Hacettepe University Graduate School of Social Sciences

The Department of Peace and Conflict Studies

IDENTITY-BASED CONFLICTS BETWEEN NEWLY-FORMED RESISTANCE GROUPS DURING THE GEZI MOVEMENT

Burcu EKE SCHNEIDER

Master's Thesis

Ankara, 2017

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The jury finds that Burcu Eke Schneider has on the date of 20th of June 2017 successfully passed the defense examination and approves her Master's Thesis titled "Identity-Based Conflicts between Newly-Formed Resistance Groups During the Gezi Movement".

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ABSTRACT

SCHNEIDER EKE, Burcu. *Identity-based conflicts between newly-formed resistance groups during the Gezi Movement,* Master's Thesis, Ankara, 2017.

This study offers a nuanced comparative analysis of the formation of new resistance groups and their identity-based conflicts and argues that the Gezi resistance was not only an act of resistance against authority but was, at the same time, a movement in which some groups raised their voice and made their identity visible for the first time. Within the methods of participatory action research, semi-structured in-depth interviews and qualitative study of the Gezi resistance in Turkey, this study identifies complex relations (between individuals and focused groups) of the social processes of collective mobilization in the first three weeks of May-June 2013.

The empirical part of this study is based on the case of the Gezi resistance and two focus groups: Yoğurtçu Women's Forum and the Soccer Team Supporter Group Çarşı which both became visible and politicized during the Gezi resistance. An explanatory concept derived from peace and conflict studies is applied. This approach reveals how the conflict between these groups contributed to and at the same time hindered the Gezi Resistance (or Occupy Taksim, or the June Resistance). The study analyzes these findings about identity-based conflicts and newly-formed group's inner relations by the help of open coding categories and critical localized political discourse.

All kinds of identity issues were raised during the resistance – i.e. issues related to class relations, feminism, the diversity of forums and their particular conflicts, the use of violent language towards each other and many others. This study tries to find answers to the following questions:

- What was the root cause of conflicts between individuals and newly-formed focused groups in Gezi park?
- How and why did identity-based conflicts between groups taking part in the Gezi resistance represent a setback for the Gezi resistance per se?

- How participants decided to involve during the beginning (the first three weeks of Gezi resistance) and accepted the identity of the newly-formed groups? Why?

The study concludes with an assessment of a number of scientific, peace-building methods to resolve identity-based conflicts.

Keywords

New Group Identity Formation, Collective Identity, Resistance, Identity-based Conflicts Between Groups, Gezi Resistance, The Root Causes of the Conflict, Yoğurtçu Women Forum, and Soccer Team Supporter Group: Çarşı

ÖZET

SCHNEIDER EKE, Burcu. *Gezi Hareketinde yeni oluşan direniş grupları arasında kimlik temelli çatışmalar, Yüksek Lisans Tezi,* Ankara, 2017.

Bu çalışma yeni direniş gruplarının ve bunların kimlik tabanlı çatışmalarının oluşumuna dair incelikli karşılaştırmalı bir analiz sunmakta ve Gezi direnişinin yalnızca otoriteye karşı bir direniş eylemi olmayıp aynı zamanda kimi grupların seslerini yükseltip kimliklerini ilk kez görünür kıldıkları bir hareket olduğunu öne sürmektedir. Katılımcı eylem araştırması yöntemleri, yarı-yapılandırılmış derinlemesine görüşmeler ve Türkiye'deki Gezi direnişinin sayısal incelemesi kapsamında, bu çalışma Mayıs-Haziran 2013 sürecinin ilk üç haftasındaki kolektif seferberliğin sosyal süreçlerinin karmaşık ilişkilerini (bireyler ve odak grupları arasında) tanımlamaktadır.

Bu çalışmanın deneysel kısmı Gezi direnişi sırasında görünür ve politize olmuş Yoğurtçu Kadın Forumu ve Futbol Takımı Taraftar Grubu Çarşı olmak üzere iki odak grubuna dair vakaya, barış ve çatışma çalışmalarından türetilen açıklayıcı bir kavram çerçevesinde odaklanmaktadır. Bu yaklaşım, bu gruplar arasındaki çatışmanın Gezi direnişine (diğer kullanılan adlarıyla Occupy Taksim veya Haziran Direnişi) nasıl hem katkıda bulunduğu hem de sekteye uğramasına yol açtığını ortaya koymaktadır. Bu çalışma, açık kodlama kategorileri ve eleştirel yerel siyasi söylemler yardımıyla kimlik tabanlı çatışmalar ve yeni oluşan grup içi ilişkilerine dair bulguları analiz etmektedir.

Direniş esnasında her tür kimlik sorunları ortaya konulmuştur – bunlar arasında sınıfsal ilişkilere dair sorunlar, feminizme, forumların çeşitliliği ve insanların birbirine karşı kullandığı saldırgan dil gibi içerdikleri özgün çatışmalara dair ve pek çok diğer sorun bulunmaktadır. Bu çalışma, aşağıdaki sorulara yanıtlar bulmayı amaçlamaktadır:

- Gezi parkında bireyler ve yeni oluşan odak grupları arasındaki çatışmaların temelde yatan sebebi neydi?
- Nasıl ve neden Gezi direnişinde rol oynayan gruplar arasındaki kimlik tabanlı sorunlar kendiliğinden Gezi direnişi için sekteye uğrama anlamına gelmişti?

– Katılımcılar nasıl olup da başlangıçta (Gezi direnişinin ilk üç haftasında) yeni oluşan gruplarla ilişkilenmeye ve kimliklerini kabul etmeye karar vermişti? Neden?

Bu çalışma, kimlik tabanlı çatışmaların çözümlenmesine yönelik bir dizi bilimsel barış inşa etme yöntemine dair bir değerlendirme ile son bulmaktadır.

Anahtar Sözcükler

Yeni Grup Kimliği Formasyonu, Kolektif Kimlik, Direniş, Gruplar Arası Kimlik Bazlı Çatışmalar, Gezi Direnişi, Çatışmaların Kök Sebepleri, Yoğurtçu Kadın Formu, Futbol Taraftar Grubu: Çarşı

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

YWF	Yoğurtçu Women's Forum
SIT	Social Identity Theory
SFC	Socialist Feminist Collective
SIDE	Social Identity Model

TABLES

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1. BACKGROUND AND MOTIVATION

Gezi resistance started on 27 May 2013 with a small environmentalist group of activists who were trying to defend a public park against State's plans to build a huge shopping mall in central Istanbul. "Their first, three-day goal was to prevent authorities from dismantling one of the rare green areas in the heart of the city for the sake of an urban development project."[1] Starting from an everyday environmental issue in a small park, the rapidity with which their resistance ignited discontent from city to city was unexpected. Certain unresolved differences, however, meant that some cities did not respond. "According to the numbers released by the Turkish Ministry of Interior, by 23 June 2013 a total number of 2,5 million people participated in demonstrations in 79 cities with Bingol and Bayburt being only two cities where no demonstrations had been held."[2] This historic event brought many deep-rooted problems related to the nature of conflict between groups – and how to resolve them - to the surface, problems which are deeply connected to the participants' sense of group identity. In Peter Ackerman and Christopher Kruegler's book there are twelve principles of strategic actions to resolve such group conflicts. The authors note that adhering to these principles may increase the likelihood of success, but cannot guarantee it. They also expect these principles to undergo revision and refinement as our understanding of strategies of nonviolence grows. For example, one of the principles of strategic action they mention: "The group should seek to minimize the impact of the opponent's use of violence. Being subject to violence can be demoralizing, and can feed the desire to respond violently. When possible, the group should try to get out of harm's way."[3] Unfortunately, during the Gezi resistance not only between the main opponents but also within the supportive groups –

[1] Uras U. *"What Inspires Turkey's Protest Movement?"* Aljazeera News, 5 June 2013. Retrieved from: http://www.aljazeera.com/indepth/features/2013/06/20136513414495277.html (accessed on, 02.04.2015)

[2] Ayata G., P. Çağlı, İ. Elveriş, S. Eryılmaz, İ. I. Gül, U. Karan, C. Muratoğlu, E. Taboğlu, L. B. Tokuzlu, B. Yeşiladalı., *"Gezi Park Events: In the Light of Human Rights Law and Political Rhetoric"*, Istanbul Bilgi University Publications, 2013, Istanbul, p.1.

meaning internal actors − the use of violence was observed. They couldn't limit the violence. This study uses the term 'internal actors or groups' for groups like Feminists, Anarchists, Communists, Environmentalists, Soccer Fan Groups, LGBT community, Anti-Capitalist Muslims, Kurdish activists, Socialists, Anarchists and Nationalists which were in the Gezi Park and became politicized during the movement. The term 'external actors or groups' and 'environment' is used for organizations, State as a power holder, security forces, right-wing groups, unions and civil society which stayed aside or acted against the internal groups and for political parties who were following the events from outside of the park. "According to the Amnesty International Report in 2014; 8163 people injured, at least four died as direct result of police officers, only five separate prosecutions have been brought against police officers and eight civil people and two police security officers died during the movement."[4]

Another important report on Taksim Gezi park events which was published in 2013 by the Institute of Strategic Thinking, analyses the process from the State side and says: "It was seen that some activists burned and destroyed properties like bus stations and buses which belong to the public, by using intense violence during the Gezi events."[5] Alternatively, "buses were used as barricades against the police force."[6] Over the course of three weeks, "heavily armed police systematically evicted dozens if not hundreds of people across major and minor cities in Turkey. This included the disproportionate use of force such as water cannons, tear gas, and police raiding of encampments in the middle of the night."[7] At the Gezi Park, participants' tents were burnt and their personal belongings were confiscated, including personal books, computers, even live animals and trees often resulting in psychological trauma.

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[3] Ackerman P., Kruegler C. *"The Principles of Strategic Nonviolent Conflict"* chapt. in Strategic Nonviolent Conflict, Westport, Connecticut: Praeger, 1994, pp. 21-53.
[4] Amnesty International Report (10 June 2014). Retrieved from: file:///C:/Users/UBWE10025743/Downloads/eur440152014en.pdf (accessed on, 07.06.2016)
[5] Institute of Strategic Thinking, Taksim Gezi Park Events Report, 2013. Retrieved from: http://www.sde.org.tr/userfiles/file/SDE%20Taksim%20Gezi%20Park%C4%B1%20Raporu%20Haziran%202013.pdf. (accesed on, 05.04.2016)
[6] Tan P. "A Report from Gezi Park" Domus, 2013. Retrieved from: http://www.domusweb.it/en/architecture/2013/06/1/gezi_park_occupation.html (accessed on, 02.03.2016)
[7] Amnesty International Report (10 June 2014). Retrieved from: file:///C:/Users/UBWE10025743/Downloads/eur440152014en.pdf (accessed on, 07.06.2016)

Here can be seen the first layer of the Gezi park internal and external groups' conflict connected with power holders' and violent radical flanks' behaviors and attitudes. For example, some of the radical groups who operate underground (not visible as focused groups) were willing to use "force and violence" against their opponents. By doing so, they tended to become more visible than internal Gezi groups or actors who denounced violence. These radical groups made it harder to create dialogue with third parties and the use of violence by them damaged the image of resistance in general. Third parties would encompass political groups and organizations like security forces, the State and opposing political parties.

Another deep-rooted layer of conflict is connected with participants' identity-based conflicts. It is associated with the problem of not behaving collectively, and in an amenable way, towards a nonviolent resistance goal. According to Dr. Zeki Ergas, "this layer of conflict is based on internal groups' identity problems and reduced the non-violent power of the resistance in the park's collective struggle"[8] even though they met at the same park and lived together, sharing common cause.

> *The common cause of the Gezi groups provided a sub-resistance identity. It was an association against poverty. It brought an aim to prevent projects which made by power holders without asking public, arbitrary policy ,concrete policy , politics that does not care about the environmental issues ,projects that provide corruption to the supporters of power and at the same time it was against the arbitrary methods of power holders.[9]*

On the other hand, the post-Gezi period has indicated that there existed destructive relationships during the struggle against power, both within and between different groups.

> *With the resistance a power coalition begun to crack. The members of the coalition was as follows: The Justice and Development Party, Gülenists, Liberals of Turkey (the liberals who articulated "not enough, but yes to change"), The liberals who supported the resolution process, The Kurds, The leftist who criticized the Turkish Armed Forces and believed that the main obstacle to more freedom was the army. After Gezi there*

[8] Interview with Peace and Conflict Studies Program Lecturer and General Secretary of the Suisse Romand Centre PEN International Dr.Zeki Ergas, Istanbul , 2015.
[9] Interview with Prof. Timur Kuran, Berlin, 2015 November.

occurred conflicts among these groups.[10]

This study focuses on this second layer of the conflict which is related with identity-based conflicts of the newly-formed groups as an internal group. At the beginning of the three weeks of the resistance, both newly-formed and established groups as well as certain individuals present in Gezi Park shared concerns. This communication brought unintended good as well as negative consequences. "A coalition of the urban, educated, working and middle classes was crafted with varying social and cultural concerns about both perceived and actual social encroachments as well as the policies of the ruling Justice and Development Party."[11]

The Gezi resistance was a horizontal non-leadership movement against the vertical hierarchy of the institutions, manifestations or expertise leaders and people mobilized through more practical reasons for political and social change. Whereas the hierarchical nature of autocratic regimes is evident, horizontality has become a trope and practice associated in many of the movements, in which leadership is virtually absent. Horizontality, "often materialized in discussion 'circles', is understood in terms of dialogical tactics of non-privileged, egalitarian listening to others and allowing speaking in turns."[12] This was the root of a new kind public relations and grassroots and liberal civil society concept, which also criticized by the right wing groups and the new growing precariat class. This new class people want to directly affect the decision-making process of the institutions as well as to be part of a social change. According to Professor Guy Standing; "partly due to the mass protests in and since 2011, more people have come to recognize that they belong to the precariat, which is an essential starting point for a counter-movement. Among the third group, a feeling is growing that they are not just victims but can fight back. This part of the precariat wants to struggle for a transformative agenda designed to abolish itself through overcoming the conditions that define it."[13] The above-mentioned analysis there can also be said for the Gezi internal groups who are attached to social and cultural concerns.

[10] Interview with Prof. Timur Kuran, Berlin, 2015 November.

[11] David I. and Toktamış K. "*Everywhere Taksim, Gezi in Retrospect*", Amsterdam University, 2014, p.7.

[12] Werbner P., Webb M. and Spellman P. "*The Political Aesthetics of Global Protest, The Arab Spring and Beyond*" chapter "*Topographies of Power: The Aesthetic of Political Form*", Edinburg University, 2014, p.4.

During these sustainable resistance days in May and June, 2013, different identity opposition groups came together at Gezi Park for the first time. Here it should be underlined that "for the first time in Turkish political history a protest brought together the aforementioned groups."[14] According to a poll of 4,411 respondents conducted by KONDA (a research and consultation organization in Turkey),"79% of Gezi protestors were not affiliated with any institutions and/or political organizations. A total of 37% had never voted, 47% thought there was no party worth voting for, and 18% wouldn't consider voting at all."[15] For this a-political generation, it was the first 'civil disobedience' action in a social movement which becomes one traditional form of non-violent action that deserves extra attention. It is a form of action that often triggers strong reactions and it is used in all cultures, many context and by all sorts of actors. The definition of civil disobedience is an action which fulfills the following criteria:

- "A violation of law or generally accepted norm.
- It is done without the use of violence.
- It is done in full openness.
- It is done with a serious commitment."[16]

Had the Gezi resistance groups given a commitment to each other beforehand? If the answer is yes, was this commitment accepted and reciprocated by all the resistance groups in the park? After three weeks of heartbreak and violence in 2013, was the protection of an isolated part of one of last green environments in the city center enough for all the actors? At the end of substantial amount of grassroots and also (surprisingly) even liberal's participation (though not elites'), the prime minister didn't step back when

[13] Standing G. *"The Precariat: The New Dangerous Class"* Working Class Perspectives Article October 27 2014. Retrieved from: https://workingclassstudies.wordpress.com/2014/10/27/the-precariat-the-new-dangerous-class/ (accessed on, 09.05.2017)

[14] Yılmaz H. S., Yılmaz G. Y. "*A Look at the Gezi Park Protests through the Lens of Media*" World Academy of Science, Engineering and Technology International Journal of Social, Behavioral, Educational, Economic, Business and Industrial Engineering Vol:9, No:8, 2015,p.2894.

[15] Konda's Gezi resistance poll: 94 percent of Gezi resisters participate individually, poll says. (2013, June 13) Bianet. Retrieved from: http://www.bianet.org/english/youth/147543-94-percent-of-gezi-resisters-participate-individually-poll-says (accessed on , 09.05.2017)

[16] Johansen, J. "*Nonviolence: More than the absence of Violence*" Handbook of Peace and Conflict Studies. Webel and Galtung J., London, New York, Routledge, 2007, p.143-159.

many resisters shouted together, "resign!" The country is perhaps entering a new age of politics, personified by right-wing personalities, meaning those with a nationalist conservative identity, looking to remake society in their image. The ability to grasp this dynamic is maybe more important than ever. There are lessons here for all of the internal and external groups, including those in newly-formed resistance groups, as both sides enter a challenging new age. It will be helpful to conduct this study directly with those immediately affected, like myself and my friends, aiming for the reconstruction of our knowledge and abilities in a process of understanding, self-criticism and empowerment. It builds on fieldwork observations, semi-structured interviews and participatory action research and qualitative methodology. It follows in the peace and conflicts studies tradition; "to have concerns with human conflicts and their peaceful resolution across a broad spectrum of human interaction." [17] It will help to explain some of the root causes of the conflict and offer practical strategies for resolving them.

This study discovered from its investigations that the Gezi resistance was not only an act of resistance against authority. It was, at the same time, a moment in which some groups raised their voice and made their identity visible for the first time. Such a situation can create identity-based conflicts between newly-formed groups and these conflicts become intractable, persisting destructively for a very long time, despite efforts to resolve them. In this case, it is important to analyze this wide variety of identity-based conflict issues between newly-formed and newly politicized groups (for instance; a selfish interest of "us" versus "them" attitude toward a "we" attitude) and introduces critical challenges to entrenched ways of thinking. In some such conflicts, the antagonists seem to be fighting each other about the identities that they hold about themselves and those they attribute to the other side. In this dissertation, such conflicts which are connected with psychology, culture, basic values, shared history, and beliefs are called "identity-based" and regarded as particularly prone to becoming intractable.

As a conclusion, the object of this research is to light upon relationships between policing and forms of identity in the interpretations of resistance participants and their internal and external identity-based conflicts in a new social movement identity

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[17] Webel, C. and Johansen J. "*Peace and Conflict Studies: A Reader*", New York, Routledge, 2012, p 15.

construction process. To be precise, I examine protesters' perceptions of themselves and others, their internal group identity relationships and the roots of potential inner conflicts within each other which may influence their formulation and their identity transformation process in a movement. The empirical part of this study is based on the case of the Gezi resistance and two focus groups: Yoğurtçu Women's Forum and Soccer Team Supporter Group: Çarşı. Of which the latter one was a soccer fan group which became politicized with the uprising. These two groups' members were in the Istanbul Gezi park during the first three weeks of resistance during May and June of 2013.

1.2. RESEARCH QUESTIONS

The cause of the Gezi resistance lies in the behavioral and social aspects of the conflict. The Gezi resistance was the energy catalyst for civic and political involvement. It focused on development in bringing together a diversity of people of different ages, religions, cultures, ethnic groups, and gender, especially encouraging women to act, speak, write and witness together. Many different identities and groups spent three weeks in the same park and shared a lot of knowledge with each other. The struggle to protect and save Gezi park stands proudly on the shoulders of many movements in the past. Grassroots movements have stood up to those in power to fight for shared ideals and the greater public good. These parks symbolized solidarity, helped strengthen and develop community, and provided a space for people to gather and learn from each other. Within this process, between newly formed groups, some identical transformations as well as conflicts happened.

