

SOCIOLOGICAL ANALYSIS OF ORGANIZING
DYNAMICS OF ANARCHIST MOVEMENT IN TURKEY

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ABSTRACT

SOCIOLOGICAL ANALYSIS OF ORGANIZING DYNAMICS OF ANARCHIST MOVEMENT IN TURKEY

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There are very few studies on the anarchist movement, which has a history of approximately 35 years in Turkey. Considering the processes in which the movement emerged and developed, the anarchist movement has an important place for comprehending the field of social movements in Turkey and explaining the political activism that has emerged after the 1980s. In this context, this study aims to explain the organizational practices and mobilization dynamics of the anarchist movement in Turkey by focusing on the experiences of self-proclaimed anarchist activists.

Keywords: anarchist movement, anarchist organizations, partial organizing, Turkey

ÖZ

TÜRKİYE'DE ANARŞİST HAREKETİN ORGANİZASYON DİNAMİĞİNİN SOSYOLOJİK ANALİZİ

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Türkiye'de yaklaşık 35 yıllık bir geçmişe sahip olan anarşist hareket üzerine çok az çalışma mevcuttur. Hareketin ortaya çıktığı ve geliştiği süreçler göz önüne alındığında Türkiye'deki sosyal hareketler alanını kavrayabilmek ve 1980'lerden sonra dönüşen politik aktivizmleri açıklayabilmek adına anarşist hareket önemli bir yere sahiptir. Bu bağlamda, bu çalışma, Türkiye'deki anarşist hareketin örgütsel pratiklerini ve mobilizasyon dinamiklerini anarşist aktivistlerin deneyimlerine odaklanarak açıklamayı amaçlar.

Anahtar Kelimeler: anarşist hareket, anarşist örgütler, kısmi örgütlenme, Türkiye

*To Ali Kitapçı and Alper Sapan in the name of those who lost their lives in the
Suruç and Ankara Train Station massacres...*

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AAİ	Ankara Anarchy Initiative
AGF	Anarchist Youth Federation
AKP	Justice and Development Party
CGT	General Confederation of Labor
CHP	Republican People's Party
CNT	National Confederation of Labor
DAF	Revolutionary Anarchist Federation
DISK	Revolutionary Confederation of Labor Unions
EAİ	Eskişehir Anarchy Initiative
HDP	People's Democratic Party
IMF	International Monetary Fund
ISIS	Islamic State of Iraq and Syria
KESK	The Union of Public Workers
MDD	National Democratic Revolution
MHP	Nationalist Action Party
ÖDP	Freedom and Solidarity Party
PKK	Workers Party of Kurdistan (<i>Partîya Karkerên Kurdistanê</i>)
RMT	Resource Mobilization Theory
SGDF	Socialist Youth Associations Federation
SMO	Social Movement Organization
TBB	Union of Turkish Bar Associations
TİP	Workers Party of Turkey
TKP	Communist Party of Turkey
TMMOB	Union of Chambers of Turkish Engineers and Architects
TTB	Turkish Medical Associations
WB	World Bank
WTO	World Trade Organization

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

“Take a deep breath, comrades. Our century has just begun!”¹

The word anarchism has different meanings in Turkey. When someone watches a press briefing of a politician who mentions street protestors as anarchists, it does not mean those street protestors are self-identified anarchist activists. Anarchist as a criminal label has been used by authorities and the public to stigmatize opponents from diverse political backgrounds. On the other hand, one can see graffiti with circle-A in the streets of different cities around Turkey or find fanzines or newspapers published by anarchist groups in bookstores or cafes. My interest in the anarchist movement in Turkey started with a graffiti I encountered on one of the streets in İzmir. This graffiti displays a child's painting with a slogan: "You are my brother Alexis!"

Alexandros Grigoropoulos was a 15-year-old anarchist shot by a police officer in Greece on December 6, 2008. His death resulted in large demonstrations that lasted for two weeks in different cities. The 2008 riots were one of the most impressive protests of the early years of the millennium and still deserve much more attention to grasp the changing trends of insurrections of the following decades. Demonstrations and protests spread to other countries in Europe as well as Turkey. An anarchist group protested the murder of Alexis by throwing red dye at the Greece Consulate building in İstanbul.² While mainstream media depicted anarchists in Greece as criminals or

¹ These sentences were taken from a poster prepared by an anarchist group in Turkey in 2008. According to the poster, this slogan was the last sentences of an e-mail sent by Greek anarchists during the 2008 protests.

