorcheva (2005, p. 91), on the other hand, propose that social movement activists can be deterred from violent activities with the efforts of winning hearts and minds by enhancing the standards of social life and liberty. Related to the rational choice theory, deterrence strategies should focus on future policies which will prevent individuals from engaging in collective actions (Jacobs, 2010).

Various methods for dealing with collective actions have evolved over time. Alan M. Dershowitz (2002) outlined these methods in four categories. The first method is to ensure that the individual will lose far more than gain if s/he participates in a collective action. The second method is to incapacitate those who would resort to collective actions by keeping them away from the places they wish to target with repressive methods. The third method is to persuade the actors not to undertake the action by convincing them that the action is wrong. The last method is proactive prevention, which means eliminating or reducing the causes of social movements, such as poverty, injustice, or discrimination in the society.

As mentioned before, social movements may turn into collective violence and terrorism when the authorities do not care the demands and concerns of the social movement group. Therefore, the deterrence strategies developed for collective

violence may also be useful for intervening in social movements. Jeremy Ginges (1997) identified two major deterrence strategies: Repressive and tolerant strategies. The first strategy minimizes the benefits and increases the costs in the legal system. While repressive strategies refuse to negotiate with social movements, tolerant strategies recognize the importance of understanding the concerns of social movements. It indicates three dimensions. First, people must recognize the legitimacy of the institutions and the morality of their society. Second, the ones less integrated into society, and more integrated with a dissatisfied sub-population are more likely to participate in collective action. Third, the leading factors of social movements vary by society; therefore, intervention strategies should be identified by considering the inherent characteristics of a given society. After examining the pros and cons of these strategies, Ginges (1997, p. 173) concluded that tolerant strategy has greater psychological validity because it confronts the issues of alienated and excluded individuals who decided to show their resentments thorough collective actions.

Structural changes in the social system that will enhance the potential for communication may direct collective action to the common good. Therefore, collective activities, which will enhance the communication possible between different groups, may be organized by the official authorities to sustain and promote social solidarity. In this way, there will be no necessary conflict between authorities and collective activists. In *The Theory of Communicative Action*, Habermas indicates the same point. He argues that "...social pathologies can be understood as forms of manifestation of systematically distorted communication..." (Habermas, 1991, p. 226). He sees the outbreak of collective violence mainly as a failure of

communications and indicates that active communication is necessary to evaluate the distortions that might impede dialogue and cause collective violence. Active communication is necessary to understand the psychology and concerns of social movement activists, which necessitates articulating positions by considering their motivations. Authorities, therefore, must question what they want to take for granted, learn from them, and try to develop appropriate strategies in order to transform their position through this dialogue (Habermas, 1973).

In the same manner, Derrida, in *Philosophy in a Time of Terror*, proposes a “pure communication” by which individuals, private groups, or public bodies maintain an exchange of sentiments. The reflection and deliberation of this process result in the formation of clearer ideas and social consciousness (Borradori et al., 2003). According to Durkheim (2006), this is not enough to develop a mature social consciousness. A cognitive, rather than instrumental, notion of rationality is necessary. At this point, Weber (1978) draws attention to the role democratic practices in developing social consciousness. In other words, democratic institutions are an indispensable instrument in keeping emotional and irrational reactions under control.

In order to reintegrate excluded people into society, the authorities should communicate with the members of the social movement and with others who belong to different groups in society. Communications must be sincere and cooperative, rather than simply based on convenience. Authorities should ensure all members have equal distribution of social benefits (Tilly, 1978). This increases the individuals' awareness of social solidarity and creates norms and rules that both harmonize and constrain the individuals' aims and interests. As a result, shared sentiments, common

ideas, beliefs and practices, and mutual understanding flourish in society. These ritual processes merge individuals to see themselves again as members of society and to recognize public policies as a catalyst accelerating social solidarity (Durkheim, 1997, p. 151). Thus, especially after 1980s, a trend towards tolerance and dialogue has begun to gain importance as the methods for intervention (Della Porta & Diani, 2006, p. 198).

These methods are used by following a series of pathways. First, authorities who are responsible for sustaining public order meet and negotiate with the representatives of movement groups. They try to reach a consensus on routes and conduct to be observed during social movements. The characteristics (peaceful, radical, or violent) and aims (social, political, economic, etc.) of the group should be determined at this stage. In order to keep mediation with the group, their right to form or join movements must be guaranteed by the authorities. Then, violent groups must be separated from the peaceful groups without threatening their security and harming the flow of the movement. Agreements reached with the representatives of the movement are never to be broken, and the dialogue between group representatives and authorities must be kept until the social movements disband of their choice (Della Porta, 1998; Fillieule & Jobard, 1998; Waddington, 1998; Winter, 1998).

The practices of governmental institutions are rational insofar as they are consistent with the actors' beliefs, notions, and values (Tilly, 1999). If there is no shared sentiment between parties, then the process of "communicative action" is broken (Habermas, 1991). Therefore, moral education is very important to maintain dialogue. Mead (1934, p. 168) viewed moral education as necessary for the

development of individuals and society at the same time. Shared ideas and sentiments that maintain and promote social solidarity prevail as long as the satisfaction of all the members of society continues. The social actors (official authorities or NGOs), therefore, should use moral education as a means to express and disseminate those ideas and sentiments. Otherwise, individuals follow their own interests and neglect their social obligation, which causes conflicts undermining solidarity (Durkheim, 1997, p. 152).

Depending on these propositions, intervention strategies must focus on policies that prevent individuals from engaging in collective violence. For this purpose, this study proposes a framework that specifies types of intervention strategies for social movements. The framework generated from the propositions by Jeremy Ginges (1997) is represented in Figure 3.1.

The intensity of motivation is represented on the vertical axis, and the types of strategies are represented on the horizontal axis. Preventing their attainment in both political and nonpolitical ends (repressive strategies) may lead marginalized groups to collective action, because the government does not leave any exit for individuals but pursuing collective activities. Preventing just the political ends at risk, however, carries the message for individuals that the government is aware of their resentments and tries to make necessary arrangements to relieve the situation, but at the same time, the government has red lines in political matters. Tolerating both political and nonpolitical ends also increases the risk of violence because social movement group recognizes violence as an effective method to achieve their perceived interests. Tolerating just nonpolitical ends (tolerant strategies) gives the message that authorities are aware of their concerns and are trying to develop



necessary measures to tackle problematic social conditions. In this manner, a tacit communication can be established between the authorities and social movements. The sense of relative deprivation, collective identity, the political environment, external forces (such as the reactions of other groups), social movement organizations, and state actions are other factors affecting the motivation of social movements groups (Dershowitz, 2002).

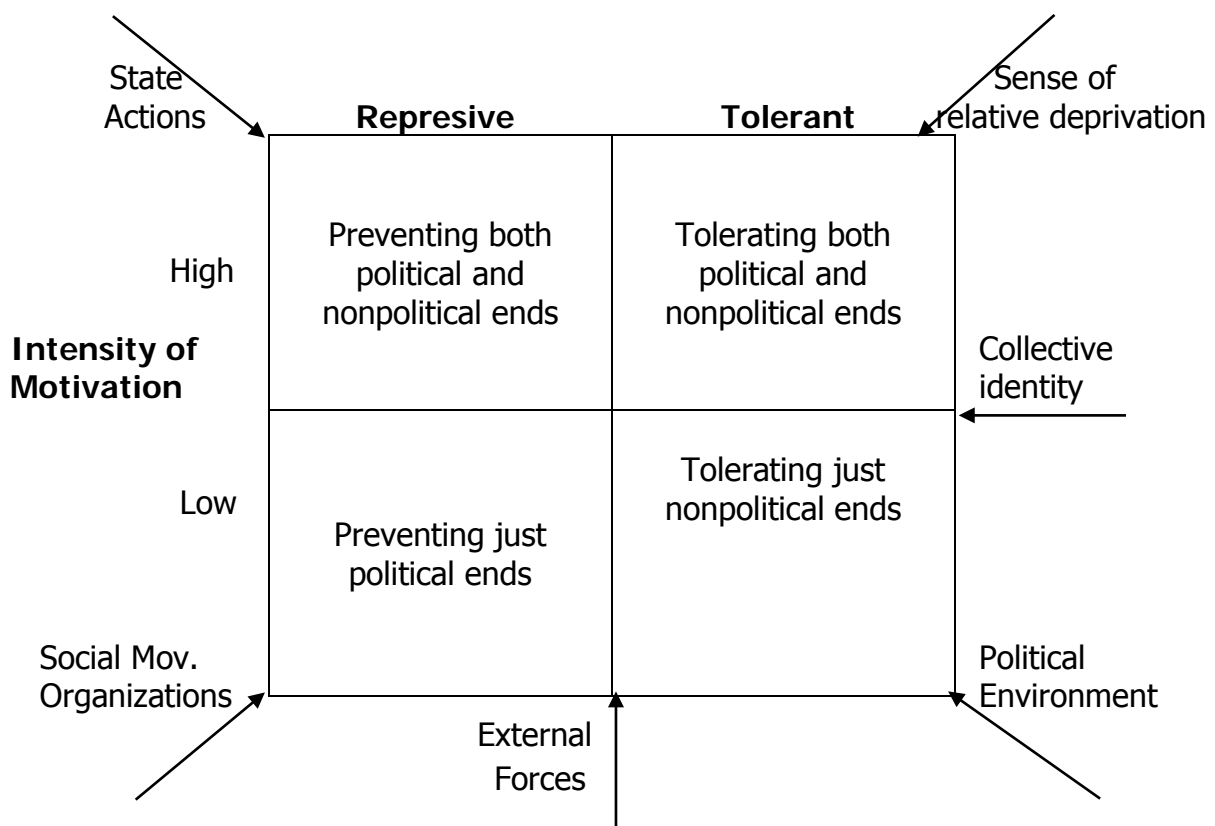


Figure 3.1 Strategies of dealing with social movements (Ginges, 1997).

The use of excessive force increases group solidarity and provides more participants for social movements (Snow et al., 2004). The reluctance of the authorities for communicating with groups also affects the preference of displeased groups whether or not they participate in social movements. Communication based

on understanding and defining reciprocal feelings, perceptions, and demands is necessary to clear misunderstandings (Habermas, 1991). To develop a pure mediation process with the displeased groups, authorities should benefit from teachers, nurses, engineers, agriculturists, and professionals as mediators who are able to detect the motivations of social movements. Moreover, authorities should take for evaluating causal factors in order to provide a better atmosphere for moderation (Della Porta & Diani, 2006).