To achieve these conflict's root cause analysis process the researcher conducted semi-structured interviews and used qualitative inquiry to provide an intervention that suggesting peacemaking approaches for two focus groups among the Gezi resistance activists. It thus entails the assumption that the two are fundamentally 'playing the same game'. This means that there is between them a potential for diversification and expansion of their social relationship to cover eventually all different sectors and domains of activity. The study seeks to address the core of their individual identity and their newly formed group's sense of self identity and its possible visible conflicts with

the other partnering resistance groups. In order to provide assistance for the groups, this dissertation is solely concerned with understanding their inter-group relations and in between identity-based conflicts and gather self-criticism data which means even there was a violence, (inside and outside) participants were seeking to protect their affiliated groups in a political context which were connected with their resistance identity.

With this framework, the initial research questions that study can be expressed as follows:

1. What was the root cause of conflicts between individuals and newly formed focused groups in Gezi park?
2. How did identity-based conflicts between groups of the Gezi resistance form a setback for the Gezi per se? Why?
3. How participants decided to involve during the beginning (the first three weeks of Gezi resistance) and accepted the identity of the newly-formed groups? Why?

Research on identity and inter-group conflicts within social movements has a long history within the social and behavioral sciences. The answers to these questions were very important in helping identify cause and effect relations and understand the root causes of the conflicts in Gezi resistance case study. It became possible to be an active researcher with solution focused thinking with the help of participatory action research. A big part of my motivation for doing this research is that it may contribute to a deeper understanding of the Gezi resistance by applying existing theories and methods of investigation to the study of Gezi Park groups' identity-based conflicts.

To sum up, in light of the above mentioned fact, conclusion part recommends peace-building methods with regards to the limits of peacemaking models defined by peace and conflict studies scientific approaches. Firstly, it proposes "Total Revolution" in the sense of Mahatma Gandhi: Any change must start with the inner self and in a non-violent way. It is the main motive being to bring in a change in the existing society that is in tune with the ideals of the Sarvodaya which strives to ensure that self-

determination and equality should reach all levels of society. Secondly, the study provides how to use ABC Triangle model for understanding the ways of mutual negotiation/bargaining between negotiation parties as internal and external groups in conflicts. Additionally, another resolution example is given by the help of Sherif's approach within his famous The Robber's Cave Experiment. This scientific approach is suggested to use in the late stages of processing the conflict for creating a "third identity" to overcome inter-group identity-based conflicts. It is a way of thinking "out of the box" with creativity and finds a new solution path, it updates the current best solution path. These recommendations aim to prevent future mistakes which exploded to violence and may occur in between individuals and newly-formed groups and the other parties in a future resistance.

The chapters in this study contain five sections, including chapters which address different aspects of relations between newly-formed groups' identity visibility and formations and their inter-group and individual identity-based conflicts in the resistance.

1. The introduction chapter explains background, motivation and research questions of the dissertation.
2. The literature review chapter focuses on identity, social identity theory, group identity, identity and group identity relations in a resistance as well as new group identity formations and collective identity in resistance.
3. The methodology chapter explains how participatory action research methods, semi-structured interviews and qualitative inquiry are used in this study.
4. The results and findings chapter introduces two focus groups and states findings relevant to this study. This is followed by a comparative analysis by the aid of "critical localized political discourse" and "open coding" analysis.
5. The discussion and conclusion chapter sums up the data which emerged from the interviews. It then describes how constructive transformation proposals were made to individuals and groups.

CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

This section of the study aims to give a survey on the contemporary knowledge of the rise and the fall of Gezi resistance, which helps us to understand the cause of groups' identity-based conflicts we are facing. There is a considerable field of knowledge and a broad body of literature about social movements, resistance, demonstrations but not so much about an identity-based group conflicts in new social movement's literature with focusing on a niche experience. In this sense, this study focuses on the process and mechanisms in resistance which link the form of resistance horizontality. It draws evidence from many parts of the root causes of the identity-based conflicts in between newly-formed groups during the resistance. In this case, it is important to consider the relationships and transformations between newly-formed groups at various levels. Were they affected by identity-based conflicts? And did it trigger a step back? It is possible to understand only through analysis of their relations within the functioning system, as well as by analysis of unique properties of the part process itself. Researchers have spent a lot of time studying how identity construction processes and identity-based conflicts in relation with new social movements.

In line with the latter, the literature review of the dissertation aspires to fulfill the above mentioned objectives. The literature review surveys the academic literature including identity-based conflict between newly-formed groups in a resistance. What's more, it endeavors to synthesize the information about Gezi resistance into a meaningful summary. The participants of the Gezi events aspired for a social change namely their right to use their critical speech, freedom to wear what women want and respect to plurality. It was important to use the resistance term instead of movement for Gezi, because newly-formed groups continues their partly nonviolent political campaigns since 2013 with their Gezi soul and they still seek for a social change. Sociologists and anthropologists have long been interested in the tenacity of culture and its slowness to change. Resistance is not simply a cultural persistence. Gezi resistance implies behavior on the part of some or all of the members of society, either passive or active, which is

directed toward the rejection or circumvention of a social change. That is why in this master dissertation instead of social movement "resistance" terminology is used. "Social movement traditionally has been defined as a manner which would automatically exclude movements resisting social change."[18] This has been the product of either explicitly or implicitly treating social movements as agencies seeking to bring about social change, often a fundamental sort.

Furthermore, the literature review critically examines the Gezi resistance process by showing limitations and errors of groups -not excluding the Yoğurtçu Women's Forum and Soccer Team Supporter Group: Çarşı. Last but not least, as a part of the literature review, the realms that needed to be further researched and reviewed will be also indicated.

The literature on identity-based conflicts between groups in a resistance is divided into four categories focusing on:

1. Identity and Social Identity Theory
2. Group identity
3. New Group Identity Formations and Collective Identity
4. Identity and Group Identity Relations in a Resistance

The present study links all these categories by addressing the following questions:

− How are the identities of participators and group identities founded theoretically?
− What are the conditions under which individuals who gather at the beginning of a resistance are able to form a collective identity?
− What are the conditions under which such individuals are unable to form a collective identity?
− When the latter is the case, what is the root causes of the conflicts which keep those individuals apart?

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[18] Glasberg Silfen D. and Deric S. "*Political Sociology: Oppression, Resistance, and the State.*" Pine Forge Press, 2011. ISBN 9781412980401. OCLC 746832550.

In addition, by centering attention on two newly-formed political groups in Gezi resistance - Yoğurtçu Women's Forum and Soccer Team Supporter Group: Çarşı- this study provides material useful to people interested in the last of categories.

In summary, this study literature review chapter addresses the specific case of the Gezi resistance and its focus resistance groups from the new social movement's political participation point vantage which was a shock wave of occupy movement's political participation, namely a shock wave of occupy movements (from Tahrir square in Egypt to the Indignados and encampments and occupations in Spain, Greece, Israel, the UK and the USA) and considers how new group's identity formed and become visible as a political group during the Gezi resistance. What is meant here by a "new group's identity" within the Gezi resistance, is a newly-formed group which carries social identity theory components and who was in a political process and assumed that people they liked were like them and belonged to a collective identity in a park with different structures where sometimes there was a unification of common interests and mutual solidarity with other individuals and groups. However, good intentions alone were not enough and these new groups' identity transformation process also uncovered some identity-based conflicts existing between them.

It might be argued that the nature and meaning of group-based identities, such as supporter groups, like Çarşı, gender based identities, like feminist or women's rights supporter group of the Gezi resistance, are frequently contested in the context of the Gezi resistance. Following the footsteps of Parker J. Palmer the Gezi "participants' identity continually evolved, become alienated the Gezi Resistance and some not."[19]

To make it clear, following F. Barth, since "the identities in the Gezi Resistance were in a dynamic process the political and social trajectory that the resistance followed was different from the very first three weeks."[20] However, it might be argued that the different identities in the resistance are formed along the lines of mutual benefits and for

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[19] Palmer, P. J. "*The Heart of a Teacher: Identity and Integrity in Teaching*" Change: The Magazine of Higher Learning Vol. 29, Iss. 6,1997, pp.14-21.
[20] Barth, F. "*Ethnic Groups and Boundaries: The Social Organization of Cultural Difference.*" Bergen-Oslo: Universities Forlaget/London: George Allen & Unwin, 1969.

that reason an individual in the Gezi Park had multiple identities. To put it more concretely, a woman can be both feminist and a Çarşı supporter at the same time. During the development of these distinct and multiple self identities an individual is regarded as a persisting entity in a particular formation stage of a resistance. Individual characteristics by which a person is recognized or ignored in a group identity are clearly visible but sometimes suppressed. This should be analyzed by the help of theoretical approaches. "Researchers by the help of social identity theory have shown that humiliation is the result of an imbalance between one's egoistic need for distinctiveness and one's need for social affiliation."[21]

2.1. IDENTITY AND SOCIAL IDENTITY THEORY

Identity and the social process of group identification became of more interest to political psychologist, sociologists, anthropologists and conflict researchers with the emergence of modern concerns with social movements in the 1960s and 70s. "This was reinforced by an appreciation, following the trend in sociological thought of the manner in which the individual is affected by and contributes to the overall social context which refers to this idea of selfhood in a loosely Eriksonian way."[22] Self and identity are doubly contested concepts. Firstly, "the nature and meaning of group-based identities, such as national, ethnic, or gender based identities, are often contested in the context of sociocultural discourses. Secondly, the meaning and nature of self and identity as social scientific constructs are contested among researchers from different traditions."[23] Social constructivists, for example, "often argue against the possibility of even studying self and identity objectively."[24] Whereas many psychologists and sociologists implicitly assume "self and identity can be studied objectively."[25] Within psychology and sociology, "one of the clearest and most common definitions of social identity given by

[21] Tajfel , H and Turner J. C. "*An Integrative Theory of Intergroup Conflict. The Social Psychology of Inter Group Relations.*" , University of Bristol, England,1979, pp.33-47.

[22] Erikson EH. "Childhood and society." Repr. ed. Harmondsworth, Middlesex: Penguin Books; 1972.

[23] Danziger, K. "*The Self and Society: Changes, Problems, and Opportunities*". In R.D. Ashmore, & L. Jussim, (Eds.), "*Self and identity: Fundamental issues, Rutgers Series on Self and Social Identity*", New York: Oxford University Press, 1997, Volume 1; p. 191-217.

[24] Holland, D. "*Selves as Cultured: As Told by an Anthropologist who Lacks a Soul.*", In R. D. Ashmore, & L. Jussim, (Eds.), "*Self and identity: Fundamental Issues, Rutgers Series on Self and Social Identity*", New York: Oxford University Press,1997, Volume 1, pp. 160-190.

Henri Tajfel:"[26] He has rightly argued that "belonging in a group and has a common identity are the most important aspects of a person."[27] And he is adding that, "our personal survival as well as the survival of our species has always been linked to the interrelationships formed among human beings. It is within the family and peer groups that we are socialized into ways of behaving, thinking, educated, and taught to have a certain outlook on the world and ourselves. Our personal identity is derived from the way in which we are perceived and treated by other members of our groups."[28] Parker J. Palmer says "identity is an ever evolving core within where our genetics (biology), culture, loved ones, those we cared for, people who have harmed us and people we have harmed, the deeds done (good and ill) to self and others, experiences lived, and choices made come together to form who we are at this moment."[29] On the other hand, "the construction of identity and the rediscovery of one's self cannot be reduced simply to psychological mechanisms; they are social processes."[30]

To explain this social processes social identity theory emerged in the mid 1970s from a concern that the prevailing individualistic approaches. Social identity theory was developed by Henri Tajfel and John Turner to understand the psychological basis for intergroup discrimination. According to this theory, social identity has three major components: "categorization, identification and comparison."[31] The first component, categorization, "is the process of putting people, including ourselves, into categories."[32] Labelling someone as a christian, a feminist, or an activist are ways of defining these people. Similarly, our self-image is associated with what categories we belong to. Social

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[25] Jussim, L. and Ashmore, R. D "*Fundamental Issues in the Study of Self and Identity-contrasts, Context and Conflicts.*" In R. D. Ashmore, and L. Jussim, (Eds.), "*Self and identity: Fundamental issues, Rutgers Series on Self and Social Identity.*", New York: Oxford University Press,1997, Volume 1, pp: 160-190.
[26] Ibid., pp. 160-190.
[27] Tajfel , H and Turner J. C. "*An Integrative Theory of Intergroup Conflict. The Social Psychology of Inter Group Relations.*" University of Bristol, England, 1979, pp. 33-47.
[28] Ibid., pp. 33-47.
[29] Palmer, P. J. "*The Heart of a Teacher: Identity and Integrity in Teaching*" Change: The Magazine of Higher Learning Vol. 29, Iss. 6,1997, pp.14-21.
[30] Berger and Luckman 1966; Moscovici 1981; Billig 1995-cited in Donatella Della Porta and Mario Diani, "*Social Movements: An Introduction "Collective Action and Identity*", Blackwell Publishing, 2009, p.92.
[31] Tajfel , H and Turner J. C. "*An Integrative Theory of Intergroup Conflict. The Social Psychology of Inter Group Relations*." University of Bristol, England, 1979, pp. 33-47.
[32] Ibid., pp. 33-47.

psychology experiments show that people quickly and easily put themselves and others into basic categories. The second component, identification, "is the process by which we associate ourselves with certain groups. In-groups are groups we identify with an example of being member of a political party , and out groups are ones that we don't identify with and put distances."[33] The third component, comparison, "is the process by which we compare our groups with other groups, creating a favorable bias toward the group to which we belong - us versus them mentality."[34] Alternatively, Turner proposed with his Self-Categorization theory that there are central components to determine individuals participation of collective actions in a social movement as below;

1. "The emotion of injustice derived from the collective identity felt by the individual.
2. The level of identification with regard to the group that she/he belongs to.
3. The satisfaction emotion derived from the identity that she/he felt.
4. The unfairness that is perceived by the individual by her/his identity can be an important factor in participating collective actions."[35]

The above mentioned components, injustice can be perceived either in individual or in collective terms. In the first case, the deprivation arises after an individual compares himself with another individual; "this is called egoistic relative deprivation. Is the deprivation the result of a comparison of the group with an out-group, then it is called fraternal relative deprivation."[36]But unfairness is different. According to relative deprivation theory "group-members will participate in collective actions the moment they feel deprived while experiencing something unfair done to their group". So while "injustice is related with internal and external group's newly created emotional reaction"[37] unfairness arises with just internal collective group's feelings.

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[33] Ibid., pp. 33-47.

[34] Ibid., pp. 33-47.

[35] Ibid., pp.33-47.

[36] Runciman, W. G. "*Relative Deprivation and Social Justice: A Study of Attitudes to Social Inequality in Twentieth-century*" England. Berkeley: University of California Press.1966.

[37] Corning, A.F. *"Assessing Perceived Social Inequity: A Relative Deprivation Framework."* Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, ed.78, 2000, pp. 463-477.

Social identity is a person's sense of who they are based on their group membership(s). Tajfel proposed that "the groups (e.g. social class, family, football team etc.) which people belonged to were an important source of pride and self-esteem. Groups give us a sense of social identity: a sense of belonging to the social world."[38]

On the other hand, Barth perceives "identity as a dynamic process in which the characteristics, cultural practices, symbols and traditions of a group might change due to the interaction with the physical, social, cultural, economic and political environment."[39] From a certain point of view; "identity operates as an organizing principle in relation to individual and collective experience within the groups and identity is also open to constant redefinitions. Identities are formed along the lines of mutual benefits and for that reason an individual can have multiple identities."[40] Erikson saw these multiple self-representations, or adopted aspirations of the self, as the building blocks of a future identity rather than as identity itself. According to Erikson, identity formation, finally, begins where the usefulness of identification ends.

> *It arises from the selective repudiation and mutual assimilation of childhood identifications and their absorption in a new configuration, which, in turn, is dependent on the process by which a society (often through sub-societies) identifies the young individual, recognizing him as somebody who had to become the way he is and who, being the way he is, is taken for granted. The final identity. Includes all significant identifications but it also alters them in order to make a unique and reasonably coherent whole of them.[41]*

Erikson, who was heavily influenced by Sigmund Freud, explored three aspects of identity. The first one is, "the ego identity (self) second one is personal identity (the personal idiosyncrasies that distinguish a person from another), and the last one is social

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[38] Ibid., pp.33-47.

[39] Barth, F. "*Ethnic Groups and Boundaries: The Social Organization of Cultural Difference.*" Bergen-Oslo: Universities Forlaget/London: George Allen & Unwin, 1969.

[40] Douglas C. Comer, Peter F. Biehl , Christopher Prescott , Hillary A. Soder "*Identity and Heritage: The Future Challenges of Heritage and Identity*", Springer Briefs in Archeological Heritage Management , 2014, p.161-167.

[41] Erikson, E.H. "*Identity: Youth and Crises", New York, WW Norton & Company*", 1968, pp. 159-163.

identity (the collection of social roles a person might play)."[42] Identities do indeed affect the behaviors of people. To put it more concretely, the peaceful attitude and behavior of Mahatma Gandhi, for example, is in accordance with his personality. Gandhi's personality gives a very clear hint as to his peaceful attitude and behavior.

Having talked about how identity and social identity are formed, it is time to hear from a prominent Turkish scholar's angle on how identities are produced. From the Gezi resistance perspective, Professor Ferhat Kentel, who was in Istanbul during the first three weeks, explains how identities are produced: "No identity is formed alone; they are in interaction with others. Kentel investigated what kind of people attended to the Gezi Resistance. For him participants of the Gezi were like a melting pot: Leftists, Communists, nationalists and women wearing hijab."[43]He stresses that participants of the Gezi Resistance put their identities aside or came to the common grounds in terms of identities: "Though everybody strived to hang their own banners, the real story behind was togetherness."[44]

While Kentel analyzed the Gezi resistance, art theorist Zeynep Sayın expressed the uniqueness of it. It was beyond the identity politics. "All the political movements that we are accustomed to were identity politics: 'Acknowledge me as a woman', 'Acknowledge me as a gay', 'Acknowledge me as a Kurd'… All of them were based on acknowledgement politics."[45] But, the Gezi park did not rely on the 'acknowledgement politics. It articulated that "'I don't mind whether you acknowledge me or not, but don't interfere to me that is the only thing I want." [46]

Academician and columnist Atilla Yayla, however, adopts a different stance when analyzing the Gezi resistance in terms of identities. According to Yayla, "there was no

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[42] Ibid., pp. 159-163.

[43] Young Peace Initiative Association, An Interview with Prof. Dr. Ferhat Kentel on the Gezi Park, *"How Are The Identities Formed",* Genç Barış. (2014) Retrieved from:www.gencbaris.com/prof-dr-ferhat-kentel-ile-gezi-parki-uzerine-kimlikler-karsilikli-insa-edilir/ , (accessed on ,02.02.2017)

[44] Ibid.

