HOW INSTITUTIONALIZATION AFFECTS SOCIAL MOVEMENTS?: SOCIAL MOVEMENTS ORGANIZATIONS

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ABSTRACT

HOW INSTITUTIONALIZATION AFFECTS SOCIAL MOVEMENTS?: SOCIAL MOVEMENTS ORGANIZATIONS

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Social movements are important actors of social change. Looking at the recent course of social movements, it can be said that the greatest change in the dynamics of social movement and, moreover, the components that make up the movement is related to the organizing practices of the movement. This change may in fact be called institutionalization or professionalization processes. This thesis aims to explore the effects of institutionalization on social movements. In this context, the relationship between institutionalization and social movement dynamics has been examined. Firstly, social movement instruments were discussed in the context of institutionalization and organizing, then the concept of institutionalization and related social movement organizations were examined. Finally, the results of the discussion conducted at the theoretical level were analyzed through a field study.

Keywords: Social Movements, Social Movements Organizations, Institutionalization

ÖZ

KURUMSALLAŞMA SOSYAL HAREKETLERİ NASIL ETKİLER?: SOSYAL HAREKET ÖRGÜTLERİ

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Yüksek Lisans, Siyaset Bilimi ve Kamu Yönetimi Bölümü
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Sosyal hareketler toplumsal değişimin önemli aktörleridir. Sosyal hareketlerin son zamanlardaki seyrine bakıldığında, sosyal hareket dinamiklerinin ve dahası hareketi meydana getiren bileşenlerin maruz kaldığı en büyük değişimin hareketin örgütlenme pratikleri ile ilişkili olduğu söylenebilir. Sosyal hareketlerin alışılagelmiş örgütlenme pratikleri son dönemlerde bir değişim içindedir. Bu değişim aslında kurumsallaşma ya da profesyonelleşme süreçleri olarak da adlandırılabilir. Bu tez kurumsallaşmanın sosyal hareketler üzerindeki etkilerini keşfetmeyi amaçlamaktadır. Bu doğrultuda tez kapsamında kurumsallaşma ile sosyal hareket dinamikleri arasındaki ilişki irdelenmiştir. İlk olarak sosyal hareket kuramları kurumsallaşma ve örgütlenme bağlamında tartışılmış, daha sonra kurumsallaşma kavramı ve bununla ilişkili olarak sosyal hareket örgütleri incelenmiştir. Son olarak kuramsal düzeyde yürütülen tartışmanın sonuçları yapılan saha çalışması aracılığıyla analiz edilmiştir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Sosyal Hareketler, Sosyal Hareket Örgütleri, Kurumsallaşma

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

LGBTI : Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender, Intersex

LGBTI+: Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender, Intersex, and Other sexuality

LGBTIQ+: Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender, Intersex, Queer and Other sexuality

LGBTT: Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transvestite, Transsexual

NGOs: Non-Governmental Organizations

NSM: New Social Movements

RMT: Resource Mobilization Theory

SMIs: Social Movements Industry

SMOs: Social Movements Organizations

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Everything is changing very fast. Although social movements are the engine of social change with their story that goes back more than a century, they are also subject to change itself. The way to understand social movements and change of movements is to make sense of the components that make up the movement. The greatest change of social movements in recent years is related to changes in organizing of the movement. Many social movements are institutionalized. This institutionalization process has direct and indirect consequences on the components of the movements. The main purpose of this thesis is to explore the effects of institutionalization on the dynamics of social movements. The LGBTI+ (Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender, Intersex and Other sexuality) emancipation movement will be examined as a case in order to use the theoretical debates to understand the institutionalization of social movements at the application level. In this introductory part of the thesis, firstly the discussions and analyses made during the thesis will be introduced and then the information about the methodology of the research will be given.

In order to achieve the aim of this thesis, first of all, it is necessary to make sense of social movements and institutionalization. There have been many theoretical debates in order to understand social movements and are still being done today. Classical Marxism and Structural Functionalist Theory and Weberian Approach as macro-sociological theories are discussed in the first chapter of the thesis in the context of the discussion of social movements. "The contributions of these macro theories to the study of social movements", "how they understand social movements" and "their views on the social movements organizing" constitute the basis of theoretical discussion as three main topics. These two macro theories are very important as they form the basis of social movement studies. Therefore, in the

first part of the thesis, the theoretical debates developed around these two macro theories are discussed. In the following section of the theoretical discussion, the same structure was used around the headings "the contributions of social movements theories to the study of social movements", "how the theories understand social movements" and "their views on the social movements organizing", "Resource Mobilization Theory", "Framing and Social Construction Approach", "Political Opportunity / Process Theory" and "New Social Movements Theories" are discussed in the context of understanding social movements, the components of the movement and social movements organizing. Then, the contemporary discussions of social movements studies are scrutinized under the heading of "Alternatives and Critiques in Social Movements Studies".

Following the theoretical discussion in order to make sense of social movements, a theoretical discussion is conducted as the second part of the thesis, which focused on institutionalization. In the second part of this thesis, “the institutionalization of social movements” and “social movements organizing” are scrutinized. In the beginning, the institutionalization issue in social movements studies is discussed from the perspective of neo-institutionalism. Neo-institutionalism is discussed then the institutionalization of social movements is analyzed from this perspective. After highlighting the institutionalization issue, social movements organizing and social movements organizations (SMOs) is the focus on the discussion as a concrete result of the institutionalization of social movements. Social movements organizations itself is the first step of discussion which cover social movements organizing. What are social movements organizations? This question is the core of the discussions. In addition to that, resource mobilization theory’s view of social movements is examined to make this point clearer from a theoretical perspective. Then, to make clear the classification of social movements organization concept in organizational studies, there is a comparison between social movements organizations and non-governmental organizations. After the discussions on the concept of social movements organizations, the legal status of social movements organizations in Turkey is scrutinized to understand how social movements organizations formed

and worked formally. The legal status of social movement organizations varies in each country. By way of example, the discussion topic focuses on the case of Turkey. The case study of the thesis is also in Turkey, and this discussion contributes to the analysis part of the thesis. Moreover, the law and regulations about the association are analyzed as a legal background of social movements organizations and formal social movements organizing.

In the final part of this thesis, following the theoretical discussions, a comprehensive analysis was conducted using the data of the field study to explore the effect of institutionalization on the dynamics of social movement at the application level. In order to analyze the theoretical discussion at the application level, LGBTI+ liberation movements were selected and the institutionalization of this movement in Ankara was considered as a field study of this thesis. The homosexual movement has emerged and evolved around changing the policies of societies toward gender and/or sexual orientations and around the demands of equality, freedom, and justice on the basis of human rights. There are also variations in the definition of the movement for. In the first phase of the movement, it was known as the gay movement. The definition, which started in the West as a “gay” movement and then evolved into a bisexual, lesbian and gay movement then it became the LGBTI + (Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Trans, Intersex) movement universally. Today, many organizations around the world use the movement as LGBTI +. Especially after the 2000s, with the addition of intersex and queer categories to the movement, in some sources the movement is referred to as LGBTQ or LGBTIQ (Özbek, 2015: 181). The LGBTI + liberation movement was chosen as the social movement to be studied because it is one of the relatively young ones among the social movements. In Turkey, for example, it is possible to examine the institutionalization of the movement that began in the 1990s to organize. Since the institutionalization and organization practices of the movement are new, it was chosen as the appropriate case for this thesis examining institutionalization. The history of LGBTI+ liberation movements in Tukey was mentioned to create a substructure for the final part of the thesis. In the final part of the thesis, the institutionalization of social movements and

the effects of this institutionalization on social movements in the case of LGBTI+ liberation movements in Ankara are analyzed in the light of the former theoretical discussions. First of all, this section includes an information section on the profile of the interviewees. The purpose of this section is to understand the sources of the data to be used in the analysis part of the study and to understand the analysis of the study more clearly by understanding the position of interviewees. In this section, it is discussed whether the participants of the movement know before and after the institutionalization process, their connection with the social movements organizations (SMOs) in this movement, and how they define themselves in the movement. Secondly, the impact of institutionalization on social movements is discussed within the context of the collected data from the Ankara case in terms of visibility, continuity, and opportunities. Thirdly, the opinions of the interviewees about the institutionalization of LGBTI+ movement is evaluated. Finally, the subject of organizing discussed in the theory section of this thesis is tested in the light of the interviews held within the scope of the thesis.

1.1 The Methodology of the Research

1.1.1 Research question

Formulation of a well-grounded research question is the most significant part of research because asking a proper question itself is fundamental for research design. A proper question identifies the problem of the research and it is a guide to the research methodology (Ratan, Anand, & Ratan, 2019: 15). Simmi and others (2019: 16-17) argue that a good research question should be feasible, interesting, novel, ethical, and relevant. Before the evaluation of the research question under these criteria, the concepts, which are related to the research question, should be reminded to make clear the research question and the evaluation of the research question. As the main aim of this study, the research question had been formulated to understand the relationship between social movements and the institutionalization of social movements. In the former parts of this research, the concepts such as social movements, social movements organizing, institutionalization of social movements

and social movements organizations (SMOs) were analyzed. In the first part of this thesis, the social movements theories were discussed to understand the concept of social movements and social movements organizing. After that part, the "institutionalization" concept was discussed. Together with the concept, institutionalization of social movements and social movements organizations (SMOs) were the focus of discussions in the second part of this thesis. Under the light of these discussions on concepts, the research question is understood better.

The research question of this thesis is "How does institutionalization affect the continuity, visibility, and opportunities as the dynamics of LGBTI+ liberation movements in Ankara?". The examination of the institutionalization of the LGBTI+ movement in Ankara, considering the limitations and opportunities, allows the study to be conducted. The fact that the interviewees were able to compare the pre- and post-institutionalization process, that is to say, the institutionalization process in the 1990s stands out as the most important thing that makes this research feasible. It is still possible to measure the relatively young institutionalization process from our current position, so this research question can be applied and appropriate to study. LGBTI+ liberation movements and their institutionalization are proper cases for a feasible research question. The subject of this study is current and valid academically because the relevant literature is lacking, especially for the limited number of studies carried out in Turkey. The question restricted the focus and scope enough to be analyzed. The research question has been selected specifically for both content and content maintenance. The subject of the study was limited to the Ankara case and focused on an LGBTI+ liberation movement, which makes the study feasible and moreover, it has clearly defined the content and focus of the study. In short, the research question is relevant for academic criteria because there is not enough academic study on the matter in Turkey and subject of this study is specific and new so the research problem can be classified as relevant. In addition, the LGBTI+ liberation movement has young institutionalization process so it is possible to measure the pre-post institutionalization process, after and before the 1990s.

The main purpose of the thesis was to explore the effects of institutionalization on social movement dynamics. To this end, social movements were first examined and the LGBTI + liberation movement, which started the institutionalization process in the 1990s, was chosen as the most appropriate movement. This movement is one of the most appropriate to measure the institutionalization process with its activists who know the history and before/after the institutionalization process. The second important step in the preparation of the research question is to decide to conduct research in Ankara. Since Ankara was the first institutionalized city of the LGBTI+ movement, it was decided to conduct the study in Ankara. In short, the LGBTI + movement has been chosen on the grounds that the institutionalization process is close to the present day and its measurement will yield more productive results. Then, Ankara was determined as the place where the institutionalization of this movement started.

1.1.2 Research method

On the process of research design, the research question and interviewees played a vital role. The research question which was elaborated above aims to explore the complex and sensitive issue of the institutionalization of LGBTI+ movements. The sample group or the interviewees consists of people with various professional, educational and personal backgrounds. The details about the way of choosing the sample group will be mentioned after the discussion on the research method of this study in this part of the thesis. The research design has two important points need to be considered. The first point is about the nature of the study subject. The subject of the study is about a sensitive and complex issue which is the institutionalization of LGBTI+ liberation movements. The second point is about the sample group. The interviewees have different social, economic, professional, educational and personal backgrounds. These two points are important to understand the research design and the research methodology of this thesis. The interviewees have different social economic backgrounds and this can be considered as important changes in the answers given to the questions. For example, if the interviewee is an employee of an

institutionalized LGBTI+ organization, her/his views on institutionalization should be considered in this context. Or if the interviewee has experienced the processes of the movement before institutionalization, this should be taken into consideration when analyzing the person's assessments. For these reasons, the background of the interviewees is important. In addition, it should be underlined once again that the subject of the study is sensitive and complicated. LGBTI+ liberation movements in Turkey for over 40 years is subject to many social pressures and discrimination. Therefore, the studies on this movement must show the necessary sensitivity. For example, interviewees may not always be able to answer the questions easily and there may be some sensitivities. Moreover, it may be difficult to find a person to be interviewed from time to time.

To explore the complex issue by the help of the sample group, the semi-structured interview method had been chosen. The semi-structured interview generally has a set of predetermined open-ended questions. There are also other questions emerging from the dialogue between interviewer and interviewees (DiCicco- Bloom & Crabtree, 2006: 315). There are two important primary considerations of the semi-structured interview method which was chosen as a research method of the thesis. Firstly, the semi-structured interview method is proper to explore the perceptions and opinions of the respondents regarding sensitive and complex issues. Furthermore, the semi-structured interview method enables to obtain more information and clarification from the respondents' answers. Secondly, the semi-structured interview method stands out as a suitable method for interviewees with different backgrounds (Barriball & While, 1994: 330). As mentioned by Barriball and While, the two primary considerations of the semi-structured interview method are proper for the research design of this thesis. In short, semi-structured interview method was used in this study to explore the institutionalization of LGBTI+ liberation movements explained in the research question part. The semi-structured interview as a qualitative data collection method is useful for the study because it is proper to explore sensitive and complex issues. Moreover, the fact that interviewees

hold different backgrounds is another justification for the choice of this research method in this study.

Within the scope of the research, interviews were conducted with 10 LGBTI+ activists using a semi-structured interview technique. Two basic dimensions were taken into account when selecting the sample group. First of all, it was taken into consideration that the activists work or not in official organizations. Then, the time spent in the movement by the activists was taken into consideration. The main aim here is to analyze the different opinions between diverging views of the activists working in official LGBTI+ organizations or not. Thus, activists from two different groups working in organizations and not working in organizations were included in the sample group. In addition, two groups of activists who are familiar with the institutionalization processes in the pre-1990 and post-1990 periods can actually help to understand the impact of institutionalization on movement. Thus, when the selections for activists were made, two different groups of activists who knew the given institutionalization processes were included in the sample group. Snowball sampling method which is defined by Tongco as consulting an interviewee to suggest another interviewee was used in the process of selecting the interviewees (Tongco, 2007: 152). Due to the sensitivity of the research subject in this research, it is not easy to specify appropriate interviewees for sampling. Interviews were started with an activist working in LGBTI organizations and the next interviewers were determined in the light of the first interview by taking into consideration the desired characteristics of the sample group.

1.1.3 Analysis of the interview questions

The final format of the interview questions can be found in Annex 1. The questions in the interview form were divided into three main sections which are A) Personal information and position of an activist in LGBTI+ liberation movements, B) Opinions, and evaluations about the movement itself, and C) Opinions and evaluations on institutionalization issue of the movements. In this part of the study,

these sections of the interview form will be analyzed to make clear the methodology of this thesis. This part will be helpful to understand the intention of the research. In the analysis chapter, the data-driven from the interviews will be utilized.

In section A, the positions of the interviewees in the LGBTI+ movement and the time they spent in the movement were intended to be explored. There are four questions in this section of the interview form. The first question is "What is your date of birth?[1]". This question basically tries to learn the age of the interviewees. During the interview, the time spent in the movement by the interviewees is tried to be explored. The main purpose is to understand whether the interviewee knows about the movement before 1990. In this way, pre-institutionalization and post-institutionalization processes can be analyzed comparatively. The second and third questions are "Have you ever been a professional employee in civil society?[2]" and "If yes, is/was your position directly linked to LGBTI + movement?[3]". The main purpose is to understand whether the interviewee is working professionally in the official organizations within the LGBTI+ liberation movements. From this point of view, it is possible to analyze the opinions of the independent activists within the movement and the opinions of the activists who work for the official organizations on the subject of institutionalization comparatively. The fourth question is "Where / how do you define yourself in the LGBTI+ movement?[4]". The main purpose of this question is to understand where the interviewees define themselves in the movement. From this point of view, it is aimed to understand whether the

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[1] Kaç doğumlusunuz?

[2] Daha önce sivil toplum içinde profesyonel çalışan olarak bulundunuz mu?

[3] Evetse, çalıştığınız pozisyon LGBTİ+ hareketle doğrudan bağlantılı mıydı? Hangi kurumda çalıştınız / çalışıyorsunuz?

[4] Kendinizi LGBTİ+ hareket içerisinde nerede / nasıl tanımlıyorsunuz?

interviewees are required to be an activist to be included in the sample group. In addition, according to the position of the interviewees in the movement of the understanding of institutionalization and interpretation of the way that the effects of institutionalization can be analyzed in a better way.

In section B, the opinions and evaluations of the interviewees about the LGBTI movement itself were measured. There are six questions in these sections of the interview form. The first question is "What makes you a part of the LGBTI + movement? What are the motivations that make you part of the movement?[5]". The main purpose of this question is to understand whether institutions are effective in participation in the movement. Is there a role of the organizations for individuals to participate in the movement? The second question is "What do you think provides the continuity of the LGBTI+ movement?[6]". The purpose of this question is how the interviewees interpret the factors that maintain the movement. The main objective is to understand the impact of institutionalization on continuity. The third question is "What are the factors that make LGBTI + movement visible?[7]". The purpose of this question is how the interviewees interpret the factors that make the movement visible. The main objective is to understand the impact of institutionalization on visibility. The fourth question is "What has excited you most regarding the works/events you were involved or the situations you were part of in the movement?[8]". The purpose of this question is to understand the interviewee's value in the movement and if the values attributed are related to institutionalization or not.

[5] LGBTİ+ hareketin bir parçası olmanızı sağlayan şey nedir? Sizi hareketin parçası olmanızı sağlayan motivasyon ya da motivasyonlar neler?

[6] Sizce LGBTİ+ hareketin devamlılığını ne sağlıyor?

[7] Sizce LGBTİ+ hareketi görünür kılan faktörler neler?

[8] Hareket içinde parçası olduğunuz çalışma / olay ya da içinde bulunduğunuz durumlar içerisinde sizin için en önemli olan / sizi en çok heyecanlandıran hangileriydi?

In addition, the impact of institutionalization on activists will be analyzed through data which will be obtained from this question. The fifth question is "What do you think is the biggest deficiency of LGBTI+ movement?[9]". The aim of this question is to understand the evaluations of the interviewees about the deficiencies of the LGBTI+ movement. From this point of view, deficiencies and the relationship between these deficiencies and institutionalization will be analyzed. In addition, it will be understood whether institutionalization can lead to shortcomings and the effects of institutionalization on movement will be revealed through deficiencies. The sixth question is "What are the turning points of LGBTI + movement for you?[10]". The main aim of this question is to see whether the institutionalization efforts such as the establishment of LGBTI+ organizations are considered to be turning points. From this point of view, the importance attributed by activists to institutionalization within the course of the LGBTI+ movement has been studied.

In section C, the opinions and evaluations of the interviewees about the institutionalization issue will be tried to be discussed and the issues related to the ongoing institutionalization process will be explored. There are four questions in this section of the interview forms. The first question is "What does institutionalization in LGBTI+ movement mean to you? Do you think institutionalization is important?[11]". The aim of this question is to explore the views of the interviewees about institutionalization for LGBTI+ liberation movements case. The second question is "What are the positive or negative consequences of the institutionalization of LGBTI + liberation movement as a social movement?[12]". The

[9] LGBTİ + hareketin en büyük eksiği sizce nedir?

[10] LGBTI+ hareketin size göre dönüm noktaları nelerdir?

[11] LGBTI+ hareket içinde kurumsallaşma size ne anlam ifade ediyor? Sizce kurumsallaşma önemli mi?

[12] Bir sosyal hareket olarak LGBTI+ özgürleşme hareketinin kurumsallaşmasının olumlu ya da olumsuz sonuçları size göre neler?

aim of this question is to explore the evaluations of the interviewees about the institutionalization of the movement. The third question is "How would you evaluate different subsets or the formation of new institutions within the movement?[13]". The purpose of this question is to discover the evaluations of the interviewees about the institutionalization process. In addition, it is expected to explore the views of the interviewees on different organizations within the movement. The last question is "Is it the emergence of new institutions or the strengthening of existing ones that matters to you most? Why?[14]". The aim of this question is to explore the evaluations of the interviewees about the future of the institutionalization process. From this point of view, the views on the institutionalization process were tried to be understood.

1.1.4 Field experience

In this section, the journey of the researcher will be discussed during the implementation of the field study. This section will be useful for understanding the researcher's position. In addition, the information given about how data is collected will then facilitate the understanding of this data by the readers. How to reach the research group will be explained in this part? In addition, the difficulties encountered in the field during the research will also take place in this section.

Firstly, *KAOS GL*[15] was contacted to provide information about the research. Later on, the contact information of LGBTI activists, who could provide information on

[13] Hareket içinde farklı örgütlenmeleri ya da yeni kurumların oluşmasını nasıl değerlendirirsiniz?

[14] Önemli olan yeni kurumların ortaya çıkması mı yoksa mevcut kurumların güçlenmesi mi? Neden?

[15] "Kaos GL is a local association in Ankara. However, through the magazine, Kaos GL, which is distributed to 16 cities in Turkey, including Edirne, Antalya, Izmir, Afyon, Çanakkale, Istanbul, Eskisehir, Diyarbakir, Van, Adana, Trabzon, and Samsun etc., the association can reach to a wider geography. The association has almost 50 registered members and it is the most organised association amongthe LGBTT groups in Turkey" (Kurbanoğlu, 2010:80).

this issue, was asked. This communication was carried out by mail. As a result of the correspondence, the date of the first face-to-face meeting was determined and this meeting was held in the center of the association in Ankara. After the meeting, the contact information of the activists from the same association and from another LGBTI+ association, *Pembe Hayat*[16] (Pink Life LGBTI + Solidarity Association) was taken. Thanks to this information, new activists were reached and interviews were conducted. Later, in order to reach the activists who did not work in the associations, the interviewees were asked for help. During the process, independent activists within the movement were reached and interviews were conducted with the individuals who made the interviews.

The biggest problem during the research is reaching a person who is suitable for the research group. Because, as mentioned before, people in the research group are sensitive for some good reasons and they are reluctant to participate in the study. In addition, many activists do not share their identity with the public. However, with the help of the above-mentioned associations, this problem could be overcome and the required number of interviewees could be reached and the data needed for the research could be collected. In addition, other issues have been experienced in the technical dimensions related to the interviews. For example, some pre-planned interviews that have been a distressing issue from time to time have not been made for this reason. For this reason, the research was intended to be conducted with many activists beforehand, however, only a few of them could be interviewed. In short, there were some problems during the field study process but by the help of the above-mentioned associations the problems were solved and the research was finished. The process was so useful for the researcher to have knowledge of how to make field research and collect data from a sensitive group.

[16] "Pembe Hayat (Pink Life) was established in 2006. Most of the members of the association are transsexuals and the association focuses more on the problems of transsexuals. The association organises cultural, educational, artistic, sports etc. activitiesthat might help struggle against the discrimination against and violence towards LGBTI+" (Kurbanoğlu, 2010:83).

CHAPTER 2

EVALUATION OF THE SOCIAL MOVEMENTS THEORIES

What are social movements? This is the question that the first part of the thesis tries to answer. Answering this question will also provide the basic conceptual justification for the thesis. In this framework, based on social movement theories, their contributions to social movement studies, how they understand social movements and their views on the social movements organizing will be examined. "Classical Marxism" and "Structural Functionalist Theory and Weberian Approach" as macro-sociological theories will be discussed firstly. These two macro theories are very important as they form the basis of social movement studies. "Resource Mobilization Theory", "Framing and Social Construction Approach", "Political Opportunity / Process Theory" and "New Social Movements Theories" will also be discussed in the context of understanding social movements, the components of the movement and social movements organizing. In the flowing part of the theoretical debate, the contemporary discussions of social movements studies will be scrutinized under the heading of "Alternatives and Critiques in Social Movements Studies".

2.1 Macro Sociological Theories and Their Approaches to Social Movements

Before the 1960s there were two macro-sociological theories which are Classical Marxism and Structural Functionalist Theory. When we look at the Classical Marxism and Structural Functionalist theory, these two theories have restricted perspective but they have huge effects on social movements studies. That is why the theories are called macro-sociological theories in the studies of social movements. We need to look at Classical Marxism and Structural Functionalist Theory more deeply to understand the futures of social movements theories. Incoming part of this thesis the two macro theory will be discussed by giving references to their contributions to social movements studies, their understanding of social movements and their approaches to social movements organizing.

2.1.1 Classical Marxism and social movements

According to Steven M. Buechler, Classical Marxism provides a logical start point for social movements studies (Buechler, 2011). He explained this argumentation by using Marx's legacies which are explained as political and intellectual legacies in social movements studies. There is a critical question here which is "how Classical Marxism can be classified as the logical start point of social movements studies?" To find a clear answer to the question and understand the relations between social movements and Classical Marxism, we need to look into details of the contributions. The contributions can be explained in two headings. Firstly, Classical Marxism is one of the biggest theoretical sources when the grievances of social movements are the subject of the discussions. In other words, Classical Marxism created powerful theoretical statements of the grievances which are used to analyze social movements and social conflicts. For example, alienation[17] and exploitation[18] terms are from Classical Marxist theory and the terms are useful to explain the grievances of social movements. There are lots of intellectual contribution like that from Classical Marxism to social movements studies. Most of the theories which will be discussed in the next parts of this thesis were affected by classical Marxism. Secondly, Marxism has political contributions to social movements and social movements studies as an addition to intellectual contributions. For example, the advancing political struggle to be successful against capitalism by Marxism can be thought of as the starting point of the motivation behind social movements or collective movements. Karl Marx (1845) argues that the philosophers tried to interpret the word by using many ways but the important thing is to change it. This statement of Marx can be interpreted as an example of the starting point of the motivation behind social movements. This argument can be supported by political and intellectual

[17] For more information about the "alienation" please check Melvin Seeman's article of "On the Meaning of Alienation" (Seeman, 1959).

[18] For more information about the "exploitation" please check Allen E. Buchanan's book of *Marx and justice: The radical critique of liberalism* (Buchanan, 1982).

contributions of Classical Marxism to social movements studies. There are lots of terms and concepts which are taken from classical Marxism are using in social movements studies. In addition to that, the political effects of Marxism on social movements cannot be denied.

After this effects of Classical Marxism on social movements, we need to know how classical Marxist theory understand social movements to understand the relationship between social movements and Classical Marxist theory. In the beginning, we need to know that there is no concept of social movements in Marx's studies. Classical Marxism didn't explain or analyze directly social movements but working-class mobilizations and its revolutionary potential have a central position in Classical Marxism (Buechler, 2011). According to Buechler, Marxism tries to find socialist solutions to capitalist problems and the working-class mobilization is the implementation of the solutions. So the working-class mobilizations are really important for classical Marxism. Although the working-class mobilizations have a central position in Classical Marxism, we cannot argue that the mobilizations are social movements and Classical Marxism put social movements into the center of its analyses. In addition to that, only working-class mobilizations are meaningful in Classical Marxist theory. It means that only class-based social movements have importance in the approach. All in all, we have to remember that Marx didn't develop a direct approach to the study of social movements. There are lots of contributions of Classical Marxism to the social movements studies but there are no distinctive approaches from Classical Marxism to social movement studies. In short, social movements were not directly analyzed in Classical Marxism but the worker-class mobilizations have a central position in the theory. The only meaningful mobilizations are class-based mobilizations for classical Marxism and this class-based approach reveals the problematic and narrow perspective of Classical Marxism in social movements studies.