Even though repressive strategies are necessary to control social movements organized by violent groups; their use leads to the spread of resentments within society (Khawaja, 1994). Wilson's (1976) study on intervention strategies indicates that social movements exposed to repressive methods become more radicalized. Comparative research conducted by Della Porta (1995) also points out that repressive strategies tend to provoke more radical forms of protest. These findings illustrate the positive relationship between the degree of violence in protest and coercive intervention by the authorities. Thus, tolerant strategies have always been the method of choice as they increase the possibility of peaceful agreement between social movement groups and authorities without endangering public order.

### 3.5 Social Structural Context of Social Movements

The term social structure has invoked very different concepts in the hands of different theorists, and this has served to define various theoretical camps: economic organization, class and status, community organization and social ties, formal organization and bureaucracy, or small-group interaction (Walder, 2009, p. 394). Blau defines the social structure as "the distribution of a population among positions

in a multidimensional space" (Blau & Schwartz, 1984, p. 9). Perceived deprivations due to the existing social structure produce a "disruptive psychological state," which leads to the emergence of a social movement (McAdam, 1982). Social movement theories and the review of literature illustrate that early social movements are mostly related to unequal income distributions, the labor force, and trade unions; while new social movements are mostly associated with - in addition to economic indicators - determinants of life quality such as mobilization, education level, and inequality in distribution of resources and sociability (Curtis, 1971; Cutler, 1976; Knoke, 1986; Knoke & Thompson, 1977).

The premises of social movement theories indicate that "structural conditions push people into protest groups" (Wilson, 1973, p. 90). Early studies dealt with how and why social movements arise. Then, scholars began to analyze the roots of social movements in the 1990s by looking at the role of public opinion, organizational networks and political structures (Giugni, 1998, p. 371).

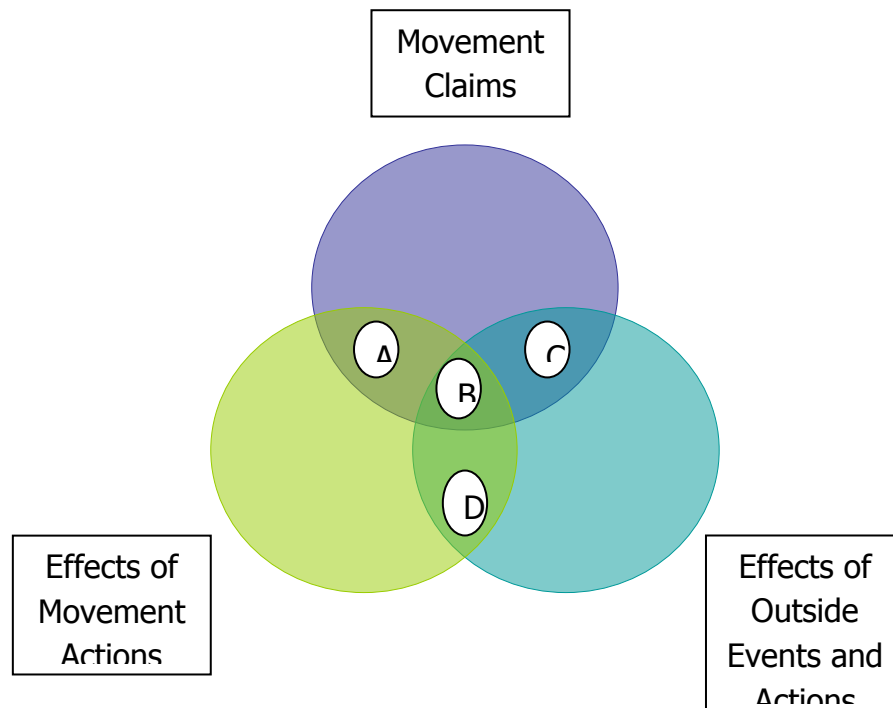
Gamson's (1990) study provides important evidence about the relationship between social structural factors and the success of social movements. In *The Strategy of Social Protest*, Gamson analyzed 53 challenging groups in America and concluded that social movements organized by bureaucratized and centralized organizations tended to be more successful. Later studies carried out by Frey et al. (1992) confirmed Gamson's thesis. They found that group consciousness developed over economic and social deprivations is very important in the development and success of social movements.

Social movements generally address two targets: The authorities and the public. On the one hand, social movement activists want to coerce the authorities to

meet their demands; on the other hand, they try to convince the public in order to get more support. Collective actions increase public awareness on certain social issues and facilitate changes in public opinion, which helps movements to reach the goals of the social movement. Several researchers have addressed the role of public opinion in policy changes. For example, Burstein indicated that "equal employment opportunity legislation was adopted as the result of social changes that were manifested in public opinion, crystallized in the civil rights and women's movements, and transformed into public policy by political leaders" (Burstein 1985, p. 125).

According to Goldstone (1980), temporal conditions are more important than organizational and strategic factors for the success of social movements. In other words, the political environment is a stronger determinant than the other factors to reach success by social movements. The political environment consists of two aspects: the system of alliances and oppositions and the structure of the state. According to Lipsky (1968), public support is a very strong determinant of the success of social movements. Schumaker (1975) supported this idea in his study of the responsiveness of political authorities to racial riots. However, there are also opponents in the public who might prevent the successful outcomes of social movements. Therefore, the effect of opponents were not overlooked by scholars such as Jasper and Poulsen (1993), McAdam (1982), Turk and Zucker (1984). Jenkins and Perrow (1977) also addressed the political environment as the source providing sustained outside support. In this context, it can be stated that the emergence and success of social movements depends on the positions taken by allies and opponents.

Tilly (1998) illustrated social movement outcomes in three over-lapping circles. The outcomes depend on three sets of variables: Movement claims, effects of movements' actions, and the effects of outside events and actions. The overlapping of these three variables creates four situations presented in Figure 3.2.



A = Effects of movement actions that bear directly on movement claims

B = Joint effects of movement actions and outside influences that bear directly on movement claims

C = Effects of outside influences (but not of movement actions) that bear directly on movement claims

D = Joint effects of movement actions and outside influences that don't bear on movement claims

*Figure 3.2* The problem of identifying social movement outcomes (Tilly, 1998).

This figure indicates that the precise evaluation of social movements is a very complicated process, but they can be still evaluated by tracing their consequences to economic and social life (Tilly, 1978). The next section of the study is dealing with this issue by explaining the effects of economy, education, and residential mobility on social movements.

### 3.5.1 Economic Factors and Social Movements

Classical and new social movement approaches differ in explaining the effect of economic factors on social movements. While classical social movement scientists indicate there is a negative relationship between economic factors and social movements, new social movement scientists propose there is a positive relationship between the two. Classical social movement theorist Bwy (1968) reports a negative relationship between the rate of economic growth and political violence and protest in Latin American countries. Flanigan and Fogelman (1970) also address a negative relationship between the rate of economic development and the occurrence of collective violence. The general argument of these studies is based on the idea that when people experience deprivations, they release frustrations, insecurities, alienation and inner tensions and participate in social movements to realize their perceived interests (Davies, 1962; Gurr, 1970).

However, in the study *Age Differences in Voluntary Association Memberships*, Cutler (1976) posited that both higher income and higher education levels increase participation in social movements because these factors increase the awareness and sensitivity about the quality of social life. Studies of environmental movements support this argument and reveal that awareness and ideological commitment affect

the tendency of participation in social movements (Apter & Sawa, 1984; Opp, 1988; Szasz, 1994; Walsh, 1981).

The insights of social movement theories propose that the appearances of classical or new social movement theories vary according to the economic structure and policies of a society. Since Turkey is a developing country dealing with various problems in its economic system, this study took the approach of the classical social movement theories and generated the following hypothesis:

H<sub>1</sub>: Economic status is negatively related to the number of social movement events.

### 3.5.2 Education Level and Social Movements

Studies on social movements provide different findings concerning the effect of education on social movements. Some studies argue that highly educated people often pursue an opportunist approach in terms of their engagement in social movements. Therefore their commitment may not be strong or be consistent with the goals of social movements (Pfaff & Kim, 2003, p. 437).

Buttom and Mattson (1999) also studied the effect of the education level on social movements. In the study, *Deliberative Democracy in Practice: Challenges and Prospects for Civic Deliberation*, they pointed out the reluctance of movement organizers in accepting less educated people as members of the movements, as they think those people are not eligible to properly represent the goal of the movement. The results in a study by Kriesi (1989b) supports this argument, and brings out the fact that highly educated people are most likely to support social movements compared to less educated people. In the study *Change in the American Electorate*,

Converse also found a close link between education and civic engagement. He proposed that “the higher the education, the greater the ‘good’ values of the variable (civic engagement). The educated citizen is attentive, knowledgeable, and participatory and the uneducated citizen is not” (Converse, 1972, p. 324).

Moreover, a study of Shaffer and Gorinchias (2001) indicated that college-educated individuals have more than twice the level of association membership compared with those having only a few years of education. As explained before, association membership is directly related to participation in social movements. Feminist movements in Turkey are a very good example for showing the role of education in social movements. These movements aim at removing the obstacles to education and liberation for women. Highly educated women mostly support these movements as they perceive the presence of the Republican regime as an opportunity to promote women rights explicitly (Çakır, 1993).

Based on these implications, this study tested the following hypothesis:

H<sub>2</sub>: The education level is positively related to the number of social movement events.

### 3.5.3 Residential Mobility and Social Movements

Social movement theorists generally place emphasis on detachment and isolation in the emergence and development of social movements (e.g. Kornhauser, 1959). Walker (1997, p. 8) defines social isolation as a “dynamic process of being shut out, fully or partially, from any of the social, economic, political or cultural systems which determine the social integration of a person in society.” According to Madanipour, social isolation is a multi-dimensional process in which various forms of



exclusion are combined: participation in decision making and political processes, access to employment and material resources, and integration into common cultural processes (Madanipour, 1998, p. 22).

Social equality, justice and solidarity have always been at the core of individual expectations from a state (Baldwin, 1990, p. 3). Thus, the existence of a state can only be justified by virtue of realizing and maintaining these values through its institutions. The common satisfaction of a group flows from a sentiment of solidarity. People are aware of that social solidarity serves the common interests of all involved parties; and therefore, they are eager to overlook their selfish concerns. If they cannot meet their expectations, they choose to migrate to another place that they think they can more easily meet their expectations.

Durkheim (1997, p. 30) described community as "an ethical entity whose members are linked to one another by an inner social bond." According to Tönnies (2001, p. 187), community is a group of people who are "related to each other as natural members of a whole." The most prominent attribute of a community is that its members are willing to help one another in times of need and out of a sense of social solidarity (Durkheim, 1997, p. 31).