[45] SanatAtak Site, Zeynep Sayın Interview *"Gezi Park is Beyond the Identity Politics",*Sanat Atak. 2013,Retrieved from: www.sanatatak.com/view/gezi-parki-kimlik-siyasetinin-otesine-gecti (accessed on , 03.02.2017)

[46] Ibid.

sociological entity that can be directly be a subject to a sociological analysis." [47] And "there was a mass of people who temporarily gathered for various aims and who lacked an identifiable identities. They did not have common traits and styles." [48]

If it is really necessary to make a sociological analysis of the Gezi resistance, "the best thing to do is to focus on Kemalists and Republican's People Party members who more or less constitute the main basis of Gezi Events. Though to regard them as the subjects is not literally accurate, it has a better potential than treating the Gezi events as a social entity."[49]One example is, the SETA Foundation analysis approach which focuses participants' resistance identity and their relationships with a party during the Gezi resistance. In this research, "during the Gezi resistance 49.4% of the participants said that 'they do feel close to a political party' while the rest of 50.6% said that 'they don't feel close to any political party.' According to the same research, 41.7% of the respondents who pointed out CHP (Republican's People Party) as their political identity were the same group of people who do feel close to a political party." [50] In the Western democracies, "only a small fraction of the people belongs to political parties in the sense of participation in their activities. And the same lack of involvement of the many is found in almost all voluntary organizations and group."[51]

Beytullah Demircioğlu , the foreign policy editor of the monthly magazine, *Altınoluk*, takes a completely different stance when analyzing Gezi. He commences with the critical question – "how can this rage against the cabinet and (notably back then) Prime Minister Recep T. Erdoğan, who had won all the elections he had stood for, be explained: should we call it a revolution or a coup d'état and how was the psychological

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[47] Liberal Düşünce site, Atilla Yayla's article *"Analyses on the Gezi",* Liberal Düşünce,2013, p. 172.Retrieved from: www.libertedownload.com/LD/arsiv/71/12-atilla-yayla-gezi-uzerine-analizler.pdf (accessed on,03.02.2017)

[48] Ibid., p. 172.

[49] Ibid., p. 172.

[50] Ete H., Tastan C. *"In Between Fiction and Reality: Gezi Events"* SETA, Foundation for Political Economic and Social Research , 2013,p.35.

[51] Katz D. *"Consistent Reactive Participation of Group Members and Reduction of Intergroup Conflict"* The Journal of Conflict Resolution, Vol. 3, No. 1, Studies from the Institute for Social Research, Oslo, Norway, 1959, pp. 28-40.

circumstances of the participants?"[52] According to him the best answer to the question was defeatism psychology. There was also another factor reinforcing this defeatism psychology: "The loss of all hope to alter this democratic atmosphere."[53]There was merely one alternative left for the Gezi participants: "to try to put the government in a difficult situation and even to overthrow the democratically elected government. The aspiration of the Gezi insurrection aspired to do that. Frankly speaking they strove to make a coup without the military. But they failed."[54] On the contrary, more detailed analysis revealed that "Gezi was completely due to resistance against the government's policy regarding authoritarianism and power of capital."[55]

An academician from İstanbul Bilgi University, Emre Erdoğan, in his academic article, "What Can We Learn From Political Psychology about Political Participation: A Qualitative Fieldwork with 'Gezi' Protestors", seeks to present a political psychological point of view to understand this unique phenomenon, by using the 'Grounded Theory' methodology to analyze in depth interviews conducted with participants in autumn 2013.[56] In his article, he reaches to the conclusion that this analysis of personal narratives discovered presence of "'grievances', 'feeling of being excluded', 'political cynicism' and 'anger'. It also presented "some early clues of 'politicized collective identities' in personal narratives."[57]and observed that "shared victimization and the reconciliation built on politics as being at the root of the victimizations are two of the concrete symptoms of a politicized identity." [58]In the "What Can We Learn From Political Psychology about Political Participation: A Qualitative Fieldwork with 'Gezi'

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[52]Altınoluk magazine's internet archive, Beytullah Demircioğlu's article *"Gezi Park as an Attempt of Coup and the Role of West"*, Altınoluk Magazine, Volume 329,2013, p.58 Retrieved from:www.dergi.altinoluk.com/index.php?
sayfa=yazarlar&yazar_no=129&MakaleNo=d329s058m1&AdBasHarf=&limit=0-15 (accessed on, 04.02.2017)

[53]Ibid., p.58.

[54]Ibid., p.58.

[55]Akçay Ü. "Neoliberalism, Authoritarian Rule and Gezi Resistance in Turkey" How Class Works Conference, Stony Brook, NY, USA,2014.

[56]Erdoğan E., *"What Can We Learn From Political Psychology about Political Participation: A Qualitative Fieldwork with 'Gezi' Protestors"* Marmara University Political Science Journal, Volume 3, Number 1,2015, ISSN 2147-6934,2015, pp. 31-32 , DOI: 10.14782/SBD.2015112077

[57]Ibid., pp. 31-32.

[58]Ibid., pp. 31-32.

Protestors" article, Erdoğan makes references to Bolak Boratav as well. Boratav states that "generations that generally defined as individualist came together and "got in touch with" people who had different identities from them in the Gezi process[59] and these circumstances revealed the "good" aspects of the individuals."[60]

Sheldon Stryker, Timothy J. Owens and Robert W. White explain "How Self and Identity Bear on Social Movement Recruitment, Activism, and Maintenance" in "Self, Identity, and Social Movements"[61] in their book. Following the footsteps of Sheldon Stryker, Timothy J. Owens and Robert W. White, it can be argued that in the Gezi resistance, participants did not participate equally into Gezi resistance. To enhance the general understanding of the Gezi resistance, one had better look at the participation differentials among members of Gezi groups. Again, if we follow in the footsteps of Stryker, to comprehend such variation in the Gezi Park one must recognize the choices the participants face and make and one must recognize the multiple social groups – feminists and football fans- and networks they are typically embedded within – namely, the Çarşı Supporter Group and Yoğurtçu Women's Forum.

Ziya Kaya, one of the authors of the Birikim Magazine, adopts a different point of view by mentioning French philosopher Jacques Rancière's 'impossible/in-between identities.' "Instead of having a consensus on equality he disaccords with the notion of everybody is equal."[62] .At that point he talks about 'impossible/in-between identities'. Since "they welcome otherized identities and aware of inequalities and pursue their causes, other 'impossible/in-between identities' are nonharmonic with market produced universal categories."[63]According to Kaya, we should not be concerned with being ideological. Gezi's lack of 'impossible/in-between identities' should be addressed in the

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[59] Ibid., pp. 31-32.

[60] Ibid., pp. 31-32.

[61] Stryker. S., Owens T. J. and White, R. W. "*Self, Identity ,and Social Movements: Social Movements ,Protest and Contention*", Minneapolis :University of Minnesota Press.,London, Volume:13, 2000, p.12-25.

[62] Birikim Magazine, Ziya Kaya's article,"*The Results: 45% is in Need of Solitude and 55% Thinks That Nature is A Necessity*",2013 Retrieved from:www.birikimdergisi.com/guncel-yazilar/469/ranci%C3%A9re-i-selamlayarak-gezi-parki-na-imkansiz-kimlik-yakisir#.WK7Q9m-LTIV . (accessed on, 05.02.2017)

[63] Ibid.

forums. Since "'impossible/in-between identities' would suit very well for the Gezi park, we had better search for the 'impossible/in-between identities' by uniting our existing identities with other identities."[64] The 'impossible/in-between identities' comprising a ground as "the life of political subjectivization is made out of the difference between the voice and the body behavior. And the place for such an argument is an interval. The place of a political subject is an interval or a gap: being together to the extent that we are in between-between names, identities, cultures, and so on."[65] In this study, social identity approaches encounter between individuals' 'impossible/in-between identities' in a resistance and their newly-formed 'resistance identities.'

For Tajfel and his coworkers "the central idea was that both behavior and identity could shift along a continuum with extremely unique and personal aspects at one end and extremely common and collective aspects at the other."[66] During the Gezi resistance injustice helped to mobilize collective behaviors which was derived from their internal struggle as counter weight to oppressive power. It was visible with their new 'resistance identity' formation against unfairness. This new identity is "constructed in response to devaluation and stigmatization; where social actors build 'trenches of resistance' in opposition to the ruling form as Calhoun proposes when explaining the emergence of identity politics."[67] This formation leads to emergent communes or communities of resistance. "These bonds and the social movements which attempt to represent social issues within such the framework of such bonds are more often than not only indicative of thought and behavior."[68] Emergent groups' resistance identity arises from a relatively spontaneous process of group identity formation. For example, in response to a State's Gezi park intervention in 2013 May and June, emergent response groups identity formed. According to the SIT, these groups are characterized as having no preexisting structure (e.g., group membership, allocated roles) or prior experience working together.

[64] Ibid.

[65] Rancière Jacques "*Politics, Identification, and Subjectivization*" October, Vol. 61, "The Identity in Question." 1992, pp. 58-64. Retrieved from: DOI: 10.2307/778785 (accessed on, 11.05.2017)

[66] Tafjel, H., and Fraser, C. (Eds.). "*Introduction to Social Psychology.*" Harmondsworth, England: Penguin.1978.

[67] Castells M. "*The Power of Identity: The Information Age: Economy, Society, and Culture Volume II*" A John Wiley Sons, Ltd. Publication, 2010, pp.8-10.

[68] Ibid., pp.8-10.

Yet, these groups expressed high levels of interdependence and coordinated knowledge, resources, and tasks in the same park.

However, the SIT is subject to criticism as well. Although academician Gazi Islam gives credit for the SIT by stating from a critical psychology perspective, SIT offers important insights regarding the social identity bases of "discrimination, prejudice, and intergroup conflict, by locating these phenomena as resulting from group-based categorization and self-enhancement motives."[69]He criticizes the relative ignorance of conflictual bases of social identity by saying as "SIT became more focused on self-verification as an epistemic need, rather than self-enhancement as a motivational driver of identification, the conflictual bases of social identity became less central to the identity literature than the formation of a stable self-concept."[70]He finalizes his critiques by addressing the trajectory of the SIT. While both of these bases were apparent in the original theory, critical scholars may question whether such a development leaves SIT less able to unpack the psychological bases of conflict and more focused on "an individual psychology of concept formation. In this respect, SIT may have developed increasingly in the direction of an individualist cognitive approach at the cost of its sociological origins."[71]

2.1.1. GROUP IDENTITY

Group identity is a central concept in many social sciences disciplines. "It assists the individual in developing self-definition and sense of self-esteem, and requires both a sense of belonging and a sense of differentiation from others."[72] Identities are the meanings that individuals hold for themselves, what it means to be who they are. These identities have bases "in being members of groups (social identities), having certain roles (role identities), or being the biological entities that they are (personal

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[69]Researchgate.net, Gazi Islam's "Social Identity" Chapter, p.1782, 2014. Retrieved from:
https://www.researchgate.net/publication/281208338 (accessed on 05.02. 2017)
[70]Ibid., p. 1782.

[71]Ibid., p. 1782.

[72]Matyok T., Jessica S., Sean B. "*Critical Issues in Peace and Conflict Studies: Theory, Practice, and Pedagogy*" Chapter 4, Rowman Littlefield Publishers, INC, 2011, p.61-81.

identities)."[73] The concept of group identity, and its implications for the self and relation to others are addressed by the "social identity approach within psychology."[74] For example, Truman "asserts with rare exception man is always found in association with other men.*"[75]* Dorwin Cartwright and Alvin Zander suggested that "relations among individuals in a group make them interdependent on one another."[76] Harold Kelly and John Thibaut found that "relations among members of group were more often than not a function of the basis and outcome of interpersonal exchanges. Friendship groups are one example of how social influence processes produce identification."[77]

John Turner offered the view that "self-categorization theory provided a powerful explanation of when and why members identify with the groups. From his perspective, people join groups that represent unique and sometimes powerful social categories. Members are attracted to and influenced by the behaviors of such groups."[78] For example, being a member of a right-wing group or left-wing group or being feminists or a-political women with a set of cultural, religious, and attitudinal expectations can motivate individuals to join groups with their self-identity.

Group identity permits one to be connected to a broader slice of society. These connections may produce feelings like prejudices and conflicts in groups and between groups. For the group identity research, derived in large part from social identity theory, "focuses on the effects of group membership in terms of solving collective action problems and more recently examining inter-group conflict."[79] Henri Tajfel and Turner

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[73] Burke J. P. "*Relationships among Multiple Identities. In Advances in Identity Theory and Research*", ed. P. J. Burke, T.J. Owens. S., and P.A. Thoits. New York: Kluwer Academic/Plenum,2003.

[74] Spears R. "*Handbook Identities and Research*" Chapter 9 ; "*Group Identities: The Social Identity Perspective.*" Springer , 2011, pp 201-224.

[75] Truman, David B. "*The Governmental Process.*" New York: Alfred A. Knopf. Tajfel H. and Turner J,C (1979). "*An integrative theory of intergroup conflict: The social psychology of inter Group Relations*". Monterey, CA: Brooks/Cole.1951, p.33-47.

[76] Cartwright, Dorwin and Zander A. (eds.) "*Group Dynamics: Research and Theory*". London: Tavistock Publications. 1968.

[77] Thibaut, J. W. and Kelley, H. H., "*The Social Psychology of Groups.*" NY: John Wiley &Sons.1959.

[78] Turner, J. C. with M. A. Hogg "*Rediscovering the Social Group : A self-categorization Theory.*" Oxford: Basil Blackwell.1987.

[79] Miller H. A., Gurin P. ,Gurin G. and Malanchuk O. "*Group Consciousness and Political Participation*" Vol. 25, No. 3, American Journal of Political Science. 1981, pp. 494-511.

have reported that members manage threats to a group's value by changing some aspect of how a group is compared to other groups. It might be argued that "the complex interweaving of individual or interpersonal behavior with the contextual social processes of intergroup conflict and their psychological effects."[80] This study owes much to Henri Tajfel and Turner. They have stressed "the importance of intra-individual or interpersonal psychological processes leading to prejudiced attitudes or discriminatory behavior."[81]

On the other hand the aspect of choice has been ignored by social identity researchers whose key experimental paradigm - the minimal intergroup situation - assigns members to groups and simply assumes the uniform development of group identity. Alternatively, Marilyn Brewer adds Henri Tajfel and Turner's argument a group identity definition, precisely by creating an "us versus them" mentality, conflict, discrimination and prejudice can be produced. These "negative impacts of group identification on inner and outer group relations which tend to endorse more strongly aggressive policies, are less critical of the inter-group wrongdoings, and are less responsive to interventions designed to reduce conflict."[82] But it is very interesting to know that "comparison and conflict with a third party ,or out of a group ,often heightens mutual attraction and solidarity among the groups and creates large-group identity."[83] This unification happened during the Gezi resistance and created collective large group identity. At this point, Emeritus Professor of Psychiatry at the University of Virginia Vamik Volkan criticizes this behavioral construction of the large-group identity formation mind with his sentences; the unity of language, culture and history constitute the large-group identity. Since "large-groups don't act rationally but unconsciously, it has been examined that, the personal traits fade away under circumstances which threaten the large-group identity."[84] And, he adds, "large-group identities are considered to be a part

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[80] Tajfel, H and Turner, J. C. "*The Social Identity Theory of Intergroup Behavior.*" In S. Worchel and W. G. Austin (Eds.) "*Psychology of Intergroup Relations*" (2nd ed) Chicago: Nelson-Hall.1986, pp. 7-24.

[81] Ibid., p. 7-24

[82] Baumeister F. R. and Vohs D. K. *"Encyclopedia of Social Psychology 1"* Volume 1:A-1, p.390397, Sage Publications Inc., 2007.

[83] Kidder Louise H. and Stewart V. Mary "*The Psychology of Intergroup Relations and Conflict and Consciousness*" McGraw-Hill Book Company. 1975, p.23.

[84] Volkan, V. D. "*Psychoanalysis and Diplomacy Part I: Individual and Large Group Identity*", 1:29-55, Journal of Applied Psychoanalytic Studies.1999.

of natural evolution as an end result of a historical continuity, geographical reality, a myth of a common beginning, and other shared events."[85] All of these identifications are given social relevance through two other threads: "the establishment of a social narrative by selecting "chosen glories" and "chosen traumas." These are the universally accepted significant "historical" events or myths that unite the group's historical and mythical experience in one narrative."[86]

But also the angle of vision of Cassirer also found its reflection during the resistance days. In other words, while the liberation of the Gezi Park within a month in 2013 was a "chosen glory", the physical and psychological violence of power holders was a "chosen trauma". In order to examine the concept of group identity in terms of the Gezi resistance, this dissertation will analyze two focus groups. Namely YWF and soccer team supporter group, Çarşı. The fact that the YWF was newly-formed as an emergent group during Gezi resistance period and regularly meets up to the present day is the reason it has been selected as a focus group in this dissertation. YWF was formed in the resistance days. They organize a forum that melts the resistance spirits of women and it has been the only active forum since its foundation. Çarşı is basically accepted as a soccer fan group of Beşiktaş. Çarşı is well-known for the left-leaning character of its supporters who are regarded as anti-racist, anti-fascist, anti-sexist, pluralist and ecologist.

2.1.2. NEW GROUP IDENTITY FORMATIONS AND COLLECTIVE IDENTITY

Many theories of development include aspects of new group identity formation included in them. For instance, Erik Erikson's theory of psychosocial development (specifically the "identity versus role confusion" stage of his theory) and James Marcia's 'identity status theory' have inspired hundreds of empirical investigations of new group identity

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[85] Volkan, V. D. "*Bloodlines: From Ethnic Pride to Ethnic Terrorism* "New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux Print.1997, p. 22.
[86] Freud S. and Volkan V. D., "*Psychoanalysis, Group Identities and Archaeology*" Volume 80, Issue 307, Antiquity Publications Ltd., 2006, pp. 185-195. Retrieved from: https://doi.org/10.1017/S0003598X00093352 (accessed on 09.03.2017)

formations."[87] Indeed, "in so far as any identity is as much a system of exclusion as of inclusion, identity formation always implies the prospect of points of resistance."[88] Therefore, moves to consider the group collective identity formations in social movements are not new. The classical theories of Marx, Durkheim, and Weber provide a foundation for understanding the structural-cultural based for group identity formations. Marx's "focus on class consciousness as a necessary condition for revolutionary action is similar to contemporary understanding of collective identity and social movements."[89] On the other hand Marxism "has provided a theoretical framework for the historical analysis of class action, but it explicit contribution to the theory of social movements has been poor, indirect, or frankly derivative."[90]

Assistant Professor Owen Whooley from New York University's Department of Sociology defines new group identity as collective identity within social movement theory. According to him, within social movement theory, collective identity refers to the shared definition of a group that derives from its members' common interests, experiences, and solidarities. It is the social movement's answer to who we are, locating the movement within a field of political actors. Collective identity is "neither fixed nor innate, but rather emerges through struggle as different political actors, including the movement, interact and react to each other."[91]

At the start of new millennium, possibly for the first time since 1968, "the wave of mobilizations for a globalization from below, later identified as the global justice movement, seemed to have the potential for a generalized global challenge, combining themes typical of class movements with themes typical of new social movements, like

[87] Kroger J. *"Presidential address: The status of identity. Paper presented at the 14th Annual Conference of the Society for Research on Identity Formation",* George Washington University, Ashburn, Virginia.2007.

[88] Duveen G. "*Development as a Social Process: Representations, Identities, Resistance*", Routledge, 2013, p.191.

[89] Klandermans B. "*The Social Psychology of Protest.* ", Oxford: Blackwell, 1997.

[90] Melucci A. "*Challenging Codes : Collective Action in the Information Age"* ,University of Milan, Cambridge University Press ,1996 , p.14.