Finally, we need to understand how social movements organizing or being organized situation of social movements analyzed by the classical Marxist approach.

There was no direct explanation of social movements organizing in classical Marxism but political struggle which requires organizations were advanced in Classical Marxism. Anderson argues that class consciousness and collective identity mean little until the existence of a full political struggle which requires organizations (Anderson, 1974). It can be interpreted that being organized was clearly advised by classical Marxism. In short, social movements organizing or being organized situation of social movements can be analyzed as something positive in Classical Marxism. Of course, there are no direct references to social movements but Classical Marxism addresses the organizing as a way of political struggle and victory against capitalism. This advice of Classical Marxism can be interpreted as a support to social movements organizing. The theoretical background of macro-sociological theories is important in terms of providing a basis for discussions throughout the thesis. Therefore, in the first part of the thesis, the contributions of these theories to the social movements literature have been examined. In this context, Marxism is also briefly discussed in the context of institutionalization and social movements.

2.1.2 Structural-functionalist theory and Weberian approach in social movements studies

Rules, institutions, and organizations are at the center of structural functionalist theory. The theory uses rational-legal power relations and this substantial structure which includes organizations, institutions to understand society and social change somehow. The social movements are accepted as temporary conflicts and "pathological" elements toward the order in structural functionalist theory (Çırakman & Ertuğrul, 2016). The effect of the theory on social movements studies is significantly wide although their approach to social movements is problematic. To understand the relation between the theory and social movements, there will be a discussion on the contributions of the theory in social movements studies directly or indirectly, their problematic understanding of social movements and their approaches to social movements organizing or being organized situation of social movements.

Most of the social movements theories are affected by the structural functionalist theory. The effects of the theory on social movements studies will be analyzed as contributions of structural functionalist theory to social movements studies. To understand the contribution will be meaningful to understand social movements theories in the next parts of the thesis. The first contribution is about "status-based" approach of Weber[19]. Thanks to the approach lots of social movements theory analyzed social movements from different perspectives. The structural-functionalist theory underscores cultural beliefs and values in the analysis of society. Most of the social movements theories used the status-based analysis and cultural analysis in their studies so the Weberian approaches enrich social movements studies thanks to the contribution. The second contribution is about the concept of "authority". In structural functionalist theory, the authority has a central position in the analysis of society. The concept is also important for social movements society. The conditions and the situation of authority are significant for social movements studies to understand the origin and emergence of social movements so the authority discussion as a contribution of the theory is important in social movements studies. The third contribution is about the "issues of legitimation". The issue of legitimation has also the central position in structural functionalist analysis. The existed legitimation of the authority and authority gap are important in the analysis of social movements. In addition to that the concept of legitimacy important to understand the internal structure of social movements. For example, the question which is "how the leader in social movements have legitimate authority in movements?" is discussed in social movements studies. In other words, the authority and legitimacy concepts are important for social movements studies and these are the contribution of structural functionalist theories to social movements studies. In short, the approach which underscores culture, beliefs and social status, authority and legitimacies concepts were discussed as the main contributions of Weberian /

[19] For more information about the discussion on statue and authority in Weber's reading, please check "Charisma, Order, and Status" article (Shils, 1965).

structural functionalist theory to social movements studies. To know these contributions and effects of the theory on social movements studies are important to understand and analyze social movements.

After the contribution of the theory, the theory's understanding of social movements is also important. The structural functionalist theory is pessimistic about the possibility of social transformation thanks to social movements (Buechler, 2011). The structural functionalist theory sees social movements as pathological elements and temporary conflicts in the social order. The order became complicated because of differentiation and the increasing division of labor so there can be some dysfunctions in the system but the system will integrate the dysfunctions into the system somehow according to structural social movements theory. In short, the theory explains social movements as anomie and dysfunction so the theorists didn't explain social movements as something different as a means of social change. Although their approach to social movements problematic, they have lots of contributions mentioned above to social movements studies.

Finally, there will be a discussion about the approach of structural functionalist theory to social movements organizing or being organized situation of social movements. The main question in this discussion is "are the social movement organizations the instrument which makes social movements functional within the existing structure?". The organizations and institutionalization are really important in the theory. They accepted organizing as a need for order. So the social movements organizing is necessary when we look from the Weberian / structural functionalist position. Actually, Weber didn't bode organized social movements directly but the importance of being organized is emphasized by theorists. When we look at the question which we asked above, the institutionalization and social movements organization became important in the discussion. In the analysis part of this thesis, the institutionalization will be analyzed and the question will be the center. For now, only the Weberian approach will be discussed as a theoretical background of the main discussion. Webber's "iron cage of bureaucracy" and

Michels's "iron law of oligarchy"[20] concepts are using in the studies about the institutionalization of social movements. The effects of bureaucracy, institutionalization will be discussed with the help of the theory in the analysis part of the thesis. Weber and Michel discussed the no-end bureaucratization and the oligarchy problem in "democratic" organizations. Actually, this discussion is meaningful for social movements analysis. Are social movements organization democratic? The two concepts will be useful to understand the effects of institutionalization and bureaucratization of social movements. The iron cage of bureaucracy is inescapable for Webber so the same end can be interpreted as the end of social movements too. In other words, social movements have to face the inescapable iron cage and the end can be interpreted as the integration of social movements into order somehow because of social movements organizing. When we look from structural functionalist theory, social movements organizing can be understood as a destruction of the temporary conflicts/anomie/ dysfunctions which are the concepts to explain social movements.

In addition to the macro-sociological theories, there are traditional theories which are deprivation theory and structural strain theories. Strain and deprivation models are directly linked to social movements studies but using them alone are not enough to analyze social movements. Deprivation theory argues that if people feel that they are deprived of a specific service, rights, goods or resources, this deprivation cause the emergence of social movements. Actually, deprivation theory could explain why social movements born but the theory is not enough to explain other factors which are different from deprivations like political opportunities, resources, etc. When we look at structural strain theory, the theory based on strains which cause born of social movements. According to Sen and Avcı, structural strain theory advocates that any nascent social movement needs six factors to grow. These six factors are:

[20] For more information about the discussion on "Michels's "iron law of oligarchy", please check "Beyond the iron law: Rethinking the place of organizations in social movement research" article (Clemens, 2004).

people in a society experience some type of problem (deprivation); recognition by people of that society that this problem exists; an ideology purporting to be a solution for the problem develops and spreads its influence; an event or events transpire that convert this nascent movement into a bona fide social movement; the society (and its government) is open to change for the movement to be effective (if not, then the movement might die out); and mobilization of resources takes place as the movement develops further" (Sen & Avcı, 2016, p. 128). The two theories have restricted perspectives which based on only strains and deprivations but there are other factors which have direct effects on born and growth of social movements. So the two theories are not enough to analyze social movements. These traditional theories can be helpful to understand the perspective and approaches which will be mention below. Structural-Functionalist Theory and Weberian Approach are considered in this section in the context of institutionalization and social movements as they form the basis of the theories that precede the subject and the actor and constitute the theoretical structure of these theories.

2.2 Resource Mobilization Theory

Resource Mobilization Theory is a turning point for social movements studies because the theory is the first theory which analyses social movements as rational and normal. "The theory emphasizes the variety and sources of resources; the relationship of social movements to the media, authorities, and other parties; and the interaction among movement organizations" (McCarthy & Zald, 1977: 1212). In addition to that, the theory has a central position for social movements' professionalization and institutionalization because the mobilization of the required resources for the existence of social movements, which refers to organizing and organization issues of social movements, has a central position in Resource Mobilization Theory. That is why we need to understand the Resource Mobilization Theory to understand and analyze social movements.

Major sociological theories such as structural functionalist theory analyzed social movements as abnormal and irrational in the system. In addition to the negative

attitude toward social movements, grievances and deprivation were the core of analyses in the theories and they present grievances and deprivation as a cause of the social movements (Buechler, 2011: 117). This negative assumption was the core of critiques toward structural functionalist theory. Are social movements irrational and abnormal? Is it possible to explain the existence of social movements by only presenting grievances and deprivation as causes of movements? These questions can't be answered as "yes" because grievances and deprivation are not enough to explain the existence of social movements for many cases. For example, in any parts of the world, there are social problems, grievances and deprivation in the societies but not all of them cause movements. This situation shows that there is a need for deeper analyses to understand the existence of social movements and the condition which make social movements possible. In addition to that, there are theories which define social movements as rational and normal in the literature of social movements. Resource Mobilization Theory was the first approach which changes the negative attitude toward social movements (Buechler, 2011: 111). According to Resource Mobilization Theory social movements existed as a result of rational behavior and choices of individuals so social movements are rational and normal in the system (Çırakman and Ertuğrul, 2016: 238). The change of attitudes towards social movements can be analyzed as the main contribution of the Resource Mobilization Theory to social movements studies. Before Resource Mobilization Theory social movements studies were made based on social psychologic reading and understanding but after the theory, social movements became subjects of political interpretation because the Resource Mobilization Theory put rational actors and their rational choices into the center of social movements analyses instead of social psychologic reading of mass behaviors. The transition from social psychologic reading to political interpretation is defined as a paradigm shift by Buechler. In addition to the paradigm shift which refers to the change of negative attitude toward social movements, Resource Mobilization Theory developed a new approach in social movements studies as another contribution. Resource Mobilization Theory argues that organization form and communication tools are required for the existence of social movements. These two components are

resources which must be mobilized to make social movements existence possible and Resource Mobilization Theory put these resource into the center to understand social movements. In short, there are two main contributions, made by Resource Mobilization Theory, to social movements studies. The first contribution is the change of negative attitude toward social movements and the second one is the new approaches of Resource Mobilization Theory to understand social movements.

According to Resource Mobilization Theory, social movements are the results of rational behaviors and choices of individuals so social movements are normal in the system rather than being pathologic cases (Çırakman & Ertuğrul, 2016: 238). The main focus of the Resource Mobilization Theory to understand social movements is the mobilization of the resources which are required for the existence of social movements (Kurtbaş, 2017:98). Resource Mobilization Theory explores the conditions leading the collective action and social movements (Della Porta & Diani, 2006: 29). The conditions are analyzed with the help of utilitarian cost-benefit calculation. The base of the approaches can be found in rational choice theory which explains the utilitarian cost-benefit calculation of individual. In other words, Resource Mobilization Theory argues that if individuals' benefits are more than their cost about participating movements, the collective action, and social movements can be emerged.

As mentioned before, the mobilization of the resources has a central position in Resource Mobilization Theory to understand social movements. The theory analyses organizations and being organized situation as a core component of the movements to understand the mobilization of the resources so Social Movements Organizations are one of the most important elements of the theory. The main goal of the theory is to understand the cost-benefit calculation leading an existence of social movements and to understand the calculation, rational behaviors and choices of individuals. Resource Mobilization Theory put organizations and being organized situation into the center of their analysis because the organizations and being organized situation of social movements have a vital role in the mobilization of the required resources.

In addition, the role of organizing, the theory explains organizing as something essentially required. In other words, the theory argues that organizing itself is required for the existence of social movements. Resource Mobilization Theory is the first theory which directly focuses on social movements organizing as the main element to explain the existence of social movements and the theory put organizing into the center to evaluate success possibility of the movements. In short, social movements organizing is really important for the theory and have a vital role in their analysis. The theory changes the focus of the analysis from causes leading movements to mechanism leading movements because they argue that there are always some conflicts and grievances in society but for existence of social movements the mechanisms must mobilize the required resources to lead social movements and organizing is key for the mechanism and the analysis of the mechanisms.

> "The resource Mobilization perspective emphasized the continuities between movement and institutionalized actions, the rationality of movement actors, the strategic problems confronted by movements, and the role of movements as agencies for social change" (Jenkins, 1983: 528).

In explaining and understanding the institutionalization process, the organization's access to resources and the ability to use these resources are evaluated in coordination with institutionalization. From this point of view, the tools presented by RMT are very important to understand the organization and institutionalization practices of social movements. The theoretical discussion around RMT in the context of institutionalization and organizing is useful for the thesis in the following part of the thesis, especially on access to and capacity to use resources.

2.3 Framing and Social Construction

After classical sociological theories and understanding, framing and social construction approaches accepted social movements as "normal" like Resource Mobilization Theory. Framing and social construction approach together with Research Mobilization theory and Political Opportunity Theory use each other to understand social movements. In other words, these theory feed on each other. For

example, “framing theory has provided a way to link ideas and the social construction of ideas with organizational and political process factors” (van Stekelenburg and Klandermans, 2009: 18). Then, what are the contribution of framing and social construction? The question is crucial here.

> “While resource mobilization places emphasis on organizational aspects and resources, the political process approach emphasizes the political aspects of collective action. The social-constructivist perspective, on the other hand, concentrates on questions about how individuals and groups perceive and interpret these conditions and focus on the role of cognitive, effective, and ideational roots of contention” (van Stekelenburg and Klandermans, 2009: 2).

The main difference in the theory is ontological and they argue that social movements are culturally constructed (Çırakman and Ertuğrul, 2016: 239). Both Resource Mobilization and Political Opportunity Theory explain the participation to social movements as results of individuals’ rational choices basically but the two theories have gaps to explain the rational choice in the decision of participation to social movements. To explain the process with utilitarian cost-benefit relation is not enough from the framing and social construction approaches. The framing and social construction approaches focus on how participants signify the social movements and decide to participate. Framing approach scrutinizes the signification of social movements. The main contribution of framing and social construction to social movements studies to help to understand how people signify, interpret and perceive social movements. In other words, these contributions can be explained as a help for researchers to understand the participation process and the flow of social movements. Another contribution of these approaches to social movements studies is about explaining of cultural components of social movements. Actually, these approaches mainly focus on the cultural components of social movements rather than political dimensions. Role of ideas and consciousness are part of this cultural component which is focused by these approaches. When we look at the big picture, it can be argued that these framing and social construction approaches’ roots can be found in social psychology and symbolic interactionism. Social psychology and symbolic interactionism led the framing and social construction theoretician to focus

on the social construction of protest, grievances, and micromobilization (Buechler, 2011: 146).

As mentioned before, framing and social construction approaches' understanding of social movements are similar to Research Mobilization Theory and Political Opportunity Theory. Social movements are rational and normal in the system for framing and social construction approaches rather than being abnormal and anomie. Social change as the main aim of social movements can be possible only with framing, mobilization and political opportunities from this approach. Actually, this explains their understanding of social movements. They used "mobilization mechanisms and structures" of Resource Mobilization Theory, and also they used political opportunities from Political Opportunity Theory to express other conditions which cannot be explained by Resource Mobilization Theory. The new thing in their understanding is "framing". Framing perspective introduces ideational and interpretive issues into social movement studies (Benford, 1997: 410). As explained before, framing refers to how people signify, interpret and perceive social movements. They attribute importance to participants' way of signification, interpretation of social movements and this changed their understanding of social movement when we compare their understanding with former two theories. According to Arslan (2016: 132), Cultural framing approach argues that social movements do not only base on resources or political dimensions but also cultural symbols. When we look into details of these approaches, they understand social movements as cumulative of shared meanings, values and identities in the movements (Çırakman and Ertuğrul, 2016: 239).

> "Framing process involves, among other things, the articulation and accenting or amplification of elements of events, experiences, and existing beliefs and values, most of which are associated with existing ideologies" (Snow and Benford, 2015: 9).

In addition to the contributions of the framing and social construction approaches, their understanding of social movements organizing is not so different from research mobilization theories. Mobilization and the mechanism which enable mobilization

are important for these approaches and they used the argumentation of Resource Mobilization Theory to understand the mechanisms. When this point of them interpreted, it can be argued that organizing of social movements is important for them because they see organizing and social movements organizations, which are main actors of mobilization, as main components for the success of social movements together with political opportunities and framing. In addition to that, Benford (1997: 423) as a cultural framing theoretician, explained the need for integration of social structure, culture, human agency and organization in social movement studies so it is another positive indicator for the approaches attitude toward social movement organizing. In addition, this perspective is particularly useful for understanding the cultural framework of the LGBTI + movement, which is developed in organizing under unique conditions and conditions and is effective in all processes of the movement. It is not possible to understand the processes of this movement without considering LGBTI + culture.

2.4 Political Opportunity /Process Theory

Political Opportunity /Process Theory is one of the theories which understand social movements as “normal” in their analysis rather than “pathologic” or “anomie”. This view of Political Opportunity /Process Theory is similar to the Resource Mobilization Theory and framing and social construction approaches. The main difference between these theories and the Political Opportunity /Process Theory is about their focuses. Political Opportunity /Process Theory mainly focus on the external factor which shaped social movements. When we compare Political Opportunity /Process Theory and Resource Mobilization Theory, Resource Mobilization Theory focuses on internal factors like communication capability, human resources but Political Opportunity /Process Theory focuses on political environment and institutions. On the other hand, when we compare Political Opportunity /Process Theory and framing and social construction approaches, it can be argued that the Political Opportunity /Process Theory viewed culture as secondary in importance. Political and economic structures of society are viewed as determining in the Political Opportunity /Process Theory (Armstrong & Bernstein,

2008, p.75). Actually, these differences give us the main contribution of the Political Opportunity /Process Theory to social movements studies. To understand social movements by only focuses on internal factors or variables are not enough so to develop the social movements analyzing by adding external factors to studies is an important contribution. To illustrate the important contribution, we can look at similar social movements' flow in different countries and political atmospheres. Internal factors of these similar social movements will not be enough to understand and analyze them, we have to see the differences between the political atmospheres in different countries. This comparison will help the researchers to apprehend social movements in different political environments. As we can understand from this example, to analyze external factors is an important contribution to a total understanding of social movements.

The contribution of the Political Opportunity /Process Theory to social movements studies is an important clue to comprehend the theory's understanding of social movement. As mentioned above, the theory understands social movements as "normal" in their analysis rather than "pathologic" or "anomie". The political opportunity thesis argues that "political opportunities" are required for the existence of social movement (Goodwin & Jasper, 1999, p.29). The main focus in their analyses is about external factors which are important and influential in the rise and fall of a social movement. These external factors can be defined as "political opportunities" which are ground of social movements. By using the external factors in their analyses, they aim to understand different political environments and institutions' impact on social movements. For example, a fully democratic political atmosphere in a county could create friendly conditions for social movements and the situation can create positive impacts. In other word, Political Opportunity /Process Theory uses external factors as the main focus on understanding social movements. In their understanding, political conditions feature in social movements' flow. They made analyses of social movements by using the conditions like governments' attitude toward issues which are the core of social movements or the place of government in the international system which support the issue and

open area for social movements organizing. For example, at the beginning of the 2000s in Turkey, the process of European Union full membership is a component for analyses of social movements from the perspective of Political Opportunity /Process Theory. The process created a friendly atmosphere for some human rights defenders and organizations. Analyses of the political environments can be beneficial to understand the rise of social movements organizing in these years.

As mentioned above the focuses of Political Opportunity /Process Theory is external factors which are important and influential in the rise and fall of a social movement. Political-institutional and environment are some of these external factors. The understanding of social movements organizing from Political Opportunity /Process Theory is also related to these focuses. They try to understand the political conditions and atmosphere to do this they analyze the possibility of social movements organizing in the political environment. When we look at from this point the situation of social movements organizations and the possibility of social movements organizing in in the political environment and atmosphere are important for analyses of Political Opportunity /Process Theory. Therefore, Political Opportunity /Process Theory attaches importance to social movements organizing and the possibility of social movements organizing in a specific political environment and atmosphere. This theoretical approach is particularly useful in understanding the historical development of the movement. It is not possible to understand the LGBTI + movement and its institutionalization without analyzing the political conditions and opportunities and making a historical reading. Therefore, Political Opportunities Theory provides a very vital conceptual framework for this study.

2.5 New Social Movements Theories

2.5.1 What are new social movements?

Old and new social movements can be differentiated by understanding the different aims, key concerns, organizational structures and tactics of old and new social

movements. According to Çırakman and Ertuğrul, new social movements concept can be used to understand the protests, participation, and social opposition processes in Europe after 1968 (Çırakman & Ertuğrul, 2016). In other words, the social opposition process in Europe after 1968 seems different from "old" social movements and the new social movements concept are used to analyze the transition. Old social movements can be found as labor movements in academic literature. The main aim of old social movements is to capture the state's power. According to Keith Faulks, the main threat to labor movements was accepted as unstable and irregular capitalism (Faulks, 2000). When we look at the organizational structure of labor movements /old social movements before 1968, unions are accepted as the core of labor movements and these movements can be defined as social movements which have directly political and economic (material) aims. The organizational structure of old social movements is centered, strict and hieratical. This central strict hierarchy can be seen when the unions and their decision-making process are analyzed. In other words, the unions' decision-making process is vertical. The key concerns of old social movements can be defined as economic inequality, social justice, poverty, and unemployment. The material aims of old social movements can be seen in these key concerns again. The social base of old social movements contains socialist workers mainly. Old social movements criticize the capitalist system and try to take power to live equal. Equality refers to material gains and changes mainly. The mentality behind old social movements is revolutionary and based on material change on the capitalist system. We cannot say that labor movements care with all important issues which are problematic for society. The economic and material issues and concerns are not sustainable to satisfy the demand for social change. In other words, society wanted more changes than old social movements want. The requests and demands of old social movements are modern mainly. LGBTI+ liberation movements and the existence of LGBTI+ people cannot find a place for themselves in the modern state. Actually, the same problem can be found in old social movements. The material and economic aims of old social movements couldn't cover the issues like the existence of LGBTI+ people, environmental problems, feminist requests and the similarity

between modern state's view and old social movements' narrow and deficient demands made must the transformation in social movements. I think that the transformation of social movements in the 1960s is mainly about the narrow and deficient demands of old social movements. The old social movements couldn't be enough to be the voice of others because the components of voice were more than old social movements' material demands and requests.

As mentioned above, old and new social movements can be differentiated by understanding the different aims, key concerns, organizational structures and tactics of old and new social movements. When we look at the aims of new social movements, Faulks defines the main aim of new social movements as "autonomy in large and pluralistic civil society" (Faulks, 2000). New social movements aim to have a cultural transformation and the aims are not material and economic which were emphasized by old social movements. In other words, deconstruction of the current discourse on a different issue like sexuality, human rights, environment, and economy. For example, the protection of global peace is an important issue in new social movements but it didn't find a place itself in old social movements key concerns. The organizational structures of old social movements and new social movements are also different. We can put social movements organization as the core and center of new social movements like unions in old social movements to analyze the difference between the organizational structure of old and new social movements. The organizational structures of new social movements can be defined as "disorganized social network of people who think alike" (Çırakman & Ertuğrul, 2016). In addition to that when we look at social movements organization as one of the main actors of new social movements, less hieratical and central decision-making process and horizontal organizational structure can be listed as main features of organizational structures of new social movements. The differences between old and new social movements can be illustrated by analyzing the different organizational structures of old and new social movements but we cannot say that old and new social movements' organizational structures are completely different. The transformation of the organizational structures is clear but there was some

continuity like “state’s control on the institution” and some modern application of social movements institution (unions and social movements organizations). As another important differentiated point of old and new social movements, new social movements’ key concerns can be defined as personal autonomy, freedom, protection of human rights, nature and peace. When we compare old and new social movements’ key concerns, new social movements concern with nonmaterial issues and the components in key concerns wider than old social movements’ key concerns contain. For example, transgender women can ask for her working rights as a material aim in new social movements as a part of LGBTI+ liberation movements but the woman’s voice and the request is not part of old social movements because she cannot define herself as a whole in old social movements. A transgender woman cannot ask only economic gains or change, her struggle for her sexual identity cannot be separated with her economic rights and demands. The example can illustrate why old social movements are narrow and restricted on the other hand new social movements are wider and have more components in it. In addition to the differences between the key concerns of old and new social movements, the different tactics of them are also important to understand the transformation of social movements. Alternative lifestyle, mass demonstrations, protests, a cultural expression of identities can be listed as tactics of new social movements. Elections and campaigns were important for old social movements but new social movements didn’t use this kind of tactics. Variety of new social movements wider than old social movements. For example, thousands of workers who want material change need to be collected to have an affected social protest for old social movements but two gay who hold each other’s hand in a crowded city of a country which doesn’t respect gay right is a kind of new social movements. In addition to the tactics, as another difference new social movements defend democracy of differences, negotiating democracy instead of efforts to take the state’s power. The social basis of new and old social movements is also different. For old social movements, we can talk about “socialist workers” as a social base but when we look at new social movements there are lots of people who are from different social economic status. For example, a rich university student and a sex worker can share the same public

area for the same protest in a new social movement. All in all, new and old social movements are different when we look at their aims, organizational structure, key concerns, tactics, and social bases. There can be found some continuity between old and new social movements but when we look at the big picture before and after the 1960s are a picture of transformation in the case of social movements.

The main question of this part was that "are LGBTI+ liberation movements new social movements?". When we look at features of new and old social movements, LGBTI+ liberation movement can be clearly defined as new social movements. The aim of LGBTI+ liberation movements can be defined as a part of creating autonomy in large pluralist civil society rather than taking the state's power. Their main effort is the deconstruction of discourse on sexuality. In other words, criticisms of heteronormativity are the core of LGBTI+ liberation movements' argumentation. Cultural transformation aim of LGBTI+ liberation movements is important for the deconstruction of heteronormative sexual discourse. Personal autonomy, sexual liberation, protection of human rights (LGBTI+'s rights) are some key concerns of LGBTI+ liberation movements and these are the same with new social movements key concerns. The organizational structure of the LGBTI+ liberation movements is flexible, less hieratical and horizontal. The LGBTI+ movements use similar tactics which are used by other new social movements like environmental movements, feminist movements. Protection of human rights and social base which contain different sections of society are other features which are common with LGBTI+ liberation movements and new social movements. In short, LGBTI+ movements are clearly new social movements. The movements can be classified as an illustration of new social movements because the movements show almost all features of new social movements.

2.5.2 Analysis of new social movements theories in social movements studies

New social movements theories are important to understanding social movements and the efforts for movements because the theories are a kind of cumulative of

previous studies and theories like Resource Mobilization Theory, Political Opportunity Theory, Cultural Framing Theory, and macro-sociological theories. The important position of the theories makes them vital to understand and analyze contemporary social movements. In other words, these former theories created an intellectual space for complementary or alternative perspectives to understand social movements (Buechler, 1995: 441). Here there is a crucial question. What are the contribution of these theories to social movements studies? The main contribution of these cumulative process which was started with Research Mobilization Theory and mainly shaped by New Social Movements Theories is about the change of understanding about the main logic of social movements. The change is mainly a response to the inadequacies of macro-sociological theories before Resource Mobilization Theory. As mentioned before, the macro-sociological theories marginalize "social movements" and analyzed them as anomie or problematic but New Social Movements Theories changed this approaches to social movements as a result of the process which is mentioned above. New Social Movements Theories focuses on political, ideological and cultural bases and logic of collective actions. The theories have looked to sources like ethnicity, gender, and sexuality as components of collective identity (Buechler, 1995: 442). In other words, the change of focuses of the analyses is the change of understanding about the main logic of social movements. Social movements do not need the idea or aim to change the mood of production to be meaningful from this new social movement perspective. Cultural identity as a new focus and political, ideological and cultural bases are main components of the New Social Movements Theories and the change in logic is the main contribution of the New Social Movements Theories to social movements studies.

To understand the contributions and the position of New Social Movements Theories, to look into the details of the understanding of the theories about social movements will be beneficial. In the beginning, the theories argue that social movements exist in the context of cultural conflict (Işık, 2013: 20). It can be understood from here; the main core of the new social movements perspective is

about cultural rather than material. Actually, it gives us an important clue about their understanding of social movements. They make an analysis based on cultural conflicts rather than a material one. The important question here is how are they doing this? By explaining actors, issues, concerns, values, aims and objectives of social movements from their own perspective, they created their own understanding of social movements. The view of New Social Movements perspectives on actors in collective actions is different from former theories.