Densely populated societies attracting many immigrants, however, cannot provide strong social networks which control and socialize their members to accept their position in the society rather than raise challenges. Since the levels of primary group attachment is very low, high levels of alienation and anxiety exist, which lead dissatisfied members toward collective activities. As the feelings of belonging to society become increasingly weaker, individuals learn to attend social movements. Groups of people feeling deprivation in mass societies become alienated and

irrational over time. Felt deprivations due to rapid social changes cause incongruences between what people expect and what society delivers, and give rise to social movements (Durkheim, 1987).

State actions restraining social rights cause undesirable effects. Dissatisfaction of society members leads them to question the legitimacy of social norms. Shared ideas and sentiments, which are the basis of social solidarity, are destroyed, and groups may pursue their own selfish interest by breaking off their bonds with the state (Durkheim, 1987; 1997). Accordingly, they may resort to collective action, causing social fragmentation and, ultimately, a condition of anarchy and anomie (Durkheim, 1897, pp. 47-55). Anomie results from the inability of authorities to regulate social life for the members of a society. Individuals or groups who are exposed to the undesirable actions by the government begin to react against the state through organizing social movements. If the state overlooks their reactions, they resort to collective violence and terrorism (Dershowitz, 2002).

There is little research regarding immigrants' participation in collective action. Immigrants usually engage in protest because they are aggrieved and angry. However, there are other incentives leading individuals to collective action such as efficacy, collective identity, and social embeddedness which provides individuals with the resources needed to organize collective action (Edwards & McCharty, 2004). Klendermans and Toorn (2008, p. 993) emphasize that collective action bears the risk of polarizing groups within a society and may deepen disagreements between the native population and immigrants.

Pfaff and Kim (2003, pp. 437-438) see a strong coincidence between collective action and immigration. They point out that the East German revolution

was a product of spontaneous mobilization triggered by existing social problems. (see also Mueller, 1999; Zhao, 1996; Herbst, 1990; Adas, 1986; Pedraza, 1985). The solidarity among immigrants is strengthened by sharing grievances, and they become effective organizers of social movements without much coordination by social movement organizations or extensive framing efforts by activists (Kuran, 1991).

Social movements represent the efforts of disenchanting groups to be recognized with new identities and lifestyles (Evers, 1985). Identity, on the other hand, increases power and consciousness (Poletta & Jasper, 2001, p. 286). As Bernstein explained, "identities are deployed strategically as a form of collective action to change institutions; to transform mainstream culture, its categories, and values, and perhaps by extension its policies and structures; to transform participants; or simply to educate legislators or the public" (Bernstein, 2005, p. 62). Thus, immigrants engage in collective actions due to feelings of relative deprivation to their exclusion from the society (Davies, 1962; Gurr; 1970). At this point, Turner and Killian (1972, p. 251) call attention to the role of voluntary associations in immigrants' engagement in social movements. They emphasized that grievances and discontent may be defined, created, and manipulated by issue entrepreneurs and associations. The role of voluntary associations is examined further in the next section of the study.

In sum, residential mobility has brought together discriminated and alienated minority groups who aim to promote their identities by resorting to collective activities. Briefly, ideological and cultural confusion, social heterogeneity, and weak

social integration due to residential mobilization tends to spark social movements (Morris, 1984) as outlined in the hypothesis below.

H<sub>3</sub>: Residential mobility will be positively related to the number of social movement events.

The three hypotheses described above were employed to answer the research question:

(RQ1) What is the impact of structural factors on the emergence of social movements in Turkey?

#### 3.5.4 The Role of the Civic Sphere in the Development of Social Movements

Actions and beliefs cannot exist without an actor (Weber, 1991). Social organizations are primary actors of social movements constituted by individuals sharing the same beliefs and sense of belongingness (Diani, 1992). Numerous studies have pointed to the crucial role of social organizations in the emergence and success of social movements (Aveni, 1978; Freeman, 1973; Gamson, 1980; Morris, 1981). Social movements are activities initiated by large groups of people who want to promote or oppose social change through unconventional means (Lyman, 1995). In order to be more effective, participants set up social movement organizations. Through these organizations, they share information and work together toward common goals. Moreover, these organizations can induce significant pressure for collective action targets by providing considerable resources to activist groups (Almeida, 2008; Dixona & Martin, 2012; Staggenborg, 1986; Van Dyke & McCammon, 2010).

Individuals may participate in a movement to the extent that they recognize each other, and are recognized by other actors, as part of that specific movement (Eyerman & Jamison, 1991). Certain lifestyles, values, and opinions are not sufficient to engage in a movement unless there is a feeling of belonging and shared common goals (McAdam, 2003; Melucci, 1996; Pizzorno, 2008). Social institutions constitute binding mechanisms that are designed to sustain these dynamics and motivations of social movements over time (Knock, 1986). Dense social networks organized by social structures (voluntary organizations, universities, unions, etc.) strengthen common identity feelings and facilitate collective activities. Participation in voluntary organizations, being a member of associations, or living in a certain environment can lead individuals to participate in social movements (Staggenborg, 2001). In addition, social movement organizations are capable of collecting and storing resources and representing social movement actors through a common united frame (McAdam, 2003).

In a similar manner, the presence of college campuses and research institutes in a society can provide a reservoir of support for social movements because most students concur that movement organizations constitute a key condition that can affect state policies (Jenkins 1983; McAdam, McCarthy, & Zald 1996; Tilly 1978). Therefore, university students are often very interested in joining social movement organizations. Contemporary student movement activities are primarily centered around "urban social struggles, the environmental or ecology movements, women's and gay liberation, the peace movement, and cultural revolt linked primarily to student and youth activism" (Boggs, 1986, pp. 39-40).

Depending on these implications, this study proposed two hypotheses in order to answer the following research question:

(RQ2) What is the impact of the civic sphere on the emergence of social movements in Turkey?

Two hypotheses that were examined to find answers for the (RQ2) are:

H<sub>4</sub>: The number of voluntary organizations is positively related to the number of social movement events.

H<sub>5</sub>: The number of university students is positively related to the number of social movement events.

### 3.5.5 Political Structure and Social Movements

Political differences are regarded as a catalyst for social movements (Morris, 1984; Schoffer & Gourinchas, 2001). If the majority of the population are opponents of the ruling group, more social movements may emerge in that society. Sociologists have noted that the mechanism of involvement in social movements may vary according to regional political spheres. This argument emphasizes how the political environment is mediated at the individual level to produce particular attitudes and behaviors (Almond & Verba, 1963; Putnam, 1993; Wuthnow, 1991).

Correspondingly, Cohen (1999, p. 283) mentions how "dichotomous thinking" can place civil society in opposition to the state."

The political position of social movement groups shapes the form and strategies of social movements. According to Gurr (1970, pp. 3-4), political violence involves "all collective attacks within a political community against the political regime, its actors ... or its policies." Tilly (1978) and Gamson (1975) argued that

social movements consist of excluded individuals who do not have routine access to the resources controlled by the government. Thus, these groups resorted to collective action to attain their perceived interests. This struggle between politicians and deprived individuals gives rise to collective action. The study by Schoffer and Gourinchas (2001) supported this idea. They found an important relationship between political structure and participation in social movements. When there is a high level of competition between political parties in a specific location or when the majority of the population are opponents of the ruling party, more social movements appear to occur.

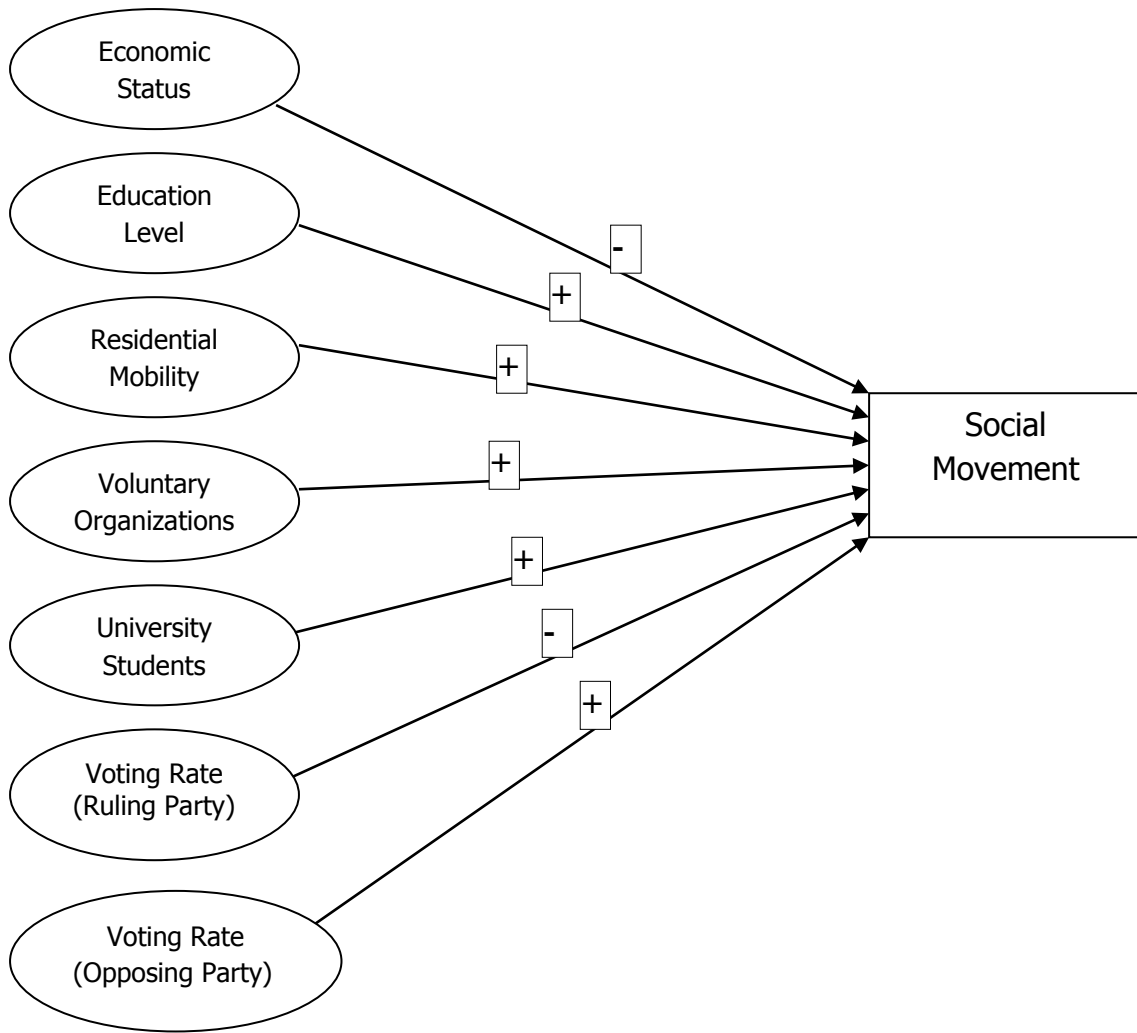
These arguments led the author to generate the following research question:

(RQ3) How does the political environment influence the emergence of social movements in Turkey?