[91] Whooley O. "*Collective Identity*" Blackwell Reference Online. Retrieved from: DOI:10.1111/b.9781405124331.2007.x (accessed on: 15.03.2017)

ecology or gender equality."[92] In new social movements people have plenty of opportunities to shape a common identities and bonds. For example, "common codes, rituals and signs are all tools to create a common identity."[93] All the various "occupy movements-from Tahrir Square in Egypt to the Indignados' encampments and occupations in Spain, Greece, Israel, the UK and the USA, created over time demotic mini-republics, with kitchens, libraries and dialogue spaces."[94] Since 2010, also as in Gezi, these collective identities and actions became the new social movement's fashionable activities to create a collective identity while (re)building exist groups and their emergent new group's identity. Collective identities emphasize "similarities among citizens, what is held in common, criteria for group membership, and difference from others. Collective identities can also have a direct impact on movement participation. Over time, the achievement of a certain goal might be less relevant for activists; rather they may partake in social movement activities because they enjoy the company of their fellow activists."[95]

Unlike the generations which participated in riots in the 70's, 80's,90's emerging new leftist groups debated questions about how to explain new and old groups' identity relations and their identity-based group conflicts in a movement. Social movement theorists have long understood that challengers need to form boundaries to establish themselves as players in a political field. For example, Taylor and Nancy Whittier argue that "challenger groups must form boundaries with themselves and 'mainstream' society in order to become visible in a political landscape."[96] One of the most influential theorists of collective identity formation in social movements is Alberto Melucci. He wants to explore how social actors from collectivity and recognize themselves as being part of it. To be more specific Melucci writes, "collective identity is an interactive and

[92] Porta della D.,Diani M. "*Social Movements: An introduction*", Blackwell Publishing,2006, p.89-105.
[93] Stryker. S., Owens T. J. and White R. W. "*Self, Identity and Social Movements*", Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2000, p.12-25.
[94] Werbner P., Webb M. and Spellman-Poots K. "*The Political Aesthetics of Global Protest, the Arab Spring and Beyond*" section '*Topographies of Power: The Aesthetic of Political Form*", Edinburg University Press. 2014, p.3.
[95] Stürmer S. "*Social Movement Participation : A Psychological Dual-Pathway Model*" PhD Dissertation ,Faculty of Philosophy, Christian-Albrecht-University in Kiel, Germany , 2000.
[96] Reger J. , Myers J. D. , Einwohner L. R. "*Social Movements , Protest , and Contention*" Volume 30 -"Identity Work in Social Movements", University of Minnesota Press,2008 , pp 257-303.

shared definition produced by several interacting individuals who are concerned with the orientation of their action as well as the field of opportunities and constraints in which their action takes place."[97]

In order to investigate the influence of new groups' identity formations and their identity-based conflicts within the Gezi resistance one had better commence with the concept of political participation as a visible form which has been a central concept in comparative politics. Academician and author Ergun Özbudun stressed its importance by stating "many writers have rightly argued that political participation is the distinguishing mark of the modern State."[98] Nevertheless Özbudun's definition of political participation is restricted to the 'governmental' (both national and local) sphere, although much allocation of resources among groups in society (i.e. political activity) may admittedly "take place without intervention by government."[99] Having discussed the definition of the concept of political participation with reference to Özbudun's book "Social Change and Political Participation in Turkey"[100] "it is best to address is the will or intent of people.

Perhaps one of the most controversial questions to be answered in arriving at a definition of political participation is the element of "will or intent."[101] Özbudun makes references to "Verba and Nie in his book in the context of political participation."[102] In the context of Gezi Resistance, by following the footsteps of Verba and Nie, Özbudun perceives the political participation in the Gezi Park as those activities by private citizens that are "more or less directly aimed at influencing the selection of governmental personnel and/or the collective actions they take."[103]

Academicians Güneş Koç and Harun Aksu address the identity-based conflict in their

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[97] Melucci, A. "*Nomad of the Present*" Temple University Press , 1989.

[98] Özbudun E. "*Social Change and Participation in Turkey*." Princeton University Press.1976, p. 3-7.

[99] Ibid., pp 3-7.

[100] Ibid., pp 3-7.

[101] Ibid., pp 3-7.

[102] Ibid., pp. 3-7.

[103] Ibid., pp. 3-7.

book "Another Brick in the Barricade: The Gezi Resistance and Its Aftermath."[104] One of the focus group that they deal with was Çarşı, one reason for whose participation, according to authors, "was the proximity of the protests to what they considered their 'home turf.'"[105] The authors deconstruct the identity of the fan group members by utilizing left-right paradigm. Participants indicated that "they attended the protests with their Çarşı identity, and with their leftist identity (though not all members of Çarşı are leftists)."[106] The book also talks about who Çarşı members "feel close to by stating; they felt close to other fan groups such as Tek Yumruk (Galatasaray), Karakızıl (Gençlerbirliği), Halkın Takımı, Beleştepe, Fenerbahçe Sol Açık and Vamos Bien and Öteki 1907."[107] The authors also address the political orientation of Çarşı members. They said "they did not feel close to TGB, CHP (Republican People's Party) and the Kurdish movement."[108]

There was a real opportunity to create a dialogue in between parties of different identity. Violence within the groups from pre-existing conflicts in the country were a serious obstacle for such a process even though all parties involved were ready to commonly work on the question 'what can we do for a better future?' A common path "means that it sometimes is possible to find a course of action which will satisfy differing objectives."[109] In the beginning there was an uncertainty about the nature of the resistance but later on, with the participation of pre-existing political groups, it became clear. There were groups which were "motivated for a cause much broader than the segment of society they represent. But too often democratic functioning means that many special interests push their own causes and the resulting compromises are deemed in the public interest."[110] Newly-formed groups interacted in pre-existing conflicts with their ideas deeply rooted in their identity. This is a reason for additional conflicts in a

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[104] Koç G. and Aksu H. "*Another Brick in the Barricade: The Gezi Resistance and Its Aftermath*", Wiener Verlag für Sozialforschung in EHV Academicpress GmbH ,"2015, p.42-45.

[105] Ibid., pp.42-45.

[106] Ibid., pp.42-45.

[107] Ibid., pp.42-45.

[108] Ibid., pp. 42-45.

[109] Katz D. "*Consistent Reactive Participation of Group Members and Reduction of Intergroup Conflict*" The Journal of Conflict Resolution, Vol. 3, No. 1, Studies from the Institute for Social Research, Oslo, Norway, 1959, p.34.

[110] Ibid., p. 31.

resistance. A conflict is "not a bad thing, although it is the occasion for the well-known unpleasant things people may do when they are not very good handling it."[111] But, as Schattschneider observed, "it must be assumed that every change in the number of participant in a resistance is about something, that the new comers have sympathies or antipathies that make it possible to involve them. Thus, in political conflict every change in scope changes the equation."[112]

To better understand the conflicts in resistance, the focus is put on the formation of a small "feminist" group. During the Gezi resistance, YWF created a "collective gender based identity". The resistance was opportunity for this group to restructure in a patriarchal environment. Formerly a-political women were passionately attracted to these new ideas and joined in for collective activities. Olson suggested that "small groups would more easily cooperate than large groups in supplying themselves with public goods."[113] And "as far as minorities are concerned, their struggle for rights will succeed more easily the larger the group is and the more political resources it has at its disposal due to its size and visibility."[114]

According to Lacan's psychoanalytical theory a resistance begins "in infancy, the key process involving a symbolic act of violence. But it is also a process of desire for the power." [115] What Lacan says also applies to collective identity or the formation of a newly-formed group identity. German political scientist Hannah Arendt, who lived between the years 1906-1975, gives a differing feminist view on power: "resistance is not linked with an absolute power, and it has no ambition either to install the reign of heaven on earth, or to make a specific kind of man, but to produce spaces where human continuity can be experienced in men's living together with the others."[116] As a conclusion it can be said that these opposing attitudes towards power from male and

[111] Webel, C. and Johansen J. "*Peace and Conflict Studies: A Reader*", chapter Brunk G. Conrad "*Shaping a Vision, The nature of Peace Studies*" New York, Routledge, 2012, p 19.

[112] Schattschneider Eric E. "*The Semisovereign People: A Realist's View of Democracy in America*" University of Michigan,1960, pp. 4-5.

[113] Olson M. *"The Logic of Collective Action: Public Goods and the Theory of Groups"* Harvard Economic Studies,1971, pp.43-65.

[114] Bauböck, R. *"Liberal Justifications for Group Rights."* In Christian Joppke and Steven Lukes (eds), "*Multicultural Questions."* Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998.

[115] Jackson L. R. "*Encyclopedia of Identity: Identity Development*" Sage Publication Inc. 2010, p.462.

female side will always create conflicts while building a collective identity in a resistance.

2.1.3. IDENTITY AND GROUP IDENTITY RELATIONS IN A RESISTANCE

There is a long history of research "within social psychology on identity and group processes, and indeed on intergroup relations, social identity theory was the first to theorize a distinct form of identity at the group level, and to accord ontological and explanatory significance to group identities."[117] Most importantly, the social identity approach seeks to address how psychological processes interact with social and political processes in the explanation of human social behavior.

John Turner and his colleagues were developing the cognitive elements of social identity theory. The resulting "self-categorization theory expanded the idea of category-based differentiation between people towards the inclusion of the self. This was a conceptual leap forward as it specified precisely how social categorization caused people to perceive, think, feel, and behave as group members."[118] Self-categorization theory also "provided a new explanation for some aspects of de-individuation phenomena (de-individuation reflected a change in identity not a loss of identity) that has recently been called the Social Identity Model (SIDE)."[119] According to Reicher's SIDE model, individuals who belong to newly-formed groups make different choices and are interested in a "shift from behaving in terms of disparate individual identities to behaving in terms of a contextually specified common social identity."[120] His early

[116] Alves A. O. "Resistance in Hannah Arendt: Between Ethics and Politics" Journal for Political Thinking, Federal University of Ceará (UFC) ,2005 , Retrieved from: http://www.hannaharendt.net/index.php/han/article/view/68/100 (Accessed on 26.05.2017)

[117] Spears Rusell "Handbook Identities and Research" Chapter 9 ; "Group Identities: The Social Identity Perspective." Springer,2011, p.202.

[118] Turner, J. C. "*Social Categorization and The Self-Concept: A social Cognitive Theory of Group Behaviour*" In E. J. Lawler (Ed.), "*Advances in group processes: theory and research*" Vol.2,Greenwich, CT: JAI ,1985,pp. 77-122.

[119] Abrams D. and Hogg A. M. "*Metatheory: Lessons from Social Identity Research*" Personality and Social Psychology Review Vol. 8, Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, 2004, No. 2, pp.98-106.

[120] Reicher, S. D. "*The St. Paul's riot: An Explanation of The Limits of Crowd Action In Terms of a Social Identity Model*" European Journal of Social Psychology, 14, 1984, pp 1–21.

research supported the SIDE model by showing "how the collective behavior of participants in a resistance reflected their shared definition of their collective identity and how this in turn determined the normative limits of their collective actions."[121]

In this way, it has already been argued in this study that the collective character of 'identity-based conflicts' between resistance groups and individuals at the Gezi park could not be explained adequately in terms of participants' prior commitment to conflictual norms. Rather, what was required was a consideration of the dynamics of the identity coalition between newly-formed groups and individuals and other actors. In Gezi Park pre-existing parties treated new participators as if they were potentially newly politically engaged citizens. In addition, they identified these participants as a-political women, a-political young generation and so on because they were groups of persons who did not organize to acquire and exercise a political power. All forms of their collective self-assertion or actions (singing, chanting, marching, etc.) were not politically value-based. Later, many participators experienced what they perceived as their legitimate rights being denied (e.g. the validity of their voice for a social change). They experienced what they perceived as illegitimate forms of external constraint (e.g. being forced to leave Gezi park's collective garden because of being an "a-political women"). Because of these problems, individuals and newly-formed focus groups identified themselves on the small group level putting distance to the dissociative groups.

Manuel Castells gives us clues and indicators of how we might identify the context of identity and group identity relations in a resistance. For example, "the recent rise of Arab religious fundamentalism is a distinguishing polemic that defines behavioral and political boundaries between and among groups that defines the strength of the bonds and the group identity."[122] On the other hand, political conflicts in modern society, as also Goldstein and Rayner observe, are increasingly centered on issues of identity and group identity relations. This is certainly "evident in various nationalistic, ethnic and tribal conflicts around the world, involving clashes between group and collective

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[121] Ibid., pp. 1–21.

[122] Castells M. "*The Power of Identity: The Information Age: Economy, Society, and Culture Volume II*" A John Wiley Sons, Ltd. Publication, 2010, pp.8-10.

identities."[123] It is also increasingly evident in political conflicts within modern societies, especially as expressed in the new social movements. These identity conflicts are more likely to be value based. "The concept of value based or value identities underscore the social psychological aspects of these conflicts grounded in philosophical and ideological differences."[124] In a social movement "group members are committed to the values constitutive of the group's ideology, define themselves in terms of these values, and think of these values as true or right, they are likely to commit to the group or movement and its goals."[125]

Snow and Oliver observe, "movements typically recruit only a small fraction of the persons whose apparently identical social structural niches and ideological orientations and their conflicts make them equally likely to join."[126] In fact, identity-based conflicts in between individuals and groups tended to have the opposite effect, increasing negative attitudes toward newly-formed groups among new participants across the political spectrum and reducing support for progressive reform policies and its collective power. The power of a movement is shaped by the collective identity which is integral to any group of society in a globalizing world "as it is often the only way in which communities or activist groups can express their choices and needs when power and decision making are increasingly gravitating to transnational markets and bodies."[127]

As in all conflicts also in the Gezi resistance "the nature of the conflict impedes the development of a transcendent identity by creating a state of negative interdependence between the two identities such that asserting one group's identity requires negating the identity of the other. Typical demands in identity conflicts are claims for collective

[123] Sheldon S., Timothy Joseph O., Robert W. W. "S*elf-Identity, and Social Movements*" chapter 4: Viktor Gecas "*Value Identities, Self-Motives, and Social Movements*", University of Minnesota Press, 2000, p.93-110.
[124] Ibid., pp.93-110.
[125] Ibid., pp.93-110.
[126] Snow, David A., Pamela E. Oliver "*Social Movements and Collective Behavior*" Social Psychology edited by Karen S. Cook , Gary Alan Fine and James S. House ,Boston: Allyn and Bacon,1995, p. 571-599.
[127] Jordan, T, Lent, A, McKay, G, and Mische, A '*Social Movement Studies: Opening Statement*', Social Movement Studies, 1, 1, 2002, pp. 5-6. Retrieved from: SocINDEX with Full Text, EBSCOhost, (accessed on 17.05 2017)

rights attached to the bearers of certain identities that serve to express their 'distinctiveness' and secure its recognition."[128] In accord with the above-mentioned, YWF made arguments "in view of the injustices inflicted upon women by millennia of patriarchy."[129]

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[128] Young, Iris M. *"Polity and Group Difference: A Critique of the Ideal of Universal Citizenship."* Ethics, 99, 1989, pp. 250-74.
[129] Bauböck, R. *"Liberal Justifications for Group Rights."* In Christian Joppke and Steven Lukes (eds), Multicultural Questions. Oxford: Oxford University Press.1998.

CHAPTER 3

METHODOLOGY

The goal of this study was to investigate the formation of and conflict between distinct groups that made their first appearance during the Gezi resistance. This analysis revealed how the conflict between these ideologies contributed to and hindered the resistance.

This study has been enriched by the researcher's observations and experiences both as a freelance journalist and peace activist and as a participant of demonstrations, forums, and non-violent actions. The research questions were prepared for two focus groups and aimed at understanding what went wrong in the Gezi resistance.

There were many old and new groups who participated in the Gezi resistance like LGBT, Anti-Capitalist Muslims, Kemalists, Kurdish Activists, and Nationalists. I chose Yoğurtçu Women's Forum and Soccer Team Supporter Group: Çarşı because they are still active and working for social change. They provide two distinct viewpoints - one focused on feminism and the other focused on broader social issues. This study is an attempt to provide a framework where "resisters" can answer questions in a way which thoroughly and accurately represents their points of view about the Gezi resistance. Participating in these newly-formed groups gave the researcher access to virtually all of the people interviewed. The study associated with three methodological approaches which are participatory action research, semi-structured interviews and qualitative inquiry.

3.1. RESEARCH APPROACH

The first method is Participatory Action Research (PAR) which is an approach to research in communities that emphasizes participation and action. It seeks to understand the world by trying to change it, collaboratively and following reflection. PAR emphasizes "collective inquiry and experimentation grounded in experience and social

history."[130] Within the PAR process, "communities of inquiry and action evolve and address questions and issues that are significant for those who participate as co-researchers."[131]

PAR contrasts with many research methods, which emphasize disinterested researchers and reproducibility of findings. PAR practitioners "make a concerted effort to integrate three basic aspects of their work: participation (life in society and democracy), action (engagement with experience and history), and research (soundness in thought and the growth of knowledge)."[132] "Action unites, organically, with research"[133] and collective processes of self-investigation was important. The way each component is actually understood and the relative emphasis it receives varies nonetheless from one PAR theory and practice to another. This means that PAR "is not a monolithic body of ideas and methods but rather a pluralistic orientation to knowledge making and social change."[134] In this study, the PAR method was used to identify and solve inter-group relations conflicts in a resistance. The aim was to help a newly-formed group's focus to change or improve a practice or to help them to understand issues and problems for themselves. Thus, the focus was on solving practical issues of importance to group members.Concerning interviews with the help of participatory action research, the ease to ask questions would be paramount because this method "gave a great sense of willingness on the part of participants which made me to feel comfortable, to disclose their personal views about the situation, opinions and experiences. In everyday life, such openness is displayed towards good and trusted friends, but hardly in institutional settings or toward strangers."[135] Because the fear of being attacked for saying something wrong prevents people from expressing their views and opinions, especially when they

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[130] Reason, P. and Bradbury, H. "*The Sage Handbook of Action Research: Participative Inquiry and Practice*". Sage,2008, p.1.

[131] Ibid., p.1.

[132] Chevalier and Buckles, Chevalier, J.M. and Buckles, D.J. "*Participatory Action Research: Theory and Methods for Engaged Inquiry*", Routledge UK., 2013, p.49.

[133] Rahman, Md. A. "*Some Trends in the Praxis of Participatory Action Research*", in P. Reason and H. Bradbury (eds) The SAGE Handbook of Action Research. Sage, London, 2008,pp. 49–62.

[134] Ibid., pp.49-62.

[135] Bergold. J. "*Participatory Strategies in Community Psychology Research -a short Survey.*" In A. Bokszczanin (Ed.) "*Poland Welcomes Community Psychology: Proceeding from the 6th European Conference Community Psychology.*" Opole: Opole University Press, 2007, pp.57-66.

appear to contradict what the other thinks. However, participatory research specifically seeks "these dissenting views; they are essential for the process of knowledge production because they promise a new and different take on the subject under study, and thereby enable the discovery of new aspects."[136] In this study, education and action used to gather information to analyze for a change on social or environmental issues. It involves people who are concerned about or affected by an issue taking leading role in producing and using knowledge about it. The tradition of participatory action research methodology is "not frequently used but includes some very interesting qualities and possibilities. Participatory methodology poses certain questions about knowledge and research in a radical way; it has potential to draw attention to hitherto neglected areas in qualitative methodology and to stimulate their further development."[137] Participatory approaches are not fundamentally distinct from other empirical social research procedures. On the contrary, "there are numerous links, especially to from other empirical social research procedure."[138] This research method helped me to conduct directly with the immediately affected persons like as me and my friends; the aim was the reconstruction of our knowledge and ability in a process of understanding and empowerment. In this study, as a researcher, I interacted with several groups and had the proper entry into the research populations.

The second method applied is semi-structured interviews. By applying this method, the study aims to understand which part of identity-based transformation processes played a role and which were the reasons for root cause conflicts. This is possible by an analysis of the conflicts within and between the various groups. It is also possible by analyzing the cause and effect relations according to the method of semi-structured interviews. These include open-ended questions and yield in-depth responses about participants' experiences, perceptions, opinions, feelings and knowledge. This interview method allows for flexibility to take place within the conversation which might trigger new questions and interrogations. The analysis is allowed to "evolve and change throughout interview. Relevant records and notes are collected through these interviews, and

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[136] Ibid., pp.57-66.
[137] Ibid., pp.57-66.
[138] Ibid., pp.57-66.

observations, document reviews."[139] Data consist of verbatim quotations with sufficient context to be interpretable. Semi-structured interviews were "conducted with an openly framework which allow focused, conversational, two-way communication."[140] Active participation within newly-formed groups gave the researcher an access to virtually all of the persons to whom interviewed. To choose just two focus groups and to narrow the topic were important acts because "the validity meaningfulness, and insights generated from qualitative inquiry have more to do with the information richness of the cases selected and the observational and analytical capabilities of the researcher than with sample size."[141]

Usually I attended forum meetings or met with specific groups who became well known and were politically active with their written texts, or rather writing texts. I described my research and asked for concrete suggestions on how we could we work together and so that what role I could play in activities that focused on their group objectives. I made first-hand observations and participated in the Gezi resistance. I talked to people with their experiences and perceptions using a set of informal questions to guide the interview rather than strictly dictating it. In this study, I worked as a researcher to find similar response and stories, informed partly by previous researchers but ultimately basing the analysis on my own collective sense of what categories best captured what I found in the narrative data. According to Brysk and Foweraker, as soon as the researcher listens to one person tell their story, they know that the researcher must recognize that there is another person who could tell another side of the same story. My interviews used open-ended questions and probes and yielded in-depth responses about people's experiences and perceptions. Starting in 2013, I met with the members of different groups in the park but later on focused on just two groups. Near the end of the thesis, in depth-interviews are conducted with the participants by the help of snowballing method to learn what behaviors may have changed, how they view themselves and their group identity and conflicts, and what their expectations are for the future. The groups did provide me with access to individuals and in that regard shaped

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[139] Ibid., p.12.