> When we look into analysis of actors from New Social Movements perspectives, actors in collective action "do not rely for their self-identification on either the established political codes (left/right, liberal/conservative, etc.) nor on the partly corresponding socioeconomic codes (such as working class/middle class, poor/wealthy, rural/urban population, etc.)" (Offe, 1985: 831).

As we can understand above, the political codes socioeconomic codes are not the core of analysis and the New Social Movements theories do not believe that these codes can help to understand social movements fully. Instead of the political codes socioeconomic codes, the theories put identity and culture into the center of their analysis about actors in collective action. When we look at the core the issues, concerns, and values of social movements, these are central in New Social Movements perspectives. The first change is about the central position of the issues, concerns, and values of social movements Macro sociological theories did not use them as the key or central component of the analyses of social movements. The central position of them shaped the understanding of social movements from New Social Movements perspectives. New Social Movements can be analyzed in terms of its social base, its issues, concerns, and values, and its modes of action (Offe, 1985: 820). For example, LGBTI+ movements can be analyzed according to the issue of "gender" and the LGBTI+ community as a social base. Former macro-sociological theories had inadequacies on this point. The change of aims and objectives of social movements also shaped the understanding of social movements from New Social Movements perspectives. The participants of social movements aim to change, to lift and to reshape the existing social relations or institutions (Işık, 2013: 20). In addition to that, Touraine (1985: 775) argues that contemporary

movements are new because they separate themselves from the idea of controlling state power and they just aim to transform social relation. In short, material aims and objectives displaced with cultural transformation and deconstruction as objectives of social movements in the understanding of social movements from perspectives of new social movements. All in all, the change about focuses on actors and their identity, issues, concerns and values and their position in social movement analyzing and new aims and objectives of social movements created the understanding of social movements from the perspectives of New Social Movements Theories.

After the understanding of social movements in the New Social Movements Theories, their view on social movements organizing is also important for this thesis. Their view of organizing can be understood by comparing old and new social movements organizing.

> "Old social movements used to exercise internal formal organizations, large-scale representative unions; external pluralist or corporatist interest representation, competitive party politics, and majority vote. New social movements, on the other hand, enjoy an internal informality, minimum vertical and horizontal differentiation; external protest policies based on demands, which are formulated in rather negative terms" (Şimşek, 2004: 114).

In other words, in new social movements, the type of organization is, in fact, flexible, non-authoritarian and non-hierarchical structures capable of adapting quickly (Işık, 2013). In short, there is a clear change in the types of organizing and this directly change the view on social movements organizing from New Social Movements perspectives.

2.6 Alternatives and Critiques in Social Movements Studies

Until this part of the thesis, mainstream social movements theories were analyzed under three categories which are contributions to social movements studies, understanding of social movements and understanding of social movements organizing. In this part, the contemporary discussions of social movements studies

on a theoretical level will be scrutinized. According to Buechler (2011: 178), new threads existed in social movements studies as a deliberate response to the limitation and shortcomings of a dominant paradigm and criticisms of the leading theories. Actually, these threads can be seen as contemporary shadows of the theories in social movements studies. To understand and analyses social movements, contemporary studies are important and these threads can be helpful to understand current phenomena in social movements studies. In this part of the thesis, these new threads and contemporary theoretical background in social movements studies will be scrutinized. Buechler (2011) discussed four alternative threads which existed in social movements studies. Firstly, there are some researcher who criticize Resource Mobilization and Political Process theories and their main difference are about highlighting the social movements organizing. They attract the notice to the possible problems of social movements organizing and institutionalization. Secondly, there are studies of revolutions which are divorced from social movement theory. Their main contradistinction of these threads is about their explanation in terms of structures rather than agents. Thirdly, cultural dimensions of movements were reawakened. As an important part of contemporary discussions in social movements studies, the emphasis on cultural dimensions is also a hot topic. Fourthly, some scholars discussed politically progressive analyses of social movements. They put the relation between democratization and social movements in terms of progressive politics. There are studies in contemporary social movements literature as creators of these four new threads (Piven and Clowards, 1979; Piven and Clowards, 1992; Skocpol, 1979; Goldstone, 2002; Eyerman and Jamison, 1991; McAdam, 1994; Jonston and Klandermans, 1995; Evans and Boyte, 1986; Flacks, 1988).

As mentioned above, there are new threads in social movements studies. The threads can be analyzed by categorizing them. Buechler's categorization will be used in this part to make easy the analysis of the new threads. There are some scholars who criticize mainstream theories like Resource Mobilization and Political Process theories, took the attention to "the social movements organizing". Their discussion generally started with the question which is "are social movements

usual?". How does the normalization of social movements affect the dynamics of social movements? There is a big risk here about normalization. It can be read as a transformation of the social movements to lobbying association in the political order. Another possible effect of this normalization can be seen as decreasing the power of social protests. Actually to put social movements organizing as vital for the success of social movements is problematic somehow because of the mentioned criticisms to the social movements organizing and normalization. Together with this issue, the role of organizing is still important and to ignore or reject it is also problematic. There is an organizing process and institutionalization so the ignorance of them make impossible for full analysis of social movements. Moyer (2001: 20) explains the required organizing strategies for the success of social movements in participatory democracy and put movements somewhere into political order. Actually, his point can be criticized by the threads mentioned above. The function of social movements cannot be explained by only referring to the capability of changes in the political order. The view of Moyer is a good example to see why the threads and the scholars who created the threads criticize the vital position of "the social movements organizing" in social movements analysis. To put this issue into the center of the analysis is dangerous because it can be a guide which makes social movements just as an actor like a lobbying association.

As another new thread in social movements studies, the emphasis on structures in the analysis of social movements became the leading way of argumentations. Here there is a critical discussion between agents and structures base analysis in social movements studies. This perspective mainly focuses on the structures which cause and prepare "the revolutions". Economic and international structures are the main components of the reading from this perspective when they are doing their analysis in social movements studies. The structural forces have the main role in their analysis and the agent is not the core of their analysis in this perspective. Actually, there are studies both use agents and structures in their analysis like Resource Mobilization Theory in social movements studies but there is still discussion about the role of agents in social movements. The threads which mentioned here main put

structural forces into the center and set their argumentations according to the structural forces to explain movements in general. For example, Tilly (1984:48) uses “mechanization of industry” and “rapid growth of cities” to explain social change and social movements somehow. This type of argumentation which emphasis structure rather than agents is a good example to understand the new thread and their view of social movements studies and the way of argumentations.

As opposed to the structural emphasis to understand social movements, another thread defends “culture in back” perspective. Some scholars reject the secondary position of culture and identity in the analysis of social movements. They get attention to the cultural dimensions and identity in social movements studies. Structural bases are not enough and there are cultural roots of social movements. In other words, the perspective emphasizes the actors rather than the structure. Cultural consequences are important and there are clear political and structural impacts of this cultural consequences. There is a clear attempt to restore a cultural emphasis on social movements studies. Actually, this perspective can be seen as a continuity of Cultural Framing Theory in this study field and the attempt exist to restore the culture and identity in social movements studies. To understand this perspective better and their understanding of social movements, the study of Melucci as one of the pioneers of this perspective will be beneficial.

> According to Melucci, “the new organizational form of contemporary movements is not just "instrumental" for their goals. It is a goal in itself. Since the action is focused on cultural codes, the form of the movement is a message, a symbolic challenge to the dominant patterns” (Melucci, 1985: 801).

It is a clear example to understand how to do culture and identity so important in social movement analysis from this perspective. The emphasis on culture and identity is clear in Melucci’s argumentation.

After these three threads in contemporary social movement studies, the last thread is about “functions of social movements”. The main question is not about the social

movement itself. The core of the studies is about the functions of social movements in the democratic system and the capacity of creating free space. When we look into the studies from this perspective, the studies advocate progressive politics and societal democratization. In other words, they support social movements because they accept that social movements are a practical component of progressive politics and these movements have functions of societal democratization. Social movements can be defined as democratic initiatives from this perspective. Jackie Smith (2008: 5) argues that transnational social movements shaped global human rights, peace, and environmental treaties. He explains social movements as part of advancing of the global democratic order. Actually, Smith's position and understanding of social movements is a good example of the perspective mentioned above. Social movements are seen as actors to conserve and develop democracy and democratic order. They evaluate social movements as part of progressive politics and societal democratization.

All in all, in this part of the thesis, the contemporary trends and discussions in social movements studies were scrutinized. To make easy to analyze these trends, four subgroups were mentioned and the main perspectives of these trends were discussed. The first trend in contemporary social movement studies is about "normalization" or "decreasing power" of social movements. The discussion was about social movement organizing and its possible effects on social movements mainly. The second trend is about structure and actor based analysis in social movements. It is a methodological discussion in social movements studies. The main question is about the main focus of the studies. The followers of this trend mainly emphasis structural base analysis and they defend this against actors based analysis in social movements studies. The third trend is a reaction to the second trend. They defend revitalization of the cultural root perspective in social movements and they defend mainly actor base analysis rather than structural analysis. The last trend is about functions of social movements and it is actually a response to the first trend and defend the functional role of social movements in a

democratic order and emphasis social movement organizing to advocate political progress and societal democratization.

In short, the theoretical debates of the thesis and the framework of social movements are based on this chapter. The main objective of this chapter is to understand how social movements are conceptualized in this thesis and to summarize the discussion of these concepts in literature. In the following section, the concept of institutionalization and social movement organizations will be discussed on a theoretical basis within the framework of this institutionalization concept. These two chapters form the theoretical framework of the thesis. In other words, the concepts of social movements and institutionalization are discussed theoretically in the first and second chapters respectively and the theoretical basis of the thesis is made in these chapters.

CHAPTER 3

INSTITUTIONALIZATION OF SOCIAL MOVEMENTS

In this section, which follows the first section where the theories of social movements are discussed, the concept of institutionalization and social movement organizations will be examined in this section. The main aim of this thesis is to understand then the institutionalization of social movements and the effects of this process on the dynamics of social movements. In the beginning, the institutionalization issue in social movements studies will be discussed from the perspective of neo-institutionalism. Neo-institutionalism itself will be discussed then the institutionalization of social movements will be analyzed from this perspective. After highlighting the institutionalization issue, social movements organizing and social movements organizations (SMOs) will focus on the discussion as a concrete result of the institutionalization of social movements. Social movements organizations itself will be the first step of discussion which cover social movements organizing. What are social movements organizations? This question will be the core of the discussion. In addition to that, resource mobilization theory's view of social movements will be examined to make this point clearer from a theoretical perspective. Then, to make clear the classification of social movements organization concept in organizational studies, there will be a comparison between social movements organizations and non-governmental organizations. After the discussions on the concept of social movements organizations, the legal status of social movements organizations in Turkey will be scrutinized to understand how are social movements organizations formed and worked formally. The law and regulations about the association will be analyzed as a legal background of social movements organizations and formal social movements organizing.

3.1 Neo Institutionalism

In the decade of 1950'ies, the dominant academic perspective behind the studies which focused on organizations and organizing was mainly based on economic variables. The main aim of these studies was about the explanation of the economic environment and the economic variables rather than social environment (cultural and political variables) (Senge, 2013: 77). The dominant perspective can be called as “old” institutionalism approaches to organization studies. The main problematic part of these approaches was about their “economical” perspective. The organizations and their influence on society are also important to have a deep understanding of organizations and organizing. The critics of the “old” institutionalism approaches were concentrated on this issue. The ignorance of the social environment and the relations between organization and society opened the way of the new approach. This new approach includes cultural and political variables into their explanation to understand organizations and organizing. The “neo” institutionalism approach tried to explain that organizations are social entities and they cannot be explained only by giving references to objective material conditions (Hasselbladh & Kallinikos, 2000: 698). In this part of this thesis, this new approach will be scrutinized to understand the institutionalization of social change and social movements because the social environment together with economic variables will be beneficial to understand “how to do social movements organized and institutionalized?”. As the first part of this chapter, the “neo” institutionalism approach will be analyzed. After these analyses, the institutionalization of social movements will be evaluated from this perspective. These emphases on the theoretical framework of the institutionalization will be ground to understand social movements organizing and social movements organization. After this theoretical part, Social Movements Organizations (SMOs) will be the focus of this chapter. The “neo” institutionalism approach will be beneficial to understand SMOs.

Before explaining the “neo” institutionalism approach, the shift of perspectives about organizations and its effects of the discussions in social movements studies will be briefly analyzed. There are two main views in social movements studies which cultivate the approaches on social movements organizing. The first group mainly focused on “resources” and “resource mobilization” to understand social movements. Their view mostly based on empirical research which has mainly economical and material variables. The second group can be accepted as the continuity of the Weberian approach and they focus on political and cultural variables mainly. The Political Process / Opportunity Theory utilized from both of them. As mentioned above, there is the “old” institutionalist approach which mainly focuses on economistical variables and “neo” institutionalist approach which mainly focuses on the social environment in addition to economic variables. The Resource Mobilization Theory and their view to understanding social movements and social movements organizing can be categorized in the first group. Because they mainly giving references to objective material conditions and variables which are resources of the social change. The Political Process / Opportunity Theory and Framing and Social Construction approach can be categorized in the second group because they put their emphasis on political and cultural variables to understand social movements and social movements organizing.

3.1.1 What is the “Neo” institutionalism approach?

The criticism on Rational Actor Theory which accepts organizations are reflections of resource capacity, choices of rational actors and Behaviourisms which see collective political and economic behavior as a result of the sum of individual choices are the sources of the “neo” institutionalism approach (Fidan, 2017: 4). “Before The “neo” institutionalism approach, main organizational theories ignore the wider institutional setting of organizational activity beyond the economic sphere” (Senge, 2013: 83). The main contribution of this new approach is not only about the addition of cultural and political variables into the analysis of organizations but also the critiques of the old institutionalism by giving specific

references to the ignorance of social environment in their analysis are the contribution of this approach into the social movements studies. Actually, the discussion on academic perspectives which tries to understand organization and organizing is similar to the discussions between Research Mobilization Theory and Framing Construction approach in the case of social movements studies. Political and cultural variables and their importance in analysis and their ignorance in the analysis is the core of the discussion. In short, the required addition of cultural and political entities and their influence in the analysis is the main result of the introduction of neo-institutionalism into the social movements studies. The cultural and political entities and their effects on social movements organizing are part of social movements studies today and this is the main contribution of neo-institutionalism into social movements studies.

"New Institutionalists ask questions not just related to economic dependencies, available resources, or the costs of transactions, but also (in the case of the analysis of economic activity) to non-economic institutions relevant to economic action" (Senge, 2013: 84). The approach releases the cultural and political variables as focuses in addition to economic variables. For example, Meyer and Scott have analysis on organizing with particular significance to the cultural sphere. On the other hand, Dobbin has analysis on organizing with particular significance to the political sphere (Meyer, 1977; Scott, 2003; Dobbin, 1994). In this approach, organizational behavior is analyzed with various variables like cultural and political in a social environment. The organization and its mutual relation with society and social environment are the core of this approach. Together with economic elements, this approach enriches the analysis on organizing by giving particular significances to cultural and political variables in their analysis. The "neo" institutionalism approach was formulated for non-governmental organizations first but today the contribution of this approach in whole analysis about organizing cannot be denied for all types of organizations. "New Institutionalism emphasizes a multiplicity of societal institutional influences on organizations that had been left unattended in the literature" (Senge, 2013: 84).

3.1.2 "Institutionalization" of social movements

What are the social movements? The first image of people about the social movements is mainly a sum of protest and activists on the street but on these days the image is changing day by day. The activists are organizing conferences, implementing projects and making lobbying activities. The types of activism and the ways of struggling are changing so the meaning of social movements also changing. To understand social movements better we need to understand the trend of change. What is the core of this change? This is the crucial question here in this part of this thesis. The core of this change can be attributed to NGOization [21] and institutionalization of social movements. In other words, the institutionalization changed the image of social movements totally. Institutions are defined as social constructs like work, family and the law and these constructs structure and give meaning to social life. These institutions are cumulative of formal and informal rules which enforce mechanism and belief systems. These provide a background to social interaction. There are maintained routines around shared understandings. Institutions act as forces that determine how people understand their words and act in (Leachman, 2016: 665). As we can understand from these statements, institutionalization is a kind of transformation in formal and informal structures of movements.

The way of transformation shaped "institutionalization" and there is no one type of institutionalization. There are also different types of institutionalized organizations. According to Seippel (2001: 127), there are different forms of institutionalizations in the case of social movements. Normative foundation and structural formulation of the movements are two determining factors for the forms of institutionalization. Seippel classified three types of social movements organizations which are vibrant organizations, bureaucratic organizations and noncontinuous organizations

[21] Being non-governmental organizations (NGOs). Arundhati Roy (2014) defined NGO-ization as "the capacity of so-called non-governmental organizations (NGOs) to depoliticize discourses and practices of social movements".

("movements") according to their way of institutionalization. As we can understand from this statement, the way of institutionalization has huge effects on the future and structure of social movements. In Seippel's article, the vibrant organizations are the result of institutionalization which has a high normative foundation but low structural formulation. In other words, different kinds of social movements organizations exist because their way of institutionalization is different. All institutionalized organizations don't have to be hieratical and rigid (bureaucratic organization). That's is why institutionalization and bureaucratization are two different terms.

To illustrate the role of institutionalization of social movements, we can look closer to the expanded image of social movements mentioned above. The activists' legal knowledge, technical and scientific expertise, public relations skills, a detailed understanding of the policy process and the development of personal contacts with members of the civil service, elected representatives and the press are main changing components in the case of activism (Ruzza, 2004: 12). Actually, these changes in terms of expanded skills show us some clues about the institutionalization of the movements. From the level of street protest to making lobbying activity with elected representatives is a short story of institutionalization in this illustration. In other words, these new skills are clear proof of the change in the core of social movements. It is expanded and now there are new required skills. This expansion is a kind of result for the existence of social movements organization and institutionalization. As we can understand from this statement above, the institutionalization is not only about economic variables and changes in movements. In this illustration, it was about organizing and organizational variables but at the same time, it is related to cultural and political variables. That is why the neo-institutionalist perspective was used in this study to explain the institutionalization of social movements. Economic, cultural, political and organizational variables are all significant in the case of institutionalization of social movements and we need to look at these variables to understand the institutionalization process of social movements.

3.2 What are Social Movements Organizations (SMOs)?

The main core of this thesis is about social movements organizing and social movements organizations. In this part of the study, the concept of social movements organizations will be discussed. In the beginning, social movements organizations in resource mobilization theory will be highlighted because the theory is the first and main theory which put social movements organizing and social movements organization into the center of analysis. That is why the theory is important to understand social movements organizations in the studies of social movements. There is a critical issue about the classification of the social movements organizations as different "organization" from other types of civil society organizations. What are the differences between social movements organizations (SMOs) and non-governmental organizations (NGOs)? The question is critical to understand the concept of social movements organization better. There will be an attempt to show the differences and make a more clear differentiation between NGOs and SMOs so secondly the differentiation of SMOs and NGOs will be analyzed. Finally, the legal status and legitimization process of social movements organization will be the center of discussion. In short, this part of this study will start with the concept of "social movements organizations (SMOs)". Then social movements organization will be discussed in resources mobilization theory. To make clear the concept as a new organization type in civil society, the relation and differentiation between SMOs and NGOs will be discussed after the discussions on the concept of social movements organizations. The legitimization process of these organization and their legal status will be the final phases of this part. The legitimization process and legal status are important because to understand what social movements organizations are, the legal status of them are beneficial. In other words, there are lots of clues in laws and regulations which show us what "social movements organizations (SMOs)" are.

To understand and define "social movements organizations (SMOs)", we need to start with their function in movements and social change process. Although social

movements are maintained not only by formalized organizations but also informal networks and cultural groups, social movements organizations and coalitions of the organizations are the main organizers of the movement campaigns and the campaigns are significant for the growth and ability of social change (Staggenborg, 2015: 38). As we can understand from the statement, the main function of the social movements organizations is "organizing social movements and social movements' campaign". As the first step of the understanding and definition of social movements organizations, the main function in movements process is organizing role in social movements and social movements' campaign. The second step in understanding and defining social movements organizations is about their relationship with movements itself and what does make an organization "social movements organizations (SMOs). To understand this point, McCarthy and Zald's definition of social movements organizations is beneficial. They define social movements organizations as complex or formal organizations which have common goals and preferences of a social movement. And these organizations have attempted to implement these common goals (McCarthy & Zald, 1977: 1218). It is clear that the main point of the relation between social movements and social movements organizations is common goals and the intentions to implement the goals. When the statements analyzed together, social movements organizations (SMOs) can be defined as the formalized organizations which share common goal and preferences with a social movement. These organizations have the intention to implement the shared goals and the main function of these organizations is organizing of the social movement and social movements' campaign which have a vital role in the growth and ability of social change. In addition to that, the function of social movements organizations is not only assembling and deploying resources necessary for effectively mounting movement campaigns but they have also a key role for the realization of a movement's objectives (Snow, Soule, & Kriesi, 2004: 9). That is why social movements organizations are keys to understand the operation of social movements. In other words, social movements organizations have a role from beginning to the end of social movements and they are keys to understand social movements process. These statements are only representing a limited part of

the literature on social movements organizations, there are different perspectives on this issue and there are discussions on forms and degrees of organizations. Although there are discussions on forms and degrees of organizations, it is clear that different conceptualizations of organizations and differences in social movements studies literature are not grounds for dismissing the significance of organization to social movements (Snow, Soule, & Kriesi, 2004: 10).

3.2.1 Social movements organizations (SMOs) in resource mobilization theory

The theoretical literature in social movements theories mainly ignores the effects of organizational behavior and organizational policy on social change and social movements dynamics (Zald, Calvin, & Rao, 2005: 254). Resource Mobilization Theory emphasizes organizations, organizational capacity, resources and opportunities to explain the existence of social movements instead of short term grievances which are highlighted by traditional social movements theories. This new perspective of Resource Mobilization Theory is one of the important indicators of the paradigm shift in social movements studies. The most important contribution of this perspective is about the increased interest in social movements organizing and social movements organizations.

> In other words, "the most distinctive contribution of resource mobilization theory has been to emphasize the significance of outside contributions and the cooptation of institutional resources by contemporary social movements" (Jenkins, 1983: 533).

That is why social movements organizations and Resource Mobilization Theory is studied in the literature together. Resource Mobilization Theory is the first and main theory which put forward the organizations into the center of social movements studies. The theory analyses organizations and being organized situation as a core component of the movements to understand the mobilization of the resources so Social Movements Organizations are one of the most important elements of the theory. The main goal of the theory is to understand the cost-benefit calculation leading an existence of social movements and to understand the calculation, rational behaviors and choices of individuals. Resource Mobilization Theory put

organizations and being organized situation into the center of their analysis because the organizations and being organized situation of social movements have a vital role in the mobilization of the required resources. In addition, the role of organizing, the theory explains organizing as something essentially required. In other words, the theory argues that organizing itself is required for the existence of social movements. Resource Mobilization Theory is the first theory which directly focuses on social movements organizing as the main element to explain the existence of social movements and the theory put organizing into the center to evaluate success possibility of the movements. In short, social movements organizing is really important for the theory and have a vital role in their analysis. The theory chance focus of the analysis from causes leading movements to mechanism leading movements because they argue that there are always some conflicts and grievances in society but for the existence of social movements the mechanisms are must mobilize the required resources to lead social movements and organizing is key for the mechanism and the analysis of the mechanisms.

As mentioned above, Resource Mobilization Theory analyses the social movements by putting organizations into the center. McCarthy and Zald as two important researchers for Resource Mobilization Theory tried to define social movements organizations as a "term" to show their specific position in social movements studies. According to them, social movements organizations are not basically interest group or non-governmental organizations. Social movements organizations have some unique features which differentiate them from other types of organizations and these differentiations will be mentioned later but the main point here is about their attempts to show what social movements organizations are and to put social movements organizations as a different term from social movements itself. "A social movement organization (SMO) is a complex, or formal, organization which identifies its goals with the preferences of a social movement or a countermovement and attempts to implement those goals" (McCarthy & Zald, 1977: 1218). According to them, the main function of these social movements organizations is to shape and represent the social movements. In many cases, there

are more than one social movements organizations which share similar goal and preferences of social movements. McCarthy and Zald used the term of Social Movements Industry term of Von Eschen, Kirk, and Pinard to understand the social movements organizations which are gathered around the similar goal and preferences of social movements. According to McCarthy and Zald (1977: 1219), "all SMOs that have as their goal the attainment of the broadest preferences of a social movement constitute a social movement industry (SMI) -the organizational analog of a social movement". Using this term have some advantageous for researchers. It helps the researcher to understand the organizational structure of the social movements better by giving another segment in the case of social movements organizing. In addition to that, to see that social movement can be represented by more than one organizations, it is important to understand the size and intensity of the preferences within the social movements.

When we look at the point of view from Resource Mobilization Theory to the social movements, social movements organizations and social movements industries, the theory argues that "each SMO has a set of target goals, a set of preferred changes toward which it claims to be working. Such goals may be broad or narrow, and they are the characteristics of SMOs which link them conceptually with particular SMs and SMIs. The SMOs must possess resources, however few and of whatever type, in order to work toward goal achievement. Individuals and other organizations control resources, which can include legitimacy, money, facilities, and labor" (McCarthy & Zald, 1977: 1220). In addition, the concepts of social movements, social movements organizations, and social movements industries, McCarthy and Zald uses the concept of Social Movements Sector (SMS) as a cumulative of different social movements industries. The relation between different Social Movements ınduslries in Social Movements Sector and Social Movements Sector and other sectors in a country show us the power and capability of social movements in the case of social change. For example, McCarthy and Zald (1977: 1224) argue that in any society the SMS must compete with other sectors and industries for the resources of the population. In short, there are three important concepts used by Resource

Mobilization Theory used in the case of social movements organizing to make clear the organizing structure. These concepts are Social Movements Organizations (SMOs), Social Movements Industries (SMIs) and Social Movements Sector (SMS). These are important to understand the social movements organizing and the environment of the organizing process. These concepts are also useful to understand the internal and external relations of social movements organizing. As mentioned above, these conceptualization is useful in the case of social movements organizing but there are some problematic points too. The researcher who used the concepts and terms have ideas to put the differences between social movements organizations and interests groups but to see social movements cumulative as a sector can be interpreted as problematic in that sense. To see social movements as a sector can be interpreted as seeing social movements as an actor in the system and it makes social movements a side in the system and this interpretation can be understood as social movements are a kind of interests groups in the system. In other words, to see social movements as a part of the sector can be interpreted as seeing social movements as an actor in another interest group. These interpretations can open this kind of way and this is why this conceptualization can be defined problematic in some senses although there are some advantages which mentioned above in the case of analysis of social movements organizing.

3.2.2 Comparison of SMOs and non-governmental organizations

In the social sciences literature, there are no strict boundaries in the classification of the organizations in civil society. To separate the organization into categories is not easy for many cases but to have some categories or concepts is beneficial to make a better analysis of the organizations. As mentioned above, social movements organizations are not basically interest group or non-governmental organizations. Social movements organizations have some unique features which differentiate them from other types of organizations. McCarthy and Zald used the concept of “social movements organization” as a different category in civil society. The main aim of them is to put social movements organization as the different subject of analysis to have a better understanding of social movements organizing. There is a

crucial question here. How are social movements differentiated from other types of organizations, especially from non-governmental organizations? In this part of this thesis, there will be a comparison between social movements organizations and non-governmental organization to make the classification clear which separate them and put social movements organizations as the new subject of analysis in social movements studies.