Hypotheses that were tested were as follows:

H<sub>6</sub>: The voting rate of the ruling party is negatively related to the number of social movement events.

H<sub>7</sub>: The voting rate of the opposition party is positively related to the number of social movement events.



*Figure 3.3* Estimated relationships between the independent variables and the dependent variable.



## CHAPTER 4

### METHODOLOGY

This chapter primarily aims to explain the methods used to analyze the data in the study. Since the data consisted of various variables collected at a specific point in time, this was a cross sectional study. First, the conceptual description of the data is provided. Then, the dependent and independent variables are described in detail. After the analytical framework is explained, the chapter ends with the specification of the statistical method used in the data analysis.

The key terms used in the study are defined below:

- The term "social movement events" indicate the events organized by groups of people to change social system and policies which are wrong according to their opinions. These events may appear as rallies, demonstrations, marches, press releases, student protests, sit-ins, symbolic displays, and conventional tactics such as information distribution, and hanging banners and posters.
- The term "cities" refers to the 81 cities of Turkey, which are administrative entities representing the central government.
- The term "voluntary organizations" refers to entities such as associations, and foundations consisting of voluntary members who share common goals.

#### 4.1 Unit of Analysis

The primary unit of analysis is *cities* in Turkey. The population of Turkey in 2012 was 75.637.384 and about 77% of the population was living in cities (TUIK,

2012). The cities consist of urban and rural areas such as counties and surrounding villages. The cities are formally managed by city governors who are responsible to the Minister of Interior. There is a central management system in Turkey, and the Minister of the Interior leads the city governors and determines the general frame of public services including the distribution of resources (Köseli, 2006).

#### 4.2 Data

This study primarily aimed to analyze the effects of city-level characteristics on social movements in Turkey. The data included in the study were obtained from various government agencies in Turkey. The data dealing with the distribution of social movement events across the cities for the year of 2012 were obtained from the Public Security Department (Güvenlik Daire Başkanlığı) at the General Directorate of Turkish National Police, Ankara. The number of social movement events is reported by the public security divisions at the city police departments to the public security department at the General Headquarters of Turkish National Police, Ankara. All the statistical data about the number of social movement events coming from all city public security departments are archived and analyzed by this department that takes central responsibility for leading city public safety divisions.

An official description of social movements is found in the 3<sup>rd</sup> Article of the Law on Meetings and Demonstrations (Law No. 2911): "Everyone, without prior permission, has the right to organize unarmed and peaceful social movements which do not constitute a crime according to the provisions of this Act." In practice, the term social movements is used as a general one that covers meetings,

demonstrations, marches, press releases and similar events organized for the purpose of protest (Hancerli, 2013, p. 113).

The statistical data about education level and residential mobility were provided by the Turkish Statistical Institute (TURKSTAT) in the 2012 Census. These census data are available on the institute's website ([www.turkstat.gov.tr](http://www.turkstat.gov.tr)). The data describing economic status is periodically calculated by The Ministry of Economic Development under the title Development Index. The last version was provided in 2011. The values posted in the 2011 Development Index constitute the economic status data in this study.

Data for the number of voluntary organizations were obtained from the Department of Associations at Ministry of Internal Affairs of Turkey and Prime Ministry General Directorate of Foundations. Voluntary organizations were established in accordance with the Law of Associations (adopted in 2004), that defines voluntary organizations as "Non-profit legal entities that were established by cooperation of knowledge and praxis of at least seven individual persons or institutions for the purpose of carrying out a common goal which is not prohibited by law" (Article 2) (stated in Başbüyük, 2008, p. 65).

The social movement events that occurred in the cities of Turkey in 2012 were used as the dependent variable. For the other independent variables - education level, the number of voluntary organizations, and the number of university students of the cities - 2012 Census data were used as well. Political tendency data consisted of the vote rates of the ruling party (Justice and Development Party) and the opposing party (Republican People's Party) in the last parliamentary elections

held in 2011. Since the time dimensions of variables differ, this study is a cross-sectional study.

#### 4.3 Measurement of the Concepts

In order to explore the factors affecting the occurrence of social movements in the cities of Turkey, national level data were used. The data consisted of;

- a. Official records of social movements in 2012
- b. 2012 Census data
- c. Official reports including the economic status of 81 cities in 2011
- d. Official records of voluntary organizations in 2012
- e. Official records of university students in 2012
- f. The voting rates in the last parliamentary elections held in 2011

The following section presents information about these datasets and the measurement of the study variables.

##### 4.3.1 Dependent Variable: Social Movement Events

The dependent variable, social movement events, was constituted from the data collected by the public security units of the city police departments across 81 cities in Turkey. Therefore, police units' sensitivity and ability on preparing reports were important factors in determining the validity and reliability of the data. The public security divisions of the city police departments are specialized units that are responsible for eliminating threats against the public order and security. The staff working at public security units engages in special courses on how to deal with social

movements, because these movements are always accepted as one of the most risky situations threatening public security. For this reason, the statistics related to social movements are prepared in a very precise and careful manner by specialized personnel. Sampson and Raudenbush (1999) support this argument and indicate that there is a high level accuracy in police reports on events attracting huge public attention.

On the other hand, the public security divisions are always supervised in the hierarchical system, as they are responsible for submitting accurate information to the Central Public Security Department in Ankara. Finally, social movement events always occur in the central areas of cities to obtain the most public attention and easily recorded by security cams. All these factors indicate that there is almost no suspicion about the accuracy of the data on social movement events, that is, the data have face validity.

In order to eliminate the effect of the population on social movement events, the average number of social movement events (NSME) per 10.000 people was calculated. The average NSME is 13.89, with a minimum of 2.40 and maximum of 100.10.

#### 4.3.2 Independent Variables

- Economic Status

As the literature illustrated, economic status is one of the effective factors on social movements. The values reported in the 2011 Economic Development Index (EDI) are used as economic status data. The 2011 EDI was prepared by the Ministry

of Development in 2011 by using 58 indicators related to various sectors such as production, construction, employment and infrastructures. Istanbul has the maximum EDI value of 4.52 and the city Mus, located in the east part of Turkey, has the minimum SDI value which is -1.73. The EDI indicates that economic status is lower in eastern cities and is higher in western cities.

- Education level

Some new social movement theorists have indicated that social movement activists are usually highly educated, while some other theorists failed to find an important relationship between education level and social movement participation (Buttom & Mattson, 1999; Kriesi ,1989b; Pfaff & Kim, 2003). Thus, this variable enabled us to test which association was valid for cities in Turkey. The data was created through a process of using several calculations derived from the 2012 census statistics. The number of graduates from colleges was retrieved from the 2012 Census data. In order to calculate education level the number of graduates in each city was multiplied by 100, and then divided by the city population over 20 years of age. The results indicated the number of college graduates per 100 people in a given city. The minimum education level was 6.11, and the maximum education level was 21.54, with an average level of 10.62.

- Residential mobility

People who migrate from one city to another have an adaptation problem to the migrated society. This problem can be eliminated with positive minority policies. But, if the society develops a conservative attitude toward immigrants, minority

groups often face difficulties, such as taking care of their families (Giguère & Lalonde, 2009). In this respect, they may constitute a sub community to defend their identities and learn to organize social movements. This process promotes a group consciousness of those needs and problems that require resolution (Gaventa, 1982, pp. 23-24).

In order to depict the picture in Turkey, residential mobility rates from and to each city were obtained from the 2012 Census data. They were multiplied by 10,000 and then divided according to city population to eliminate the effect of the population on the number of migrants. The minimum residential mobility rate was -27.00, and the maximum residential mobility rate was 35.50, with an average level of -1.31.

- Number of Voluntary Organizations

Sociologists usually attribute the success of social movements to social movement organizations. They are important not only as they provide necessary resources, but they also create and sustain group identity. This crucial role led the researcher to explore the effect of the voluntary organizations on social movements. This study included foundations and associations, established in accordance with the Law of Associations adopted in 2004, and excluded political parties as they follow their own political objectives in order to come to power. Members of voluntary organizations are volunteers who come together with a specific purpose without expecting any personal gain. Thus, the number of voluntary organizations indicates the level of civic participation and citizen networks in a society. According to Putman

(2000), the number of voluntary organizations and the level of participation in these organizations are significant factors constituting the social capital of a society.

The data concerning the number of voluntary organizations in 2012 were obtained from the Ministry of the Interior Department of Associations and the General Directorate of Foundations of the Republic of Turkey. These departments are responsible for controlling and supervising voluntary organizations that are established according to legal procedures. The numbers were multiplied by 10,000 and then divided by the city population in order to eliminate the effect of population. The results indicate the average number of voluntary organizations (NVO) per 10,000 people in every city.

The average NVO was 44.76 with a minimum of 10.60 and a maximum of 178.00 voluntary associations per 10,000 people.

As many scholars (Aveni, 1978; Freeman, 1973; Gamson, 1980; Morris, 1981) emphasized the effective role of voluntary organizations on social movements, it can be stated that these data have content validity.

- Number of university students

Contemporary studies on social movements (Giguère & Lalonde, 2010; Taylor & Van Dyke, 2007) usually refer to university students as major activists of social movements who are young and relatively unencumbered. They have a transitional identity that they will soon leave. These features make university students the best candidates to reflect on the future challenges of their society. While recognizing future challenges by conceiving problems in the social system, many students often



recognize that they have shared grievances and create a common identity which motivates them to engage in collective action (Simon & Klandermans, 2001).

As students do not have anything to lose, the cost-benefit calculation is not a problem for them. So, they can easily perceive that participating in social movements is a social duty as far as changing the system goes. Such perceptions increase the motivation of student groups to engage in collective actions (Giguère & Lalonde, 2010).

The number of university students in each city was obtained from the Student Selection and Placement Center (OSYM in Turkish acronym). In order to eliminate the effect of population on numbers of university students, the number was multiplied by 1000 and then divided according to city population. The results indicated the average Number of University Students (NUS) per 1,000 people in every city.

The average NUS was 84.68 with a minimum of 5.10 and a maximum of 307.70 voluntary associations per 1,000 people.