[140] Ibid., p.12.

[141] Patton M. Q. "*Qualitative Research &Evaluation Methods*" chapter "*Qualitative Designs and Data Collection*", Sage Publications, 2002, p.245.

the type of individuals with whom I spoke by influencing the selection and snowballing of interviewees.

Drawing heavily on twenty-two individual, semi-structured interviews that I conducted with resisters, former members and sympathizers of the Gezi Resistance resistors from the beginning of resistance on May 27th 2013 and during my peace studies education period in the winter of 2014 and in 2015 and in 2016, I show that functioning group dynamics and accommodating structures are a necessary, but secondary, condition for explaining new-group identity-based conflicts in voluntary newly-formed groups.

Interviewees were participants who participated frequently in the Gezi resistance at Gezi Park. Participants' groups were chosen based on their visibility and narrowed into two focus groups. Interviews were conducted either face to face or by e-mail or via Skype. The length of the face to face interviews, approximately 40 minutes, was enough to obtain a good understanding of what the interviewees thought; therefore, I planned to do interviews of 40 minutes for the current study. Within these twenty-two individual there were two focus group's semi divided participators which includes 8 male, 10 female and 4 transgender-like homosexuals, travesties, gays, lesbians. They belonged to two focus groups and have mutual identities, being an LGBT community member or an activist in a leftist organization.

TABLE 1 : PARTICIPANTS FROM TWO FOCUS GROUPS

No.	Title	Identity	Gender	Group
1	Teacher	A	female	Yoğurtçu Women Forum
2	Teacher	B	female	Soccer Team Supporter Group: Çarşı
3	Academician	A	female	Yoğurtçu Women's Forum
4	Academician	B	male	Soccer Team Supporter Group: Çarşı
5	Scholar	A	female	Yoğurtçu Women's

				Forum
6	Scholar	B	male	Soccer Team Supporter Group: Çarşı
7	Scholar	C	transgender	Soccer Team Supporter Group: Çarşı
8	Activist	A	female	Yoğurtçu Women's Forum
9	Activist	B	female	Soccer Team Supporter Group: Çarşı
10	Activist	C	transgender	Yoğurtçu Women's Forum
11	Student	A	transgender	Yoğurtçu Women's Forum
12	Student	B	female	Yoğurtçu Women's Forum
13	Student	C	male	Soccer Team Supporter Group: Çarşı
14	Lawyer	A	male	Soccer Team Supporter Group: Çarşı
15	Lawyer	B	female	Soccer Team Supporter Group: Çarşı
16	Artist	A	transgender	Yoğurtçu Women's Forum
17	Artist	B	male	Yoğurtçu Women's Forum
18	Artist	C	male	Soccer Team Supporter Group: Çarşı
19	Journalist	A	female	Yoğurtçu Women's Forum
20	Journalist	B	male	Soccer Team

				Supporter Group: Çarşı
21	Freelance NGO worker	A	female	Yoğurtçu Women' Forum
22	Freelance NGO worker	B	male	Soccer Team Supporter Group: Çarşı

The third method is a qualitative inquiry approach which has the goal of describing a complex situation by identifying unifying themes in the collected interviews and experiences of the participants in the Gezi resistance. In application, this method attempts to explain how and why these groups engaged in conflict while simultaneously uniting against a common enemy. The end goal of this analysis is to provide an intervention that can suggest peacemaking approaches that could be used to strengthen the ties between groups within diverse ideologies.

An example of this approach is given by Johan Galtung, who identifies that violence has four essential elements: "a) an identifiable actor or groups of actors, b)an identifiable physical action or behavior, c) a clear physical or psychological harm which results from the action, and d) an identifiable victim who suffers the harm."[142] I applied this method to the traumatized people who were supporting non-violent actions during the Gezi resistance. These peaceful groups had violence forced on them as they fought for their basic human rights and to defend their free thought while living under severe gender discrimination. As a result of their defiance, many now live in difficult conditions. It is therefore critically important to understand the root cause of this violence and inter-group conflicts to build a peacemaking approach for their future resistance.

Moreover, a gender based approach was used to further focus the analysis, because many of the inter-group conflicts observed were founded in the historical context of a patriarchal society. This is one of the reasons for also focusing on one feminist group. By processing gender sensitive information by the aid of peace research in the areas of

[142] Webel, C. and Johansen J. "*Peace and Conflict Studies: A Reader*", chapter Brunk G. Conrad "*Shaping a Vision, The nature of Peace Studies*" New York, Routledge, 2012, p 17.

peace building, conflict analysis and resolution, the principles of inclusiveness, participation, and contextual analysis, new insights can be achieved. This study tries to be descriptive and exploratory in a gender based approach while applying – among others – the method of qualitative inquiry.

Qualitative inquiry, methodologically "aims to minimize the imposition predetermined responses when gathering data, in this sense questions should be asked in a truly open-ended fashion that emerges from the researcher's observations and interviews out in the real world rather than in the laboratory or the academy."[143] In this study, the questions consists of a "set of questions carefully worded and arranged with the intention of taking each respondent through the same sequence and asking the each respondent the same questions. It is dedicated to the task of identifying actors, trying to understand their relationships, and charting their impact on domestic politics."[144]

In such approaches it was important to gather words or event descriptions. It gives more space interviews or members of focus groups to express themselves in their own words rather than to force on them a certain scheme of response such as number scale. Qualitative approaches "are powerful in gathering in-depth data and in ensuring that data is natural. Yet they are also more time consuming at the analysis stage."[145] In other words, I had difficulties when analyzing.

Qualitative research approaches use the "why" and "how" questions. Additionally, in this study cultural considerations are observed before conducting the research to avoid misunderstandings. The specific cultural way in which people say or do something is of greatest importance. The interviews are "concerned with the stories of people, their anecdotes, their experiences and the meanings of them all."[146] Finally, the study conducts open coding and critical localized political discourse analysis.

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[143] Patton M. Q. "*Qualitative Research &Evaluation Methods*" chapter "*The Nature of Qualitative Inquiry*", Sage Publications, 2002, p.11.

[144] Ibid., p.11.

[145] Patton M. Q. "*Qualitative Research &Evaluation Methods*" chapter "*The Nature of Qualitative Inquiry*", Sage Publications, 2002,p.12.

[146] Ibid., p.12.

The purpose of the tools was:

1. to obtain specific qualitative information from focus groups of the population
2. to obtain general information relevant to specific issues
3. to gain a range of insights on specific issues
4. to provide a critical analysis of the discourse of newly-formed groups' visibility and their identity-based conflicts.

3.1.1 DATA COLLECTION

Data collection is a collaborative study which many participants engaged in as co-researchers throughout the research process. Some participants wanted their identity confidential but some did not. Because of political dynamics in Turkey, I rather prefer to not write their names. I received permissions from participants for the interviews (internet or face to face) which according to the sensitivity of the subject were conducted with great respect and discretion. The research data is gathered in the form of paper interviews from focus groups. The wording or the questions and the methods of data collection are both valid and reliable. Other data source involved print and other media, including a comprehensive collection of newspapers from the different media covers which were published during the Gezi resistance. The third source was original books which published during the resistance, documents, articles, books from local and EU university libraries , online e-books ‚journals and resistor's social media reports. Visual media were converted to text and content analyzed along with the paper sources.

3.1.2. DATA ANALYSIS TECHNIQUES AND PROCESSES

Focus group selection, "a sampling process which gives each individual member of the population an equal chance to be selected to the sample, is viewed as the most efficient way to ensure sample representation."[147] Besides this, as part of this study, the cluster sampling method helped to reach a certain population, and aimed to focus the research in one geographic area. These two focus groups' participants, who were living in

[147]Farmer R., Miller D., Lawrenson R. "*Epidemiology and Public Health Medicine (4th ed.)*" Blackwell Science, Oxford.1996.

Istanbul's Anatolian and European side and actively participated in the first three weeks of resistance in Gezi park, have been selected as the members of the focus group. It was easier to reach empirical data with focus groups than a larger population. During this process in certain cases, the snowball sampling method was used to find answers for research questions. This method helped the researcher to easily contact and gain confidence of participants' groups. The members of both of these focus groups took part in the political process, and many of them actively involved in political discourse and partly acted as actors. Therefore, forms of text, interviews and talk in such cases had political functions and implications. These two focus groups were good examples of a new group identity formation. Independently and in differing political contexts these groups became visible actors.

On the other hand, critical localized political discourse and open coding analysis were applied to the transcriptions of the interviews which deal with the reproduction of political power, power abuse or domination through political discourse, including the various forms of resistance. In particular, such a political discourse analysis "deals with the discursive conditions and consequences of social and political inequality those results from such domination."[148] Open coding analysis is the part of the analysis concerned with "identifying, naming, categorizing and describing phenomena found in the text. Essentially, each line, sentence, paragraph etc. is read in search of the answer to the repeated question "what is this about? What is being referenced here?"[149] These labels refer to things like social movements, information gathering, friendship, social loss, etc. They are the nouns and verbs of a conceptual world. Part of the analytic process is to identify the more general categories that these things are instances of, such as institutions, work activities, social relations, social outcomes, etc. Lastly, gender perspective is integrated into the analysis process throughout.

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[148] Fairclough and van Dijk N. L. "*Critical Discourse Analysis: Papers in the Critical Study of Language*". and "*Principles of Critical Discourse Analysis. Discourse and Society:*" 4(2):London: Longman, 1995 and 1993b. 249-83.
[149] Borgatti S. "*Introduction to Grounded Theory*" , Analytichtech, Retrieved from: http://www.analytictech.com/mb870/introtogt.htm (accessed on 10.02.2017)

3.2. LIMITATIONS

The different steps of the scientific and disciplined inquiry approach mentioned above, guided this study in planning, conducting, and interpreting the interviews. However, it is important to recognize some of the limitations of this approach as well as to mention that since the Gezi resistance the circumstances of political development in Turkey have gone in a negative direction for the resistance groups opposed to a positive one for the power holders. Nowadays all groups have more difficulty in expressing their opinions. At the end of three weeks, the leaders of Çarşı were taken into custody under the dawn raids. Power holders made them scapegoats. Under this pressure it wasn't easy to collect the objective data and protect valuable sources. The idea behind my choice of two focus groups was that small sample comparisons were qualitatively thick and empirically well-grounded and therefore plausible in limited times and places but also provisional, pending extension to more general samples. Although each contributor did not address the role of identity in this full range of conflicts, the contributors addressed many different types of conflicts during Gezi resistance.

The idea that it is important to study the identity-based conflicts in between newly-formed groups in the Gezi resistance is in new. Over the last four years, due to my research, I realized that since the Gezi resistance many scientists, researchers, academicians who participated or followed the resistance actively, responded to repression by writing about it, so that people can read and won't forget what happened to participators in these days.

Unfortunately, even four years after the Gezi resistance, activist-participants avoided self-criticisms. Most did not want to uncover their inner conflicts. Within the groups, very little attention was devoted to the study of root cause problems which may be related with identity-based conflicts in between newly-formed groups and its impact on the resistance process. For this reason, this study puts a special focus on the layer of identity-based conflict and the rare examples of self-criticism where-ever it occurred.

In the context of self-criticism writings, I used different methods in order to analyze the

internal and outer conflicts in between groups and individuals but still the research result is debatable with regard to the evaluation of given responses by the help of scientific methods. This may be the case because most of the answers obviously were not very self-critical. At the end of each interview, I built in a 15 minutes roundup evaluation. Interviewees found that reflection took place all the time during the interview. This was not always the case as participants often were not very critical because of their traumatic experiences.

Still, they were very engaged with the research. The participants' traumatic experiences during the Gezi resistance included exhaustion, confusion, sadness, anxiety, agitation, numbness, dissociation, confusion, physical arousal, and blunted affect. They were easily visible during the questioning process. I helped the interviewees focus on what was happening in the 'here and now' with the help of peace studies' post-trauma healing and grounding techniques. Such reflection sometimes felt like it was slowing the research down, but it was essential for getting valuable results. All interviewees addressed various related themes during the interviews, including explanations of their own identity, experiences of relationships during the resistance with their group identity formation, experiences of sharing a collective life together and various experiences like being an activist, feminist and a woman at the same time in the Gezi park.

3.3. TRUSTWORTHINESS, ETHICAL, AND RELIABILITY, VALIDITY ISSUES

The participants chose how they wanted to answer semi-structured interview questions themselves. I asked each participant who was interviewed and had participated in the focus groups as a co-researcher of mine as part of the research process, whether or not they wished to remain anonymous. When I store data about resisters, I need to comply with the data protection act, as well as respect any sensitivities or concerns that the people involved may have. Because of these concerns, I moved with all collected data, interviews, newspapers, books, articles, academic journals to Germany. It was important to think about how to record what is said and what happens during the research process, from the start, and deciding who should get to see this information. I recorded all

interviews and decoded participants' original sentences before translation. I tried to preserve the cultural context of the interviewees' language when translating the interviews into English. A well-meaning but culturally inappropriate translation can be counterproductive to the goals of this research.

CHAPTER 4

RESULTS AND FINDINGS

This study was designed to interpret the interviewees' thoughts, expertise, and experiences on the issue of identity-based conflicts in between newly-formed groups. During the course of the research, interviews were conducted with 22 individuals from two focus groups; Yoğurtçu Women's Forum and Soccer Team Supporter Group: Çarşı.

The following research questions guided the study:

– What was the root cause of conflicts between individuals and newly-formed focused groups in Gezi park?
– How did identity-based conflicts between groups of the Gezi resistance form a setback for the Gezi per se? Why?
– How participants decided to involve during the beginning (the first three weeks of Gezi resistance) and accepted the identity of the newly-formed groups? Why?

The methods "Open coding categories" and "Critical localized political discourse" were used to analyze the root causes of the conflicts. Open coding analysis means that "the concepts emerge from the raw data and are later grouped into conceptual categories. It is the part of analysis that pertains specifically to the naming and categorizing of phenomena through close examination of the data. During open coding the data are broken down into discrete parts."[150] Critical localized political discourse analysis focuses on groups and individuals, as well as their organizations and institutions. The method implies that everything participants of a conflict relate is political. "That is, a broad definition of politics implies a vast extension of the scope of the term 'political discourse' if we identify such practices by all participants in the political process."[151] Starting with a definition of participants' identity and their connection to group identity

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[150] Seidel V. J. "Qualitative Data Analysis" 1998, p.6. Retrieved from:
ftp://ftp.qualisresearch.com/pub/qda.pdf (accessed on, 11.05.2017)

the following points are addressed:

1. the relationship between identity and social class
2. the dialogue problems stemming from the use of violent language
3. the participants' pre-Gezi period conflicts with the power holders in their private lives and the common predetermined aim to preserve nature
4. the old groups and their intra-ideological and identity-based problems
5. feminism's identity definition and the various exemplifications of that by inter-group and outer-group members
6. the identity-based conflicts brought about by the groups that arrived at the park after the first three days of the resistance and the ensuing pacification of the participants
7. the positive and negative effects of the forums
8. the contribution of art and humor to the resistance - as non-violent approaches to resistance
9. the stance of national and international media in the resistance days and their impact on the newly-formed groups' visibility.

The response to these research questions were categorized by comparing the data stemming from participants to their occupational group with a general group evaluation. Each interview was subdivided into various subjects. Data from each of the participants was studied separately, and later analyzed together with data from other interviewees in order to cover various categories and themes. In this chapter, which focuses on the result of data analysis, findings have been outlined with an emphasis on those excerpts that most effectively relate the stories of activists and participants. Apart from these excerpts, the study included as much information and raw data as possible.

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[151] Dijk van A. Teun "*What is Political Discourse Analysis*?" University of Amsterdam, Department of General Literary Studies, pp.12-17.

4.1. FOCUS GROUPS

4.1.1. Yoğurtçu Women's Forum

A group of feminist women formed a socialist feminist organization in June 2008 in Turkey. In August of 2008 they organized a camp at which they set a political framework, penning a joint text entitled "Who are we?" They perceive socialist feminism as a division in feminism. Above all, they identify themselves as feminists, namely the Social Feminist Collective (SFC). Afterwards, insurgents in the group created their own Asian group identity and converted themselves into Yoğurtçu Women's Forum, as a feminist group amongst many other feminist groups.

> *The Istanbul SFC is a platform which is comprised of single or organized feminist women. They erected a tent at the entrance of the park. The collective which severely suffered for nine years under ever growing femicides, unjust provocation, the protection of orders that don't protect women, a political wording that utters abortion interchangeably with homicide, the demanding of five children from women and a prime minister and his cabinet's policies which articulate that man and woman are not equal believed that a resistance to AKP's insistent misogynist policies is needed.[152]*

Their aspiration is to empower the feminist movement and be a feminist subject in a resistance movement. The rise of the feminist movement has created, for example, new lines of identity definitions which have often revealed themselves to be in contrast with those which preceded them (for example, those of class). Rather than "uprooting these older lines of identity, new identities co-exist with them, generating tensions among actors' different self-representations, or between activists who identify with the same movement yet belong to different generations."[153]

YWF joined the Gezi resistance with the consensus of the SFC identity in the women's tent. In the beginning of the Gezi resistance all these women were in the park with their tent and the visibility of women in general during the resistance was effective. Associate

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[152] Paker Banu Interview in Socialist Feminist Collective Group, "*Gezi Resistance, 27 May-18 June*", Atam Publications, 2013, pp. 256-258.

[153] Porta della D. and Diani M. "*Social Movements: Collective Action and Identity*" Blackwell Publishing, 2003, p.89.

Professor Leyla Şimşek, from the Sociology Department of Marmara University, discusses the direct and indirect role of feminist struggles for equal citizenship, social, economic and political participation and representation of women's agency in the Gezi Park resistance, in her study, "Youth Unrest, Intergenerational Solidarity and Feminist Impetus in Social Movements: The Case in Istanbul."[154]

She commences her study by giving a brief overview of feminist struggle in Turkey. Her study is "based on women's feminists' participation in the Gezi Park resistance. All her informants stated that their mothers, fathers, other family members, relatives, friends, colleagues and acquaintances supported them and many of these people also joined the protests."[155] It is important to note in Şimşek's study that "women from all generations took part in the protests as the principal elements; feminist organizations were there and they had a determining and moderating role, especially at some specific moments."[156]

Since the YWF was newly-formed during the Gezi period and regularly meets up to the present day, they were selected as a focus group in this dissertation. YWF evolved during the resistance days as a new socialist feminist group. The YWF, "that blends the resistance spirit of women and Gezi", has been the only active forum since its foundation."[157] One of the members of the group, Selin Top, explains how the forum was established and its character: "After the massive attack of the ruling AKP the resistance and solidarity was expanded into the streets. The resistance mobilized us all and everybody aspired to do something for the dream of an equal and free world."[158] This newly-formed group has been a melting pot and Top refers to it with these words: "There was every shade of women: feminists, non-feminists, the ones who never

[154] Rathe Şimşek L. "*Youth Unrest, Intergenerational Solidarity and Feminist Impetus in Social Movements: The Case in Istanbul.*"; Academiaedu , 2017, Retrieved from:www.academia.edu/31347451/Youth_Unrest_Intergenerational_Solidarity_and_Feminist_Impetus_in_Social_Movements_The_Case_in_Istanbul?auto=download (accessed on 06.02.2017)

[155] Ibid., pp. 83-97.