Non-Governmental organizations are mainly humanitarian or cooperative rather than being commercial, objectives (Werker & Ahmed, 2008: 74). Being non-profit and independence from states are the main features of NGOs (Willetts, 2009: 229). As we can understand from these features of NGOs, there are no strict rules for the classification of organizations as non-governmental. Generally, the definitions are too general and most of the organizations in civil society can be classified as non-governmental organizations easily. The critical point here is about the huge umbrella of NGOs. It is easy to put an organization into the umbrella is easy but to make some specific analysis on an organization in this classification is not easy. To have a better understanding to see the differences rather than similarities can be more beneficial for some cases. A social movements organization can be classified as NGOs easily but to classify them as NGOs does not work well for all cases. In this thesis, there is a focus on social movements organizing and the main aim is about how to understand this organizing work. In that sense, to have better and clear understanding narrower classification can be beneficial. That is why social movements organization concept will be used instead of NGOs concept. In addition to them, the differentiation of social movements organizations from the non-governmental organization in some specific point will be analyzed here to make clear the concept of social movements organizations.

The rise of NGOs is related to retreatment of state from providing social entitlements and services (Jad, 2007: 622). The main core of the NGOs is about implementing some services or playing a role as a partner in policy planning and implementing the process. The core of differentiation between nongovernmental

organizations and social movements organizations is just behind the statement mentioned above. NGOs mainly implementing and providing social entitlements and services but there is no clear aim like that in social movements organizations. The starting point of these social movements organizations is about being out of system or order rather than being part of it as a compliment. These organizations mainly have an aim which around cultural deconstruction somehow but not implementing some services or playing a key role in the policy-making process. This mentality differences can be helpful to understand how do these two concepts differentiate. In addition to that, a social movements organization have clear common aim and preferences with a social movement and there are clear mutual types of relation between them but for NGOs concept, it is not easy to see this kind of clear relation because the concept is too general to make this kind of analysis. In short, there are similarities and some differentiation between NGOs and SMOs but to differentiate these two concepts is beneficial to make better analysis in social movements organizing. Because of that, social movements organizations concept was used in this thesis in the point of categorization of movement organizing.

3.2.3 Legal status of social movements organizations

In this part of this thesis, the social movements organizations were scrutinized. To understand how do these organizations work and formally organize, the legal status of social movements organizations is important. There are determinant provisions in the body of the current law which directly shape these organizations. These regulations will be scrutinized in this part to understand what is the legal status of these organizations and how does it work. There are lots of clues in this regulation which will be used in the analysis chapter of this thesis. That is why the legal status and regulations are the focus of this part. The legislation on "associations" will be examined in this section. Associations are the topic because all LGBTIQ+ [22] organizations which are the focus of this thesis were formally organized as

[22] Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Trans, Intersex and Queer

associations in Ankara. Constitution article and the laws which consist provision about associations will be examined in this section. To underline the need for understanding about the legal status of social movements organizations, emphasizing the direct power of the legislation on these organizations is important. These legislations directly shape organizations and organizing itself and to understand the social movements organizing process, the legal regulations are important. For example, to understand the relation between state and social movements organizations we have to know the legal regulations on associations.

Law of association defines an association in the first article. "The association refers to communities of individuals with a legal personality, which consist of at least seven natural or legal persons, by constantly combining their knowledge and work, to realize a specific and common purpose, which is not prohibited by law, except for profit sharing" (Law of Association, 2004). As we can understand from this article, the associations were defined as legal personality which has a specific and common purpose like mentioned in the definition of social movements organizations above. According to article 33 of Constitution of the Republic of Turkey, "everyone has the right to form associations, or become a member of an association, or withdraw from membership without prior permission" (Constitution of the Republic of Turkey, 2001). To form an association or become a member of an association is defined as right in the constitution. This article is a guarantee of the right to organize formally. As we can understand from this article, there is no restriction in the constitution about forming an association. Other issues related to associations are not covered by the constitution directly but the constitution address laws for other issues like the formalities, conditions, and procedures to be applied in the exercise of freedom of association (Constitution of the Republic of Turkey, 2001).

According to the 4th article of the Law of Associations, the purpose of the association, the subjects of the work, the forms of work, the field of activity, the membership of the association and the conditions and forms of leaving the membership should be defined and notified (Law of Association, 2004). It is the first point which the way of state to recognize and follow associations. When the

formalized associations were formed, the information like the purpose of the association, the subjects of the work, the forms of work, the field of activity, the membership of the association and the conditions and forms of leaving the membership is being controlled and registered by the state. This is the starting for the control of the state over associations. According to the 11th article of the Law of Associations, associations must keep records of their income and expenses and inform the relevant institutions (Law of Association, 2004). It is another proof for the state control and following over associations. In addition to that, these regulations establish many regulations regarding the closure and organization of associations. All in all, there are lots of provisions which shape, record and follow the associations directly. The formal status of the association comes with state control and responsibilities to the state at the same time. This information about the legal status of associations, social movements organizations, will be used in the analysis chapter of this theses later in the examination of state and social movements organizations relation cases.

The main purpose of this section, where the concept of institutionalization is handled separately in the context of social movements studies, is to reveal from which point of view the concept of institutionalization is discussed within the framework of the thesis. This section, where the concept of institutionalization is discussed at the center together with social movement organizations, will help to understand and ground the concept of institutionalization discussed later in the analysis section. In order to cover this aim, in this part of this thesis, the institutionalization of social movements and social movements organizing were scrutinized. In the beginning, the institutionalization issue in social movements studies was discussed from the perspective of neo-institutionalism. Neo-institutionalism itself was discussed then the institutionalization of social movements will be analyzed from this perspective. After highlighting the institutionalization issue, social movements organizing and social movements organizations (SMOs) focused on the discussion as a concrete result of the institutionalization of social movements. Social movements organizations itself

were the first step of discussion which cover social movements organizing. What are social movements organizations? This question was the core of the discussion. In addition to that, resource mobilization theory's view of social movements was examined to make this point clearer from a theoretical perspective. Then, to make clear the classification of social movements organization concept in organizational studies, there was a comparison between social movements organizations and non-governmental organizations. After the discussions on the concept of social movements organizations, the legal status of social movements organizations in Turkey was scrutinized to understand how are social movements organizations formed and worked formally. The law and regulations about the association were analyzed as a legal background of social movements organizations and formal social movements organizing.

In other words, in this part of the thesis, social movement organizations are discussed on a theoretical basis within the context of institutionalization. Firstly, the theoretical discussion about the concept of institutionalization was conducted and it was underlined that the concept of institutionalization could be understood not only by economic but also by cultural, social and political variables. Afterwards, social movement organizations were explained within the framework of RMT and their relations with other civil society were examined. Finally, the theoretical discussion of social movement organizations conducted over the turkey is embodied example. In the following part of the thesis, discussions on the concept of institutionalization and social movements and the effects of institutionalization on social movements will be analyzed at the application level.

The "neo" institutionalism includes cultural and political variables into their explanation to understand organizations and organizing. The "neo" institutionalism approach tried to explain that organizations are social entities and they cannot be explained only by giving references to objective material conditions (Hasselbladh & Kallinikos, 2000: 698). Why this approach is used in this study? In this study, the effects of institutionalization and institutionalization process on social movement

dynamics (visibility, continuity, and opportunities) were explored. In this context, institutionalization has been discussed within the framework of material and economic conditions such as organizing and mobilizing resources. However, the main discussion focused on cultural and political factors while measuring the effects of institutionalization. In fact, the discussion of institutionalization as the preface of the neo-institutionalism perspective was made not only on economic variables but also on cultural and political variables. Institutionalization and institutionalization process is discussed by evaluating economic, cultural and political factors together. In this case, it actually supports the basic arguments of the perspective of neo-institutionalism. In this sense, this perspective provided important tools for the study.

CHAPTER 4

INSTITUTIONALIZATION OF LGBTI+ MOVEMENTS

How does institutionalization affect social movements? In order to understand the institutionalization of social movements, institutionalization practices within the framework of visibility, continuity and opportunities dynamics are discussed within the framework of this thesis. The relationship between institutionalization and these dynamics will be discussed in this section. As discussed in the previous three chapters, this thesis aims to reveal the institutionalization of the LGBTI+ movement in Ankara and the effects of institutionalization on the movement. The effects of institutionalization on social movement dynamics will be analyzed in the light of the data obtained from the field study in this section within the framework of the concepts of social movements, organization of social movements, institutionalization and social movement organizations, which are presented in Chapters 2 and 3 where the theoretical framework of the thesis is formed. Within the framework of this study, in order to understand the institutionalization of social movements and the effects of this institutionalization on social movements, firstly the concepts of "social movements" and "social movements organizing" were discussed according to different theoretical perspectives. Secondly, the concept of institutionalization itself was discussed in the context of social movements and social movement organizations (SMOs). The main aim of the conceptual discussion was to understand “the institutionalization of social movements” which is the main concern of this research. Thirdly, in order to analyze the theoretical discussion at the application level, LGBTI+ liberation movements were selected and the institutionalization of this movement in Ankara was considered as a case study of this thesis. The methodology of this case study was mentioned in the introduction chapter of this thesis. In addition to the methodological discussion, the history of LGBTI+ liberation movements in Tukey, Ankara was mentioned to create a substructure for the analysis part of the thesis.

A field study was conducted on the course of the LGBTI+ movement in Ankara. This field study mainly aims to reveal the institutionalization of the said movement through interviews with members of the movement. In order to achieve this goal, the analysis section of this field study is essential. The basic question behind this thesis is how institutionalization affects social movements. When an evaluation is made from this perspective, the importance of the field study, analyzed in this section is revealed in order to find the answer to the question asked and to carry out the main purpose of the thesis.

As mentioned above, the data obtained as a result of the interviews will be analyzed. Prior to this, historical information about the LGBTI + movement will be included. The main purpose of this information is to facilitate the analysis of the study and to base the statements of the interviewees. For example, when analyzing the continuity of the movement, it is necessary to have information about movement history. Knowledge of the historical process of the movement is important in this respect. "The LGBTI + Liberation Movements in Ankara" section describes the history of the LGBTI+ movement, which began in the 1970s and continues until today. Background information obtained here is important for the analysis of this thesis.

First of all, this section will include an information section on the profile of the interviewees. The purpose of this section is to understand the sources of the data to be used in the analysis part of the study and to understand the analysis of the study more clearly by understanding the position of interviewees. In this section, it will be discussed whether the participants of the movement know before and after the institutionalization process, their connection with the social movements organizations (SMOs) in this movement, and how they define themselves in the movement. Secondly, the impact of institutionalization on social movements will be discussed within the context of the collected data from the Ankara sample in terms of visibility, continuity, and opportunities. Thirdly, the opinions of the interviewees about the institutionalization of LGBTI+ movement will be evaluated. Finally, the

subject of organizing discussed in the theory section of this thesis will be tested in the light of the interviews held within the scope of the thesis.

4.1 Historical Background of LGBTI+ Movements In Ankara

The homosexual movement has emerged and evolved around changing the policies of societies toward gender and/or sexual orientations and around the demands of equality, freedom, and justice on the basis of human rights. There are also variations in the definition of the movement for. In the first phase of the movement, it was known as the gay movement. The definition, which started in the West as a "gay" movement and then evolved into a bisexual, lesbian and gay movement then it became the LGBTI+ (Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Trans, Intersex) movement universally. Today, many organizations around the world use the movement as LGBTI+. Especially after the 2000s, with the addition of intersex and queer categories to the movement, in some sources the movement is referred to as LGBTQ or LGBTIQ (Özbek, 2015: 181).

There is no long history of Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Trans, Intersex liberation movements in Turkey and Ankara but the history is complicated because the subject itself is complex in Turkey. Although being LGBTI+ has never been considered as a crime in Turkish legislation, there is huge ignorance of this issue in Turkish law and regulation. There is only some regulation in state discourse about medical issues of LGBTI+ (Yılmaz, 2013: 133). LGBTI+ are totally invisible in Turkish legislation but they have struggled to fight against this ignorance. In this part of the thesis, the story of this struggle will be scrutinized. There are lots of social, political, cultural and economic variables which directly shape the history of the movement. That is why it is not easy to understand the march of the movements in Turkey. This background part of this thesis aims to tell the story of LGBTI+ liberation movements in Ankara to make easy the analyzing of the issues about LGBTI+ liberation movements. The part also helps to understand the "institutionalization" process of the movements in Ankara. This part mainly focusses on the LGBTI+ organizations and their demonstrations because these are main components of the

story which cover the history of LGBTI+ liberation movements. As we can understand from above, the history of the movements, at the same time the history of the institutionalization of the movements.

The LGBTI+ liberation movements had the chance to organize unofficially and visible somehow in the 1990s and the movement increase its effect and visibility in the first half of the 2000s. The LGBTI+ organizations had gained their official status as associations thanks to legislative changes were made in the Law on Associations as a part of the European Union accession process (Yılmaz, 2013: 135). The stating of the annual pride after 2005 and the right to organize officially as an association are two important cornerstones for the LGBTI+ liberation movements in Turkey and these cornerstones are directly related with the European Union accession process. As mentioned before, Political Opportunity Theory emphasizes the importance of political conditions together with cultural and social variables. The process in the first half of the 2000s can be interpreted by the help of Political Opportunity Theory. The movement and the components of the movements used the political conditions to increase the power of the movement. The stating of the annual pride after 2005 and the right to organize officially are two outputs of this process.

All around the world, the LGBTI+ liberation movements started to organize in the 1970s but the process is different in the case of Turkey. In the 1970s, there was a too complicated political atmosphere in Turkey. It was not possible to talk about LGBTI+ issues in Turkey in these years (Kurbanoğlu, 2010: 53). The left and right political groups had huge conflicts between them. The leftist organizations and the political environment in the 1970s have shown their negative attitude towards the organizing of sexual orientation and gender identities. The separate organizing of race, ethnicity, and sexual orientation and gender identities was negated because of the argumentation that organizing around identities would divide class solidarity (Özbek, 2015: 193). The political and economic atmosphere did not let the existence of proper conditions to discuss LGBTI+ issues (Aşçı, 2013: 30). Because of this situation in Turkey, according to many studies and sources, the organizing of

LGBTI+ liberation movements started in the 1980s (Diltemiz Mol, 2016; Aşçı, 2013; Özbek, 2015; Kurbanoğlu, 2010).

At the end of the 1970s and beginning of the 1980s, there are some unofficial attempts for LGBTI+ organizing in Turkey (Özbek, 2015; Diltemiz Mol, 2016). This organizing had to take place as unofficial individual meetings (Özbek, 2015: 193). LGBTI+ people gathered around common interests in certain places, such as creating a safe living and working spaces (Diltemiz Mol, 2016: 51). These attempts were accepted as the beginning of the LGBTI organizing in Turkey. The 1980s, especially after the military coup, was a period known for the increasing violence and pressure for LGBTI + (Kurbanoğlu, 2010; Diltemiz Mol, 2016). Following the closure of safe workspaces, the stage bans introduced in 1981 have come. As a result, many transsexuals and gays living in places where they worked were forced to stay on the streets with the prevention of their work (Diltemiz Mol, 2016: 55). In other words, people are taken away from their jobs and they had to leave their place. One of the most painful experiences during these periods is that people are forced to leave Istanbul and the places where they live (Kurbanoğlu, 2010: 57). For these groups organized around the idea of establishing safe living spaces, the forced displacement has in fact disrupted the organizing activities. In the same years, gender reassignment surgery is prohibited. Increased public pressure and violence organized by the state were both the architects of the worst days of the LGBTI + movement and ignited the resistance that began at the end of the 1980s. In addition to that, Turkey's application to full European Union membership and the Özal's social liberalization policies after the military coup are other international and national conditions which created the proper environment for the LGBTI+ organizing and resistance at the end of the 1980s. "Although state and government policies towards LGBTTs (lesbian, gay, bisexual, transvestite, transsexual) have always been oppressive in Turkey, social liberalization policies arguably gave the courage to LGBTTs to get together towards the end of the 1980s. The most obvious example of such policies was the government's 1988 dated decision to lift the ban on Bülent Ersoy, a famous transsexual artist, who was taken into custody during the

military regime and was formerly not allowed in Turkey due to her sexual identity" (Kurbanoğlu, 2010: 59). As a result of the meetings and discussions held under the conditions mentioned, the first public LGBTI + action took place in 1987. In 1988 transgender people gained legal status. These are important gains of LGBTI+ liberation movements in the 1980s.

The systematic state violence towards LGBTI+ following the coup continued at the same intensity in the early 90s (Diltemiz Mol, 2016; Özbek, 2015; Kurbanoğlu, 2010). As mentioned above, systematic violence and social pressure have prepared the conditions for a common identity to come together and seek an organized struggle. In other words, the need to say something and coexistence created the necessary motivation for LGBTI+ organizing in the 1990s. In the 1990s, foundations such as *KAOS GL* and *Lamda Istanbul* were laid, and various activities such as the first Pride were planned but most of these activities could not be performed. LGBTI+ communities' legal status and even official events were prevented by state institutions (Diltemiz Mol, 2016: 66). *KAOS GL* group began to publish their journal, *Kaos GL*, the first gay and lesbian journal of Turkey (Kurbanoğlu, 2010: 62), The 1990s can be referred to as the years of organizing and gathering for the LGBTI movement. *KAOS GL* and *Lamda Istanbul* are two important groups which were active in these years but there are lots of attempts in all around the country. For example, the first LGBTI+ communities in universities started to be established in the 1990s (Diltemiz Mol, 2016: 71). Although the different elements of the LGBTI+ movement met periodically, the first comprehensive meeting took place at the end of the 1990s and on 27 September 1998 was the first "Turkish Gay Gathering" is made (Diltemiz Mol, 2016: 75). The increasing communication between different LGBTI groups in the late 1990s can be interpreted as the positive development in the context of institutionalization in these years (Kurbanoğlu, 2010: 66).

The 2000s are known as the year in which the LGBTI + movement peaked in Turkey. The oppressive and bitter days of the 1980s followed the days of organizing

pains of the 1990s, and ultimately the LGBTI movement in the 2000s succeeded in integrating the flesh to the bone. For example, LGBTI+ organizations, in the second half of the 2000s gained official status. LGBTI+ movement has started to become institutionalized officially and LGBTIs have become more visible in public and media. In addition to that, the first pride was realized in 2003. With the leadership of KAOS GL and *Lambda Istanbul*, many annual activities have started to be organized in these years and still continue. It founded in the 2000s and there are many LGBT+ organizations in Turkey showing still operating.

> Some of those are "Hebun LGBT (Diyarbakir), Initiative Against Homophobia (Cyprus), Istanbul LGBT Solidarity Association, IU Radar LGBT Community, Kaos GL (Ankara), Lambda Istanbul, Lambda Istanbul Family Group LISTAG (Istanbul), LuBUnya Bogazici University LGBT Community, MorEl Eskisehir Blog , METU LGBT Solidarity, Pink Life LGBT Solidarity Association (Ankara), Black Pink Triangle Association (Izmir), Voltrans Trans Men Initiative, SPoD (Istanbul), T-Der (Trans Information Center Association-Ankara), Actor LGBT Movement, Seven Colors LGBT (Mersin), Thrace LGBTQI, Red Umbrella Sexual Health and Human Rights Association (Ankara)" (Özbek, 2015: 193).

The beginning of the 2000s is very bright for the LGBTI+ movement but in the 2010s it is a disappointment. The increased social conflicts in society after the Gezi Park Protests created increased state pressure on all opposition groups. These years will be recorded as the years when the most crowded Istanbul Pride was built, but it will also be known as the years when all LGBTI+ activities in Ankara were banned in 2017.

To sum up, the story of the LGBTI+ movement is full of ups and downs. In all periods, pressure and violence continued as a descent. The 1970s and 1980s were recorded as the most painful days of the movement. As a result of the experience of the 1980s, 1990s are known as the years of intense organizing attempts. The 2000s started well for the movement but the bad continues. Many acquisitions, such as the beginning of formal organizing, took place in the early 2000s. Between 2017 and 2019, all LGBTI+ activities were banned in Ankara. It is clear proof of the increased opposition toward LGBTI+ movements. The positive visibility and increased

organizing of LGBTI+ liberation movements disrupted after increased social tensions in the 2010s. In addition to them, to understand the historical background of LGBTI+ liberation movements in Turkey, the EU and Turkey's relation with the EU is too important. Today, many organizations in both the EU and the UN to support fund to provide the financial support they need to have both also try to provide a universal legitimacy with the support of international institutions in Turkey (Özbek, 2015: 195).

4.2 Introduction of the Interviewees

The research design of this thesis has two crucial points need to be considered. The first point is about the nature of the study subject. The subject of the study is about a sensitive and complex issue which is the institutionalization of LGBTI+ liberation movements. The second point is about the sample group. The interviewees have different social, economic, professional, educational and personal backgrounds. These two points are important to understand the research design and the research methodology of this thesis. To explore the complex issue by the help of the sample group, the semi-structured interview method had been chosen. The semi-structured interview method enables to obtain information and clarification from the respondents' answers. Furthermore, the semi-structured interview method stands out as a suitable method for interviewees with different backgrounds. In short, semi-structured interview method was used in this study to explore the institutionalization of LGBTI+ liberation movements. In order to analyze these differences in a meaningful way, the profiles of the interviewees to be discussed in this section are important. In this part of the thesis, the subjects that the time spent by the interviewees as part of the movement, their position in the movement and their connections with or without SMOs will be discussed.

Within the scope of the research, interviews were conducted with 10 LGBTI+ activists using a semi-structured interview technique. Two basic dimensions were taken into account when selecting the sample group. First of all, it was taken into

consideration that the activists work or not in official organizations. Then, the time spent in the movement by the activists was taken into consideration. The main aim here is to analyze the different opinions between diverging views of the activists working in official LGBTI+ organizations or not. Thus, activists from two different groups working in organizations and not working in organizations were included in the sample group. In addition, two groups of activists who are familiar with the institutionalization processes in the pre-1990 and post-1990 periods can actually help to understand the impact of institutionalization on movement. Thus, when the selections for activists were made, two different groups of activists who knew the given institutionalization processes were included in the sample group. The evaluation of the backgrounds of the interviewees will be useful for understanding the analyses to be performed in this section. Therefore, in this section, the interviewees will be introduced around the criteria of "whether or not they are related to the official organizations (SMOs in LGBTI+ liberation movements in Ankara) in the movement", "the time spent in the movement" and "the position in the movement.

Table 1. List of Participants

Participants	**Year of birth**	**Contact with official organizations**	**Position**
Interviewee 1	1991	Professional employee (KAOS GL)	LGBTI+ activist
Interviewee 2	1986	Volunteer (Pembe Hayat)	LGBTI+ activist
Interviewee 3	1985	Disconnected	Unorganized LGBTI+ activist
Interviewee 4	1977	Professional employee (KAOS GL)	LGBTI+ activist
Interviewee 5	1994	Professional employee (Pembe Hayat)	LGBTI+ activist
Interviewee 6	1995	Disconnected (METU LGBTI+)	LGBTI+ activist

Table 2. (Continued)

Interviewee 7	1999	Volunteer (Pembe Hayat)	LGBTI+ activist
Interviewee 8	1979	Professional employee (KAOS GL)	LGBTI+ activist
Interviewee 9	1990	Professional employee (KAOS GL)	Journalist and defender of rights
Interviewee 10	1990	Volunteer (Sportif Lezbon)	Sports and LGBTI+ activist

"Queer emancipation will actually free us all[23]" (Interviewee 1, Ankara). When asked about the connection with LGBTI+ movement during the interview, this statement is expressed by the first interviewee. It is a general belief for LGBTI+ activist. To be free or to be queer means emancipation and this emancipation is a gate for freedom of society. This statement of the interviewee reveals the motivation to generalize the identity policy he/she carries out in the field and to present it as a lifestyle. The first interviewee was working for KAOS GL. The interviewee is a professional employee at KAOS GL, one of the official LGBTI+ organizations, but defines himself /herself as an LGBTI+ activist. In other words, the views of this interviewee, an institutionalized LGBTI organization employee, will be discussed in the following sections as evaluations of a professional employee in an LGBTI+ organization on institutionalization. In the comparative analysis, the interviews of this person, who is in an institutionalized place, will be compared with unorganized activities in this analysis. She/he defined this situation as "I have already been involved in the LGBTI+ movement by street organizations. Now, I'm a professional employee. I run an international relations network. My position in street organization has weakened[24]" (Interviewee 1, Ankara). The first interviewee during

[23] Queer özgürleşme aslında hepimizi özgürleştirecek.

[24] Ben zaten LGBTI+ hareketine sokak örgütlenmesinden doğru şeklinde dâhil oldum. Profesyönel çalışanım. Uluslarası ilişkiler ağını yürütüyorum. Sokak örgütlenmesi zayıfladı o pozisyonu kaybettim.

the interviews stated that she/he was born in 1990. Although he had knowledge about the institutionalization and institutionalization process of the movement through the organization she/he worked for, she/he did not directly experience the pre- and post-institutionalization process during his time in the movement. Therefore, the analyses will be evaluated as the views of an activist who directly knows the institutionalized process, which does not experience the pre-institutionalization process. When the interviewee is asked about his / her position in the movement, she/he described her /his position as "I am a professional employee at KAOS GL but beyond that, I am an LGBTI activist[25]". The first interviewee defines herself/himself as an activist and then an employee. In this case, in the following section, the person will be considered as an activist within the LGBTI+ movement and also as an employee of an official LGBTI+ organization. The self-contradiction of this position will be evaluated in the context of institutionalization by the statements of similar activists, so understanding how the interviewees identify themselves in the movement will pave the way for new determinations of different dimensions. Undoubtedly, institutionalization itself is directly related to how people define themselves in the movement. In the case of the first interviewee, this connection is very intertwined and nurturing one another, but in the case of disconnected activists from official LGBTI+ organizations / institutionalized organizations, the internal contradiction regarding this situation can be better analyzed. In order to understand this discussion related to institutionalization, the positions of the interviewees in the movement are presented in this section. In short, the interviewee can be analyzed as an LGBTI+ activist who works for an official organization and she/he is active in the post-institutionalization process but who has knowledge of the historical process and institutionalization period.

[25] KASS GL'de profösyönel çalışanım ama bunun da ötesinde bir LGBTI aktivistiyim.

“This movement is my greatest motivation to realize myself.[26]” (Interviewee 2, Ankara). All interviewees during the interviews explained that they internalized themselves with the movement. The above description is one of them. She/He stated that the interviewee works with different LGBTI+ organizations in Eskişehir, İstanbul, and Ankara and that she/he participated in the activities of these organizations but she/he stated that she/he did not work as a professional beyond being a volunteer in any organization. When looked at this situation closely, it can be seen that the interviewee is connected with the official organizations but she/he is not a professional employee in these organizations. In this context, when a review is made, one's views can be considered as a non-professional activist connected to official organizations. The interviewee 2 during the interviews stated that she/he was born in 1986. During the interviews, while evaluating the current situation of the LGBTI+ movement, she/he stated that his knowledge about the historical process of the movement and hence the pre-institutionalization period and the stages of institutionalization were limited. Therefore, one's views mostly include the results of institutionalization /post-institutionalization period. The possibility of a comparative analysis will be limited, at least at the level of experience. When the interviewee is asked about his / her position in the LGBTI+ movement, she/he stated that

> “I define myself a little further out in the movement and in fact about activism. I'm a little further away from the movement. Conditions are decisive in this. I'm a little more backward because of the circumstances of our time. But I define myself as an LGBTI+ activist[27]” (Interviewee 2, Ankara).