- Political tendency

The study by Schofer and Gourinchas (2001, p. 807) posited that involvement in social movements does not simply spring from existing social organizations or from aggregated individual characteristics; rather, the cultural and organizational dimensions of political institutions are also constitutive of collective actions. The level of involvement in collective activities changes according to the polity characteristics of regions. Their study revealed that “the act of joining, and the particular types of

organizations people join, are embedded in cultural and institutional arrangements defined at the level of the national polity.”

In order to examine these insights, the political tendency data included the voting rates of the ruling party (Justice and Development Party) and the opposing party (Republican People’s Party) in the last parliamentary elections held in 2011. The data were obtained from the official website of TURKSTAT.

#### 4.4 Research Design and Analytic Framework

This study principally aimed at analyzing the distribution of social movement events across the 81 cities in Turkey. In order to examine the bivariate relationships and potential multicollinearity issues among the variables, first, a correlation matrix was developed. Then, multivariate statistical analyses were conducted in three different phases. In the first phase, the number of social movement events was regressed on structural variables (economic status, education level, and residential mobility). Since all of the variables used in this model are continuous variables, the ordinary least square (OLS) regression technique was applied in order to run the model.

In the second phase, in order to examine the relationship between structural variables and social movements, the number of social movement events was regressed on the number of voluntary associations and university students. As the level of measurement for all variables is continuous, OLS regression was applied.

Finally, political tendency indicators (voting rates of the ruling party and voting rates of the opposing party) were added to the previous models. As the political tendency data is continuous, OLS regression was applied to test the

hypotheses specified in the third chapter. This model revealed the role of political tendency in the relationship between the dependent variable and independent variables.

Given that the data set contained all the information about the dependent and independent variables for all cities across the country, there were no missing values. However, since OLS regression was used in the study, the main assumptions of OLS regression - such as normality, linearity, multicollinearity, etc.- were tested before carrying out the main analysis. Based on the results of these examinations, the appropriate treatment techniques such as transformation or combining certain variables were applied to the problematic variables. Table 4.1 presents the expected relationships between the dependent variable and the independent variables.

Table 4.1 *Variables and Expected Relationships*

| Measurement            | Variable                        | Expected Relationship |
|------------------------|---------------------------------|-----------------------|
| Social Movement Events | Dependent Variable              |                       |
|                        | Economic Status                 | -                     |
| Structural Indicators  | Education level                 | +                     |
|                        | Residential Mobility            | +                     |
| Civil Society          | Voluntary Organizations         | +                     |
|                        | University Students             | +                     |
| Political Indicators   | Vote Rate of the Ruling Party   | -                     |
|                        | Vote Rate of the Opposing Party | +                     |

## CHAPTER 5

### ANALYSIS AND FINDINGS

#### 5.1 Descriptive Statistics

This study was designed to examine and test the social structural roots of social movement events in Turkey. Based on the insights provided by social movement theories, the association between 7 independent variables – number of voluntary institutions, number of university students, economic status, education level, residential mobility, voting rates of the ruling party, and voting rates of the opposing party- and social movement events were examined. Table 5.1 presents the descriptive statistics related to these data.

According to the official records, the total number of social movement events that occurred in Turkey in 2012 was 25,635 and ranged from 23 to 4,167 with a mean score of 316.48. Since the population sizes of cities differed, the numbers of social movement events were multiplied by 10.000 and then divided the city population. The results provide the number of social movement events per 10,000 people in a given city. The results range from 2.40 to 100.10 with the mean score of 13.89.

The variable, representing the number of voluntary organizations, composed of non-profit associations and foundations per 10,000 people in the city in 2012, ranged from 10.60 to 178.00 with an average number of 44.76.

Table 5.1

*Descriptive Statistics* (N = 81)

| Variable                                  | Mean   | SD     | Min    | Max     | Skewness | Kurtosis |
|---|--------|--------|--------|---------|----------|----------|
| <b>Dependent Variable</b>                 |        |        |        |         |          |          |
| Social Movement Events                    | 316.48 | 528.10 | 23.00  | 4167.00 | 5.36     | 35.98    |
| Social Movement Events<br>(per 10.000)    | 13.89  | 16.86  | 2.40   | 100.10  | 3,12     | 11.08    |
| Lnsocialmovement<br>(transformed)         | 2.22   | 0.83   | 0.88   | 4.61    | 0.77     | 0.42     |
| <b>Independent Variables</b>              |        |        |        |         |          |          |
| Voluntary Organizations<br>(per 10.000)   | 44.76  | 29.73  | 10.60  | 178.00  | 1.94     | 5.68     |
| LNVoluntaryorganizations<br>(transformed) | 3.62   | 0.61   | 2.36   | 5.18    | 0.10     | -0.41    |
| Economic Status                           | 0.00   | 1.00   | -1.73  | 4.52    | 1.27     | 4.64     |
| University Students<br>(per 1000)         | 84.68  | 63.24  | 5.10   | 307.70  | 1.38     | 2.00     |
| Education Level                           | 10.62  | 2.45   | 6.11   | 21.54   | 1.25     | 4.00     |
| Lneducation (transformed)                 | 2.34   | 0.22   | 1.81   | 3.07    | 0.21     | 0.84     |
| Residential Mobility                      | -1.31  | 1.13   | -27.00 | 35.50   | 0.46     | 1.13     |
| Vote Rate (Ruling Party)                  | 50.85  | 13.19  | 15.75  | 69.63   | -0.61    | -0.21    |
| Vote Rate (Opposing Party)                | 21.08  | 13.42  | 0.90   | 57.53   | 0.46     | -0.25    |

The economic status variable consisted of the economic development values computed by the Ministry of Development and ranges from -1.73 to 4.52 with a mean score of 0.00.

The number of university students, measured as the total number of university students per 10,000 people living in the city, ranged from 5.10 to 307.70 with an average number of 84.68.

Education level, which represented the total number of college graduates in 2012 per 100 people in the city, ranged from 6.11 to 21.54 with a mean score of 10.62.

Residential mobility values represented the difference between the rates of people who migrate from the city and migrate to the city in 2012. Negative values indicated that migration from the city was higher than migration to the city, and positive values indicated the opposite direction. This value ranged from -27.00 to 35.50 with an average rate of -1.31.

Voting rates of the ruling party in 2011 Parliamentary Elections ranged from 15.75 to 69.63. The average vote rate of the ruling party was 50.85. Vote rates of the opposing party in the same election ranged from 0.90 to 57.53 with an average rate of 21.08.

## 5.2 Univariate Analysis

A univariate analysis of the distributions of the variables is necessary for obtaining optimal results from bivariate and univariate analyses. Therefore, a normality test was applied to all variables in the first step. The skewness and kurtosis values (included in Table 5.1) obtained from preliminary data analysis, for

social movement events, number of voluntary organizations, economic status, and education level indicated remarkably positive skewness. In order to normalize the indicated distributions to provide the optimal results for a normal distribution, the logarithmic transformation method was selected from among the various transformation methods (logs, square roots, and inverse as recommended by the literature) and the results were included in Table 5.1 (Agresti & Finlay, 1999; Tabachnick & Fidell, 2007; Warner, 2008).

The normality problems in the distributions of social movement events, the number of voluntary organizations, and the education level were eliminated by using the logarithmic transformation method. However, none of the transformation methods worked to normalize the distribution of economic status. Since it is very important variable derived from the social movement theories, it was used without any transformations.

After the logarithmic transformation method was applied, the skewness and kurtosis values of social movement events, number of voluntary organizations, and education level became closer to 0, providing a normal distribution of the variables. These transformed variables were used in the subsequent bivariate and multivariate analyses.

### 5.3 Bivariate Analysis

The results of the bivariate correlations presented in Table 5.2 show the relationships among variables and the potential multicollinearity problems. The hypotheses H<sub>1</sub>, H<sub>4</sub>, H<sub>5</sub>, and H<sub>6</sub>, proposed in the previous chapter by referencing related social movement theories, are supported by the results obtained from the



correlation analysis, while the two hypotheses H<sub>3</sub> and H<sub>7</sub> are not supported.

Although it was expected a positive association between education level and the number of social movement events (H<sub>2</sub>), the bivariate results indicate an opposite association.

The first three hypotheses aimed to stress the effects of structural factors (economic status, education level, and residential mobility) on the number of social movement events. The results indicate there was a statistically significant negative association between economic status and the number of social movement events ( $r = -0.386, p < 0.01$ ). That means the frequency of social movement events tend to be higher in cities where economic status is lower. There is also a statistically significant negative association between the educational level and the number of social movement events, which indicates that social movement events are more likely to occur in cities where the education level is lower, ( $r = -0.291, p < 0.01$ ), rejecting hypothesis 2. However, the bivariate results do not indicate a statistically significant association existed between residential mobility and the number of social movement events ( $r = -0.121, p > 0.05$ ). These results, on the other hand, do not necessarily mean that only the people who have low income and low education level attend social movements. The higher educated people or the people who have higher income may also be primarily involved in the social movement events, regardless of the cities' average economic status and education level.

Hypotheses H<sub>4</sub> and H<sub>5</sub> were generated to explore the effects of structural indicators on the frequency of social movement events. The results obtained from the correlation analysis support both these hypotheses. There is a statistically significant positive association between the number of voluntary organizations and

the number of social movement events ( $r = 0.561, p < 0.01$ ). The number of social movement events tends to be higher in cities where the number of voluntary organizations is higher. There is also statistically significant positive association between the number of university students and the number of social movement events ( $r = 0.222, p < 0.05$ ). That is, the number of social movement events tends to be higher in those cities where the number of university students is higher.

As to the effects of political structure, the correlation matrix results indicate that there is statistically significant negative association between the voting rate of the ruling party and the number of social movement events. In the cities with higher vote rate of the ruling party, the number of social movement events tends to be lower ( $r = -0.560, p < 0.01$ ). This is very acceptable because in the cities where mostly supporters of the ruling party live, people generally are happy with the state actions and policies. Consequently, social movements are less likely to occur in those cities. However, this does not mean that supporters of the ruling party do not attend social movement events.

There is no significant association between the voting rates of the opposing party and the frequency of social movement events. This can be explained by the fact that opposing parties change across the cities. In other words, the Republicans Folk Party is not the opposing party in all the cities. Thus, we did not find a consistent statistically significant relationship between these two variables.