[156] Ibid., pp. 83-97

[157] Aydoğmuş Elif, "*The Resistance Spirit is Growing With the Women*",Özgür Gündem,2016, Retrieved from: https://fr.proxfree.com/permalink.php?url=WU0zm9h51Rk4VH3Q77rny1UFI2uKUwkOXMeurq0aUc4Lm9mzwxowXrgSOeqCdNISUPQqUlp1RoLE2fTY07B%2BuvIei4sabl%2F4X0uWsKttV3Wt01iaMh%2FbK7om2ltC6DklV0EXrX0DSqMl%2F8RDfXNiejg%2FIK3rFXDwiOKH3TTfn5g%3D&bit=3 (accessed on 12.02.2017)

[158] Ibid.

thought about women's issues, political women and a-political women… All were there. The Gezi resistance was the manifesto against the policies that endeavored to confine women to the private sphere."[159]

Yoğurtçu Women's Forum in Top's words was the "voice of the women."[160] They continued to be active in forums as well as after the Gezi resistance. The forums covered a wide range of subjects as Top, again, explains: "During the resistance elections, peace, the homicides committed by men, violence, feminism, organization, being woman in the Middle East and education was addressed."[161] They formed a sphere for women with their "Without Tayyip and without harassment" banner. They believed that a resistance to AKP's insistent misogynist policies was needed. It is very comprehensible why feminist women resist a government which, on the one hand, secludes women, takes their social security and gives them the responsibility of taking care of children and the elderly and, on the other hand, strives to employ them as part of a cheap and vulnerable workforce.

One of the activists said during the interviews, "Our tent was visited by both feminist and non-feminist women. We were in touch with women who met during the resistance. Notably the slogan, "resist with determination not with swearing", was welcomed and adopted by many women."[162]

Many women felt empowered because the new group's political visibility encouraged a-political women and the younger generation to talk and participate in these groups. But, as with the other opposition groups, participants unexpectedly found themselves in the middle of a big "revolution" – as some leftist groups announced. Some of the women's activities failed and were criticized, such as the "Standing Woman" which was an imitation of the non-violent protest known as the "Standing Man". The women who visited this group articulated that the feminists' tent was closed and the actions were not impressive and enticing. One of the influential ways to attract more women was to hold

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[159] Ibid.

[160] Ibid.

[161] Ibid.

[162] Interview with YWF, 02.01.2015, Istanbul.

forums. Unfortunately, though they adopted this idea, they could not realize it. For instance, during a non-violent action when a serious amount of women came together, "they could not establish contact with the mothers who formed a non-violent chain and succeeded in protecting their children in Gezi park."[163]

4.1.2. Soccer Team Supporter Group: Çarşı

This focus group, simply referred to as Çarşı, is the hardcore fan group of Beşiktaş football club. They have striven to be righteous and impartial since 1982. This rebellious nature partially came into being as a result of Beşiktaş fans' left-wing tendencies in the 1970s. They became visible and politicized during the Gezi resistance even they are a soccer fan group.

> *They are known for their social and political commentary, choreography, and genuine manner of chanting. There are lots of catch-phrases of the group, "Çarşı her şeye karşı!"(Çarşı is against everything!) is probably the most famous one. Although Çarşı is basically accepted as a fan group, Çarşı may be defined better as common way of acting, including the shared beliefs and values of the fans. Çarşı became very visible during and after Gezi resistance not only in the streets but also on social media.[164]*

In the news penned by Çağıl Kasapoğlu for BBC Turkish, Özgür Ergün, one of the spokesmen of the supporter group, commences to explain the role of Çarşı by saying, "In order to understand the Çarşı one had better apprehend Beşiktaş."[165] "Beşiktaş is among the few places that has preserved its local identity … Every shade of people with every kind of view on the world live peacefully together in Beşiktaş… Since there is always someone striving to put people and life into stereotypes, we articulate our objection."[166] Having said that, one of the founders of Çarşı, Cem Yakışkan, states that, "We are not a political movement. Since we are merely a supporter group, people

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[163] Paker Banu Interview in Socialist Feminist Collective Group, "*Gezi Resistance, 27 May-18 June*", Atam Publications, 2013, pp. 256-258.

[164] Yalcintas A., this book chapter edited by Secil Deren van het Hof "*Creativity and Humour in Occupy Movements*" chapter "*Political Potential of Sarcasm: Cynicism in Civil Resentment.*", Springer,2015, p. 30-48.

[165] Freud S. and Volkan V. D. "*Psychoanalysis, Group Identities and Archaeology*" Volume 80, Issue 307, Antiquity Publications Ltd., 2006, pp. 185-195. Retrieved from: https://doi.org/10.1017/S0003598X00093352 (accessed on 09.03.2017)

trusted and hence supported us. We refused to attend the meetings on behalf of Gezi though we were invited by the government."[167]

From the onset of the Gezi resistance, resisters who belonged to this group refused to damage public property or the natural environment, were not part of provocations and protested democratically even though they had some conflicts between themselves. They are sensitive towards nature, society and life. During the resistance, they learned how to build positive relationships with other groups or individuals. For example, they didn't see the police force as an enemy and they didn't use weapons like stones, knives or guns. Çarşı was, indeed, "successful in creating a buffer zone between the other groups like TGB and the Kurds, simply because there are Kurds and Turks in Çarşı, as well as "fascists" and also people with all kinds of other political and non-political views—and it is impossible to beat them by force."[168] On the other hand they experienced many conflicts with feminists and the LBGT community which will be addressed in the following section.

4.2. FINDINGS RELEVANT TO THE STUDY

In order to acquire a general understanding of identity-based conflicts between two focus groups, I first asked interviewees, "How do you define your own and your group's identity?" Before becoming a part of a group people come into contact with people whom they feel an affinity with. In general, we put distance between ourselves and people who we perceive as different and we spend more time with people who we perceive to be like ourselves. However, since the family ties were so uniting and powerful in the region, these values often outweighed the importance of political or group identities where these were at odds with family values. During the formation of a group identity people do miss see differing points of view and hence problems result: the tendency to stay with people like us and keep a distance from people who give no

[166] Kasapoğlu Çağıl *"Why did Çarşı Support the Gezi?"*, BBC Türkçe,Diyarbakır, 2013. Retrieved From: www.bbc.com/turkce/haberler/2013/06/130614_carsi_gezi_cagil (accessed on 10.03.2017)
[167] Ibid.

[168] Turan Ömer and Özçetin Burak "*Football fans and Contentious Politics: The role of Çarşı in the Gezi Park Protests*", Research Article; International Review for the Social Support ,Sage Publications, 2017, p.12.Retrieved From :http://journals.sagepub.com/eprint/a3cGurk3tjunuN42Vdv9/full (accessed on , 12.04.2017)

benefit to us. In their interviews, two teachers from the YWF and Çarşı groups explained their own identity clearly and gave some explanations about their family's living standards. In their struggle there is a relationship between class and identity which may provide information on how they approach problems in a society while living in different classes of that society.

Teacher A from the YWF revealed her identity as;

> *I am a feminist defending all women's rights. In my family, there are all shades of opinions not excluding supporters of ISIS. Despite this variety in my family, all members of my family do talk with each other. The latter is the indication of us being a melting pot in terms of our identities. And I am a middle-class person who has normal standards. During the Gezi period, for the first time, I became very close to women in the streets who have problems in their family relations but, in our family, some of the women are living in good economic conditions and they don't care about what other women need. Capitalism separates the family members from each other and puts us in a class with little awareness of the others. I don't like this ignorance and will fight against it.*

Teacher B from soccer team supporter group Çarşı said;

> *I am a child of an a-political family. My family had become a-political after the 1980 coup d'état. The Gezi Resistance was a milestone both for my family and me. With the resistance, I became the very first political person in my family by showing the first civil disobedience in my life. To be honest, we have possibilities to leave our country but Gezi was a reason for me to stay. But it doesn't mean that I will be politically active in the future again.*

Despite the different backgrounds of the two families, members of both families tolerated the two teachers' participation to the resistance and supported the new visibility of their identity. In Turkey, family bonds to some extent transcend political beliefs. On the other hand, all members of YWF agreed about the definition of their group identity as defending all women's rights collectively. Their tent was visited by both feminist and non-feminist women. They were in touch with women who met during the Gezi resistance. Despite their differences, they have mutual identities like

being believers or non-believers and they stated that family ties were also very important during the process of their resistance. In contrast, eight Çarşı group members said that although family ties are important, they don't play any role in their activist life. Their political identities and family identities developed independently. They also didn't have too much interest in other women's feminist thoughts although some of them were members of their own family. They never contacted the other group members or wanted to help them in their feminist activities during the resistance; they were just sympathetic to each other for being in the same park together like sisters and brothers. The other three members who belong to the Çarşı group added that the feminists' tent was closed and the actions were not impressive or enticing for them.

Lastly, another leftist man who wasn't a member of any group made a different point about class and identity relations. He criticized the 8th of March with these words: "As long as there is a class conflict, the women's day will have proletarian character. Its founder was a proletarian woman. But the bourgeois has exploited proletarian men as well as women. The bourgeois has a gender." The ongoing discrimination of men by the women's movement obstructed a collective thinking system. Nevertheless, the very powerful patriarchal structure of the region may explain why men are excluded from the feminist movements. The male point of view strives to be dominant and hence superior in every aspect of life. In view of the fact that in a changing world there are now various genders, it can be seen that an important collective struggle under the banner of feminism can be executed. The best proof for the latter are the movements in different societies, notably the western world. The notion that the feminist movement was exclusively represented by women during the pre-Gezi, Gezi resistance days and post Gezi, as expressed in the interviews, is subject to criticism as well.

Academician A from the YWF stated that;

> I defend values of women from different backgrounds who struggle for education, employment and legal equality. I am against the patriarchy for the amelioration of the situation. Since men in Turkey do have many platforms to vocalize their points of view, I feel this stronger now than before because we are together and no men are allowed to participate in our forums.

Academician B from the Çarşı group said;

> We are here because we don't have a political identity. But I support feminists, defend
> the rights of LGBTs and show our common solidarity against suppression. I am against
> the exclusion of men from the feminist forums and activities merely on the ground of
> men being male. This is a discrimination based on identity.

In the feminist group, there is an approach that excludes male identities by blocking participation. YWF is still applying this collective decision but they never thought how to reach out for constructive new ideas which were left out of their internal group discussions. From the Çarşı group, six members said, "If they don't want us, we also don't want them." We can easily see here how members are attracted to and influenced by the behaviors of other groups. It means that both sides would provoke their opponents if they deliberately or carelessly destroyed each other's space. It wasn't a situation where violence breeds violence and in which "being subject to violence can be demoralizing, and can feed the desire to respond violently."[169] Half of the members of Çarşı declared themselves a-political in a political uprising while half of them accepted a political identity and the group became visible and politicized. There can be several ways to address the described problems: A healthy group consolidates relations between its members and with other groups. The insurgents who are independent of the societal mechanisms they live in try, on the one hand, to establish fair societal rules and, on the other hand, to deal with the problems stemming from politics and pressure. When there is high pressure from outside, groups tend to abandon their initial aims in order to be able to cope with the external aggression. Methods to deal with internal and external group conflicts can be: build collective power, create trust or find consensus as means to take decisions as well as communicate within groups by the help of non-violent communication. Many participants became active during the Gezi resistance because they felt that new political values and beliefs were insulted. For instance, for the women the forum was attractive, because many people were listening to their feminist speeches. But afterwards many participants became passive again because of the oppressive and old-fashioned character of the group debate's language. The following interviews show how violence and violent language among individuals and between the groups were

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[169] Ackerman P., Kruegler C."*The Principles of Strategic Nonviolent Conflict*" chapt. in Strategic Nonviolent Conflict, Westport, Connecticut: Praeger,1994, pp. 21-53.

perceived by the resistors.

Scholar A from the YWF said,

> *Sexist verbal abuse was on the rise with the advent of sport hooligan groups like Çarşı. Afterwards even the socialist men uttered sexist abuse - abuse not uttered against Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdoğan – as he was back then – but against his wife, Emine Erdoğan. Our solution to swearing was a swearing workshop. The swearing workshop would create alternatives to the existing ones: The ones stemming from the body of women reinforces the components of patriarchy. In the context of struggling with sexist verbal abuse, a proposal was made to prevent swearing all together and instead create alternatives to swearing.*

Nevertheless, scholar B from the Çarşı group reveals a grim reality of Turkish society when he says:

> *Society knows how to express its anger via swearing in this community. Çarşı group can't be reduced to a language of violence, namely swearing.*

Many Çarşı group members were critical of using violent language. Nevertheless, YWF group members had major problems with the non-constructive behavior of some Çarşı group members during the resistance. YFW members said that, "sometimes they directed their abusive language more against females than against enemies." On the other hand, group leaders used their creativity and discovered that with the assistance of Çarşı's slogans, new slogans could be coined. In the past, "the only solution is the revolution" was the dominant slogan. But in Gezi park, with the help of Çarşı's non-violent creative approach, people perceived that these slogans could be diversified. Another scholar, scholar C, from Çarşı, criticized other groups in the park and their attitudes. As shown below, they couldn't find a consensus.

> *We had dialogue problems with other groups and got stuck. This park was a park of freedom. For those who want freedom of speech and act accordingly. Unfortunately our group members were suppressed by other groups. We wanted to tell people that we wanted to drink and sell beer in the park but some resisters from the women's tent stopped us. Though we all talked about freedom, there were problems in putting it into practice.*

In the areas where State control withered, the role of the State was assumed by resisters who criticized the State per se. The groups' intervention into others' spheres and the use of violent language happened while groups criticizing the State were on their way to becoming a new State themselves. All interviewees from the Çarşı group criticized other groups' attitudes about putting rules around their freedom. These behaviors later played a role in giving rise to the use of violent language. The group's leaders said, "If they don't respect us, we will voice our slogans and disrespect their rights also."

YWF had a brief debate on this topic at the beginning of the forum during the Gezi resistance, which hosted about a hundred women. The debate was about why there should be a limitation to the participation of men in their discussions. Ten members took the floor in the Gezi forum and stated that the reason for their gathering was the suppression of women in Gezi Park and their experience of harassment and discrimination stemming from being female. They also articulated occurrences that disturbed them as sexist and homophobic verbal abuse and named those as the reason they got angry. In light of the above-mentioned points, they stated that the meetings at which their concrete policies would be shared should only be open to women. Despite this statement, one Çarşı group member said, "We advocated for the cause of collective struggle. We believe the meetings should be open to men as well but there was no dialogue attempted with us to discuss this topic."

It is hard for women to promote their rights in this society. Over the last 15 years in particular, many discussions have taken place around religious attitudes and behaviors. So, in this process, it may be hard for women to speak and to reveal their other conflicts. The collective intellectual assistance of men is needed to cope with the suppression. Applying the ABC Conflict Triangle tool, we can conclude that these discriminative attitudes and behaviors gave rise to contradictions which resulted in conflicts amongst the groups.

Why did people go to Gezi park? Every individual and group first had an individual and then a common aspiration to attend the protests. They gained new identities by

observing and being affected by each other. Did the grassroots movement prevent the erection of a mall onto this last area of greenbelt? According to the interviews, many felt that the force used against non-violent rallies was disproportionate. This attracted the attention of people with the help of social media. It can be said that there was an accumulated rage in society. However, the environmentalist and humane approach of the young generation also brought about the formation of a new political identity. The parents of participants attended the rallies in support of the resistance related to their children's future. When the identity they forged while struggling against a common enemy clashed with the struggle for their own rights, conflicts amongst the groups ensued. This was a crucial moment of the uprising which was missed because of the spontaneous character of the movement. The striving for visibility of each of the various groups competed with the common goal. YWF and Çarşı wanted to support well-intentioned participants and showed their identities when there was a common enemy. But merely to be against something proved to not be enough. Anyway, it is never helpful to perceive a situation in a polarized us versus them way. The idea of unification against a common enemy was able to provide a short-term goal for success, but in the end there still proved to be inter-group conflicts which could not be resolved. However, the society is comprised not merely of people who attended the resistance. A violent response to violence undermines the power of the masses. Common aspiration based on an enemy – friend mindset is in contradiction with non-violent resistance. In the following, participants state their initial reason for joining the Gezi resistance.

Activist A from the YWF:

> *Power holders intervened in every aspect of our lives, not excluding our lipsticks, dress and whether or not we were to have an abortion. They executed a hypocritical policy. They pretended to increase the employment of women but the result was an insecure environment for women and we met in the same park because the State exceeded its line of legitimacy; it was important to call attention to the women's taking to the streets due to these oppressions. We were in the streets and squares with our newly-born, new, collective identity, standing against the oppressive and misogynistic policies of men.*

Activist B from the Çarşı group stated,

We are sensitive towards nature, society and life. We could not be indifferent to the violence committed on 27 May in the park and also the structural violence in society which had been on the rise over the last decade before the Gezi park events. We had conflicts with the old groups because their political approach was archaic.

Both these groups had the same level of visibility and shared, in general, the same resistance mindset. Old groups like leftists were removed ideologically and politically from contemporary politics and replaced by new identities or by concepts according to which 'new group identity' became a part of non-violent resistance. On the other hand, these new identities (i.e. being a feminist or being a political soccer team supporter) became potential competitors in producing behavioral choices. Another ecological activist from YWF, C, made a comment during her interview about how contemporary politics developed with the help of new groups and criticized old groups.

Old groups understood that without nature their political ideas are so dry, they need to learn how soil is created, how soil regenerates, how soil is treated to become a healthy soil. They want to lear the relations between soil, air and water pollution. Ecological activists started to resist first in the park and then people from leftists groups or from the Kurdish movement, defending human rights and ecology, participated. This was a break. Ten years ago, they were all Marxists and they weren't seeing or speaking about the ecological issues or nature.

Since 2010, there has been an increase in the formation of movements all around the world. Before the Gezi Park events, Indignados, Occupy Wall Street and the Arab Spring had presented resistance in different parts of the world as different types of conflict. Nowadays, most conflicts prove to be rooted in neoliberal politics which ignores ecological awareness. Grassroots movements want to protect nature and the last protected green areas in their neighborhood. However, there has been an awakening of ecological activism embracing feminist and LGBT rights. And there are soccer fans who are also sensitive to nature. Nevertheless, one of the women participants shared her experience of discrimination as follows: "We were striving to build a kitchen garden in the Gezi Park. For two days a man came and said 'You are not able to do it. Give me the plow.' Though I insisted on not giving him the plow at last I gave up and gave the plow to him. I never went to the kitchen garden again." Even though they considered

themselves ecological activists, they could not accept women's equal participation. Feminism in Turkey is an ideology that is newly understood and accepted. It can be said that nowadays it is an ideology adopted by ex-Marxist and Leninist groups as well as leftist women movements. The question about what lessons they felt had been learned in Gezi was responded to by saying that they regretted not having spent more time with new activists and feminist women. The material they read about feminism after the Gezi resistance opened their eyes and extended their horizons. They tried to better perceive the events from the perspective of women. The regulars for instance belonged to no specific group. Some never joined any collective group. An a-political female academician who observed the newly-formed YWF said, "If we knew then what we know now, we would have been part of this newly-formed group and experienced its collective mindset." Two feminist students from YWF and one student from Çarşı group shared their different experiences as follows:

Student A from the YWF:

> *I am not only a feminist but also an LGBT group member. We experienced double gender discrimination as a female and as a homosexual. When Gezi started, we could walk in the streets with less hesitation. The young generation is braver than their ancestors in showing that they exist, because world opinion is changing with regard to gender identity definitions and one of the reasons for me to be in Gezi was to accept my own identity.*

Student C from the Çarşı group:

> *It was an opportunity to show our creativity as human-beings. More concretely we coined new slogans with humor and identity. The atmosphere of Gezi was like a tribune: people laughed and cried together.*

On the other hand student B from the YWF said:

> *I was not interested in politics until Gezi. When I first went to the Women's tent, I was impressed and decided to attend some of their forums. After a while some of the women participants wanted us to convert to a radical leftist political group. I didn't want to be part of them because they were old-fashioned and in my opinion tended to violence.*

Even though I was sympathetic to the feminist group's view in the Women's tent, I didn't want to attend the Gezi resistance after this manipulation.