In this case, it is understood that the person has positioned himself in the movement directly in relation to the conditions of the period, and in fact, the weakness of the institutional relationship in which he has made his position within the movement

[26] Bu hareket kendimi gerçekleştirmekle ilgili en büyük motivasyonum.

[27] Harekette ve aslında aktivizm konusunda kendimi biraz daha dışarda tanımlıyorum. Biraz daha uzağında kaldım hareketin. Bunda koşullar belirleyici oluyor. İçinde bulunduğumuz dönemin şartlarından ötürü biraz daha geri plandayım. Ama kendimi LGBTI+ aktivisti olarak tanımlıyorum.

more flexible can be interpreted at this point. This experience does not develop flexibly in this way for a professionally connected person. In short, the interviewee can be analyzed as an LGBTI+ activist, linked to official organizations but not working for them professionally and has the knowledge more on the post-institutionalization process.

“It changes the world that changes itself. I'm trying to be myself[28]” (Interviewee 3, Ankara). The interviewee actually associates the struggle of existence with the movement by integrating himself with the movement in other sentences, but likewise to involve the movement directly into his life. The interviewee stated that she /he was not associated with civil society organizations and that she/he was not part of an officially organized struggle. She / He states this in his own words as "I'm an unorganized LGBTI+ activist[29]"(Interviewee 3, Ankara). The fact that one is disconnected to the organized and more institutionalized side of the movement can be explained as the reason for her / his disconnected position in the following parts of the analysis with the different point of view of the subject and this situation enriches the comparative analysis. One's views are important in understanding an activist's view of institutionalization that is outside the institutional movement. The interviewee 3 during the interviews stated that she/he was born in 1985. The interviewee provided external and more objective evaluations of the institutionalization processes of the movement. This interviewee was able to evaluate the pre-institutional and post-institutionalization process with relatively little experience because of her / his age (the time spent in the movement). When the interviewee is asked about his / her position in the movement, she/he stated that “I'm trying to be myself. I try to guide the people I contact, but I don't have an organized

[28] Kendini değiştiren dünyayı değiştirir. Kendim olmaya çalışıyorum.

[29] Örgütlü olmayan bir LGBTI+ aktivistiyim.

initiative. I'm an unorganized LGBTI+ activist[30]" (Interviewee 3, Ankara). As mentioned earlier, this interviewee expressed his position as an unconnected activist with this statement. In short, the interviewee can be analyzed as an LGBTI + activist who has little experience of the historical process and she/he is not officially organized in the movement but is able to objectively interpret institutionalization through its independent/disconnected position.

"Like everyone else, I didn't come for noble purposes. The comfort of being able to exist as a homosexual to be part of the group has actually shown me that it is a problem that it is hiding it"[31] (Interviewee 4, Ankara). Existence and being in the movement are intertwined and expressed by interviewee 4, by keeping the struggle equivalent with existence. The interviewee stated that she/he had worked in many LGBTI+ organizations for many years and made a significant contribution to the establishment of these organizations. She/he argues that "I'm an activist and that's my job[32]" (Interviewee 4, Ankara). The interviewee 4 is working for KAOS GL. The interviewee is a professional employee at KAOS GL. The interviewee 4 during the interviews stated that she/he was born in 1977. The interviewee has the chance to experience more or less of the institutionalization process in movement. When evaluating the process pre and post-institutionalization, there is a chance to evaluate the two processes comparatively based on the experiences of the interviewee. When the interviewee is asked about his / her position in the LGBTI+ movement, she/he stated that

> "I am a person who produces information and works to spread it. I am responsible for the internal and external organization within the context of

[30] Kendim olmaya çalışıyorum. İletişime geçtiğim insanlara yol göstermeye çalıyorum ama örgütlü bir girişimim yok. Örgütlü olmayan bir LGBTI+ aktivistiyim.

[31] Herkes gibi bende ulvi amaçlarla gelmedim. Gruba ait olmak kendini eşcinsel olarak var edebiliyor olmanın rahatlığı aslında bana saklıyor bunu olmanın bir sorun olduğunu gösterdi.

[32] Aktivistim ve işim bu.

KAOS GL. In general, I am involved in civil society to protect the interests of the movement[33]" (Interviewee 4, Ankara).

The interviewee explains himself/herself as an activist and employee in a position that evaluates these two as a whole and expresses himself through it. In short, it can be said that the interviewee can be considered as an LGBTI+ activist working for an official organization and she/he is directly involved in the institutionalization process of the movement.

"As a heterosexual, it is important for me to advocate to be here. I think I should be here if I want to exist[34]" (Interviewee 5, Ankara). The interviewee is in the LGBTI+ movement but expresses herself/ himself as a heterosexual person. Even if one says that she/he is an activist after starting to work in an official organization, it can be considered as a result of the existence of institutional organizations in itself. The interviewee 5 is working for Pembe Hayat. The interviewee is a professional employee at Pembe Hayat. The interviewee 5 during the interviews stated that she/he was born in 1994. The interviewee stated that she/he had limited knowledge of the experience of the historical process of institutionalization. When the interviewee is asked about his / her position in the LGBTI+ movement, she/he stated that "I am an LGBTI+ activist and also a professional. If I'm not part of the movement, I can't do my job anyway. I need to be an activist to do my job[35]" (Interviewee 5, Ankara). When the interviewee explains his / her position in the movement, he/she explains that institutionalization is the main legacy of the story of activism. In short, the interviewee can be regarded as a professional employee in an official organization in the movement, an activist who has become allied to the

[33] Bilgiyi üreten ve bilginin yaygınlaşması için çalışan kişiyim. KAOS GL bağlamında iç ve dış organizasyondan sorumluyum. Genel olarak hareketin çıkarlarını korumak için sivil toplumla ilişkiliyim.

[34] Bir hetero seksüel olarak burada olmak hak savunuculuğu yapmak benim için önemli. Var olmak istiyorsam burada olmam gerektiğini düşünüyorum.

[35] LGBTI+ aktivistiyim aynı zamanda profesyönel olarak çalışıyorum. Hareketin parçası olmazsam zaten işimi yapmam da mümkün değil. Benim işimi yapmam için aslında aktivist olmam da lazım.

movement through institutionalization but has limited experience in the historical analysis of the institutionalization process.

“I don't think I can survive the difficult processes by keeping silent and afraid of something. I am an activist but I don't want any corporate affiliation[36]” (Interviewee 6, Ankara). Again, an opinion that has internalized the struggle with existence is placed on the basis of activism. However, one's avoidance from institutional ties and his distance to institutionalization can be deduced from the above statement. This should not be overlooked when analyzing one's views on institutionalization. “I work in the university LGBTI solidarity. I work in METU LGBTI solidarity. Solidarity is not a political organization, but a community[37]” (Interviewee 6, Ankara). As can be seen from this situation, the person produces youth-based activism at the university but has no organic connection with any institutional organization in the movement. The interviewee 6 during the interviews stated that she/he was born in 1995. This interviewee was able to evaluate the pre-institutional and post-institutionalization process with relatively little experience because of her / his age (the time spent in the movement). When the interviewee is asked about his / her position in the movement, she/he stated that

> “We are exposed to a lot of pressure and discrimination. It's not important that I'm exposed or not. Social dynamics are constantly suppressing us and I did not want to accept it. I wanted to change things in this matter. I've dreamed of it, and it's important to make people dream it[38]” (Interviewee 6, Ankara).

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[36] Sessiz kalarak bir şeylerden korkarak zorlu süreçlerden sağ kalınabileceğini düşünmüyorum. Kendimce aktivistim herhangi bir kurumsal bağım olsun istemiyorum.

[37] Üniversite LGBTI dayanışmasında çalışıyorum. ODTÜ LGBTI dayanışmasında çalışıyorum. Dayanışma siyasi örgüt değil, topluluk.

[38] Çok fazla baskı ve ayrımcılığa maruz kalıyoruz. Ben buna maruz kalıyorum ya da kalmıyorum önemli olan bu değil. Toplumsal dinamikler bizi sürekli bir şekilde baskılıyor ve ben bunu kabul etmek istemedim. Bir şeyleri bu konu özelinde değiştirmek istedim. Ben bunu hayal ettim ve önemli olan insanlara bunu hayal ettirmek.

The position of the person in the movement and the motivation to exist is in fact largely personal and desire for change. The person positions himself in the movement to share these desires and seek change. In short, the interviewee can be considered as a person who is not affiliated with official organizations, who have little knowledge of the history of institutionalization but has a unique position of activism.

"I chose the way to live by calling my right not to die[39]" (Interviewee 7, Ankara). Struggling to exist by the interviewee was once again expressed as the reason to be part of the movement. "I work voluntarily but I don't work professionally in an organization[40]" (Interviewee 7, Ankara). The interviewee may be considered as an activist who is organically connected with the organizations in the movement who stated that she/he also served as a member of the board of Pembe Hayat, but does not work for any of the organizations as an employee. The interviewee 7 during the interviews stated that she/he was born in 1999. This interviewee was able to evaluate the pre-institutional and post-institutionalization process with relatively little experience because of her / his age (the time spent in the movement). "I strive for movement and try to add value to it. I'm an LGBTI+ activist. I am a peer counselor and I try to exist within the movement and to create the movement[41]" (Interviewee 7, Ankara). In fact, as an activist, one associates her / his existence with the continuity of the movement and through this motivation, she/he positions herself/himself in the movement. In short, the interviewee, a transsexual living in Turkey in LGBT+ activist can be analyzed as one who is organically connected with the organizations in the movement but can only evaluate the institutionalization process through the post-process situation.

[39] Ölmemek için hakkımı arayarak yaşama yolunu seçtim.

[40] Gönüllü çalışıyorum ama profesyönel olarak bir örgütte çalışmıyorum.

[41] Hareket için çaba harcıyorum ve harekete değer katmaya çalışıyorum. LGBTİ aktivistiyim. Akran danışmanlığı yapıyorum hareket içerisinde var olmaya ve hareketi var etmeye çalışıyorum.

“We are organized through equality and rights claim. This is our general motivation and this motivation holds us together[42]” (Interviewee 8, Ankara). Existence, being equal and claiming rights are actually expressed in another form of the existential expression of being in the movement. The interviewee 8 is working for KAOS GL. The interviewee is a professional employee at KAOS GL. The interviewee 8 during the interviews stated that she/he was born in 1979. “I think I'm an old one[43]” (Interviewee 8, Ankara). The interviewee states that he is one of the elders in the movement. As someone who has experienced the pre- and post-institutionalization processes of the movement, the evaluations for process-based analysis are important. “I am from KAOS GL. I am from KAOS GL, so this is the right place to explain my position in movements[44]” (Interviewee 8, Ankara). The position in which the person expresses herself/himself in the movement and the central position of KAOS GL as an official organization makes this situation important in the evaluations of the interviewee for this study, which is actually discussed in the context of institutionalization. In short, this interviewee can be considered as an activist who is organically connected to the official organizations who can evaluate the pre and post-institutionalization process through their experiences.

“In my personal story, I was born in a small place, grew up, and for me, it is actually about expressing myself. I'm part of the movement to express my sexuality, my sex, and myself[45]” (Interviewee 9, Ankara). Being yourself and being part of the movement is once again expressed in all its vitality. The interviewee 9 is working

[42] Eşitlik ve hak talebi üzerinden örgütleniyoruz. Genel motivasyonumuz bu ve bu motivasyon bizi bir arada tutuyor.

[43] Eskilerden birisiyim diye düşünüyorum.

[44] Ben KAOS GL'liyim. Kaoslu birisiyim hareket içerisindeki pozisyonumu anlatmak için bu doğru bir başlangıç.

[45] Kişisel hikâyemde, küçük bir yerde doğdum büyüdüm ve benim için aslında mevzu kendimi ifade edebilmek. Cinselliğimi cinsiyetimi ve kendimi ifade edebilmek için hareketin parçasıyım.

for KAOS GL. The interviewee is a professional employee at KAOS GL. “I'm the media communications program coordinator. As an assistant general coordinator, I am one of the people carrying out all the association affairs of KAOS GL[46]” (Interviewee 9, Ankara). The interviewee 9 during the interviews stated that she/he was born in 1990. This interviewee was able to evaluate the pre-institutional and post-institutionalization process with relatively little experience because of her / his age (the time spent in the movement). “I'm not an activist. I think my job is not activism. I'm a journalist and defender of rights[47]” (Interviewee 9, Ankara). In fact, one's position can be regarded as the original self-existence in movement. In short, as an employee of an official organization, the person who is a "rights advocate" and "journalist" can be analyzed as an active employee in the current situation of the movement, especially as a person who can evaluate the current conditions in a healthy way.

“I'm an LGBTI+ activist but also a sports activist. I stand against the discrimination of gender and sexual orientation discrimination in sport[48]” (Interviewee 10, Ankara). It can be said that the main motivation of the story of activism carried out in a completely different area of life is the common point of stopping discriminations like the other interviewees. “I had a relationship with LGBTI+ organizations on volunteering[49]” (Interviewee 10, Ankara). The interviewee 10 during the interviews stated that she/he was born in 1990. This interviewee was able to evaluate the pre-institutional and post-institutionalization process with relatively little experience

[46] Medya iletişim program kordinatörüyüm. Genel kordinatör yardımcısı sıfatıyla KAOS GL’nin bütün dernek işlerini yürütenlerden biriyim.

[47] Ben aktivist değilim yaptığım işin aktivizm olduğunu düşünmüyorum ben gazeteciyim ve hak savunuculuğu yapıyorum.

[48] Ben aslında lgbti aktivisti olmakla beraber spor aktivistiyim. Spordaki cinsiyet ve cinsel yönelim ayrımcılığına karşı duruyorum.

[49] LGBTI+ örgütlerle gönüllülük üzerine bir ilişkim oldu.

because of her / his age (the time spent in the movement). “I'm a very sporty person, I have this behind the scenes of sports activism. Basically, I love to do sports but the discrimination I experienced while doing sports started the LGBTI + story for me[50]” (Interviewee 10, Ankara). This unique position established through the partnerships of sports and LGBTI+ activism and the initiative called Sportif Lezbon[51], in which the interviewee is in, will actually contribute to this study from the story of those who try to be institutional from a different window of the movement. In short, the interviewee who connected with official organizations at the level of volunteering can be considered as a member of a team that tries to exist and be institutionalized in a very different area of the movement.

This section, which is reserved for introducing the interviewees, is the basis of the analysis section of the thesis. As explained above, the interviewees were introduced in order to be classified according to three important variables. The first of these variables is to discover how long the person interviewed has been active in the movement and, moreover, how long she/he has known the movement. The aim here is to pave the way for evaluating the knowledge of the person whose opinion is benefited from within the framework of this variable when discussing the pre- and post-institutionalization process. The second variable is about whether the interviewee works in an institutional LGBTI+ organization or not. The differences between the opinions of the employees of the organizations and the independent activists can be solved with the help of this variable. The last variable is "the position" in which the person defines himself/herself. Based on this position, the evaluations of the interviewees were analyzed and the position of the interviewee was used as an important aid in case of differing assessments. In other words, the main purpose of this section is to provide the necessary infrastructure for the

[50] Sporla çok hemhal bir insanım spor aktivizmin perde arkasında bu var. Temel olarak spor yapmayı seviyorum ama spor yaparken yaşadığım ayrımcılık benim için LGBTI+ hikâyesini başlattı.

[51] Sportif Lezbon emerged in Ankara. It is a queer organizasiton which tries to exist women and queers on the football field.

analyzes to be conducted. This section provides information on interviewees' background, whether they are related to institutionalized organizations, and how they position themselves within the movement. The main purpose of the discussion here is to understand the standpoints of the interviewees correctly.

4.3 The Effects of the Institutionalization on Social Movements

In this part of this analysis chapter of the thesis, visibility, continuity and opportunity dynamics will be used to see the impact of institutionalization on LGBTI+ liberation movement. The evaluation of the dynamics of the interviewees according to whether these dynamics are related to institutionalization will be analyzed and how the institutionalization affects these dynamics will be analyzed. From this point of view, the positive and negative consequences of institutionalization on the process will be discussed around these three dynamics. These three dynamics will be discussed separately, respectively, and the impacts of institutionalization on these dynamics will be revealed according to the institutionalization or the relationship of these responses with the official organizations. From the inferences made here, it will be tried to understand how the institutionalization process and the official organizing affect the LGBTI+ liberation movement. First, the views of the interviewees about the visibility of the movement will be discussed. Then, the opinions of the interviewees about the continuity of the movement will be examined. Finally, the views of the interviewees about opportunities of the movement will be examined. These are chosen dynamics of LGBTI+ liberation movement to see the impact of institutionalization on the dynamics of LGBTI+ liberation movement. The backgrounds of the interviewees are important in this analysis. For example, the connection of the interviewees with the official organization and its impact on their opinions will be taken into account. That is why it is important to know the backgrounds of the interviewees which is mentioned in the previous part. When the “What are the factors that make LGBTI + movement visible?” asked interviewees, the answers of interviewees can be categorized under two main headings. The first group of answers is directly related

to institutionalization and official organizations and the second group of answers is not related to institutionalization or official organizations. This categorization will be beneficial to see the impact of institutionalization on the dynamic of visibility.

When the responses of the interviewees about the visibility of the movement were analyzed, they were gathered around 11 factors. Four of these factors are directly linked to the institutionalization process and official organizations, seven factors less associated with the institutionalization process and official organizations. The first group of answers was "KAOS GL magazine, presence, and history of the LGBTI+ movement, official activities, constitutional campaign process". "KAOS GL's magazine, to have a media organ provides visibility[52]" (Interviewee 4, Ankara). "KAOS GL has a magazine and this is important for the visibility of the movement. The magazine is actually the magazine of the movement in the sense that it is the voice of homosexuals and as a collective product[53]" (Interviewee 8, Ankara). The journal of KAOS GL was cited by the Interviewees 4, 8 as a factor in the issue of visibility of the movement. The fact that the two interviewees mentioning the journal work at KAOS GL. It is an issue that needs attention. Other interviewees did not present the journal as a factor when talking about visibility. "This movement has a history of 20-30 years since the 1990s. We've always tried to explain what the issue is. We exist because we are trying to socialize our problems, and that is why we have visibility[54]" (Interviewee 8, Ankara). It was another factor which talked about by Interviewee 8. The movement itself was explained as factors which create visibility of movements. Activities organized by the official

[52] KAOS GL nin çıkardığı dergi, bir medya organına sahip olmak görünülük sağlıyor.

[53] KAOS GL'nin dergisi var ve bu aslında hareketin görünürlüğü için önemli. Dergi aslında bir anlamda eşcinsellerin sesi durumunda ve kollektif bir ürün olarak hareketin dergisi.

[54] Bu hareketin 20- 30 yıllık bir tarihi var 1990'lardan beri. Her daim biz meselenin ne olduğunu anlatmaya çalıştık. Sorunlarımızı toplumsallaştırmaya çalıştığımız için varız ve aslında bu yüzden görünürüz.

organizations in the movement have also been put forward as factors that increase the visibility of the movement. For example, Interviewee 8 argues that "local meetings against anti-homophobia take place in 35 cities. From Aksaray to Batman Turkey's close to half in many places, it is important to have activities and come together to make the events for the visibility of the movement[55]" (Interviewee 8, Ankara). In addition, the activities carried out by the official organizations have been mentioned, but in case of visibility, these have only been introduced by Interviewee 8 as effective factors. "The movement became visible during the constitutional campaign. The campaign period, which lasted from the 2000s to 2010, made the movement visible around a public debate" (Interviewee 9, Ankara). The constitutional campaign process is the last factor put forward in relation to institutional organizations and institutionalization. This campaign process was managed by these official organizations mainly. In short, there were four main factors which are impactful factors on the visibility of LGBTI+ movements in the first group of answers. All of these factors are related to institutionalizations period and its results such as official institutions. The interesting common point of these factors is that they are all made by professionals working in official organizations. Apart from these interviewees, some of the other interviewees highlighted relatively independent factors from official organizations and institutionalization process of the LGBTI+ liberation movement. In fact, most of the interviewees did not consider the issues related to official organizations and their activities as positive and effective in terms of visibility. Moreover, there are some inferences that institutions and institutionalization have some ineffective consequences in terms of the visibility of the movement. "In terms of visibility, organizations play and play themselves. Apart from some basic activities, I do not think that they are active or allowed to be active in this sense[56]" (Interviewee 3, Ankara). "The activities of the organizations

[55] Homofobi karşıtı yerel buluşmalar 35 şehirde gerçekleştiriliyor. Türkiye'nin yarısına yakınında birçok yerde, etkinlik yapmak bir araya gelmek hareketin görünürlüğü için önemli.

[56] Görünürlük noktasında örgütler kendileri çalıp kendileri oynuyorlar. Temel bazı aktiviteler dışında bu anlamda etkin olduklarını ya da etkin olmalarına izin verildiğini düşünmüyorum.

within the movement also make the movement visible, but these are mostly the activities carried out by the activists themselves. Moreover, being in the street, these are the things that make the public feel visible" (Interviewee 5, Ankara). "Events, symposiums, film screenings are important, but we cannot make them under some conditions. The most important thing that makes us visible is ourselves. We exist in the streets and say we are here[57]" (Interviewee 7, Ankara). "When we have an event or a forum, we stay in our own environment, but the fact is that demonstrations make us visible outside of this limited environment[58]" (Interviewee 10, Ankara). The common point of the criticisms is that although the importance of the existence of the activities carried out by official institutions is emphasized, its ineffectiveness is underlined.

When the other 7 factors emphasized by the interviewees are examined, the factors that are fed by some inherent features of LGBTI + movement come to the fore. These factors were "Internet / Social media / Virtual activism, Marching and demonstrations, Pride, Gezi Park protests, Radical sightings, Presence of homosexuality / LGBTI+ visibility itself". "Thanks to the Internet, this issue is everywhere in people's lives. The thing is, heterosexuals know more about homosexuality. People can encounter homosexuality without organizations or movement itself[59]" (Interviewee 4, Ankara). "Marching and demonstrations make the movement visible[60]", "Demonstration, being on the streets makes the movement

[57] Etkinlikler, sempozyumlar, film gösterimleri bunlar önemli ama yeri geliyor bunları yapamıyoruz bizi görünür kılan en önemli şey bizim kendimiziz. Sokaklarda var olmamız ve buradayız dememiz.

[58] Etkinlik ya da forum yapınca kendi çevremizde kalıyoruz ama işin aslı yürüyüş yapmak eylemlilik aslında bu kısıtlı çevremizin dışına çıkmamızı görünür olmamızı sağlıyor.

[59] İnternet sayesinde bu konu insanların hayatının her yerinde. Mesele hetero seksüeller eşcinselliği daha fazla biliyor. Örgütler ya da hareket işin içine girmeden eşcinsellikle insanlar karşılaşabiliyor.

[60] Yürüyüş ve gösteriler hareketi görünür kılıyor.

visible[61]" (Interviewee 5, Ankara). In addition to them, the most mentioned factor which increases the visibility of LGBTI+ movements was pride. One of the answers was "Gay pride. First pride in Turkey and the most crowded pride in 2013[62]" (Interviewee 4, Ankara). "Honour week, anti-homophobia meeting, November 20 events are all important things that increase social visibility[63]" (Interviewee 9, Ankara). "The 2013 Pride is an important milestone for the gay movement[64]" (Interviewee 10, Ankara). Together with pride, Gezi Park Protests are other factors which mentioned as important for the visibility of LGBTI+ liberation movements. "The discussions that emerged during the Gezi Park Protests made the movement visible[65]" (Interviewee 4, Ankara). "Gezi Park is another threshold in terms of visibility[66]" (Interviewee 9, Ankara). "Gezi Park was the peak of visibility. The pride that took place at the time of the Gezi Park Protest was the biggest Pride. The Gezi movement actually created the conditions under which the LGBTI+ movement could manifest itself[67]" (Interviewee 10, Ankara). In addition to marching and demonstrations, factors related to the existence of homosexuality and LGBTI+ visibility itself have been put forward by the interviewees as factors that make the

[61] Eylemler, sokaklarda olmamız hareketi görünür kılıyor.

[62] Eşcinsel onur yürüyüşü. İlk onur yürüyüşü ve 2013'teki en kalabalık yürüyüş.

[63] Onur haftası, homofobi karşıtı buluşma, 20 Kasım etkinlikleri bunların tamamı toplumsal olarak görünürlüğü büyüten, etkileyen önemli şeyler.

[64] 2013 Onur Yürüyüşü eşcinsel hareket için önemli bir dönüm noktasıdır.

[65] Gezi sırasında ortaya çıkan tartışmalar hareketi görünür kıldı.

[66] Gezi parkı başka bir eşik görünürlük açısından.

[67] Gezi zamanı görünürlüğün en zirve yaptığı zamandı. Gezi zamanı gerçekleşen onur yürüyüşü en büyük onu yürüyüşü oldu. Gezi hareketi aslında LGBTI+ hareketin kendini gösterebildiği şartları yarattı.

movement visible. “What is called radical by society makes the movement visible. An example of this is a fantastic pride. Actually, it makes this movement visible, but I'm not sure if it's good or bad[68]” (Interviewee 6, Ankara). “In fact, the most important thing that makes the movement visible is the existence of homosexuals, trans people who shout that I'm gay and who show their homosexuality. Transsexuals are very important at this point[69]” (Interviewee 7, Ankara). “LGBTIs were always visible such as "transvestite terror", "celebrity visibility". These make the movement visible in some way, but actually, the visibility should be "institutional" visibility[70]” (Interviewee 9, Ankara). In short, these “Internet / Social media / Virtual activism, Marching and demonstrations, Pride, Gezi Park protests, Radical sightings, Presence of homosexuality / LGBTI+ visibility itself” were answers of the question which is “What are the factors that make LGBTI + movement visible?” asked interviewees. In this second group of answers, the movements itself is more effective on the visibility dynamic of LGBTI+ liberation movements.

"What do you think provides the continuity of the LGBTI + movement?" question was directed to the interviewees. The relationship between institutionalization and continuity of the movement through the answers given to this question will be examined in this section. In the context of the continuity of the movement, the institutionalization and the analysis of the references to the official institutions or the non-mention of these will try to understand the effect of institutionalization on the continuity of the movement. In this way, the effects of institutionalization on

[68] Toplum tarafından radikal olarak adlandırılan şeyler hareketi görünür kılıyor. Fantastik bir onur yürüyüşü bunun bir örneği. Aslında bu hareketi görünür kılıyor ama bu iyi mi kötü mü sonuçlar doğuruyor emin değilim.

[69] Aslında ben eşcinselim diye bağıran, eşcinselliğimi belli eden eşcinsellerin, transların varlığı hareketi görünür kılan var eden en önemli şey. Translar bu noktada çok önemli.

[70] LGBTİ'ler hep görünürdü "travesti terörü", "ünlü görünürlüğü" hareketi bir şekilde görünür kılıyor ama olması gereken görünürlük kurumsal görünürlük.

LGBTI + liberation movements will be revealed through visibility and opportunities as well as continuity dimension. In other words, the effect of institutionalization on the dynamics of social movements is explained in this section through continuity dynamics.

When institutionalization and the continuity of the movement are taken together, it is necessary to underline that the intertwined processes that actually feed each other are mentioned. However, when the responses of the interviewees were analyzed, the majority of the activists evaluated the continuity of the movement independently of institutionalization and stated that the continuity was possible with "the existence of LGBTI+s", "the problems causing the movement and struggle", and "the unique culture of the movement". However, some of the interviewees stated that there are strong ties between continuation and integration. In this context, firstly, the determinations that state that institutionalization has an effect on continuity will be analyzed. There will then be a discussion on the continuity of the movement over the other three determinants mentioned above.