The correlation analysis also provides some evidence concerning the associations among the independent variables. According to the results presented in Table 5.2, there is statistically significant positive association between economic status and education level, which means that education level is higher in the cities

where economic status is higher ( $r = 0.644, p < 0.01$ ). The positive associations of economic status with residential mobility ( $r = 0.492, p < 0.01$ ) and with the voting rates of the opposing party ( $r = 0.604, p < 0.01$ ) are also statistically significant. However, there is no statistically significant association between economic status and the number of voluntary organizations, the number of university students, and the voting rates of the ruling party, as the  $p$  values are higher than 0.05.

The impact of education level also varies across some of the variables. While it has a statistically significant positive association with the residential mobility ( $r = 0.483, p < 0.01$ ), the number of university students ( $r = 0.219, p < 0.05$ ), and the voting rates of the opposing party ( $r = 0.596, p < 0.01$ ), it does not have a statistically significant association with the number of voluntary organizations, and the voting rates of the ruling party.

Although social movement theories propose that residential mobility may generate dissatisfied and deprived groups of people who want to obtain basic needs such as gaining respect in the society and affording their family needs, the bivariate results illustrate that no statistically significant association is evident between the variables residential mobility and the number of social movement events. But, in addition to the previously mentioned associations, it has statistically significant positive association with the number of university students ( $r = 0.241, p < 0.05$ ) and the voting rates of the opposing party ( $r = 0.355, p < 0.01$ ). That is, the cities with high residential mobility rates tend to have a high number of students and a higher voting rate of the opposing party.

The bivariate results also indicate that there are statistically significant positive associations between the number of voluntary organizations and the number

of university students ( $r = 0.587, p < 0.01$ ), and the voting rates of the opposing party ( $r = 0.229, p < 0.05$ ). The number of voluntary organizations is higher in the cities with a high number of university students and a high voting rate of the opposing party. There is also a statistically significant positive relationship between the number of university students and the voting rates of the opposing party ( $r = 0.222, p < 0.05$ ). That is, in cities with high numbers of university students, the voting rate of the opposing party is more likely to be high.

The correlation coefficients obtained from the bivariate analysis of the variables have a very important role to play in determining whether there is any multicollinearity problem, meaning high intercorrelations between the independent variables (Mertler & Vannatta, 2005). Values over 0.70 to describe a correlation between two independent variables that will inflate the estimates of the standard errors, which will, in turn, affect the reliability of the measurement (Agresti & Finlay, 1999; Gujarati, 2003). But, for some social researchers (Berry & Feldman, 1985), there is no multicollinearity problem unless correlation coefficient values exceed 0.80. Since the bivariate coefficient values presented in Table 5.2 are all below these two proposed values (0.70 or 0.80), no multicollinearity problem is evident in the study.

Table 5.2

*Bivariate Correlations*

|   | 1       | 2      | 3      | 4      | 5      | 6     | 7       | 8 |
|---|---------|--------|--------|--------|--------|-------|---------|---|
| 1 Social Movement Events                  | 1       |        |        |        |        |       |         |   |
| 2 Economic Satus                          | -.386** | 1      |        |        |        |       |         |   |
| 3 Education Level                         | -.291** | .644** | 1      |        |        |       |         |   |
| 4 Residential Mobility                    | -.121   | .492** | .483** | 1      |        |       |         |   |
| 5 Voluntary Organizations<br>(per 10.000) | .561**  | -.108  | -.057  | .207   | 1      |       |         |   |
| 6 University Students<br>(per 1000)       | .222*   | .058   | .219*  | .241*  | .587** | 1     |         |   |
| 7 Vote Rate (Ruling party)                | -.560** | .017   | -.029  | .074   | -.029  | .117  | 1       |   |
| 8 Vote Rate (Opposing party)              | .115    | .604** | .596** | .355** | .229*  | .222* | -.375** | 1 |

\* Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (one-tailed).

\*\* Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (one-tailed).

## 5.4 Multivariate Analysis

The multivariate analysis reveals the associations of 7 independent variables with the dependent variable in three models. Model 1 indicates the association between the structural indicators (economic status, education level, and residential mobility) and the number of social movement events across 81 cities of Turkey. Model 2 adds the association of the civic sphere (number of voluntary organizations and number of university students) with the number of social movement events. Model 3 adds the association of political indicators (voting rates of the ruling party and voting rates of the opposing party) with the number of social movement events. The general formula of this analysis is as follows:

$$E(Y_g) = a + \beta_1 X_1 + \beta_2 X_2 + \beta_3 X_3 + e$$

### 5.4.1 OLS Regression Results for Frequency of Social Movement Events

Table 5.3 presents the OLS regression results of three models. In Model 1, the associations of economic status (1), education level (2), and residential mobility (3) with the number of social movement events were analyzed. The formula for Model 1 is:

$$E(Y_1) = a + \beta_1 X_1 + \beta_2 X_2 + \beta_3 X_3 + e$$

Model 1 explains 15.8% of the variation in the number of social movement events ( $R^2 = 0.158$ ,  $R^2_{ADJ} = 0.125$ ). The F statistic for this model ( $F_1 = 4.817$ ,  $p < 0.01$ ) shows sufficient evidence to reject the null hypothesis and that all of the regression coefficients obtained from this model are equal to zero. The results in

Model 1 indicate that one hypothesis ( $H_1$ ) is consistent with the assumptions of social movement theories.

Classical social movement theories propose that economic status has a negative association with the number of social movement events, while new social movement theories propose a positive effect. The results in Model 1 support the assumption of classical social movement theories. That is, there is a statistically significant negative association between economic status and the number of social movement events ( $B = -0.424, p < 0.01$ ). Controlling for other variables, the number of social movement events is higher in the cities where the economic status is lower. The standard coefficient value ( $\beta = -0.511$ ) indicates that economic status is a very strong indicator in predicting the variation in the frequency of social movement events.

However the proposed hypotheses as guided by social movement theories regarding education level and residential mobility are not supported by the OLS regression analysis in this study. As the p values are higher than 0.05 the results indicate that when controlling for other variables, there is no statistically significant association between these variables and the number of social movements in Turkey.

Moreover, the Variance Inflation Factor (VIF) diagnostic test was applied in order to evaluate the influence of multicollinearity in Model 1, Model 2, and Model 3. There is no multicollinearity problem in Model 1, because VIF scores are lower than 4 (between 1.348 and 2.587). There are various approaches about using VIF in determining multicollinearity problem. Allison (1999) suggests that individual VIF scores which are higher than 4.0 indicate multicollinearity problem. Many scholars, on the other hand, use more tolerant cut offs and suggest that there is a

multicollinearity problem when individual VIF scores are higher than 10.0 (Chatterjee, Hadi, & Price, 2000; DeMaris, 2004; Gujarati 2003; Lim, Bond, & Bond, 2005).

In Model 2, the structural variables, number of voluntary organizations and number of university students, are included in the variation. The equation for model 2 is generated by adding the variables voluntary organizations (4) and university students (5) to the first formula:

$$E(Y_2) = a + \beta_1 X_1 + \beta_2 X_2 + \beta_3 X_3 + \beta_4 X_4 + \beta_5 X_5 + e$$

The introduction of these two variables increased the explained variance in the dependent variable by about 30% ( $R^2 = 0.440$ ,  $R^2_{ADJ} = 0.403$ ). The explained percentage of variance in the frequency of social movement events is 44.0. The overall F statistic indicates sufficient evidence to reject the null hypothesis and that all the regression coefficients obtained from this model are equal to zero ( $F_2 = 11.778$ ,  $p < 0.01$ ). As clearly emphasized in social movement theories, the results in Model 2 indicate that holding all other variables constant, the number of voluntary institutions has a statistically significant positive association with the number of social movement events ( $H_4$ ). That is, the number of social movement events is higher in the cities where the number of voluntary organizations is higher ( $B = 0.848$ ,  $p < 0.01$ ). Contrary to the expectations, the results in Model 2 for the number of university students suggest that it does not have a statistically significant association with the number of social movement events ( $B = -0.002$ ,  $p > 0.05$ ).

Compared to the statistics in Model 1, the impact of economic status on the frequency of social movements decreases, but is still statistically significant ( $B = -0.320$ ,  $p < 0.01$ ). The impact of voluntary organizations on the frequency of social



movement events is stronger than the impact of economic status ( $\beta = 0.625$ ). In addition, there is no multicollinearity problem in Model 2, because individual (VIF) scores range from 1.696 to 2.887.

In model 3, the variables regarding political structure, voting rate of the ruling party (6) and voting rate of the opposing party (7) were added to the equation using the formula:

$$E(Y) = a + \beta_1 X_1 + \beta_2 X_2 + \beta_3 X_3 + \beta_4 X_4 + \beta_5 X_5 + \beta_6 X_6 + \beta_7 X_7 + e$$

The results determine that adding these variables helps to explain a greater degree of variation in the number of social movement events. Compared to Model 2, the explained variation increased from 44% to 71.4% in Model 3 ( $R^2 = 0.714$ ,  $R^2_{ADJ} = 0.687$ ). Among the three models,  $R^2$  values indicate that Model 3 is the best model that significantly predicts the variation in the number of social movement events. This model accounts for 71.4% of variance in the number of social movement events. In this analysis adjusted  $R^2$  is 68.7%, it is a little lower than  $R^2$ , but not too much suggesting that we do not have a serious overfitting problem.