The radical leftist's women were excited about seeing participants with unknown identities. But they barely gave them room for expression or talked to other new groups. For instance, new members were afraid to participate in YWF forums. Active, old, radical leftist group members dominated the discussions with their own ideological identity. Discussions could become very personal which sometimes paralyzed the forum. In the group, people were not treated alike because there was a distinction between the core group members of Yoğurtçu and the subsequent ones. Eight members of the YWF said, "New comers felt isolated after inter group conflict impacts. They didn't want to be there anymore. Until now we haven't found a solution to the problem of newcomers participating in the forum at the beginning but leaving before the end."

With the Gezi resistance, larger urban circles commenced to acknowledge the existence of LGBT movements. For the first time, they became visible as a group. The vivid debate about what feminism should be and who should be accepted as a feminist were also reflected in the various opinions of different members of the YWF and LGBT community.

Activist A from the YWF:

I ponder a lot about the question, "Am I a woman?" I am at a point where I less feel like a woman. I can't categorize myself into two genders. Since feminism also changes in time I am against the reification of feminism. A feminism that criticizes both sexism and heterosexuality enabled me to think like that.

Activist B from the YWF group:

The struggle of feminists has been against the patriarchal structure. Not all women are part of the feminist struggle. Feminist policies should be planned and executed by a few women. The end goals of transgenders are in contradiction with feminism. The feminist and queer policies are inconsistent with each other in the same feminist organization.

Despite the all-encompassing stance of LGBT organizations, there were three women activists in the YWF who articulated that not everybody can be a feminist activist. In other words, the varying perspectives of participants who had different identities in the group stemming from their inner conflicts can be seen clearly. Eight women - three of them identifying themselves as transgender - don't believe that feminism is rooted in the principle of women gender identity. In both groups, there were differing and competing views on feminism. This phenomenon led to the political weakening of feminism in people's eyes. Instead of discussing feminism as a concept it is now time to create a collective mindset among all different genders to take action for future peace. The usual formula known from race and top dog/underdog relations in general, can be expressed as follows: If women become more powerful they will treat us the same way as we treated them. Instead of patriarchy we will get matriarchy, some men say. The basic point is to open the male mind to a "we together for a better future" way of thinking, and also to change their "us versus them" mentality.

These two groups' resister/protestors were in the park not to impose their ideology on others but to stress the importance of our close relationship with nature. For them it is obvious that human-beings deprived of access to nature are prone to violence and depression. In parallel with this, they believe that cities have become open-air prisons in which people are disconnected from nature. Although long-existing organizations participated in the resistance and dominated the platforms after the third day, feminists perceived the Gezi resistance as an opportunity and continued to stay in the park throughout the following three weeks. In contrast, nine Çarşı group members said; If the Gezi resistance occurred again, they wouldn't be there after the third day because no one could have predicted that a peaceful sit-in against government plans to raze Istanbul's Gezi Park would escalate into a countrywide protest movement. It wasn't organized.

Lawyer A from Çarşı:

> *There was no single banner until the third day. People attended the protests with their individual identities, like me. Later, organizations stepped in and lured the individual participants to them. After the first intervention of security forces people realized the*

might of the State. Hence, more than half of them stopped attending the activities.

Lawyer B from YWF:

> *We were irritated by the revival of old-fashioned and violent speeches of radical leftist organizations, but we perceived it as an opportunity to continue to stay in the Gezi Park after the third day as well.*

The perception of identity is so imbued with banners and slogans that people don't accept others as they are. They forgot to see others' constructive layers. This is one of the root causes of conflicts between individuals, new groups and old and new groups' interaction. On the other hand, even though there were problems, contemporary feminist participators decided to stay. A lawyer who supported the Gezi in the first three days, however, did not support this mindset, stating that:

> *I believe in freedom of speech. One of the important aspects that constitutes my identity is my membership of a political and religious movement. Since AKP was the ruling party, I was at ease and started to cover my head. I had sympathy for Gezi in the first three days. Nevertheless, once its focus changed I did not attend thereafter. Even though I am against the malls and becoming a consumer society, the Gezi movement could not have represented me.*

Although people possessing different identities in the very first three days united in order to protect nature, in the ensuing days there occurred disintegration within some of the groups. This was due to sub-identities and differences of opinion. Everybody interviewed agreed to the fact that in the first days people attended mainly because of environmental sensitivities. This shows that nature has a unifying force. And this was an issue which resisters should have used. They should have connected with stronger bonds not only for their own identity struggle but for the common goals of protecting the natural environment and containing consumerism. In Gezi, of course, nothing was planned or prepared. Nevertheless, if resistance efforts miss such crucial opportunities, groups will be faced with the conflicts described above, as experienced by Gezi participants until today.

Which role did the forums play? It is sad to recognize that the forums of the Gezi were

not as influential as in other instances, such as the Sintagma square forum or the Rojova forums. Here they initiated practical projects indirectly criticizing limitations of democracy under the name of democratic confederalism. Gezi was an opportunity to have such a melting pot for the very first time in Turkey but even though attempts were made to unite, no concrete structure emerged. During the forums, numerous meetings were held between the resisters which were a search for a constitutional reform to establish consultative people's assemblies or civil society roundtables that would be more pluralistic, representative and inclusive. Unfortunately, they were not controversial and participants criticized the discussions as shown in the example below.

NGO worker A from Yoğurtçu:

> *Gezi forums were just a masturbation of voices in Turkey. There was a lot of shouting, exercising of democracy but in practice it was counter-constructive. This is a problem: the one who has the microphone or the megaphone is the loudest. It was really difficult to hear the voice of government or other power holders. But there were many open alternative channels for creating discussions. The nationalists were also in the park. We could not create dialogues. We did not see much engagement from these groups who were also in the park.*

An NGO worker from Çarşı states that during the forums Gezi protestors did not practice what they preached:

> *We want democracy, freedom etc. But what does freedom mean? Were they clear about these concepts? Unfortunately, no. For example, if one of the attendants of the forum had said, 'I want to use my rights and freedom to congregate', he/she would have been perceived as being more conscious.*

On the other hand, seven of the Çarşı group members said, "These forums were a practical attempt to experiment with direct democracy. The forums had quite a sophisticated system like the spreading of many different ideas during assemblies." And all the members of YWF agreed that the forums served as a catalyst by assisting people in using their democratic rights, namely freedom of speech and freedom of assembly.

After the government closed the Gezi park, Çarşı group and activists chose the Abbasağa Park as location for setting up forums and meetings. It is also important to note that the YWF commenced forums in the Yoğurtçu Park, Kadıköy. Both groups gathered separately on the Anatolian and European side. This organization scheme spread across Turkey. Locals attended local forums, communicated with each other, proposed solutions to their common problems and tried to realize them. What's more, forums which were important collective meeting places received informations about other forums and became familiar with them.

The question, why couldn't people who gathered with a lot of effort and difficulty become an institutional power which could affect decision making mechanisms, indicates a vital fact about what went wrong in the resistance: the failure to realize the option to form constituted city councils. The period of the forums was the opportunity to create a dialogue with today's powerful groups like the nationalists. This period could have become a preparatory stage for a common future in a parliamentary system. But this chance was missed. The conservatives felt that they were discriminated against. In the interviews, all of them stated the fact that this chance for change was missed.

Also for artists, the Gezi movement was a new and individual experience. Some were disappointed, others perceived it as a source of inspiration. Boyle Kershaw calls the protest styles of today's social movements "'radical performance' since this performance is not outside but inside the hegemonic power system and practices, and functions through plays upon and manipulation of the authority's rituals, grammar, syntax, vocabulary and terminology."[170] Woodstock was the classical example of young people setting up a shared life for some days, for a certain period of time. Since some of the artists focused on the resistance, they were aware that it was hard to change, eradicate and reproduce collective consciousness. On the contrary, they were cognizant of the resistance against fictionalized social memory. Nevertheless, other artists who were embedded in the popular culture and its daily consumption determined the resistance as a place to show themselves. More than half of the members of the YWF criticized the

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[170] Boyle, M.S. *'Play with Authority!: Radical Performance and Per-formative Irony*." In: Begüm Özden Fırat & Aylin Kuryel, eds. 2011. Cultural Activism: Practices, Dilemmas, and Possibilities Rodopi, Amsterdam/ New York, 2010, p.201.

stance of female artists in this respect.

On the other hand, Artist C from Çarşı stated that:

> *Me and my friends participated in artists' communities in the "Orange Tent". I cannot be put into a category in terms of identity because I feel connectivity to nothing. But for the first time, during the resistance days, I became a part of a larger group. Gezi was an organic performance. The best part of it was that the people didn't grasp it as a performance. For example, 'standing man' was an organic happening but the followers were artificial.*

Artist B from YWF said:

> *We were there without any identities from the beginning but the politicians like Sırrı Süreyya Önder who is the deputy of HDP Kurdish party, manipulated us. Even though I left the park after three days for this reason, Gezi became an inspiration for my next projects, like 'Nomiyambro Street Theatre' which triggered the question of 'Who am I?'*

Artist A from YWF:

> *I was a performance artist in NY. The art of Gezi was so creative that I decided to move to Istanbul. Now I am working in Bilgi University as a lecturer. During the Gezi resistance we created a lot of forums in NY, we were outside participants and my feminist approach was appreciated by the participants of the forums.*

Art was a non-violent tool during the resistance. Different generations learned new political ways of expression from each other with the help of the visual arts. The connection to the grassroots gave self-confidence to artists to perform their art in the streets. It also increased their visibility. The Çarşı Supporter Group was not comprised of artists. But they inspired the resistance with their slogans and their creative political rhetoric. During the resistance, some of the greatest successes were the expressions of humor and creativity. All participants commented positively on this nonviolent activism in their interviews.

This last section deals with remarks made by journalists working with foreign media. There is a custom of "blaming external powers and actors" in Turkey – even in minor

conflicts. The power holders were very well aware of that phenomenon and utilized this rhetoric very efficiently during the resistance days by inventing fictional actors like "interest rate lobby", "the enemies of Turkey" and xenophobia in general. It is important to note the role of the Turkish media as well. It might be asserted that the American soul and jazz poet Gil Scott-Heron's assertion that, "The revolution will not be televised" was proven again during the resistance days. While the important foreign news channels were covering the resistance, one of the most important news channels of Turkey, CNN Turk, broadcasted a documentary about penguins. In the early days of the resistance another significant news channel of Turkey, NTV – whose broadcasting vehicle was damaged during the ensuing days – instead of covering the resistance broadcast a cooking show. To sum up, during the resistance days all the major news channels of Turkey were criticized in digital postings by local participants of Gezi who were well-educated and able to follow the events through the foreign media. Only Halk TV and Ulusal TV covered the events continually. Six members of the Çarşı Supporter Group regard the role of foreign media towards the Gezi events as positive. However, they also add that since they focused only on Istanbul, their scope was narrowed. According to Yoğurtçu Women Forum, the countering of the censorship executed by the mainstream media by the foreign media's coverage of events was vital in terms of making the participants of the Gezi visible. But, they criticized the sexist attitude of many journalists who covered the resistance.

Turkey played an important role in foreign politics after the crisis in the Middle East and the refugee crisis. The Gezi resistance attracted attention from all over the world. The world media followed the events closely. But there was the language barrier. Thus, the foreign journalists had trouble in understanding the subtleties of political actions and humor. Foreign journalists had to work with local journalists in order to resolve that problem. All the active participants of Gezi told their stories from their own perspectives. This was what the West wanted to hear. Turkey's younger generation – largely present in Gezi – speaks better English and is more able to communicate with the world than the average member of the Turkish population. According to interviews with two participants from the two focus groups, there was a difference in the perception of the resistance between local and international journalists.

Journalist A from the YWF:

> *I worked for the first time with the international press during the Gezi resistance period. It was a real opportunity for the participants to show themselves because the world was following events in Istanbul. But the focus was not on other cities. The world understood that there was an intellectual and well-educated generation prepared to defend their rights through non-violent activism. The journalists were in Istanbul to follow events in the Middle East and that's why Istanbul became fashionable for the journalists around the world. After the Gezi period the orientalist mindset of European journalism could be broken down.*

Journalist B from Çarşı:

> *As a German foreign correspondent, I wasn't an actor, I was a witness because my writings were not perceived, not noticed by the government during the Gezi period. My western European colleagues who generally focused on Turkey were thinking 'the Turkish community is happy with football games, going to shopping malls and watching soap operas on TV, they don't need anything more". I don't know if they changed their opinions about the society after Gezi. But Gezi is now part of the collective memory of Turkey. We cannot erase this. Now the people care about the environmental costs of shopping malls. This is also about the differences between an open society and a closed society.*

Foreigners were also among the victims of the Gezi resistance. "Foreign media staff reporting on or participating in the events were also affected by the police interventions on many occasions, and some were even subjected to deportation on account of their participation."[171]

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[171] Ayata G., P. Çağlı, İ. Elveriş, S. Eryılmaz, İ. I. Gül, U. Karan, C. Muratoğlu, E. Taboğlu, L. B. Tokuzlu, B. Yeşiladalı.,*"Gezi Park Events : In the Light of Human Rights Law and Political Rhetoric"*, Istanbul Bilgi University Publications , 2013, Istanbul, p.19.

CHAPTER 5

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

Let's assume that an individual participated in a resistance or a movement with a particular identity. And after sharing that identity within a group he or she felt satisfied. The conflict began when this group's reasons for being part of the resistance did not correspond with other groups' reasons for participating, on a theoretical level (ie. the three factors of social identity theory). This conflict is not only between the internal political groups but also newly-formed groups like Y*oğurtçu Women's Forum* and politicized internal groups like *Soccer Team Supporter Group: Çarşı* .

Newly-formed and newly politicized groups which were well known and not well organized before the Gezi resistance – such as a-political environmentalists, a-political gay community members, traditional a-political football hooligans, anti-capitalist Muslims who care about the environment, feminists who are overwhelmingly focused on women's issues, were all active during the resistance. These groups experienced identity-based conflicts both internally as well as between each other during the resistance due to the difficulties inherent in the formation of their new identities. These changes contained potential internal acceptance struggles by producing new behavioral choices (i.e. - being an LGBT member and feminist and supporter of a soccer team at the same time). According to responses given in the semi-structured interviews and participatory action research approaches, choices made may have led to a lack of trust and to dialogue problems between internal political and newly-formed groups and may also have triggered individual activist's "fear, anger and sense of isolation" which negatively influenced movement's collective actions. Such actions were often ineffective because of the groups' organizational failure to build resilience against repression. Group members participated partly successfully in collective actions but partly unsuccessfully because of undefined common goals. This reduced the internal group's collective resistance power. These groups' common goals changed many times. For example, during the forums, which were like Greek agoras, "we want democracy back" was one of the goals for both groups. Only one week after the protests started

debates about democracy commenced: Discussions went on about questions concerning freedom of expression, thoughts and speech, understanding pluralism, protection of human rights, creation of democratic dialog, tolerance towards each other, independence of judiciary, separation of powers or legal equality. Did they need to express their own original view on democracy? Was it necessary to implement direct democracy or was it enough to generally ask for more democracy and what was the definition of current democracy? The answers were ambiguous and many misunderstandings occurred, negatively influencing inter-group relations. Answers to these questions are by nature connected to the identity of each person or group. Without being able to agree upon common ethics and values, consensual answers about a large framework for living together are not possible. The misunderstandings caused collective work toward a common goal to be ineffective. Because of a lack of ideological consensus, different types of identity-based groups couldn't reach constructive outcomes in their discussions which instead were dominated by on-going ego struggles between participants. When we analyze the focus groups' interviews, it is clear to see that, as an example, being a dominant microphone hugger and acting dominantly during the forums was a big mistake. Civil society did not take part in the political transition in the Gezi or the foregoing period of liberalization, both of which were elite-driven. The dominance of military elites has been present since the foundation of the republic, becoming particularly prominent with the coup of 1980 led by General Kenan Evren.

These factors were influential in making the Gezi resistance group and resistance identity ineffective. It is valid to focus on the evaluation of the first three weeks of the Gezi resistance because during the beginning of their participation the visibility of new and political groups underwent the biggest changes. At the same time both focus groups showed signs of identity-based conflicts. The conflicts between newly-formed groups, the conflicts between individuals and the conflicts between individuals and internal political groups might have prevented the emergence of new ideas and negatively influenced internal relations. These conflicts made the Gezi resistance's contemporary politics partly unsuccessful. According to the Felix Kolb's Social Movements Success Mechanisms; "1-Allies, 2-Communication, 3-Resources, 4-Problem, 5-Structure and

Process, 6-Participants ,7-Group Identity"[172] are the main factors which offer important insights for understanding the structure of a social movement. According to this mechanism, defining a common goal and forming a collective group identity is a very important part for the resisters in order to set up a constructive way of dealing with the situation. Only political actors who are already sympathizers can be included in a social movement's network. The ideological threshold for intersection is substantially higher than for successful lobbying, which can also target political actors from more distant parties. Actors must commit themselves to a movement's goal and adjust their identity. Thus, the existence of an allied political party is a necessary condition for the existence of intersection."[173]

This study has analyzed how the power of the Gezi resistance came to an end and how participants' attitudes and behavior caused a setback for the resistance. According to this view, Gezi uncovered underlying identity-based conflicts between these two groups because Gezi's mostly newly-formed groups and activists failed to meaningfully address the need to find a common goal. This was partly a consequence of their use of violent language with each other, but also because they created insufficient dialogue with other internal and external actors and failed to deliver on concrete, actionable demands. During the Gezi park occupation, the groups divided into, "us versus them," rather than tried to define a collective identity mindset. They also missed the opportunity to build a collective, peaceful, and sustainable way of collaboration – which negatively affected their powers of resistance. This deficiency also virtually erases the significant and meaningful presence and leadership of feminists, LGBT community, environmentalists, working class individuals, anti-capitalist Muslims, football hooligans, foreigners, children, disabled people participation, as well as old political and seasoned groups and their visibility. It was an important opportunity to bring all this diversity together at that moment. For a young a-political generation who had been drawn into politics it was their first experience of a participation process. But there was a big problem with the mindset of some of the Gezi groups. They wanted to be named and visible in the media

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[172] Kolb F. "*Protest and Opportunities: The Political Outcomes of Social Movements.*" Frankfurt, Germany: Campus Verl, 2007.

[173] Minkoff Debra C. "*The Sequencing of Social Movements.*" American Sociological Review 62 (5), 1997, pp. 779 – 799.

with their specific identities. This stood in conflict with the original idea of the movement. Consequently, in this period when the mainly peaceful movement, using social media, possessed a powerful tool, while power holders were still in a state of shock, newly-formed groups and internal groups couldn't achieve major results in the form of social change even though the resistance was strong. Even if they hindered the development of social change, the conflicts between newly-formed groups   had the positive outcome of exposing these normally isolated groups to new political ideas and identities which helped to develop their own group's values. Even if they could not manage to sum up their ideas into a cohesive message, the weight of their collective presence was influential beyond the sum of its parts. There could have been a real change in the system with this momentum. For instance, in Guatemala, protests mounted by poor indigenous groups, the Renuncia activists, who were mostly middle class people from the capital, were able to put a high level of pressure on the government. The energy among the people multiplied and they succeeded to create a collective identity. They informed their supporters about other protests not organized by the group, and committed to holding open discussions on what their next step should be.