When LGBTI + liberation movements are considered in the context of continuity, it is undoubtedly effective that the movement continues thanks to the institutionalization process. Although the interviewees did not mainly relate continuity with institutionalization, some findings revealing this relationship were found in the research. Interviewee 8, one of the interviewees who knew the movement's pre- and post-institutionalization process, made important determinations on this subject. These determinations can be grouped under two headings. Firstly, it was stated by Interviewee 8 that the institutionalization of the movement and its accumulation ensured the continuity of the movement. “I think that institutionalized organization is vital to continuity. The accumulation is very important in terms of continuity[71]” (Interviewee 8, Ankara). In addition to this, the

[71] Kurumsallaşmış örgütlenmenin devamlılık noktasında hayati olduğunu düşünüyorum. Ortaya çıkan birikim, aslında devamlılık özelinde çok önemli.

fact that the movement can be articulated with other struggles through institutional identity has been put forward as an important factor that ensures continuity. “Communication with other non-governmental organizations and the rights-based struggle is also an issue that ensures continuity. The continuation of the movement is not only a result of LGBTI + activism but a win of a rights-based struggle[72]” (Interviewee 8, Ankara).

The other interviewees evaluated the continuity of the movement by associating it less with institutionalization. These evaluations can be grouped under three headings. "The existence of LGBTI +s", "the continuation of questions that have created the movement", and "the culture of the LGBTI + movement" were stated by the interviewees as the factors that enabled the LGBTI + movement to continue.

> “The identity itself determines the continuity of the movement. Sexual orientation and sexual identity make our life a challenge. In most cases, we have to shut up in this struggle, but there are people who prefer not to stop and tell their story. These people will always exist and in fact, this motivation will continue this movement. The other factor is sexuality. This movement is also a movement in relation to sexuality, thus a continuity of movement and dynamism imparts sexuality[73]” (Interviewee 9, Ankara).

“The existence of personal reasons at the core of the work makes the movement continuous[74]” (Interviewee 3, Ankara). These were the factors which are related to "the existence of LGBTI +s". “We are organized through equality and claim. This is

[72] Diğer sivil toplum kuruluşları ve hak temelli mücadele ile olan iletişim de devamlılığı sağlayan bir konu. Hareketin devam etmesi sadece LGBTI+ aktivizminin bir sonucu değil, hak temelli mücadelenin bir kazanımı.

[73] Kimliğin kendisi hareketin devamlılığı saplıyor. Cinsel yönelim ve cinsel kimliğe sahip olma, durumunun kendisini hayatı bir mücadele alanına çeviriyor. Çoğu durumda bu mücadelede susmak zorunda kalıyoruz ancak susmamayı tercih eden ve hikâyesini anlatmak isteyen insanlar var. Bu insanlar hep var olacak ve aslında bu motivasyon bu hareketi hep devam ettirecek. Diğer etken de cinsellik. Bu hareket cinselliği ilişkin de bir hareket dolayısıyla hareket bir süreklilik ve dinamizm kazandırıyor cinsellik.

[74] şin özünde kişisel sebeplerin varlığı hareketi devamlı kılıyor.

our general motivation and this motivation holds us together[75]" (Interviewee 8, Ankara). "This movement will exist as long as injustice persists because we are a struggle for rights[76]" (Interviewee 8, Ankara). "That people's problems are vital. Particularly in the 20-year story, persuading the society that problems are vital ensures the continuity of the movement[77]" (Interviewee 4, Ankara). These were the factors which are related to "the continuation of questions that have created the movement". "Solidarity, being together and being together at the forefront ensure the continuity of the movement. The fact that we are not individual but together makes the movement continuous[78]" (Interviewee 5, Ankara). "I think the movement continues thanks to organizing and "lubunya" culture. Continuity is based on the family bond and organizational culture within us[79]" (Interviewee 7, Ankara).

> "Even though street organizations and associations work in different fields, we are intertwined with each other because there is a culture in which the movement is compromised. It's a culture of nonviolence. In fact, we are also feminist organizations. The anti-war and the anti-militarism are the principles that we have in common. The fact that we are in common is what keeps the movement on its own[80]" (Interviewee 8, Ankara).

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[75] Eşitlik ve hak talebi üzerinden örgütleniyoruz. Genel motivasyonumuz bu ve bu motivasyon bizi bir arada tutuyor.

[76] Hak mücadelesi olduğumuz için haksızlık sürdükçe bu hareket var olacaktır.

[77] İnsanların sorunlarının hayati olması. Özellikle 20 senelik hikâyede toplumu sorunların hayati olduğuna ikna etmek hareketin devamlılığını sağlıyor.

[78] Dayanışma, birlikte olma hali ve en önde hep beraber olmamız hareketin devamlılığını sağlıyor. Bireysel değil bir arada olmamız hareketi devamlı kılıyor.

[79] Örgütlülük ve lubunya kültür sayesinde hareketin devam ettiğini düşünüyorum. Devamlılık içimizdeki aile bağına ve örgütlülük kültürüne dayanıyor.

[80] Sokak örgütlenmeleri, dernekler farklı alanlarda çalışsalar da birbirimizle iç içeyiz çünkü hareketin uzlaştığı bir kültür var. Mesele şiddetsizdik kültürü. Aslında bir yandan da feminist örgütleriz. Savaş karşıtlığı, militarizm karşıtlığı aslında ortaklaştığımız ilkeler. Ortaklaşıyor olmamız aslında başlı başına hareketi devam ettiren şey.

These were the factors which are related to "the culture of the LGBTI + movement". The culture of the movement and the tradition of coexistence and struggle are actually seen by the interviewees as the most important factor that ensures the continuity of the LGBTI + movement. The existence of the situation itself, the continuity of the reasons that prepared the struggle and the unique organizational culture of the movement are actually explained by the participants as the factors that ensure the continuity of the movement.

Opportunities will be considered as another dimension with visibility and continuity. In fact, the interviewees were asked about the breaking points of the LGBTI + movement. Through these answers, these breakpoints will actually be analyzed as opportunities for movement. The relationship between institutionalization and non-institutionalization will be explored and the effects of institutionalization on another dimension of the movement will be explored. The opinions of the interviewees regarding the turning points of the movement can be grouped under four main headings. Firstly, the process of institutionalization and association were considered an important opportunity and turning point for direct action. Secondly, the European Union membership negotiations, which made the institutionalization of the movement to a great extent possible and the democratization steps of that period. Thirdly, the important events in the history of the movement to fight independently of institutionalization are highlighted. Finally, Gezi Park Protest and the 2013 Pride were considered as an important field opening an opportunity for LGBTI + movement.

"Gathering experiences. KAOS GL in Ankara and Lambda Istanbul in Istanbul within the framework of people to come together before a turning point, even more, becoming associations[81] " (Interviewee 2, Ankara). "The home meetings are

[81] Toplanma deneyimleri. Ankara'da İstanbul'da KAOS GL ve lamba İstanbul çerçevesinde insanların bir araya gelmeleri bir dönüm noktası daha dernek olmadan bile önce.

important cornerstones in the 1990s[82]" (Interviewee 9, Ankara). "The beginning of organizing in the 1990s is an important milestone for the movement. This is a very important beginning[83]" (Interviewee 6, Ankara). "Association is important because we can only have a say in the public sphere in this way. It is easier to reach people in this way[84]" (Interviewee 7, Ankara). "The beginning of the organizing of KAOS GL in 1994 and the official institutionalization in 2005 is very important[85]" (Interviewee 1,4,10, Ankara). "The organizing of Pembe Hayat is very important for trans people to start organizing. There is a different problem area and there is a need for different organizations. High school LGBTI+ and my family gay organizations excite me[86]" (Interviewee 4, Ankara).

> "The establishment of Pembe Hayat is a breaking point because there is a clear need for self-organization of trans. Transphobia is a separate subject and we need a separate organization to create ourselves. The establishment of the first trans association is an important milestone[87]" (Interviewee 5, Ankara).

"It is an important turning point that relations with other civil society have reached a certain level and the LGBTI+ movement has started to be accepted in their

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[82] 1990'ların ev toplantıları hareket için önemli köşe taşları.

[83] 1990'larda örgütlülüğün başlaması hareket için önemli bir dönüm noktasıdır. Bu çok önemli bir başlangıç

[84] Dernekleşme önemli çünkü kamusal alanda dernekleşerek ancak söz sahibi olabiliyoruz. İnsanlara ulaşmak söz söylemek bu yolla daha kolay

[85] Kaos GL'nin 1994te örgütlenmeye başlanması ve 2005te dernekleşmesi çok önemli.

[86] Transların örgütlenmeye başlaması pembe hayatın kurulması çok önemli. Farklı bir sorun alanı var ve oradaki farklı örgütlenme ihtiyacının cevaplanması. Liseli LGBTİ ve ailem eşcinsel örgütlenmeleri beni heyecanlandırıyor.

[87] Pembe hayatın kuruluşu bir kırılma noktası çünkü trans öz örgütlenmesine açık bir ihtiyaç var. Transfobi ayrı bir konu ve kendimizi var etmemiz için ayrı bir örgütlenmeye ihtiyaç var. İlk trans derneğinin kurulmuş olması önemli bir dönüm noktası.

presence[88]" (Interviewee 8, Ankara). "The most important breaking point of the movement is to work through association and funding. The second is that the movement is part of political life[89]" (Interviewee 7, Ankara). Institutionalization was discussed by the interviewees as an important milestone in the context of organizing while discussing the opportunities and milestones of the movement.

"The process of entry into the European Union and the liberalization process are a turning point for the movement[90]" (Interviewee 1, Ankara). "The post-2003 process was a turning point especially in 2007,2008 years, the movement opened outward during this period and gained momentum. The base of the policy has expanded[91]" (Interviewee 2, Ankara). There is no doubt that the mentioned liberalization process is considered as the main basis of the important gains for the movement as discussed before.

"Gezi Park Protests are a significant milestone of the movement. A point where all social movements could unite and the most crowded pride took place [92] " (Interviewee 1,2,4,10, Ankara). "The main peak of the movement for me is Gezi Park. Both independent and corporate activists were on the Gezi, so it was very

[88] Diğer sivil toplumla olan ilişkilerin belli seviyeye gelmesi ve LGBTİ hareketin onların nezlinde kabul görmeye başlaması önemli bir dönüm noktası.

[89] Hareketin en önemli kırılma noktası dernekleşme ve fon üzerinden çalışmak. İkincisi hareketin siyasi hayatın parçası olması.

[90] Avrupa birliğine giriş süreci ve liberalleşme süreci hareket için bir dönüm noktası.

[91] Hiç kuşkusuz bahsi geçen liberalleşme süreci daha önce de tartışıldığı gibi hareket için önemli kazanımların temel dayanağı olarak değerlendirilmektedir.

[92] Gezi parkı hareketin dönüm noktası. Bütün sosyal hareketlerin birleşebildiği bir nokta ve en kalabalık onur yürüşü gerçekleştirildi.

important for me. The 2013 Pride after the Gezi is an important milestone[93]" (Interviewee 6, Ankara). The Gezi Park, where the political struggle had the greatest chance of representation, was evaluated by the interviewees as a historical and important opportunity. This process is an important achievement for the specific struggle history of the movement rather than institutionalization, but of course, the effects of institutionalization cannot be denied.

In the context of the unique history of the movement, important references to the pre-Gezi Park periods were also identified during the interviews. This can be clarified with a few examples from the available data. "The first 1 may exit. It's important for the movement to come out of their walls and speak[94]" (Interviewee 6, Ankara). "In 2001 May 1, gays went out for the first time. This is an important turning point. Because after this date, the movement came into the social sphere and began to tell the problem[95]" (Interviewee 8, Ankara). Prohibitions and barriers are undoubtedly important indicators for action as well as opportunities. A few of them can be exemplified in the context of the discussion of the history of the movement. "Prohibition of the 1993 Pride[96]" (Interviewee 4, Ankara). "The attack on the 2015 Pride is a breaking point, and this is great hatred. Since then, we have officially become enemies" (Interviewee 7, Ankara). In addition, the bans in Ankara, which were mentioned in the historical background in the previous section of the thesis, are among the milestones highlighted by the interviewees.

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[93] Hareketin asıl peak noktası benim için Gezi Parkı'dır. Gezide hem bağımsız hem kurumsal aktivistler herkes bir aradaydı bu yüzden benim için çok önemli. Gezi sonrasındaki 2013 onur yürüyüşü önemli bir dönüm noktası.

[94] İlk 1 mayısa çıkılması. Kendi çeperlerinden çıkıp söz söylemeleri hareket için önemli.

[95] 2001 1 mayısı eşcinseller ilk kez sokağa çıktı. Bu önemli bir dönüm noktası. Çünkü bu tarihten sonra hareket sosyal alana çıktı ve derdini anlatmaya başladı.

[96] 1993 onur yürüyüşünün yasaklanması.

In this part of this analysis chapter of the thesis, visibility, continuity and opportunity dynamics were used to see the impact of institutionalization on LGBTI+ liberation movement. First, the views of the interviewees about the visibility of the movement were discussed. Then, the opinions of the interviewees about the continuity of the movement were examined. Finally, the views of the interviewees about opportunities of the movement were examined. These are chosen dynamics of LGBTI+ liberation movement to see the impact of institutionalization on the dynamics of LGBTI+ liberation movement. When the responses of the interviewees about the visibility of the movement were analyzed, they were gathered around 11 factors. Four of these factors are directly linked to the institutionalization process and official organizations, seven factors less associated with the institutionalization process and official organizations. The first group of answers was “KAOS GL magazine, presence, and history of the LGBTI+ movement, official activities, constitutional campaign process”. The second group of answers was “Internet / Social media / Virtual activism, Marching and demonstrations, Pride, Gezi Park protests, Radical sightings, Presence of homosexuality / LGBTI+ visibility itself”. When institutionalization and the continuity of the movement are taken together, it is necessary to underline that the intertwined processes that actually feed each other are mentioned. However, when the responses of the interviewees were analyzed, the majority of the activists evaluated the continuity of the movement independently of institutionalization and stated that the continuity was possible with "the existence of LGBTI+s", "the problems causing the movement and struggle", and "the unique culture of the movement". However, some of the interviewees stated that there are strong ties between continuation and integration. Opportunities were considered as another dimension with visibility and continuity. In fact, the interviewees were asked about the breaking points of the LGBTI + movement. Through these answers, these breakpoints were actually analyzed as opportunities for movement. The opinions of the interviewees regarding the turning points of the movement can be grouped under four main headings. Firstly, the process of institutionalization and association were considered an important opportunity and turning point for direct action. Secondly, the European Union membership negotiations, which made the

institutionalization of the movement to a great extent possible and the democratization steps of that period. Thirdly, the important events in the history of the movement to fight independently of institutionalization are highlighted. Finally, Gezi Park Protest and the 2013 Pride were considered as an important field opening an opportunity for LGBTI + movement.

4.4 Evaluations on Institutionalization of Social Movements

In this part of the thesis, the opinions of the interviewees about the institutionalization process and the results of the process will be analyzed. First of all, how the interviewees understand the institutionalization will be examined. Then the returns of institutionalization will be analyzed based on the positive results attributed to the institutionalization. Finally, the negative effects of institutionalization on the movement will be analyzed again on the opinions of the interviewees. In this section, "opinions about institutionalization", "positive returns of institutionalization" and "negative effects of institutionalization on movement" will be discussed.

> "Institutionalization refers to being able to handle a concrete phenomenon and conduct needs analysis. Institutionalization requires non-disintegration and sustainability. It also provides this. Institutionalization requires finally to go beyond being a culture and art organization. Institutionalization is a vital necessity around the fact that institutions manage the world in which we live. Without institutional intervention, achievements will not be permanent. The institutional procedures and the institutionalization itself provide a real solution to the event. If we want to get out of Beyoğlu in Istanbul, Alsancak in İzmir and Çankaya in Ankara, we need institutional solutions [97] " (Interviewee 9, Ankara).

[97] Kurumsallaşma bir somut olguyu ele alabilmeyi ve ihtiyaç analizi yapabilmeyi ifade ediyor. Kurumsallaşma, dağılmamayı ve sürekliliği sağlayabilmeyi gerektiriyor. Aynı zamanda bunu sağlıyor. Kurumsallaşma son olarak bir kültür sanat organizasyonu olmanın ötesine geçmeyi gerektiriyor. Kurumsallaşma, içinde yaşadığımız dünyayı kurumların yönettiği gerçeği etrafında hayati bir gereklilik. Kurumsal bir müdahale olmazsa aslında elde edilen kazanımlar kalıcı olmayacaktır. Kurumsal prosedürler ve kurumsallaşmanın kendisi olaya gerçek bir çözüm getiriyor. İstanbul'da Beyoğlu, İzmir'de Alsancak ve Ankara'da Çankaya'dan dışarı çıkmak istiyorsak kurumsal çözümlere ihtiyacımız var.

As can be understood from the above quotation, institutionalization is considered vital and necessary for movement in many cases. This situation will be reinforced when the opinions of other interviewees regarding institutionalization are examined. “Institutionalization is my job. Being an association is the professionalization of something. Things are getting more complicated also more bureaucratization and more planned work, being systematic. Something that should be done briefly[98]” (Interviewee 1, Ankara).

> “Institutionalization reminds me of professionalization. In my opinion, there is a fine line and the balance must be established and this is difficult. Institutionalization is very beneficial to companies because it brings rapid growth and profitability and provides many pluses. But institutionalization in NGOs requires a special balance. You're not a company and you don't have a profit target. Your biggest goal is to reach more people and expand your base[99]”(Interviewee 2, Ankara).

The interviewees have brought some criticisms to the current strategies of institutionalization. The importance attributed to institutionalization was expressed by the interviewees when describing institutionalization. “Institutionalization is important, but how the movement is institutionalized is just as important. Organizations, like humans, have chemistry and character. You're institutionalizing and organizing with that chemistry. Some organizations have the same problems over and over again[100]” (Interviewee 4, Ankara). “We are not a movement that learns from each other. Everyone is rediscovering America. The lack of

[98] Kurumsallaşma benim için işim. Dernekleşme bir şeylerin profesyonelleşmesi. İşler daha komplike oluyor. Daha fazla bürokratikleşme. Daha planlı programlı çalışma. Sistemli olma. Kısaca olması gereken bir şey.

[99] Kurumsallaşma profesyonelleşmeyi çağrıştırıyor bana. Bence ince bir çizgi var mutlaka denge kurulmalı ve bu zor. Kurumsallaşma şirketlere çok faydalı çünkü hızlı büyüme ve karlılık getirir ve birçok artı sağlar. Ama STK’larda kurumsallaşma özel bir denge gerektiriyor. Şirket değilsin ve karlılık hedefin yok. En büyük amacın daha çok insana ulaşmak ve tabanını genişletmek.

[100] Kurumsallaşma önemli ama hareketin nasıl kurumsallaştığı da bir o kadar önemli. Örgütlerin de insanlar gibi kimyası ve karakteri var. O kimya ile kurumsallaşıp örgütleniyorsun. Bazı örgütler hep aynı sorunları tekrar tekrar yaşıyor.

institutionalization of learning is a major problem[101]" (Interviewee 4, Ankara). "The aim should be to establish a system with a high-impact system that is suitable for the conditions of the time and can reach the people. We need to update the way of organization and institutionalization[102]" (Interviewee 3, Ankara).

> "This is important if institutionalization will provide the ground for helping people and if it will provide a door in need. I don't think this can happen in the LGBTI movement. People coming to the association are welcomed like a government office. Care is not taken[103]" (Interviewee 3, Ankara).

In addition to these understanding of institutionalization, the importance attributed to institutionalization was expressed by the interviewees when describing the institutionalization. "I see institutionalization as a means of creating a struggle on the political ground. But I don't think it's being used well under current circumstances[104]" (Interviewee 6, Ankara). "Even if institutionalization is of no use, it expands the area and gives bread to people. In this sense, I find institutionalization valuable[105]" (Interviewee 7, Ankara).

> "There is now the status of being a professional activist. Being an association brings many processes such as receiving funds and institutionalization strengthens the hand of the movement. It enables information transfer processes. It is possible to talk about a cumulative benefit. If the Sportif Lezbon disintegrates as a team, there is little left

[101] Birbirimizden öğrenen bir hareket değiliz. Herkes Amerika'yı yeniden keşfediyor. Öğrenmenin kurumsallaşmaması temel bir sıkıntı.

[102] Amaç, çağın koşullarına uygun tabana erişebilen yaygın etkisi yüksek sistemli bir yapı kurabilmek olmalıdır. Örgütlenme ve kurumsallaşma şeklini güncellememiz gerekiyor.

[103] Kurumsallaşma insanlara yardımcı olmaya zemin hazırlayacaksa ihtiyaç halinde bir kapı olmayı sağlayacaksa bu önemlidir bu gereklidir. LGBTI hareketi özelinde bunun gerçekleşebildiğini düşünmüyorum. Devlet dairesi gibi karşılanıyor derneğe gelen insanlar. Gereken özen gösterilmiyor.

[104] Kurumsallaşmayı hareketi politik zeminde bir mücadeleye yer açan bir araç olarak görüyorum. Ama mevcut koşullarda bunun iyi kullanıldığını düşünmüyorum.

[105] Kurumsallaşmak hiçbir faydası olmasa bile alanı genişletip insanlara ekmek veriyor. Bu anlamda kurumsallaşmayı kıymetli buluyorum.

behind, but being corporate is crucial to continuity and knowledge transfer[106]" (Interviewee 10, Ankara).

When the evaluations of the interviewees regarding institutionalization and institutionalization process are examined, it is emphasized that institutionalization constitutes a vital place for movement. However, the main deficiency is related to institutionalization strategies of the movement. The institutionalization strategy of the movement, which has difficulty in finding a response at the grassroots level, and the lack of communication in the institutionalization processes of different organizations within the movement are the main criticisms of the institutionalization strategy. In spite of all the criticisms, the institutionalization and consequently the expansion of the area of the movement is affirmed in the last issue.

The returns of institutionalization will be analyzed based on the positive results attributed to the institutionalization here. Evaluations in which the interviewees express the positive impacts of institutionalization for the movement will be discussed in this section. "Without associations, people wouldn't have known we were so many. It gives people a chance to be together. It is possible to fight individually, but to be together is much more effective[107]" (Interviewee 5, Ankara). "Being legal, being an association brings many advantages. Being an association makes life easier in many processes[108]" (Interviewee 2, Ankara). "When you are not organized as an association, you cannot find money, you are not invited to a place or

[106] Kurumsallaşmanın getirdiği artık profesyonel aktivist olma durumu var. Dernek olmak fon almak gibi birçok süreci beraberinde getiriyor ve kurumsallaşma hareketin elini güçlendiriyor. Bilgi aktarım süreçlerini mümkün kılıyor. Kümülatif bir faydadan bahsetmek mümkün. Sportif Lezbon takım olarak dağılsa, geride bıraktığımız çok az şey kalır ama kurumsal olmak devamlılık ve bilgi aktarımı noktasında çok önemli.

[107] Dernekler olmasa insanlar bu kadar çok olduğumuzun farkında olmazdı. İnsanlara bir arada olma şansı sunuyor. Bireysel olarak mücadele etmek söz söylemek mümkün ancak bir arada olmak çok daha etkili.

[108] Yasal olmak, dernek olmak birçok avantajı beraberinde getiriyor. Dernek olmak birçok süreçte hayatı kolaylaştırıyor.

your name is not mentioned. You become a public entity by being institutionalized and you become a word[109]" (Interviewee 1, Ankara).

> "You know how to reflex through institutionalization. Reacting correctly can be vital from time to time. Being non-institutionalized can result in unwanted consequences with quick and incorrect reflexes. Institutionalization always brings fast reflexes to the process. I'm giving this response right now, but can I give it in all similar events? Institutionalization is starting a process that allows equal contact with people. Institutionalization eliminates special treatment[110]" (Interviewee 4, Ankara).

The negative effects of institutionalization on the movement will be analyzed here again on the opinions of the interviewees. In the context of the LGBTI + movement, the negative results attributed to institutionalization by the interviewees will be discussed here. "I consider an LGBTI + activism that turns activism into shifts to the working system as problematic. You get a phone call at night, you do something. The sacrifice must be made, and these are not things to fix in institutionalization[111] (Interviewee 2, Ankara). "The state is giving blessings in exchange for some control. The state is always systematically engaged, so being legal does not fully solve the problems. The state continues to engage and control[112]" (Interviewee 2, Ankara). "As for the ban on Ankara, we have become

[109] Dernek olarak örgütlenmediğin zaman ne para bulabiliyorsun ne bir yerlere davet ediliyorsun ne de adın anılıyor. Kurumsallaşarak public entity olup, lafı sözü duyulur oluyorsun.

[110] Kurumsallaşma sayesinde nasıl refleks vereceğini biliyorsun. Doğru şekilde reaksiyon vermek zaman zaman hayati olabilir. Kurumsallaşmamış olmak hızlı ve yanlış refleksle aslında istenmeyen sonuçlar doğabilir. Kurumsallaşmak her zaman sürece hızlı refleks vermeyi beraberinde getiriyor. Ben şu anda bu tepkiyi veriyorum ama ben bu tepkiyi benzer bütün olaylarda verebilir miyim? Kurumsallaşma insanlarla eşit ilişki kurmaya imkân getiren bir süreci başlatıyor. Kurumsallaşma özel muameleyi ortadan kaldırıyor.

[111] Aktivizmi işe çeviren, mesai sistemine geçen bir LGBTI+ akvizmini sorunlu olarak değerlendiriyorum. Gece bir telefon gelir açar bir şey yaparsın. Fedakârlık yapmak gerekir ve bunlar kurumsallaşma içerisinde oturacak şeyler değil.

[112] Devlet nimetleri biraz kontrol sağlamak karşılığında veriyor. Devlet her zaman sistematik olarak uğraşıyor, dolayısıyla yasal olmak sorunları tam olarak çözmez. Devlet uğraşmaya, denetleye devam eder.

unable to do events. In order not to lose our official status, the things we give up are the things we do not do[113]" (Interviewee 5, Ankara). "Being an association is actually a bit vulnerable. Nobody can claim to be closed tomorrow, so she/ he is not a coward[114]" (Interviewee 10, Ankara). "Institutionalization reveals a mechanism of approval. So someone is giving you permission or not. In fact, this is a problem in itself[115]" (Interviewee 6, Ankara). "The most important breaking point is to keep quiet. It would be bad if we were institutionalized and shut up. Institutionalization strengthens us as long as we don't stop[116]" (Interviewee 7, Ankara).

> "Fragility increased due to the association. The movement became more fragile. Now, activism has become something that we see as work, we hold on to it. So there are things to lose. This pushes the movement to be cautious and makes it fragile. It brings our action to the point of controlling our promise. We have become more mindful of the consequences, and we have a ball of anxiety[117]" (Interviewee 2, Ankara).

The fact that the state has the right to speak on certain components within the movement is, in fact, the common point of the above criticisms. To what extent is controllable to the nature of the social movement? Is being controlled and the existence of a permitting mechanism conform to the essence of the social

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[113] Ankara yasakları gelince, etkinlik yapamaz hale geldik. Resmi statümüzü kaybetmemek için aslında vazgeçtiğimiz şeyler, yapmadığımız işler oluyor.

[114] Dernek olmak da aslında biraz savunmasız bir pozisyon. Kimse yarın kapatılmayacağını, bu yüzden de korkak olmadığını iddia edemez.

[115] Kurumsallaşmak, bir onay mekanizmasını ortaya çıkarıyor. Yani birileri size izin verir ya da vermez hale geliyor. Aslında bu başlı başına bir sorunsal.

[116] En önemli kırılma noktası susmamak. Eğer kurumsal olur susarsak işte bu kötü olur. Susmadığımız sürece kurumsallaşma bizi güçlendiriyor.