Table 5.3

*OLS Regression Analysis of the Number of Social Movement Events (N = 81)*

| Model                                    | <u>Model 1</u>        |                |                  | <u>Model 2</u>        |                |                  | <u>Model3</u>         |                |                  |
|--|-----------------------|----------------|------------------|-----------------------|----------------|------------------|-----------------------|----------------|------------------|
|  | B <sup>a</sup> (SE)   | β <sup>b</sup> | VIF <sup>c</sup> | B <sup>a</sup> (SE)   | β <sup>b</sup> | VIF <sup>c</sup> | B <sup>a</sup> (SE)   | β <sup>b</sup> | VIF <sup>c</sup> |
| Independent Variables                    |                       |                |                  |                       |                |                  |                       |                |                  |
| Economic status                          | -0,424 ***<br>(0.164) | -0.511         | 2.587            | -0.320 ***<br>(0.141) | -0.385         | 2.887            | -0.227 ***<br>(0.110) | -0.274         | 2.558            |
| Education Level<br>(transformed)         | 0.380<br>(0.743)      | 0.101          | 2.549            | 0.553<br>(0.654)      | 0.147          | 2.020            | -0.065<br>(0.484)     | -0.017         | 2.210            |
| Residential Mobility                     | 0.006<br>(0.009)      | 0.081          | 1.348            | -0.007<br>(0.008)     | -0.101         | 1.478            | -0.003<br>(0.006)     | -0.041         | 1.492            |
| Voluntary Organizations<br>(transformed) |                       |                |                  | 0.848 ***<br>(0.153)  | 0.625          | 1.779            | 0.704 ***<br>(0.117)  | 0.519          | 1.903            |
| University Students                      |                       |                |                  | -0.002<br>(0.002)     | -0.130         | 1.696            | 0.000<br>(0.001)      | 0.016          | 1.862            |
| Vote Rate<br>(Ruling party)              |                       |                |                  |                       |                |                  | -0.034 ***<br>(0.005) | -0.548         | 1.423            |
| Vote rate<br>(Opposing Party)            |                       |                |                  |                       |                |                  | -0.001<br>(0.006)     | -0.022         | 2.556            |
| Model F                                  | 4.817 ***             |                |                  | 11.778 ***            |                |                  | 26.077 ***            |                |                  |
| Model R <sup>2</sup>                     | 15.8                  |                |                  | 44.0                  |                |                  | 71.4                  |                |                  |
| Model R <sup>2</sup> <sub>ADJ</sub>      | 12.5                  |                |                  | 40.3                  |                |                  | 68.7                  |                |                  |

\* p<0.10, \*\* p<0.05, \*\*\* p<0.01 (One tailed test),

a Unstandardized regression coefficient

b Standardized regression

c Variance Inflation Factor

The overall F statistic for Model 3 presents sufficient evidence to reject the null hypothesis and that all of the regression coefficients obtained from this model are equal to zero ( $F_3 = 26.077, p < 0.01$ ). The results of this model indicate that the voting rate of the ruling party has a statistically significant negative association with the number of social movement events, controlling for other variables ( $H_6$ ). That is, the number of social movement events is higher in the cities where the voting rates of the ruling party is lower ( $B = -0.034, p < 0.01$ ). However, the voting rate of the opposing party does not have a statistically significant association with the frequency of social movement events.

After the introduction of these variables in the variation, the effects of economic status ( $B = -0.227, p < 0.01$ ) and voluntary organizations ( $B = 0.704, p < 0.01$ ) on the frequency of social movements is slightly decreased, but is still statistically significant. The voting rate of the ruling party has the strongest effect on the frequency of social movement events ( $\beta = -0.548$ ). The individual VIF scores (between 1,423 and 2.558) indicate that multicollinearity does not appear to be a problem in this model.

## 5.5 Summary of Findings

Social movement theories illustrated the importance of social capital, resources, voluntary organizations, and political environment for social movements. Accordingly, the results obtained from the OLS regression analysis clearly indicate that, the number of voluntary organizations has a statistically significant positive association with the number of social movement events in Turkey, while economic

status and voting rate of the ruling party have statistically significant negative associations. These findings are consistent with the expectations proposed by social movement theories. However, contrary to the propositions of the theories, OLS regression analysis does not provide sufficient evidence to support the associations between education level, residential mobility, university students, and the voting rate of the opposing party and the number of social movement events. Although the bivariate correlation results suggest significant associations between these variables and social movement events, they are not supported in the multivariate analysis. The findings of the OLS regression analysis are presented in Table 5.4.

To sum up, collective behavior theory can be used to highlight the association between the economic status and the number of social movement events, as it gives reference to individuals' psychology based on the economic resources they owned. The association between the civic sphere - voluntary organizations - and the number of social movement events can be explained by all social movement theories. As explained in the previous chapters, all social movement theories emphasize social movement organizations as the primary leading actors of collective activities through the networks for information sharing and collective identity they created. As to the association between the number of social movement events and political environment - voting rate of the ruling party -, the insights of political process theory and new social movement theories explain the complicated nature of social movements which includes polarization in society due to political competition.

Table 5.4

*Summary of Hypotheses Testing for the Frequency of Social Movement Events*

| Dependent Variable:<br>Social Movement Events   | Model 1<br>(N: 81) | Model 2<br>(N: 81) | Model 3<br>(N: 81) |
|---|--------------------|--------------------|--------------------|
| Hypothesis  |                    |                    |                    |
| H <sub>1</sub> : Economic status is negatively related to the number of social movement events.                       | Supported          | Supported          | Supported          |
| H <sub>2</sub> : Education level is positively related to the number of social movement events.                       | Not Supported      | Not Supported      | Not Supported      |
| H <sub>3</sub> : Residential mobility is positively related to the number of social movement events.                  |                    | Not Supported      | Not Supported      |
| H <sub>4</sub> : The number of voluntary organizations is positively related to the number of social movement events. |                    | Supported          | Supported          |
| H <sub>5</sub> : The number of university students is positively related to the number of social movement events.     |                    | Not Supported      | Not Supported      |
| H <sub>6</sub> : The voting rate of the ruling party is negatively related to the number of social movement events.   |                    |                    | Supported          |
| H <sub>7</sub> : The vote rate to the opposition party is positively related to the number of social movement events. |                    |                    | Not Supported      |

## CHAPTER 6

### DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

This study examined several hypotheses derived from classical and social movement theories by using official records, census data, different statistics related with social agents, and electoral results. The hypotheses were generated to explore the effects of various aspects of the social structure on social movement events in the cities of Turkey. They were tested by conducting two statistical methods; bivariate and multivariate analysis. In this chapter, these results are discussed in light of theoretical propositions in order to provide further implications for future research.

Collective behavior theory regards social movements as emotional responses to structural uncertainties. Proponents of this theory privilege the psychological motivations rather than the political motivations (Smelser, 1962; Lang & Lang, 1961; Turner & Killian, 1987). As a result of critiques of this theory, resource mobilization theory emerged in 1970s with the argument that social movements are the product of rational actors. This theory explains social movements as organized activities by individuals who are marginalized in social culture. These individuals may "make collective rational decisions based on strategic interaction and cost-benefit calculations derived from the availability of resources in order to increase their influence on institutionalized politics" (Turnbull, 2014, p. 2). Both of these approaches emphasize the role of social movement organizations in addition to structural and economic factors. In order to highlight the impact of political factors, political process theory emerged. Political opportunities, mobilizing structures and

polarization in society due to political competition are accepted as primary sources of social movements.

Critiques of these theories brought about New Social Movement Theory which recognizes social movements as a form of protest framed around values, ideas and culture rather than material interests (Armstrong & Bernstein, 2008). The role of civil society is also very important in the emergence and success of social movements. The participants of new social movements are very sensitive to the problems related to the quality of social life. The participation in social movements represents conscious choices by individuals who are involved in complex interactions between social, cultural, and political contexts based on collective identities (McAdam, 1982; McAdam, Tarrow & Tilly, 2001).

All these theoretical implications propose that social movement should be considered "a result rather than the starting point, a fact to be explained rather than something that is already evident" (Melucci, 1996, p. 40). That is, social movements call attention to significant problems in society reproduced by its institutions. This study therefore aimed to examine the social structural roots of current social movements occurred in Turkey in order to contribute to the efforts of developing more appropriate intervention strategies for social movements.

## 6.1 Discussion

The concept of the social movement is explained through various approaches. Collective behavior approaches stress social psychological factors including relative deprivation, strain, and structural breakdown (Davies, 1962; Gurr, 1970; Kornhauser, 1959; Smelser, 1962; Tarrow, 1994) while the resource mobilization

approaches place emphasis on structural factors including social organizations, mobilization, and resources (Marx & Wood, 1975; McCarthy & Zald, 1977; Oberschall, 1973). New social movement theories, on the other hand, combine these two approaches to point out that human behavior cannot be understood without careful descriptions by analyzing both factors leading to collective action (Coser, 1977; Ritzer, 1983).

Social order is always evolving and changing through social agents and the culture they developed (Koopmans, 2004). The structure of a society determines its capacity for the collective actions of social actors (McAdam, 2003). Through social movement organizations, social movement groups organize and coordinate the emergence of social movements. Collective behavior emerges when the established structure cannot meet individuals' expectations. A dramatic event, migration, natural disaster, or urbanization may pave the way for rapid and detrimental social changes that lead to social movements (McAdam, McCharty & Zald, 1996). Political structures affect individual choices when participating in social movements (Schofer & Gourinchias, 2001). Unmet expectations and felt deprivations breed resentments that make collective action possible. The political system needs to develop effective strategies in order to sustain social solidarity by providing the bonds that link individuals to the society (Della Porta & Diani, 2006; Durkheim, 1995).

Social movement theories also posit that certain social structural factors have a significant effect on the emergence and success of social movement events. Utilizing the 81 cities of Turkey as the unit of analysis, this study focused on the effects of economic status, education level, residential mobility, voluntary organizations, university students and political structure (voting rates of the ruling



party and voting rates of the opposition party) on social movement events. In order to reach a clear understanding of the roots of social movement events in the cities of Turkey, the effects of specified factors were tested in three models. In the first model, the effects of economic status, education level, and residential mobility were tested. Then, the effects of voluntary organizations and university students were analyzed. In the last phase, the effects of the political structure of the cities were examined.

The results obtained from the first model revealed that among the structural factors, the only variable that has a statistically significant association with the number of social movement events is economic status. As proposed by classical social movement theories, economic status has a statistically significant negative association with the number of social movement events, which means the number of social movement events increases in the cities of Turkey where the economic status is low. The findings related to the effect of economic status of Turkish cities on social movements are compatible with the contributions and insights of collective behavior theory, resource mobilization theory and political process theory. First, collective behavior theory can be used to highlight the structural stain due to low economic status. Second, resource mobilization theory can highlight the rational choice of social movement participants due to insufficient economic resources and the importance of formal structures in order to affect public policies. Third, political process theory can be used to see the internal and external environmental opportunities that affect economic status of Turkish cities and shape individuals' common sense to participate in social movements. At this point, it must be

remembered that the people who have higher income may also be primarily involved in the social movement events, regardless of the cities' average economic status.

However, the other structural indicators - education level and residential mobility- do not have a statistically significant association with the number of social movement events. The literature provided various findings related to the effect of education. Some studies propose positive association between education and social movements, while others propose a negative association between the two. New social movement theorists, on the other hand, posit that social movement participants are mostly highly educated people. But, there is no consensus in the research on social movements. The findings of multivariate analyses did not support the hypothesis (H<sub>2</sub>) which refers a positive association between education and the number of social movement events.