Accompanying the Gezi resistance internal group conflicts' narrative is the conspicuous absence of commentary about the swift, methodical, and often brutally encouraged nationwide repression which took place in May and June 2013. Power holders justified violence against the resisters claiming that they were 'terrorists' and promised curbs on social media, asserting the resistance movement to be a 'menace to society'.

Shortly after the conflict started in Gezi Park, employing the "Going to the Balcony" method by all involved actors, would have been an intelligent step in order to listen to the different voices competing for attention at that time: those of the resisters and protestors, as well as those of the power holders. As Gandhi says; "Every time we impose our will on another; it is an act of violence." According to Professor Joshua Weiss the "Going to the balcony method can play a crucial role in preventing violent conflicts,"[174] because "the balcony is a place to stop and pull yourself back from the

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[174] Weiss J. and Gellermann C. "The Third Side" The Third Side and Global Negotiation Project, p.4
Retrieved From: http://thirdside.williamury.com/wp-content/uploads/sites/2/3rd-Side-Workshop-Participants-Guidebook.pdf (accessed on ,05.05.2017)

situation. When on the balcony you will want to focus on the emotional components of the conflict. As such, you will learn perspectives and skills to look at and listen to the emotions of all involved, as well as the emotions of the whole community."[175] Alternatively, peace tables would have provided a common space for internal and external actors to begin interests-based negotiations "where the parties meet to identify, discuss the issues at hand and attempt to arrive at a mutually acceptable solution."[176] During the resistance, there was unification against suppressors on issues such as not being heard, abuse of State power, media censorship and lack of protection for minorities. The above-mentioned conflict resolution approaches would have been necessary to ensure that both sides enter a dialogue and sign a collective agreement. During peace processes such activities promise "increasing tolerance, decreasing materialism and critical thinking about the authority of government."[177]

In helping achieve a new level of stability in relationships between different parties, conflict transformation involves the need for changes in the relationship between the adversaries, and for there to be a lasting transformation of the conflict such restricting is necessary if it is to be successful."[178]

As we look now at the post-Gezi development of radical social and urban resistance in Turkey, it is time to reflect more carefully on this collective experience. During the years that followed, the Gezi Resistance lost its potential for change over its alleged failures until even the memory of its existence barely remained. The generation that took part and lived with Gezi events might well be back one day with new ideas and energy because it was a learning process for all participants. But, what went wrong with the Gezi Resistance inter-group relations? What was the root cause of conflicts between newly-formed focused groups in Gezi park? Asking these two questions is important in order to learn lessons from the conflicts. Division of identity, gender and sexuality in the

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[175] Ibid.

[176] Moore C, "The Mediation Process: Practical Strategies for Resolving Conflict", 2nd ed.,San Francisco: Jossey-Bass Publishers, 1996. Retrieved from: http://www.colorado.edu/conflict/peace/moor7538.htm (accessed on, 08.05.2017)

[177] Ibid.

[178] Oliver Wils, Ulrike H, Norbert R, Luxshi V, Wolfram Z. "The Systematic Aprroach of Conflict Transformation: Concept and Fields of Application" Berghof Foundation for Peace Support,2006,p.11.

society has sliced through social movements like a butcher's knife for decades, now. Resistance is not only based on identity or class conflicts but it is also connected to our nature as humans. Albert Camus attempts to justify a form of solidarity that is not class based, but is based on human nature. He sees "fundamental conflicts with human nature as the unifying power behind political action"[179] in his book The Rebel. He insists that "the obscurely defined concept of 'rebellion' was at the heart of legitimate revolution."[180] People generally assume that there is no connection between identity-based conflicts and class-based conflicts with human nature as, for example, between groups like feminists who live class struggle, anti-capitalism and anti-patriarchy at the same time. These conflicts should be regarded as part of one struggle.

This study suggests to put forward a new Social Identity Theory and Marxist Identity Politics with the help of the ABC conflict analysis triangle tool. Their application allows to understand the cause and effect relations of behavioral aspects of group's identity-based conflicts and class relations in a movement. Class and identity are not mutually exclusive: Kurdish and Turkish workers' struggle is a workers' struggle; working women's struggle is a workers' struggle. The feminists experience a workers struggle; the LGBT workers' struggle is a workers' struggle.

Identity-based conflicts prevent the stimulation, interaction and co-operation between groups. New approaches to develop social and ecological alternatives are needed. This can be achieved with the help of understanding group conflicts; by actors refraining from their tendency of self-victimization, for example. Prerequisite for change is the direct relationship to one's human nature. The reason why human nature is not sufficiently felt in our current society, and not so easily given expression to, is because it has been suppressed by the society and not because it does not exist. As Johan Galtung says, "thus, ecological imbalance is seen as something deeper than simply a threat to the satisfaction of basic needs. It is also a threat to something deeply spiritual, severing ties to the basis in basic needs."[181]

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[179] Camus Albert "The Rebel", Translator; Anthony Bower, Penguin Classics, 2000.
[180] Ibid.
[181] Galtung J. "*A Framework For The Analysis of Social Conflic*t.",1958,pp.163-164,Retrieved From: http://www.trancend.org/galtung#publications

To overcome these insidious patterns, grassroots social and political resistance must create a new robust, radically humanistic connection to nature for resilience, sustainability and solidarity. This means not only standing up for each other, but also striving to accept new identities. New scientific approaches can help to create and redefine the meaning of identity for the individual, for groups, for society. Turkey most definitely needs a new group of energetic, enlightened, worldly young leaders who think and act beyond the dichotomies of Kemalism vs the AKP, secularism vs. clericalism, national vs. international, and so on. Those who experienced identity-based conflicts with the State for many years are among the most heavily targeted. They should recreate and reclaim a people's definition of identity, one that springs simultaneously from local and grassroots histories as well as from human fraternity and the "Earth Peace." The State uses identity as a tool for oppression; it must become an art of revolution. Only from the humanistic foundation and ethos one can find the coherence necessary to assemble a total revolutionary thinking with the capacity to reach one's natural self.

Finally, this study's first argument has been asserted – Gezi was not only an act of resistance against authority but, at the same time, a moment in which some groups raised their voices and made their identities visible for the first time. According to Henri Tajfel and Turner's self-categorization theory, in between newly-formed and politicized groups there are four central components to determine how Gezi individuals participated in collective actions. By the help of social identity theory and its constituent part of the social identity approach, the study showed the ways how newly-formed groups formed in a social movement. As seen, individuals felt injustice because of their identity and consequently searched for other individuals who experienced the same.

The newly-formed and politicized groups provided platforms for individuals of similar identity where they emotionally could feel satisfaction. When they felt their group being treated unfairly, they wanted to participate in collective actions. Even though these psychological factors created strong ties within the groups and also between the internal groups, identity-based conflicts quickly surfaced and negatively affected the resistance.

My participation in this resistance brought into focus some of the major identity issues

that divided the newly-formed groups of the Gezi resistance. For example, particular identity issues grew from class relations, feminism, the diversity of forums and their inner conflicts, the use of violent language against each other, formation of new groups, participation, and the loss of individual identity associated with the overwhelming experience of becoming visible for the first time during participation in the Gezi resistance.

This research and case study strived to learn more about the impacts which inter-group conflicts and related tributaries have on identity. It demonstrates that the effects are massive and potentially destructive. However, theoretical applications are available to mitigate the negative consequences. For a constructive peace-building transformation, people who lived with Gandhi, like 'JP' and Narayan Desai, used the term 'Total Revolution' to describe the extensive implications of a non-violent lifestyle. "Political and social revolutions are not enough; in addition, there must be an inner revolution inside each individual which means that their inner identity transformation is important."[182] And both 'JP' and Narayan Desai are clear that "the change within every individual is by far the most difficult one."[183]

According to this study, the establishment of peaceful, non-violent relations is the second step. Internal groups constituting members of different political groups, identities such as "feminist", "soccer team supporters" or "LGBT", should unite in a common goal and identity without putting distance between each other, and must avoid using identity-based violent language to each other. Otherwise all sides are working only for destruction which escalates violence. As an example of such a constructive solution, stands "Robber's Cave Experiment", done by Sherif. It was done with two subject groups in the context of inter-group conflict and co-operation. The experiment was executed to help understand how conflicting groups could be reconciled and how peace could flourish. The key was the focus on superordinate goals – structures beyond the boundaries of the individual group. If this example were integrated into and interpreted in the context of the Gezi Resistance, it can be observed that the groups met

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[182] Johansen, J. "*Nonvoilence: More than the absence of Violence*" Handbook of Peace and Conflict Studies. Webel C.and Galtung. J. London, New York, Routledge, 2007, p.148.
[183] Ibid., p.148.

under the banner of the "looter" ("çapulcu") identity in accordance with the circumstances, not with their own will. According to Vamik Volkan, this identity transformation triggered the loss of their consciousness while they were forming a large-group identity. But, the formation of a third identity for groups deriving from different cultures, structures and boundaries created a new realm for reaching a common identity. This effect leads for a while to the deactivation of internal identity-based conflicts in a group. In conclusion, even if the groups have internal conflicts and have conflicts growing out of their environment, they have the opportunity to meet in a newly created realm. But doing so while, at the same time, resolving their internal conflicts which are located in the substratum, will enable them to form a sustainable collective group identity in the long run.

Achieving new stable relationships during groups' identity-based transformation processes involves the need for changes in the relationship between the adversaries. Change and resistance go hand in hand. It doesn't necessarily require active street battles, barricades, clouds of tear gas and casualties to force dominant institutions to adapt to the popular will. Alternatively, the solutions proposed in identity-based conflicts will be based on the concepts of the ABC triangle using the approach of the "conflicts' root causes analysis" method. In the 1960's, the Norwegian peace researcher Johan Galtung formulated the ABC Conflict Triangle in which he describes the key aspects within conflict as: (A) attitudes, (B) behaviors and (C) contradictions as being the key aspects within a conflict. The model was originally meant to be applied to a war situation, in which there are distinct conflicting parties but the method can also be applied more generally to deal with destructive or violent conflicts. According to Jorgen Johansen these tools give us three possibilities of how to act in a conflict:

- We can act to change or influence the attitude to be less hostile or hateful
- We can act to change the behavior to be less violent
- We can act to transcend the contradiction and help the parties find new possibilities.

The ABC triangle indicates that once attitudes between newly-formed groups are

changed, behavioral changes in their internal relations will ensue. Each angle in the triangle has shown how different the perception of each of the parties is and what are the general causes of the conflict for one or the other party. As a step towards stopping violent behaviors and attitudes and finding a peaceful common ground, the newly-formed groups' members should strictly implement the advice proposed by these scientific approaches. The main purpose of analyzing the conflict deeply is to develop safe, stable and nurturing relationships between the government and resistors for the future 'structure'. "The structure is such that the top dog always wins, the underdog loses. The only way to resolve this conflict is to change the structure, but this can never be in the interests of the top dog. So, there are no win-win outcomes, and the third party has to join forces with the underdog to bring about a resolution." [184]

There is no study so far focusing on identity-based conflicts in between two focus groups in Gezi resistance. There are problems with previous studies which should be avoided: Neglect of the part which visibility of a group plays in a movement; being biased towards one of the acting parties. This thesis makes three theoretical contributions to the scholarly literature. Firstly, it proposes a framework to analyze individual level of identity-based conflicts with various indicators during the newly-formed focused group's political visibility/participation in the Gezi resistance, offering scientific resolutions to the root causes of identity-based conflicts. Secondly, it advances a theory of how a group's collective identity is formed in such a new social movements tradition and the effects of social change on individual development. Thirdly, it adds a root cause analysis of identity-based conflicts between newly-formed focused groups and individuals, in the case of the 2013 Gezi resistance, with reference to the peace and conflict studies, social science, political psychology and political science literature. A few solution oriented studies have attended comparatively to variations in problem identification and attributions across the Gezi resistance.

With the analysis of the two focus group's identity-based conflicts and their visibility, this study proves that in order to effectively achieve a social change through collective

[184] Hugh Mail H, Oliver R. and Tom W. "Contemporary Conflict Resolution", Cambridge, UK: Policy Press, 1999, p.12.

resistance, individuals and newly-formed and active groups must find a way to reconcile their distinct identities and unite for common goals in a nonviolent resistance. As stated in Gandhi's second level hypotheses:

> *"In a group struggle you can keep the goal-directed motivation and the ability to work efficiently for the realization of the goal stronger than the destructive, violent tendencies, and the tendencies to passiveness, despondency or destruction, only by making a constructive programme part of your total campaign and by giving all phases of your struggle, as far as possible, a positive character."*[185]

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[185] Naess A, "Gandhi and Group Conflict: Gandhi's Philosophy Norms and Hypotheses, a Survey". Oslo University Print, 1974.

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APPENDICES

Appendix A: Scheme for some of the Internal Actors' Identity in Gezi Park
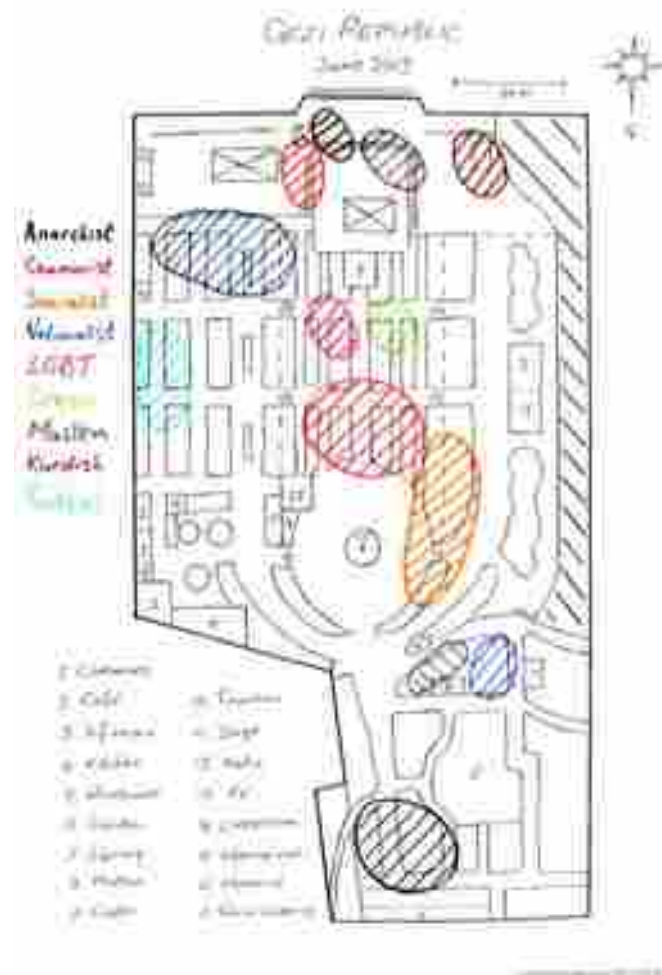
Historical Atlas of Gezi Park

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Appendix B: Scheme for the Semi-structured Interviews

What happened in the beginning of the three weeks of Gezi resistance in 2013 ?

How s/he/transgender decided to go Gezi Park? and What was her/his identity explanation?

How s/he/transgender participated to the three weeks of Gezi resistance, and decided to accept the identity of a group?

Which kind of a responsibility she/he/transgender took during the Resistance?

Were there any identity-based conflicts in between Gezi groups in the beginning ? If yes, why and how did this conflict start ?

What are its root causes ? (Security, Political, Economic, Social, External)

What were the mistakes made during the Gezi Park Movement?

What lessons are taken?

Appendix C: Scheme for the Schedule of Semi-structured Interviews

Interview with Peace and Conflict Studies Program Lecturer and General Secretary of the international PEN-Klubs Dr.Zeki Ergaş , 2015, Istanbul.

Interview with Prof. Timur Kuran ,14/11/ 2015, Berlin via skype.

Interview member Teacher A (Yoğurtçu Women's Forum), 02/03/2015, Istanbul.

Interview member Teacher B (Soccer Team Supporter Group: Çarşı), 18/06/2015, Istanbul.

Interview member Academician A (Yoğurtçu Women's Forum), 23/12/2015 ,Istanbul.

Interview member Academician B (Soccer Team Supporter Group: Çarşı), 08/04/2015, Istanbul.

Interview member Scholar A (Yoğurtçu Women's Forum), 06/07/2016, Istanbul.

Interview member Scholar B (Soccer Team Supporter Group: Çarşı), 09/08/2016, Istanbul.

Interview member Scholar C (Soccer Team Supporter Group: Çarşı), 10/08/2016, Istanbul.

Interview member Activist A (Yoğurtçu Women's Forum), 07/07/2016, Istanbul.

Interview member Activist B   (Soccer Team Supporter Group: Çarşı), 11/08/2016, Istanbul.

Interview member Activist C (Yoğurtçu Women's Forum), 07/07/2016, Istanbul.

Interview member Student A (Yoğurtçu Women's Forum), 12/03/2015, Istanbul.

Interview member Student B (Yoğurtçu Women's Forum), 24/08/2015, Istanbul.

Interview member Student C (Soccer Team Supporter Group: Çarşı), 11/08/2016, Istanbul.

Interview member Lawyer A (Soccer Team Supporter Group: Çarşı), 12/08/2016, Istanbul.

Interview member Lawyer B (Soccer Team Supporter Group: Çarşı), 12/08/2016, Istanbul.

Interview member Artist A (Yoğurtçu Women's Forum), 06/06/2016, Istanbul.

Interview member Artist B (Yoğurtçu Women's Forum), 07/06/2016, Istanbul.

Interview member Artist C (Soccer Team Supporter Group: Çarşı), 12/01/2015, Istanbul.

Interview member Journalist A (Yoğurtçu Women's Forum), 06/06/2014, Istanbul.

Interview member Journalist B (Soccer Team Supporter Group: Çarşı),05/03/2014, Istanbul.

Interview member Freelance NGO worker A (Yoğurtçu Women's Forum), 27/12/2014, Istanbul.

Interview member Freelance NGO worker B (Soccer Team Supporter Group: Çarşı), 14/01/2015, Istanbul.

Interview member Lawyer, 16/05/2015, Istanbul via skype.

Interview with Soccer Team Supporter Group: Çarşı's Leaders, 10/01/2016, Istanbul

Interview with YWF, 02/01/2015, Istanbul.

Interview with YWF, 15/03/2017, Istanbul.

APPENDIX D: Ethics Board Waiver Form

HACETTEPE UNIVERSITY
GRADUATE SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCES
ETHICS BOARD WAIVER FORM FOR THESIS WORK

HACETTEPE UNIVERSITY
GRADUATE SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCES
Peace Studies _____ TO THE DEPARTMENT PRESIDENCY

Date: 28/06/2017

Thesis Title / Topic: Identity Based Conflict Between Newly Formed Resistance Groups During Gezi Movement

My thesis work related to the title/topic above;

1. Does not perform experimentation on animals or people.
2. Does not necessitate the use of biological material (blood, urine, biological fluids and samples, etc.)
3. Does not involve any interference of the body's integrity.
4. Is not based on observational and descriptive research (survey, measures/scales, data scanning, system-model development).

I declare; I have carefully read Hacettepe University's Ethics Regulations and the Commission's Guidelines, and in order to proceed with my thesis according to these regulations I do not have to get permission from the Ethics Board for anything. In any infringement of the regulations I accept all legal responsibility and I declare that all the information I have provided is true.

I respectfully submit this for approval.

Date and Signature

Name Surname: Buren Eke Schneider

Student No:

Department: Peace Studies

Program: Peace and Conflict Studies

Status: ☑ Masters   ☐ Ph.D.   ☐ Integrated Ph.D.

ADVISER COMMENTS AND APPROVAL

approved

(Prof.Dr. Müge Kınacıoğlu)

APPENDIX E: Etik Kurul İzin Muafiyeti Formu

APPENDIX F: Thesis Originality Report

APPENDIX G: Tez Orjinallik Formu