[117] Kırılganlık dernekleşme yüzünden arttırdı. Hareket daha kırılgan hale geldi. Artık aktivizm iş gibi gördüğümüz, ona tutunduğumuz bir şey haline geldi. Dolayısıyla kaybedilecek şeyler var. Bu hareketi temkinli olmaya itiyor ve kırılgan hale getiriyor. Yapacağımız eylemi, söyleyeceğimiz sözü kontrol etmek noktasına getiriyor. Sonuçları daha fazla düşünür hale geldik ve elimizde kaygı yumağımız var.

movement? These questions may also help explain the background of the fears raised by the interviewees. The main criticism is that institutionalization makes the movement fragile. In addition, the fear of losing something actually slows down the movement and intensifies criticism. These can be brought to the agenda as important criticisms when considering the relation of social movements with the state in terms of equipping them with control and control mechanisms in favor of state power as a result of institutionalization

4.5 Testing of the Theoretical Debate

In this part of the thesis, the data collected within the scope of the research will be discussed in the context of institutionalization by using the perspectives of social movement theories discussed in the first chapter. Firstly, the LGBTI + movements' institutionalization process in Ankara and the results of this process will be discussed by using the "Resource Mobilization Theory" perspective. Then, the issues of organizing and institutionalization of social movements will be examined from the perspective of "Framing and Social Construction", "Political Opportunity / Process Theory" and "New Social Movements Theories" respectively. The main objective here is to test theoretical debates at the application level, as envisaged in the first chapter. From this point of view, the institutionalization of LGBTI+ movement in Ankara will be examined on the data collected from different theoretical perspectives. In addition, the reflections on the application level of the neo-institutionalism debate, which is based on the institutionalization perspective of the thesis, will also be discussed in this section.

Resource Mobilization Theory basically describes the use of possible resources as the engine of social movements, centering the terms of organizing and institutionalization. The basic assumption in this theory is that social movements are possible only by mobilizing resources depending on the rational preferences of individuals. In the interviews, the interviewees stated that the available resources, which are basically not enough manpower, could not be used actively in the

movement. In fact, institutionalization has been affirmed in the context of the continuity and visibility of the movement at many points, but the limited resources and the lack of proper mobilization have been criticized. From the point of view of this theory, the difficulties experienced by LGBTI + movement to mobilize resources have been raised many times in support of the theory. Interviewees explained in many cases the future of the movement and the dynamics that would make progress, whether the movement was using the resources correctly. The inferences of the interviewees affirming institutionalized organizations within the movement and putting them at the center for the future of the movement also support the assumptions of this theory, since RMT explains establishment as a fundamental necessity for a social movement. Moreover, the organization strategy of the movement that started and grew at homes after the 1990s and the capacity to mobilize resources increased was confirmed by the interviewees. This confirms the RMT assumptions, which center on institutionalization and resource use. To sum up, RMT provides important tools for a researcher who wants to understand the institutionalization of the movement and the organizations within the movement. In particular, the explanations he brought about the mobilization of resources have been confirmed many times during the field study for this thesis and how vital they are for movement has been observed at the application level. However, the material perspective of RMT is not sufficient to understand the institutionalization process and its results. This theoretical perspective is lacking, especially when explaining the inherent culture of the movement and its political conditions, which have an important place in the historical process. At this point, researchers should benefit from the conceptual framework provided by the RMT, but the shortcomings of the theoretical framework must be considered for large and comprehensive analysis.

Cultural framing approach argues that social movements do not only base on resources or political dimensions but also cultural symbols. The interviewees have stressed many times that the LGBTI + movement has its own cultural accumulation and its impact on the dynamics and institutionalization of the movement. The interviewees emphasized that this cultural structure, which they described as a

"lubunya" culture, was highly effective in all processes within the movement from organization to institutionalization. Moreover, especially in the context of visibility and continuity, the cultural factors mentioned in the process in which the movement started to be organized were determined as determinants. For example, Interviewee 7 argues that “I think the movement continues thanks to organizing and “lubunya” culture. Continuity is based on the family bond and organizational culture within us[118]” (Interviewee 7, Ankara). The emphasis of the interviewees on the cultural framework of the movement and, moreover, the determination of the influence of cultural elements on the organizing dynamics of the movement, confirms the assumptions of this approach. This perspective is particularly useful for understanding the cultural framework of the LGBTI + movement, which is developed in organizing under unique conditions and conditions and is effective in all processes of the movement. It is not possible to understand the processes of this movement without considering LGBTI + culture. During the interviews, the interviewees often referred to the cultured elements and "lubunya" culture. In this case, it is revealed that the framework offered by the cultural framing approach is useful for this thesis and how necessary it is necessary to understand LGBTI + activity, especially in prospective studies.

The political opportunity thesis argues that “political opportunities” are required for the existence of social movement. While the organization and institutionalization of the movement were discussed during the interviews, the interviewees went on to explain the processes by making references to the 1990s, 2000s and today. One of the main determinants of the LGBTI + movement is emphasized as political conditions. After the 1980 coup, the process was described as the years when the pressure and constraints were at the peak and the solidarity that would give birth to the movement started. The 1990s were recorded as years of organizing the movement at home and continuing on the street. The 2000s were described as the

[118] Örgütlülük ve lubunya kültür sayesinde hareketin devam ettiğini düşünüyorum. Devamlılık içimizdeki aile bağına ve örgütlülük kültürüne dayanıyor.

times when the gains in the movement increased in parallel with the good relations with the western countries and the EU. Nowadays, it is stated that the movement parallel to the regression of the democratization process that started in the 2000s is again alone with repression, restrictions, and bans. One of the most determining factors on the course of the movement was undoubtedly political conditions and opportunities. And this was expressed by the interviewees many times. This alone supports and confirms the basic assumptions of the Political Opportunities theory. This theoretical approach is particularly useful in understanding the historical development of the movement. It is not possible to understand the LGBTI + movement and its institutionalization without analyzing the political conditions and opportunities and making a historical reading. Therefore, Political Opportunities Theory provides a very vital conceptual framework for this study.

The New Social Movements Theories are primarily trying to understand anti-system movements that aim at cultural transformation, not material gains, and to achieve this goal, focuses on political, ideological and cultural bases and logic of collective actions. The LGBTI + movement has undergone many transformations as an anti-system movement in the historical process, and today it is essentially united around a major cultural transformation within the framework of its claim to be queer. The current state of the movement largely supports the basic assumptions of NSM. However, the criticisms made by the interviewees especially regarding the institutionalization of the movement open the discussion of NSM assumptions. The position of the movement at this point can be discussed at many points from the point of being essentially anti-system to reaching a point that gives importance to material gains which are project objectives. Undoubtedly, this theoretical framework has provided a very important conceptual framework in understanding the LGBTI+ movement and institutionalization, and more importantly, criticizing this institutionalization process. Recalling the earlier discussion, the institutionalized structures within the movement increase vulnerability and criticism, and moreover, the new relations with the state power can be discussed in an NSM conceptual framework. This discussion will undoubtedly be an important road map for the

movement's strategy of institutionalization. Whether the movement preserves its vital features such as anti-system while institutionalizing and long-term prioritization of cultural transformation will only be discussed in good health from the NSM perspective. This is in fact what is important for NSM to understand the LGBTI+ movement itself as conceptual and controversial.

The “neo” institutionalism includes cultural and political variables into their explanation to understand organizations and organizing. The “neo” institutionalism approach tried to explain that organizations are social entities and they cannot be explained only by giving references to objective material conditions (Hasselbladh & Kallinikos, 2000: 698). Why this approach is used in this study? In this study, the effects of institutionalization and institutionalization process on social movement dynamics (visibility, continuity, and opportunities) were explored. In this context, institutionalization has been discussed within the framework of material and economic conditions such as organizing and mobilizing resources. However, the main discussion focused on cultural and political factors while measuring the effects of institutionalization. In fact, the discussion of institutionalization as the preface of the neo-institutionalism perspective was made not only on economic variables but also on cultural and political variables. Institutionalization and institutionalization process is discussed by evaluating economic, cultural and political factors together. In this case, it actually supports the basic arguments of the perspective of neo-institutionalism. In this sense, this perspective provided important tools for the study.

To sum up, in the analysis section of the thesis, the institutionalization of social movements and the effects of this institutionalization on social movements in the case of LGBTI+ liberation movements in Ankara were analyzed in the light of the former theoretical discussions. First of all, this section included an information section on the profile of the interviewees. The purpose of this section was to understand the sources of the data to be used in the analysis part of the study and to understand the analysis of the study more clearly by understanding the position of

interviewees. In this section, it was discussed whether the participants of the movement know before and after the institutionalization process, their connection with the social movements organizations (SMOs) in this movement, and how they define themselves in the movement. Secondly, the impacts of institutionalization on social movements were discussed within the context of the collected data from the Ankara sample in terms of visibility, continuity, and opportunities. Thirdly, the opinions of the interviewees about the institutionalization of LGBTI+ movement were evaluated. Finally, the subject of organizing discussed in the theory section of this thesis was tested in light of the interviews held within the scope of the thesis.

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSION

This thesis investigates the effects of institutionalization on the dynamics of social movement and examines the relationship between social movements and institutionalization through the example of the institutionalization of LGBTI+ liberation movements in the province of Ankara. In this context, firstly, social movements and institutionalization concepts were examined theoretically. These concepts were discussed in the context of the institutionalization of social movements, and then the concept of institutionalization itself was discussed from the perspective of neo-institutionalism in the context of social movement organizations. The main motivation of these two theoretical debates is to base the theoretical framework of the thesis within the framework of the concepts of social movement and institutionalization.

The social movements theories were discussed by giving references to their contributions to social movements studies, their understanding of social movements and their approaches to social movements organizing. There have been many theoretical debates in order to understand social movements and are still being done today. "Classical Marxism" and "Structural Functionalist Theory and Weberian Approach" as macro-sociological theories are discussed in the first chapter of the thesis in the context of the discussion of social movements. These two macro theories are very important as they form the basis of social movement studies. Therefore, in the first part of the thesis, the theoretical debates developed around these two macro theories were discussed. In the following section of the theoretical discussion, "Resource Mobilization Theory", "Framing and Social Construction Approach", "Political Opportunity / Process Theory" and "New Social Movements Theories" were discussed in the context of understanding social movements. Then,

the contemporary discussions of social movements studies are scrutinized under the heading of "Alternatives and Critiques in Social Movements Studies".

In the third chapter of the thesis, “the institutionalization of social movements” and “social movements organizing” were scrutinized. In the beginning, the institutionalization issue in social movements studies is discussed from the perspective of neo-institutionalism. Neo-institutionalism itself is discussed then the institutionalization of social movements is analyzed from this perspective. After highlighting the institutionalization issue, social movements organizing and social movements organizations (SMOs) were the focus on the discussion as a concrete result of the institutionalization of social movements. Social movements organizations itself was the first step of discussion which cover social movements organizing. What are social movements organizations? This question was the core of the discussions. In addition to that, resource mobilization theory’s view of social movements was examined to make this point clearer from a theoretical perspective. Then, to make clear the classification of social movements organization concept in organizational studies, there was a comparison between social movements organizations and non-governmental organizations. After the discussions on the concept of social movements organizations, the legal status of social movements organizations in Turkey was scrutinized to understand how are social movements organizations formed and worked formally. The law and regulations about the association were analyzed as a legal background of social movements organizations and formal social movements organizing.

In the final chapter of the thesis, a comprehensive analysis was conducted using the data of the field study to explore the effect of institutionalization on the dynamics of social movement at the application level. In order to analyze the theoretical discussion at the application level, LGBTI+ liberation movements were selected and the institutionalization of this movement in Ankara was considered as a field study of this thesis. The history of LGBTI+ liberation movements in Tukey, Ankara was mentioned to create a substructure for the final part of the thesis. The

institutionalization of social movements and the effects of this institutionalization on social movements in the case of LGBTI+ liberation movements in Ankara are analyzed in the light of the former theoretical discussions. Within the scope of the research, interviews were conducted with 10 LGBTI+ activists by using a semi-structured interview technique. Two basic dimensions were taken into account when selecting the sample group. First of all, it was taken into consideration that the activists work or not in official organizations. Then, the time spent in the movement by the activists was taken into consideration. The main aim here is to analyze the different opinions between diverging views of the activists working in official LGBTI+ organizations or not. Thus, activists from two different groups working in organizations and not working in organizations were included in the sample group. In addition, two groups of activists who are familiar with the institutionalization processes in the pre-1990 and post-1990 periods can actually help to understand the impact of institutionalization on movement. Thus, when the selections for activists were made, two different groups of activists who knew the given institutionalization processes were included in the sample group. Snowball sampling method was used in the process of selecting the interviewees. The first section of the final part of the thesis includes an information part about the profile of the interviewees. The purpose of this section is to understand the sources of the data to be used in the analysis part of the study and to understand the analysis of the study more clearly by understanding the position of interviewees. In this section, it is discussed whether the participants of the movement know before and after the institutionalization process, their connection with the social movements organizations (SMOs) in this movement, and how they define themselves in the movement. Secondly, the impact of institutionalization on social movements is discussed within the context of the collected data from the Ankara sample in terms of visibility, continuity, and opportunities. Thirdly, the opinions of the interviewees about the institutionalization of LGBTI+ movement is evaluated. Finally, the subject of organizing discussed in the theory section of this thesis is tested in the light of the interviews held within the scope of the thesis.

In the first section of the analysis part of the thesis, LGBTI + liberation movements are briefly introduced to help infer the inferences to be made in the analysis part of the study. In addition, the reference to the date of this movement in Turkey. The irritant process has been handled in 10-year periods from the 1970s to the present. It has been determined that the political breakpoints that the country passes through shape the history of action during the process. In the second section of the analysis part of the thesis, which is reserved for introducing the interviewees, is the basis of the analysis section of the thesis. As explained before, the interviewees were introduced in order to be classified according to three important variables. The first of these variables is to discover how long the person interviewed has been active in the movement and, moreover, how long she/he has known the movement. The aim here is to pave the way for evaluating the knowledge of the person whose opinion is benefited from within the framework of this variable when discussing the pre- and post-institutionalization process. The second variable is about whether the interviewee works in an institutional LGBTI+ organization or not. The differences between the opinions of the employees of the organizations and the independent activists can be solved with the help of this variable. The last variable is "the position" in which the person defines himself/herself. Based on this position, the evaluations of the interviewees were analyzed and the position of the interviewee was used as an important aid in case of differing assessments. In the third section of the analysis part of the thesis, visibility, continuity and opportunity dynamics were used to see the impact of institutionalization on LGBTI+ liberation movement. First, the views of the interviewees about the visibility of the movement were discussed. Then, the opinions of the interviewees about the continuity of the movement were examined. Finally, the views of the interviewees about opportunities of the movement were examined. When the responses of the interviewees about the visibility of the movement were analyzed, they were gathered around 11 factors. Four of these factors are directly linked to the institutionalization process and official organizations, seven factors less associated with the institutionalization process and official organizations. The first group of answers was “KAOS GL magazine, presence, and history of the LGBTI+ movement, official activities,

constitutional campaign process”. The second group of answers was “Internet / Social media / Virtual activism, Marching and demonstrations, Pride, Gezi Park protests, Radical sightings, Presence of homosexuality / LGBTI+ visibility itself”. When institutionalization and the continuity of the movement are taken together, it is necessary to underline that the intertwined processes that actually feed each other are mentioned. However, when the responses of the interviewees were analyzed, the majority of the activists evaluated the continuity of the movement independently of institutionalization and stated that the continuity was possible with "the existence of LGBTI+s", "the problems causing the movement and struggle", and "the unique culture of the movement". However, some of the interviewees stated that there are strong ties between continuation and integration. Opportunities were considered as another dimension with visibility and continuity. In fact, the interviewees were asked about the breaking points of the LGBTI + movement. Through these answers, these breakpoints were actually analyzed as opportunities for movement. The opinions of the interviewees regarding the turning points of the movement can be grouped under four main headings. Firstly, the process of institutionalization and association were considered an important opportunity and turning point for direct action. Secondly, the European Union membership negotiations, which made the institutionalization of the movement to a great extent possible and the democratization steps of that period. Thirdly, the important events in the history of the movement to fight independently of institutionalization are highlighted. Finally, Gezi Park Protest and the 2013 Pride were considered as an important field opening an opportunity for LGBTI + movement. In the fourth section of the analysis part of the thesis, the opinions of the interviewees about the institutionalization process and the results of the process were analyzed. First of all, how the interviewees understand the institutionalization was examined. Then the returns of institutionalization were analyzed based on the positive results attributed to the institutionalization. Finally, the negative effects of institutionalization on the movement will be analyzed again on the opinions of the interviewees. In this section, "opinions about institutionalization", "positive returns of institutionalization" and "negative effects of institutionalization on movement" were

discussed. All interviewees stated in different ways that institutionalization is vitally important for the movement. However, the main deficiency is related to institutionalization strategies of the movement. The institutionalization strategy of the movement, which has difficulty in finding a response at the grassroots level, and the lack of communication in the institutionalization processes of different organizations within the movement are the main criticisms of the institutionalization strategy. In spite of all the criticisms, the institutionalization and consequently the expansion of the area of the movement is affirmed in the last issue. In the final section of the analysis part of the thesis, the data collected within the scope of the research were discussed in the context of institutionalization by using the perspectives of social movement theories discussed in the first chapter. Firstly, the LGBTI + movements' institutionalization process in Ankara and the results of this process was discussed by using the "Resource Mobilization Theory" perspective. Then, the issues of organizing and institutionalization of social movements were examined from the perspective of "Framing and Social Construction", "Political Opportunity / Process Theory" and "New Social Movements Theories" respectively. The main objective here is to test theoretical debates at the application level, as envisaged in the first chapter. From this point of view, the institutionalization of LGBTI+ movement in Ankara was examined on the data collected from different theoretical perspectives. In addition, the reflections on the application level of the neo-institutionalism debate, which is based on the institutionalization perspective of the thesis, were also be discussed in this section. If the findings in this section are repeated briefly, the deficiencies of the movement in terms of the organization process and continuity and visibility in the current situation can be solved and understood with the help of RMT. It is stated that one of the most important elements, in order to understand all the processes and elements of the movement, is the culture inherent to the movement. The tools provided by the cultural framing approaches have been greatly beneficial in terms of exposing these cultural elements. The political opportunity thesis argues that “political opportunities” are required for the existence of social movement. While the organization and institutionalization of the movement were discussed during the interviews, the

interviewees went on to explain the processes by making references to the 1990s, 2000s and today. One of the main determinants of the LGBTI + movement is emphasized as political conditions. After the 1980 coup, the process was described as the years when the pressure and constraints were at the peak and the solidarity that would give birth to the movement started. The 1990s were recorded as years of organizing the movement at home and continuing on the street. The 2000s were described as the times when the gains in the movement increased in parallel with the good relations with the western countries and the EU. Nowadays, it is stated that the movement parallel to the regression of the democratization process that started in the 2000s is again alone with repression, restrictions, and bans. One of the most determining factors on the course of the movement was undoubtedly political conditions and opportunities. And this was expressed by the interviewees many times. This situation could be solved with the help of the Political Opportunity Theory. The criticisms made by the interviewees especially regarding the institutionalization of the movement open the discussion of NSM assumptions. The position of the movement at the current point can be discussed at many points from the point of being essentially anti-system to reaching a point that gives importance to material gains which are project objectives. Undoubtedly, this theoretical framework of NSM theories has provided a very important conceptual framework in understanding the LGBTI+ movement and institutionalization, and more importantly, criticizing this institutionalization process. All discussions with an effort to understand the institutionalization of the LGBTI + movement have shown that the process depends not only on economic or material but also on many cultural, political and social variables. At this point, the perspective presented by the "neo" institutionalism approach enabled the thesis to address all aspects of institutionalization.

In conclusion, from the theoretical core to the conclusions at the application level, this thesis has attempted to demonstrate how institutionalization affects the dynamics of a social movement through the LGBTI+ movement example. In the framework of the study, the effects of institutionalization on visibility, continuity,

and opportunities dynamics were revealed. Institutionalization is vital to an LGBTI+ movement is the most fundamental finding that can be foreseen. However, many criticisms were brought to the current institutionalization strategy of the movement, and it was determined that the institutionalized movement severed the movement from the base. In this thesis, the assumption that institutionalization basically provides the continuity of the movement increases its visibility and creates opportunities for movement has been trying to be discussed. According to the findings, it was found that the characteristics of the movement itself were more effective in terms of visibility and continuity, such as "being in the street", and "continuing discrimination ". Moreover, the new form of association of an institutionalized social movement with the state has been questioned by the interviewees, and this is, in fact, important signs for future research. Could institutionalization make anti-system movements part of the system? In spite of this negative question, there is no doubt that positive findings related to institutionalization have also come across as a result of the research. Many interviewees have reconciled the gains of the LGBTI + movement with institutional organization, and in fact, stated that one of the most important things that created the movement was these institutional structures.

The greatest contribution of the study to the literature is to reveal that the institutionalization of LGBTI + movement can be understood through the dynamics of visibility, continuity, and opportunities based on the case study's data. When the findings were examined, it was found that institutionalization was evaluated by the interviewees within the framework of these three dynamics. In terms of visibility, 11 basic factors came to the fore and only four of these factors were associated with institutionalization. According to the findings, the visibility of a social movement is related to the characteristics of the movement for itself. Institutionalization can be seen as factors that increase visibility, but visibility is more related to the masses that produce the movement and their inherent characteristics. For example, the presence of homosexuals and the pride to be accepted in society stands out as the most basic provision of visibility. Institutionalization supports visibility, but the

movement itself provides visibility independent of institutionalization with its own characteristics such as being on the street. In the light of the data obtained, the judiciary that the continuity of social movement is through institutionalization was opened to discussion. According to the data obtained from the interviews, the continuity of the movement is basically provided by the existence of social problems that reveal that movement. Although institutionalization contributes to continuity, the existence of social problems has emerged as the main thing that continues the movement. When institutionalization is examined in the context of opportunities dynamics, it is found that institutionalization itself important period the movement. Institutionalization within the movement was expressed as an important gain by the interviewees. However, institutionalization has been evaluated as an important cornerstone with the political conditions of the day and the movement's existence on the street. Institutionalization cannot be considered as a value independent of the existence of the movement for itself, such as pride and street protests. In short, institutionalization can be seen as a process that supports the basic instincts that create social movements. It is easier for an institutionalized movement to be visible, to sustain itself, and to make new gains. However, institutionalization alone cannot be evaluated as a value without the features of social movement itself being on the street or say we are here and seeking rights. This institutionalization process can be read as an important component of social movement as a process that supports movements' inherent features.

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APPENDICES

A. TURKISH SUMMARY/ TÜRKÇE ÖZET

KURUMSALLAŞMA SOSYAL HAREKETLERİ NASIL ETKİLER?: SOSYAL HAREKET ÖRGÜTLERİ

Kimilerine göre dünya tarihi devrimler tarihidir. Kimileri ise toplumsal değişimin merkezine, değişimin öznesi olarak sosyal hareketleri koyar. Kimileri için önemli olan "yapıdır", kimileri ise "aktörleri ve kültürü" öne çıkarmayı yeğler. Ancak, farklı bakış açılarından, ideolojik duruşlardan, kuramsal çerçevelerden birçok farklı görüş ve yorumun ortak bir değerlendirmesi yapıldığında sosyal hareketlerin toplumsal değişimin önemli bir parçası olduğu rahatlıkla söylenebilir. Dolayısıyla toplumsal değişimi anlamak için sosyal hareketleri anlamak bu bağlamda önemli bir köşe taşıdır. Sosyal hareketleri anlamak için sosyal bilimler alanında birçok çalışma yürütülmüş, daha birçoğu da yürütülmeye devam etmektedir. Farklı yönleriyle sosyal hareketleri anlamaya çalışmak, bazen ortaklıkları bazen de farklılıkları üzerinden çıkarımlar yapmak kısacası sosyal hareketleri sahip oldukları bileşenleriyle birlikte anlamlandırmak için alan yazınında birçok çaba sarf edilmektedir.

Sosyal hareketlerin son zamanlardaki seyrine bakıldığında, sosyal hareket dinamiklerinin ve dahası hareketi meydana getiren bileşenlerin maruz kaldığı en büyük değişimin hareketin örgütlenme pratikleri ile ilişkili olduğu söylenebilir. Sosyal hareketlerin alışılagelmiş örgütlenme pratikleri son yıllarda bir değişim içindedir. Bu değişim kimilerince olumlu kimilerince olumsuz değerlendirilse de alan yazınında örgütlenme pratiklerinin değişimine ilişkin ortak kabul büyük ölçüde oturmuş vaziyettedir. Bu değişim aslında kurumsallaşma ya da profesyonelleşme süreçleri olarak da adlandırılabilir. Yukarıda vurgulandığı gibi sosyal hareketlerin doğrudan örgütlenme pratiklerinin değişmesi ile başlayan ve bir bütün olarak

hareketin tamamında hissedilen kurumsallaşma süreci sosyal hareketlerin son yıllarda yaşadığı değişimin belki de dönüşümün en başat etkeni olarak okunabilir. Bu tez temel olarak sosyal hareketleri daha iyi anlamlandırmak amacıyla yola çıkmış daha sonra kurumsallaşma süreci ve bunun sosyal hareketler ile olan ilişkisini irdelemek amacı çerçevesinde yapılandırılmıştır. Tekrar etmek gerekirse, bu tezin temel amacı sosyal hareketleri değiştiren ve etkileyen önemli bir süreç olan kurumsallaşma ile sosyal hareket dinamikleri arasındaki ilişkiyi açığa çıkarmaktır.

Bu amaç doğrultusunda, sosyal hareket kavramının kendisine, sosyal hareketlerin örgütlenme pratiklerine ve kurumsallaşma sürecine ilişkin kuramsal bir tartışma yürütülmüştür. Kuramsal tartışma iki temel bölümden oluşmaktadır. İlk olarak sosyal hareket çalışmaları literatürü mercek altına alınmıştır. Bu bölümde sosyal hareket kuramları tek tek ele alınmış ve bu kuramların sosyal hareketleri nasıl anladıkları, sosyal hareketler literatürüne katkıları ve sosyal hareketlerin örgütlenmesine ve dahası kurumsallaşmasına ilişkin görüşleri irdelenmiştir. İlk olarak ilgili kuramın sosyal hareketler çalışmalarına katkıları tartışılmış, bu yolla seçilen kuramsal tartışmaların çalışmada yer bulma sebepleri netleştirilmiştir. Daha sonra kuramların sosyal hareketleri nasıl anladıkları irdelenmiştir. Bu kısımda tüm kuramların sosyal hareketleri nasıl anladıkları ayrı ayrı ele alınmış ve aralarındaki farklılıklar ortaya çıkarılmıştır. Bu yolla aslında çalışmanın analiz bölümünde farklı bakış açılarına sahip kuramsal çerçevelerin çalışma kapsamında nasıl kullanılacağına ilişkin bir girizgâh yapılmıştır. Son olarak ilgili kuramların kurumsallaşma konusuna nasıl yaklaştığı mercek altına alınmıştır. Bu bölümde yani kuramsal tartışmanın ikinci bölümünde eğer varsa kurumsallaşma kavramının kendisine ilişkin bir tartışma yürütülmüş ve bu kavramın bu çalışmada ne şekilde ele alındığı bu bölümde tartışılmıştır.