As to the association between residential mobility and the number of social movement events, theory and literature illustrate that social movements stem from new mobilization potentials created by modernization and industrialization (Klandermans, 1984, p.529). Although both resource mobilization theory and political process theory emphasize the role of mobilization in social movements (Diani, 1997; Diani & McAdam, 2003; Kitts, 2000; McCarthy, 1996), the multivariate results of this study did not provide sufficient evidence for this implication. Immigrants tend not to participate in collective action unless they were aggrieved. Aggrieved immigrants participate in collective action by attending social networks, particularly ethnic social networks. Such networks undoubtedly provide an opportunity to discuss and learn how to achieve their perceived goals. The other factor leading immigrants to participate in collective action is the feeling of

discrimination. Immigrants who feel discriminated against may display anger and start to participate in collective actions. On the other hand, as Klendemans and Toorn (2008) emphasized, they might prefer not to participate in collective actions in order to avoid the risks resulting from disagreements between the native population and immigrants.

The second model indicated the role of the civic sphere (voluntary organizations and university students) in the sequence of social movements. The results indicated a statistically significant association existed between voluntary organizations and social movements as expected. As many scholars point out that the role voluntary organizations as actors mobilizing regular citizens to seek social change by affecting state policies (Amenta et al., 2009; Tilly, 1999), the cities with more voluntary organizations experience more social movement events. Empirical evidence supporting this relationship is clear in a wide variety of social movement contexts including the civil rights movement (McAdam 1986), student sit-ins (Orum, 1972), and the antinuclear movement (Walsh & Warland, 1983). Belonging to an organization increases the likelihood of being pulled into social-movement activity. Individuals who hold membership in several organizations have a stronger sense of efficacy than those who have few or no memberships (Finkel, 1985; Neal & Seeman, 1964; Sayre, 1980).

As to the role of university students, there is no statistically significant association between the number of university students and the number of social movement events. This result seems to be hard to understand as many studies (Boggs, 1986; Jenkins 1983, Tilly, 1978) provided a very clear association between these two variables. Apparently, the general view of social movements in Turkey

shows that university students are primary organizers and participants. The protests organized by university students constitute the major part of social movement activities in Turkey as it is in Europe and the U.S. (Touraine 1971).

However, the institutionalizations of universities in the cities of Turkey rapidly increased after 2006, and 41 universities were established between 2006 and 2008 (Arap, 2010). Therefore, their student populations have not provided reliable rates for testing their relationship to social movement events.

Finally, the results obtained from the third model indicate that the effect of the cities' political structure emerge as a primary determinant of social movements, while the role of voluntary organizations is viewed as a secondary determinant in the formation of social movements in Turkey. There is a statistically significant negative association between the voting rate of the ruling party and the number of social movement events, while there is no statistically significant association between the voting rate of the opposition party and the number of social movement events. The theoretical explanations and the literature illustrated that there is a very low probability of having inter-group relations in a completely homogeneous society, which means high levels of equality mostly impede relations among individuals from different social statuses. That is, while heterogeneity promotes individuality, homogeneity promotes sociability (Blau, 1984). Thus, social movements are less likely to occur in homogenous societies. This study supports this argument and reveals that there are few social movements in societies where the population mostly supports the ruling party.

## 6.2 Conclusion: Theoretical Implications

There are several implications in this study that might shed light on directions for future research. Although previous studies provide valuable insights about the sources of motivation for participating in social movements, these can vary according to existing the social structure and cultural characteristics in a country. Moreover, social structures, the degree of civic engagement, and economic development have affected the development of social movements. Therefore, this study examined the associations of these dynamics with the number of social movement events in the cities of Turkey.

The literature review put forward that early social movement theories were generally concerned with matters of economic distribution as the source of social movements, while contemporary social movement theories emphasized the role of the social structure and cultural values (Eyerman, 1984; Olofsson, 1988). In addition, new mobilization potentials created by modernization and industrialization are key factors in the emergence of social movements (Klandermans, 1984, p. 529). The findings of this study support both theoretical approaches. On the one hand, this study stresses the fact that economic concerns are still key factors leading individuals to take collective action; on the other hand, it verifies the role of the social structure in the emergence of social movements by placing emphasis on the role of voluntary organizations and the voting rate of the ruling party.

Voluntary organizations are also the key factors in the emergence and success of the social movements in the cities of Turkey, as indicated in many social movement theories. Groups expressing grievances and dissatisfaction due to material issues or for normative reasons may band together and establish social

movement organizations in order to be more effective in changing social systems. In addition, they are rational entrepreneurs waiting for appropriate situations to initiate social movements (Meyer, 2004, p. 139). Politicians, therefore, enact policies consistent with public opinion; because, they believe that failure to do what the public wants will mean defeat (Arnold, 1990; Dahl, 1989; Mayhew, 1974). When there is a fit between the interests of people and political decisions, there is a low demand for collective action (McVeigh, 1995, p, 464). This study verifies that there are important relationships between voluntary organizations and social movements, as well as between the voting rate of the ruling party and social movements.

However, the factors - education, residential mobility, and university students-posed by social movement theorists seem to be less influential on social movements in the cities of Turkey studied. This can be explained by the cultural and traditional differences of the Turkish society. Societies are differentiated by various social (civic participation, education), cultural (traditions, values, and beliefs), economic (income level and occupation), or political features. Although various studies have illustrated that individuals living in a specific social environment tend to associate with others who are most similar to themselves (Abramson, 1973; Alba, 1976; Blau & Duncan, 1967; Heer, 1974; Hoilingshead, 1950), this is not completely true in Turkish society. As a secular and Islamic society, family and community ties are very strong. Thus, deviant behaviors of individuals or groups are subject to relatively higher social control exercised by family, friends, and religion (Karakus et al., 2010). Namely, individualism is not a prevailing feature in Turkish society as it is in Western societies. Feelings of brotherhood, mutual sharing and spiritual support developed through religious discourse and tenets welcome the newcomer. These

religious and cultural ties play a de-alienating role for the individuals who cannot link up with the majority groups.

Social movements are seen as a tool for achieving a broader democracy, but if their motivations and sources cannot be identified in a correct manner, they can turn into a tool to undermine the existing democracy. A social movement “designates that form of collective action which (1) invokes solidarity (2) makes manifest a conflict, and (3) entails a breach of the limits of compatibility of the system within which the action takes place” (Melucci 1996, p. 28). These arguments reveal that social movements have two sides: The inner complexity of an actor and the actor’s relationship with the environment (Turnbull, 2014, p. 34). Therefore, successive studies are necessary in order to explore the changing nature of social movements. Basically two designs of research seem to be necessary to test the theory: Longitudinal case studies and cross-sectional comparisons at different levels (local, regional, national, or international) of the political governance structure (McAdam et al., 1996, p. 17). Longitudinal designs test the effects of concrete opportunities on social movements, while cross-sectional designs are effective in the analysis of the effects of the structural context.

Social movements are complex phenomena affecting the whole social system, because they involve many parties; such as students, workers, NGOs, law enforcement units, and politicians. In addition, the concerns of social movements are related to various forms of social life. The practitioners of collective action live in their own subculture with a distinct collective identity that they created. This identity determines the characteristics of their collective actions in that society (Ferracuti, 1982). Thus, the society in which social movements occur must be well understood

in efforts to develop appropriate methods of intervention. Otherwise, they breed discontent and may become very dangerous threats to both society and their organizers and participants as seen today in some North African Countries.

As indicated by resource mobilization theorists (McCarthy & Zald, 1977; Oberschall, 1973), the practitioners of social movements are rational actors who make cost/benefit analysis to reach success. They do not organize collective activities when costs are higher than benefits. Thus, intervention strategies must include necessary arrangements in the legal and social system to increase costs, and to decrease benefits.

### 6.3 Limitations of the Study and Recommendations for Future Research

This study is the first quantitative study that examines the association between social structural factors and the social movement events found in Turkey. Although several previous studies have focused on the types and forms of social movements or the mode of law enforcement forces and their relationship to social movements, those studies did not provide any implications concerning the social roots of social movements. Developing appropriate intervention strategies depends on comprehensive knowledge about the roots and incentives of social movements. Investigating the associations of social structural factors, therefore, may help researchers to attain a more comprehensive understanding of social movements, especially for those officials who are dealing with issues of sustaining the public order. In addition, this study makes a contribution to the social movement literature by testing the applicability of the theory of social movements in a specific country.



However, a number of conceptual and methodological limitations have to be noted, as this study is the first to address the social structural roots of social movements in Turkey. First, it is very difficult to obtain an overall picture of the social movement events in Turkey, because the recorded social movement events by police units represent only the types of social movements organized to protest governmental policies. Thus, the results obtained from this study are valid only for this type of social movement events. On the other hand, the city-level data covering 81 cities did not allow to analyze the effects of many other variables that might have possible significant effects on social movement events in Turkey to be examined.

Second, although social movements mostly occur in cities because they provide greater resources and political opportunities (Andrews & Biggs, 2006, p. 753), the results obtained from the city level data may be robust indicators of what occurs in smaller communities (Kawachi, Kennedy, & Wilkinson, 1999).

Third, since this study is a cross-sectional analysis at a single point in time, it is not possible to compare and observe changes over time (Singleton & Straits, 2005). In addition, a causal relationship may not be implied. Cross-sectional studies do not provide sufficient evidence regarding possible reciprocal associations between the dependent variable and independent variables without repeated and recursive studies (Başbüyük, 2008). Thus, it must be noted that the results of this study need to be verified by additional studies.

Fourth, the focus of the study was limited to social movement events in Turkey. As mentioned previously, the forms of social movements may vary according to the social, cultural, and the political features of societies. So, it must be stated

that the findings of this study are specific to Turkish society, and may not be generalized to other countries.

Fifth, consistent with the insights derived from social movement theories; this study found that voluntary organizations have a significant association with social movements. As civic engagement agencies, the effect of voluntary organizations should be reviewed in detail by future studies.

Sixth, considering social movements as comprehensive phenomena involving various agents and concerns in a given society, it should be remembered that there are many other factors such as ethnicity, ideology, and identity that may be influential (Simons et al., 1998).

Seventh, the data used in this study were obtained from various official agencies. Therefore, the reliability and validity of the data depend on the accuracy of official statistics collected by these agencies. Future analyses might be conducted more efficiently by using alternative data sets obtained from different agencies or institutions in order to verify the results of the study.

Finally, social movements are "impermanent, transient phenomena" that can never be fully captured by the analyst (Eyerman & Jamison, 1991, p. 65). This study used the number of social movement events as the dependent variable. In order to obtain a better understanding of the entire issue, individual motivations must also be taken into consideration, because they play a very important role in the evolution of social movements. Despite these limitations, this study constitutes the first step in Turkey in calling attention to the roles of social structural factors in the emergence of social movements. The major contribution of the study is the proposition that without a comprehensive understanding of society as a whole with its various

segments and perceived concerns, it is impossible to sustain social solidarity by dealing with social movements in an appropriate way.

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