Bahsi geçen kuramsal tartışmayı daha anlamlı hale getirebilmek için bu tez çerçevesinde bir de saha çalışması yürütülmüştür. Kurumsallaşma sürecinin sosyal hareketlerin dinamiklerine etkilerini keşfetmek amacıyla yapılandırılan bu tezin son bölümünde, Ankara şehrinde örgütlenen LGBTIQ+ hareketi örnek sosyal hareket

olarak seçilmiştir. Bu hareketin ve Ankara şehrinin seçilmesinin belli başlı sebepleri vardır. İlk olarak, Türkiye'de en yeni örgütlenen sosyal hareketlerden biri LGBTIQ+ hareketidir. Dolayısıyla bu hareket üzerinden kurumsallaşma sürecinin etkilerini gözlemlemek mümkündür. 1990'lı yıllarda örgütlenmeye başlayan hareketin hala ulaşılabilir olan aktivistleri yaşanan kurumsallaşma sürecinin öncesini ve sonrasını bildikleri için kurumsallaşma özelinde değerlendirme yapmak isteyen bir araştırmacı için LGBTIQ+ hareketi son derece uygun, örnek çalışma öznesidir. Ankara şehri ise bahsi geçen hareketin ilk kurumsallaşmaya başladığı ve hareketin ilk kurumsal örgütüne ev sahipliği yapması bakımından önemlidir. Kısacası görece yeni kurumsallaşan LGBTIQ+ hareketi ilk kurumsallaştığı şehir olan Ankara'da çalışmanın örnek sosyal hareketi olan incelenmiştir. Alan yazınında yapılan kuramsal tartışmaların ışığında saha çalışması sırasında yapılan değerlendirmeler irdelenmiş ve kurumsallaşma sürecinin sosyal hareket dinamiklerine olan etkili LGBTIQ+ hareketinin Ankara şehrindeki örgütlenmesi ve kurumsallaşma hikâyesi örnek alınarak incelenmiştir. Yapılan saha çalışması kapsamında Ankara ili LGBTIQ+ hareketi aktivistlerinden 10 tanesi ile yarı yapılandırılmış mülakat yapılmıştır. Mülakat sırasında görüşme yapılan kişilere daha önce hazırlanmış sorular yöneltilmiş, bunların yanı sıra görüşme sırasında bazı yardımcı sorulardan faydalanılmıştır. Örneklem grubu oluşturulurken amaçlı örneklem yönteminden faydalanılmıştır.

Sosyal hareketler alan yazınının iki ana akım sosyoloji kuramından beslendiği söylenebilir. Marksizm ve yapısal işlevselcilik ana akım kuramlar olarak sosyal hareket çalışmalarının kuramsal temellerini oluşturmaktadır. Bu iki ana akım kuram doğrudan sosyal hareketleri çalışma öznesi olarak kabul etmemesine rağmen ayrı ayrı sosyal hareket çalışmalarına önemli katkılar sunmuşlardır. Örneğin Marksizm siyasal entelektüel anlamda sosyal hareketler çalışmalarına temel oluşturmaktadır. Yabancılaşma, çatışma ve mücadele gibi birçok siyasal ve entelektüel kavram ve motivasyon köken olarak Marksizm'den beslenmektedir. Marksizm yapısal ve tarihsel analizlerden beslenen sosyal hareketler alışmalarının kaynağı olarak görülmektedir. Yeni sosyal hareketler kuramı yine temel olarak Marksizm'den

beslenir. Yapısal işlevselciler ve Weber'in görüşleri yine sosyal hareket çalışmalarına katkı sağlamaktadır. Örneğin Weber'in statü temelli analizi ilerleyen yıllarda sosyal hareketler çalışmalarında kültürü ve aktörü önceleyen çalışmalarının önünü açmıştır. Ancak Marksizm'in sınıf temelli mücadele dışındaki sosyal hareketleri görmezden gelmesi, yapısal işlevselcilerin ise sosyal hareketleri toplumsal bozukluklar, anaomie olarak değerlendirmesi ve her ikisinin de sosyal hareketleri ayrı birer çalışma konusu olarak ele almaması bu iki ana akım sosyoloji kuramının temel eksiklikleri olarak karşımıza çıkmaktadır. Bu eksikliklere getirilen eleştiriler aslında sosyal hareket kuramlarının da çıkış noktası ve temel motivasyonları olarak okunabilir.

Tez kapsamında sosyal hareket kuramları gözden geçirilmiş ve temel bakış açıları anlaşılmaya çalışılmıştır. Bu motivasyonla, kaynak mobilizasyonu kuramı, kültürel çerçeveleme yaklaşımı, siyasal fırsatlar kuramı, yeni sosyal hareketler kuramı, ele alınmıştır. Kaynak mobilizasyonu kuramı sosyal hareketleri araştırma öznesi olarak merkeze alan ilk kuram olarak karşımıza çıkmaktadır. Bu kursam sosyal hareketleri rasyonel ve normal olarak kabul eder ve hareketi ortaya çıkaran koşulları anlamaya çalışır. Hareketin katılımcılarının fayda maliyet analizine dayanan rasyonel bir karar alma sürecini takiben harekete katıldıkları savunulur. Dahası hareketin ortaya çıkabilmesi için kaynakları mobilize edecek iletişim araçları, insan kaynağı gibi araçların gerekliliği savunulur. Bir sosyal hareketin başarısı kaynakları mobilize edebile kapasitesine bağlanmıştır. Kültürel çerçeveleme kuramı materyal kaynak ve araçları merkeze alan kaynak mobilizasyonu kuramının tersine kültürel değerleri ve hareketin kültürünü merkeze alarak sosyal hareketleri anlamaya çalışır. Kültür ve aktör temelli bu kuramsal bakış açısı temel olarak hareketin ortaya çıkışını hareketin kendini nasıl ve hangi değerler etrafında var ettiğine bağlı olarak açıklamaya çalışır. Hareketin sahip olduğu kültürel değerler ve bu değerlerin ortaya çıkışı aslında hareketi anlamak için baktıkları temel bileşenlerdir. Siyasal fırsatlar kuramı, dönemin siyasal koşullarını anlamak yoluyla sosyal hareketleri anlamlandırmaya çalışır. Bir sosyal hareketin seyri dönemin özgün siyasal koşul ve fırsatlarından yalıtılmış şekilde anlaşılamaz. Yeni sosyal hareketler kuramı, sosyal hareketler

çalışmalarına önemli bir katkı sunarak 1960 sonrası ortaya çıkan sosyal hareketlerin kendine özgün yanlarına yoğunlaşmış ve bu yolla bu hareketlerin anlamlandırılmasına büyük katkı sunmuştur. Kısaca değerlendirme yapmak gerekirse farkı bakış açıları ve araçlar kullanan bu sosyal hareket kuramları tez çerçevesinde ayrı ayrı incelenmiş ve bu kuramların bakış açıları ve sundukları araçlar tezin analiz bölümünde kullanılmıştır. Örneğin kültürel çerçeveleme yaklaşımının sunduğu bakış açısı sayesinde LGBTIQ+ hareketin kendine içkin kültürel yapısı ve bu yapının hareket seyrine etkisi, kurumsallaşma ve bu kültür arasındaki ilişki irdelenebilmiştir.

Sosyal hareketler nedir? Bu soruya cevap bulabilmek için sosyal hareket kuramları tez çerçevesinde mercek altına alınmıştır. Daha sonra tezin temel amacı olarak kurumsallaşmanın sosyal hareketlere olan etkisini açığa çıkarmak için kurumsallaşma kavramı üzerinde durulmuştur. Bu amaç doğrultusunda kurumsallaşma üzerine bir alan yazını taraması yapılmıştır. Bu tezde kurumsallaşma kavramı bir süreç olarak ele alınmıştır. Kurumsallaşma sadece ekonomik değil aynı zamanda kültüre, politik ve sosyal bir süreç olarak kabul edilmiştir. Yeni-kurumsallaşma perspektifinin kültürü, siyasayı ve ekonomiyi beraber harmanlayan bakış açısından hareketle kurumsallaşma kavramının bu tezde nasıl ele alındığı netleştirilmiştir. Sosyal hareketler çalışmalarında kurumsallaşma tartışması sosyal hareket örgütlerine gönderme yapılarak somutlaştırılmıştır. Sosyal hareket örgütlerinin neler oldukları ve diğer sivil toplum örgütlerinden nasıl farklılaştırılabilecekleri yine bu çerçevede tartışılmıştır.

Son olarak tezin analiz bölümünde yapılan bu kuramsal tartışmalar ışığında LGBTIQ+ özgürleşme hareketinin Ankara'daki durumu kurumsallaşma sosyal hareket dinamikleri ilişkisi çerçevesinde irdelenmiştir. Saha çalışmasından elde edilen veriler ışığında iç sosyal hareket dinamikleri olarak görünürlük, devamlılık ve fırsatlar öne çıkmış ve bu dinamiklerle kurumsallaşma ilişkisi ele edilen veriler ışığında anlaşılmaya çalışılmıştır. Bu dinamikler üzerinde kurumsallaşmanın etkisi üç değişken dikkate alınarak incelenmiştir. Bu değişkenlerden ilki görüşme yapılan

kişilerin kurumsallaşma öncesi ve sonrası süreci bilip bilmedikleridir. 1990 öncesi ve sonrası sureci bilen ve bilmeyen görüşme yapılan kişilerin görüşleri farklılaşmaktadır bu sebeple bu değişken dikkate alınmıştır. İkinci değişken görüşme yapılan kişilerin kurumsal LGBTIQ+ örgütlerle olan ilişkisidir. Örgütlerin çalışanı olan kişilerle örgütlerle organik bağlantısı bulunmayan kişilerin kurumsallaşmaya ilişkin görüşleri farklılaşmaktadır. Bu sebeple bu değişken dikkate alınmıştır. Son değişkense görüşme yapılan kişinin kendini hareket içerisinde nasıl tanımladığına ilişkindir. Kişinin hareket içerisindeki pozisyonu kurumsallaşmaya ilişkin değerlendirmesini daha anlamlı olarak analiz etmeye imkân vermektedir. Bu sebeple görüşme yapılan kişinin hareket içerisindeki pozisyonu çalışma kapsamında değişken olarak ele alınmıştır. Kısacası bu çalışma kapsamında kurumsallaşmanın etkileri üç boyut (görünürlük, devamlılık ve fırsatlar) çerçevesinde üç değişken yardımıyla analiz edilmiştir. Tezin analizi beş temel başlık altında yapılmış ve görüşmelerden toplanan veri bu başlıklar altında analiz edilmiştir. İlk olarak LGBTIQ+ hareketin Türkiye ve Ankara seyri analiz bölümünü anlamlı kılmak için incelenmiş ve harekete yön veren tarihsel süreç irdelenmiştir. Daha sonra görüşme yapılan kişiler yukarıda bahsi geçilen üç değişken çerçevesinde tanıtılmıştır. Bu bölüm yardımıyla görüşme yapılan kişilerin görüşmeleri değişkenlere göre sınıflandırılmış ve farklı boyutlarla kurumsallaşma arasındaki ilişki bu çerçevede incelenmiştir. Üçüncü başlıkta kurumsallaşmanın bahsi geçen üç boyut çerçevesinde sosyal hareketleri nasıl etkilediği yapılan görüşmeler ışığında analiz edilmiştir. Daha sonra görüşmecilerin doğrudan kurumsallaşmaya ilişkin değerlendirmeleri derlenmiş ve kurumsallaşmanın kendisini görüşme yapılan kişilerin nasıl değerlendirdiği derlenmiştir. Son olarak tezin en başında yapılan kuramsal tartışma sahada toplanan verilen ışığında yeniden ele alınmış ve kuramlar toplanan veri yardımıyla test edilmiştir.

Tezin analiz bölümünde ilk olarak, çalışmada yapılacak analizleri anlamlı kılmak için LGBTIQ+ özgürleşme hareketi kısaca tanıtılmıştır. Bu bölümde hareketin Türkiye'deki seyrine göndermeler vardır. 1970'lerden günümüze kadar gelen süreç, LGBTIQ+ hareketinin önemli dönüm noktaları vurgulanarak incelenmiştir. Ülkenin

içinde bulunduğu siyasi atmosferin aslında hareketi büyük ölçüde şekillendirdiği yine bu bölümden yola çıkarak tespit edilmiştir. Analizin ikinci bölümü görüşme yapılan kişilere ve bu kişilerin daha önce açıklanan üç değişkene göre sınıflandırılmasına ayrılmıştır. Analizin üçüncü başlığında, kurumsallaşmanın LGBTIQ+ hareketi üzerindeki etkisini görmek için görünürlük, süreklilik ve fırsatlar dinamikleri kullanılarak görüşmelerden elde edilen veriler ışığında bazı çıkarımlar yapılmıştır. İlk olarak, görüşülen kişilerin hareketin görünürlüğü hakkındaki görüşleri tartışılmıştır. Daha sonra görüşülen kişilerin hareketin sürekliliği hakkındaki görüşleri incelenmiştir. Son olarak, görüşme yapılan kişilerin harekete fırsatlar yaratan kaynaklar üzerindeki görüşleri irdelenmiştir.

Görüşme yapılan kişilerin hareketin görünürlüğü konusundaki görüşleri analiz edildiğinde, değerlendirmelerin görünürlüğü sağlayan ya da etkileyen 11 faktör etrafında toplandığı tespit edilmiştir. Bu faktörlerden dördü, kurumsallaşma süreci ve resmi kuruluşlarla doğrudan bağlantılı iken, kalan yedi faktör kurumsallaşma süreci ve resmi kuruluş ile daha az ilişkilidir. İlk dört faktör “KAOS GL dergisi, LGBTIQ+ hareketinin varlığı ve tarihi, resmi faaliyetler, anayasal kampanya süreci” olarak sınıflandırılmıştır. Diğer faktörler “İnternet / sosyal medya / sanal aktivizm, yürüyüş ve gösteriler, Onur Yürüyüşü, Gezi Parkı protestoları, bazı radikal öne çıkışlar, eşcinsellerin ve LGBTIQ+'ların varlığı” olarak sınıflandırılmıştır. Kurumsallaşma ve hareketin sürekliliği ve bu ikisi arasındaki ilişki incelendiğinde, kurumsallaşma ve hareketin devamlılığının birbirlerini besleyen iç içe geçmiş süreçler olduğunun altı çizilmelidir. Bununla birlikte, görüşme yapılan kişilerin değerlendirmeleri analiz edildiğinde, aktivistlerin çoğu hareketin sürekliliğini kurumsallaşmadan bağımsız olarak değerlendirmiş ve sürekliliği "LGBTIQ+ ların varlığı", "harekete ve mücadeleye neden olan sorunların devam etmesi" ile ilişkili olarak değerlendirmişlerdir. Hareketin sahip olduğu dayanışma kültürü de yine değerlendirmelerde devamlılık bağlamında başat bir faktör olarak vurgulanmıştır. Hareketin kazanımları yani fırsatları ve bu fırsatların kaynakları ve kaynakları ortaya çıkaran etkenler diğer bir boyut olarak analiz bölümünde değerlendirilmiştir. Aslında bu bölümde görüşme yapılan kişilerin hareketin kırılma noktalarını ve

kazanımlarını değerlendirmeleri istenmiştir. Görüşme yapılan kişiler kazanımların kaynaklarını değerlendirdiklerinde, elde edilen cevapların dört başlık altında kümelendiği tespit edilmiştir. Kurumsallaşma sürecinin kendisi hareketin kazanımlarını yaramak noktasında önemli bir dönüm noktası olarak değerlendirilmiştir. Bunun yanı sıra Avrupa Birliği Üyelik süreci ve 2000'li yılların başında yaşanan demokratikleşme süreci hareketin kazanımlarının önünü açan önemli köşe taşı olarak görüşme yapılan kişiler tarafından vurgulanmıştır. Yine hareket içerisinde 2013 yılında gerçekleşen en kalabalık onur yürüyüşü, ve Gezi Parkı protestoları sırasında artan LGBTIQ+ görünürlüğü hareketin önemli köşe taşları olarak değerlendirilmiştir. Son olarak hareket içerisinde kurumsallaşmadan bağımsız ilk kamusal görünürlük gibi tarihsel kazanımlar önemli köşe taşları olarak değerlendirilmiştir. Analizin dördüncü başlığında görüşme yapılan kişilerin kurumsallaşma süreci ile ilgili görüşleri ve sürecin etkilerine ilişkin değerlendirmeleri irdelenmiştir. Her şeyden önce, görüşülen kişilerin kurumsallaşmayı nasıl anladıkları incelenmiştir. Ardından kurumsallaşmanın getirisi, kurumsallaşmaya atfedilen olumlu sonuçlara gönderme yapılarak analiz edilmiştir. Son olarak, kurumsallaşmanın hareket üzerindeki olumsuz etkileri görüşme yapılan kişilerin değerlendirmeleri üzerinden analiz edilmiştir. Bu bölümde "kurumsallaşma hakkında görüşler", "kurumsallaşmanın olumlu getirileri" ve "kurumsallaşmanın hareket üzerindeki olumsuz etkileri" tartışılmıştır. Tüm görüşmeciler, kurumsallaşmanın hareket için hayati öneme sahip olduğunu farklı şekillerde ifade etmişlerdir. Ancak, temel eksiklik, hareketin kurumsallaşma stratejileri ile ilgilidir. Tabanda bir cevap bulmakta zorluk çeken hareketin kurumsallaşma stratejisi ve hareket içindeki farklı örgütlerin kurumsallaşma süreçlerindeki iletişim eksikliği, kurumsallaşma stratejisine ilişkin temel eleştiriler olarak öne çıkmıştır. Tüm eleştirilere rağmen, kurumsallaşma ve buna bağlı olarak hareket alanının genişlemesi görüşme yapılan kişiler tarafından olumlanmıştır. Tezin analiz bölümünün son başlığında, araştırma kapsamında toplanan veriler, birinci bölümde tartışılan sosyal hareket teorileri perspektifleri kullanılarak kurumsallaşma bağlamında tartışılmıştır. İlk olarak, LGBTIQ+ hareketinin Ankara'da kurumsallaşma süreci ve bu sürecin sonuçları "Kaynak Mobilizasyonu

Kuramı" perspektifi kullanılarak tartışılmıştır. Ardından, sosyal hareketlerin örgütlenmesi ve kurumsallaşmasına ilişkin sorunlar sırasıyla "Kültürel Çerçeveleme Yaklaşımı", "Siyasal Fırsat / Süreç Teorisi" ve "Yeni Sosyal Hareket Teorileri" perspektifinden incelenmiştir. Buradaki temel amaç, birinci bölümde öngörüldüğü gibi uygulama düzeyinde teorik tartışmaları test etmektir. Bu açıdan bakıldığında, LGBTIQ+ hareketinin Ankara'da kurumsallaşması, farklı teorik bakış açılarından toplanan veriler üzerinde irdelenmiştir. Ayrıca, tezin kurumsallaşma perspektifini açıklayan yeni-kurumsalcılık yaklaşımının uygulama düzeyine yansımaları da bu bölümde tartışılmıştır. Bu bölümdeki bulgular kısaca ele alınırsa, hareketin örgütlenme süreci ve mevcut durumdaki süreklilik ve görünürlük açısından eksiklikleri KMK'nın yardımı ile anlaşılabilir. Hareketin tüm süreçlerini ve unsurlarını anlamak için hareketin doğasında var olan kültürün en önemli unsurlardan biri olduğu tespit edilmiştir. Kültürel çerçeveleme yaklaşımlarının sağladığı araçlar, bu kültürel unsurların ortaya çıkarılması açısından büyük yarar sağlamıştır. Siyasal Fırsat Kuramı, sosyal hareketin varlığı için “siyasi fırsatlar” gerektiğini savunmaktadır. Görüşmeler sırasında hareketin örgütlenmesi ve kurumsallaşması tartışılırken, görüşme yapılan kişiler tarafından 1990'lı, 2000'li yılar ve günümüz referans alınarak hareketin süreçleri değerlendirilmiştir. LGBTIQ+ hareketinin ana belirleyicilerinden biri siyasi koşullar olarak vurgulanmıştır. 1980 darbesinden sonra, süreç, baskı ve kısıtlamaların zirvede olduğu yıllar olarak değerlendirilmiş ve hareketi doğuracak olan dayanışma bu yıllarda filizlenmiştir. 1990'lar, evlerde hareketi örgütleyen ve sokakta devam ettiren yıllar olarak vurgulanmıştır. 2000'li yıllar, hareketteki kazanımların batı ülkeleri ve AB ile iyi ilişkilere paralel olarak arttığı zamanlar olarak değerlendirilmiştir. Günümüzde, 2000'lerde başlayan demokratikleşme sürecinin gerilemesine paralel hareketin, baskı, kısıtlamalar ve yasaklarla tekrar baş başa olduğu tespit edilmiştir. Hareketin gidişatındaki en belirleyici faktörlerden biri şüphesiz siyasi koşullar ve fırsatlardır. Bu durum, Politik Fırsat Teorisi'nin yardımıyla çözümlenmiştir. Görüşme yapılan kişilerin özellikle hareketin kurumsallaşmasına ilişkin yaptığı eleştiriler, Yeni Sosyal Hareketler Kuramlarının varsayımlarını tartışmaya açmıştır. Hareketin şu andaki konumu, aslında anti-sistemik olma noktasından, proje

hedefleri olan maddi kazanımlara önem veren bir noktaya ulaşmaya kadar birçok noktada tartışılabilir. Kuşkusuz, YSH teorilerinin teorik çerçevesi, LGBTIQ+ hareketini ve kurumsallaşmayı anlamada ve daha da önemlisi bu kurumsallaşma sürecini eleştirmede çok önemli bir kavramsal çerçeve sağlamıştır. LGBTIQ + hareketinin kurumsallaşmasını anlama çabasıyla yapılan tüm tartışmalar, sürecin yalnızca ekonomik veya maddi değil, aynı zamanda birçok kültürel, politik ve sosyal değişkene de bağlı olduğunu göstermiştir. Bu noktada "yeni" kurumsalcılık yaklaşımının sunduğu perspektif, tezin kurumsallaşmanın tüm yönlerini ele almasını sağlamıştır.

Sonuç olarak, kuramdan uygulamaya bir değerlendirme yapıldığında, bu tez kurumsallaşmanın LGBTIQ+ hareketi örneği aracılığıyla bir toplumsal hareketin dinamiklerini nasıl etkilediğini göstermeye çalışmıştır. Çalışma çerçevesinde, kurumsallaşmanın görünürlük, süreklilik ve fırsatlar dinamikleri üzerindeki etkileri analiz edilmiştir. Kurumsallaşmanın hareket için hayati olması altı çizmesi gereken ilk bulgudur. Bununla birlikte, görüşme yapılan kişilerin değerlendirmelerine göre hareketin mevcut kurumsallaşma stratejisine birçok eleştiri getirilmiştir ve kurumsallaşmış hareketin hareketi tabandan kopardığı tespit edilmiştir. Bu tezde, kurumsallaşmanın temelde hareketin sürekliliğini sağladığı, görünürlüğünü arttırdığı ve hareket için fırsatlar yarattığı varsayımı tartışılmaya açılmıştır. Bulgulara göre, hareketin kendine özgün özelliklerinden “sokakta olmak” ve “süregelen ayrımcılıklar” aslında görünürlük ve süreklilik açısından daha etkilidir. Dahası, kurumsallaştırılmış bir sosyal hareketin devletle olan birlikteliği, görüşülen kişiler tarafından sorgulanmıştır ve bu, aslında gelecekteki araştırmalar için önemli bir tartışmayı işaret etmektedir. Kurumsallaşma sistem karşıtı hareketleri sistemin bir parçası haline mi getirir? Bu olumsuz soruya rağmen, araştırma sonucunda kurumsallaşmaya ilişkin olumlu bulguların da ortaya çıkmıştır. Birçok görüşmeci, LGBTIQ+ hareketinin kazanımlarını kurumsal organizasyonla ilişkilendirmiş ve aslında hareketi oluşturan en önemli şeylerden birinin bu kurumsal yapılar olduğunu ortaya koymuştur.

Çalışmanın alan yazınına en büyük katkısı, LGBTIQ+ hareketin kurumsallaşmasının görünürlük, süreklilik ve fırsatlar boyutları üzerinden hareketi nasıl etkilediğinin anlaşılabileceğini ortaya koymasıdır. Bulgular incelendiğinde kurumsallaşmanın görüşülen kişiler tarafından bu üç dinamiklik çerçevesinde değerlendirildiği görülmüştür. Görünürlük açısından, 11 temel faktör öne çıkmıştır ve bu faktörlerden sadece dördü kurumsallaşma ile ilişkilendirilmiştir. Bulgulara göre, bir sosyal hareketin görünürlüğü, hareketin kendine has özellikleri ile ilgilidir. Kurumsallaşma, görünürlüğü arttıran bir faktör olarak görülebilir, ancak görünürlük hareketi üreten kitleler ve bunların doğal özellikleriyle daha fazla ilgilidir. Örneğin, eşcinsellerin varlığı ve toplumda kabul edilmeleri ya da onur yürüyüşleri görünürlüğün temel işaretleri olarak göze çarpıyor. Kurumsallaşma görünürlüğü destekler, ancak hareketin kendisi, sokakta bulunabilme, var olabilme gibi harekete özgün özellikler kurumsallaşmadan bağımsız görünürlük sağlar. Elde edilen veriler ışığında sosyal hareketin sürekliliğinin kurumsallaşma yoluyla gerçekleştiği varsayımı tartışmaya açılmıştır. Görüşmelerden elde edilen verilere göre, hareketin sürekliliği temelde bu hareketi ortaya çıkaran toplumsal sorunların devam etmesi ile ilişkilidir. Kurumsallaşma sürekliliğe katkıda bulunmasına rağmen, toplumsal sorunların varlığı hareketi sürdüren ana şey olarak ortaya çıkmıştır. Kurumsallaşma fırsatlar dinamiği bağlamında incelendiğinde kurumsallaşmanın kendisinin başlı başına fırsat yaratan ve fırsatın kendisi olduğu tespit edilmiştir. Hareket içindeki kurumsallaşma, görüşme yapılan kişiler tarafından önemli bir kazanç olarak ifade edilmiştir. Kurumsallaşma, günün politik koşullarına ve hareketin sokaktaki varlığına ilişkin önemli bir köşe taşı olarak değerlendirilmiştir. Ancak kurumsallaşma, Onur Yürüyüşü ve sokak protestoları gibi hareketin kendisinin varlığından bağımsız bir değer olarak kabul değerlendirilemez. Kısacası, kurumsallaşma, toplumsal hareketleri yaratan temel içgüdüleri destekleyen bir süreç olarak görülebilir. Kurumsallaşmış bir hareketin görünür olması, kendini sürdürmesi ve yeni kazanımlar elde etmesi daha kolaydır. Kurumsallaşma süreci, hareketlerin doğasında var olan özellikleri destekleyen bir süreç olarak sosyal hareketin önemli bir bileşeni olarak okunabilir.

Tez kapsamında yapılan analizlerde, kurumsallaşmanın hali hazırda hareketin içerisinden geçtiği bir süreç olarak kabul edildiği ve bu sürecin etkilerinin anlaşılmaya çalışıldığının altı çizilmelidir. Ancak hareketin son zamanlarda sıklıkla gönderme yaptığı ve beslendiği Queer teori ve bu teori etrafında yapılan tartışmalar aslında kurumsallaşma sürecini doğrudan varoluşsal olarak tartışmaya açmıştır. Kurumsallaşmanın tamamen yok sayıldığı ve kökten yapı söküme açıldığı bu tartışmalara bu tez kapsamında yer verilmemiştir. Ancak konu üzerine çalışan araştırmacıların kurumsallaşma bağlamında kökten farklılaşan bu bakış açısını ve tartışmaları da gözden geçirmelerinde fayda vardır. Görece yeni olan bu tartışmaların kurumsallaşma özelinde yeterli birikim sağlamamış olmasından ötürü bu tez kapsamında Queer teori ve bu teori etrafında geliştirilen tartışmalara yer verilememiştir.

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