² <https://www.gazetevatan.com/dunya/isyan-doruk-noktasinda-212875>. Retrieved 12.02.2021

vandals, the leftist press preferred not to mention anarchist protestors in the 2008 Greece riots.³

The invisibility of anarchists on mainstream media channels does not mean that there are no anarchist groups in Turkey. The first anarchist journal *Kara* was published by a group of self-identified libertarians in 1986, shortly after the 1980 military coup. The group's choice of libertarian rather than anarchist to define their political views is significant in understanding the negative connotation of anarchism/anarchist in Turkey. A *Kara* writer states that identifying themselves as libertarians was a purposeful choice to avoid negative impressions of the word anarchist (Soydan, 2014, p.82). The group that initiated the publication of the *Kara* journal is important for the history of anarchism in Turkey as it was the first publicly visible anarchist group. Following the years after the publication of *Kara*, anarchist groups started to organize in large cities of Turkey. During this period, universities in large cities provided a fertile ground for anarchist activists to form small groups and organizations.

The anarchist movement occurring within a political and social context after the 1980 coup has a 35-year history in Turkey. During those years, anarchist activists published several newspapers, journals, and fanzines; organized in different scales and forms; actively participated in other social movements; and, in some cases, became the initiators of some significant movements. However, the anarchist movement in Turkey is a neglected area in academia. There are only a few books that directly focus on the activities of anarchist activists. According to the National Thesis Center (YÖK Tez Merkezi), 19 theses⁴ were written on anarchism between 1995 and 2019; two are doctorate theses, one of them is the proficiency of art, and the remains are master's theses. While most of the studies focus on the philosophical roots of anarchism and

³ <https://m.bianet.org/kurdi/siyaset/111324-yunanistan-daki-isyanin-gormezen-gelinen-anarsist-karakteri> Retrieved 12.02.2021

⁴ The results that included the term "anarchism" in their titles, summaries, or keywords were taken into consideration. <https://tez.yok.gov.tr/UlusalTezMerkezi/tezSorguSonucYeni.jsp>

the relations between religion and anarchist thought, only three are about the anarchist movement in Turkey.

On the other hand, sociologists also have remained distant from the topic of anarchist organizations and organizing practices. One of the reasons for this situation is that anarchist groups are small in number, and most of them do not have a formal organizational structure. The lack of formal structure makes it harder to reach these groups and analyze their organizing practices and methods. The other reason for the invisibility of the anarchist movement in academia is the common prejudice about anarchism, which is that all anarchists are against any form of organization. What is at the core of this prejudice is to equate the concept of organization with the formal organization and ignore the informal organizational forms. Generalizing the individual branches of anarchism to all kinds of anarchisms makes the concept of anarchist organization an oxymoron. However, if one takes all forms of social organizations as a spectrum, in terms of hierarchy and authority, historical examples show that anarchist organizations can be located at different points on that spectrum.

Nevertheless, the scientific concerns of sociology are not limited to major processes and formal organizational structures and strategies. All forms of institutions, structures, and social formations depend on these interactions and relationships. Indeed, relatively marginal organizing practices like those of anarchist organizations can be the subject of sociology by virtue of their different tactics and strategies in different contexts and processes. Therefore, this study aims to develop a sociological analysis of the organizational dynamics of the anarchist movement in Turkey by focusing on the experiences of the self-proclaimed anarchist activists themselves.

1.1. Background and Context

In this part of the thesis, I will briefly review the history of the anarchist movement. I will mainly focus on the classical period of anarchism between the second half of the 19th century and the first half of the 20th century. Then I will move on to the recent discussions of anarchism in the formation and the organizational dynamics of

contemporary social insurgencies and protests. In the second part, I will concentrate on the relations between political violence and the anarchist movement historically. I will show the continuities and discontinuities of the political violence discussions related to anarchism between the classical period and the current conditions.

1.1.1. Ni Dieu Ni Maître!⁵ A Brief History of Anarchist Movement and the Contemporary Discussions

Anarchism as an intellectual, political, and social movement emerged at the end of the eighteenth century after Enlightenment and French Revolution and raised simultaneously with socialism and nationalism movements as an expression of a reaction against the modern nation-state, capitalism, and modernization processes. According to Levy,

Anarchism was an alternative form of modernity, which mounted in the most thorough way a criticism of empire and nation-state but simultaneously was part and parcel of the processes of modernization and globalization, which swept the globe before 1914 (2010, p.3).

The words "anarchy" and "anarchist," which were first used in the political sense in the French Revolution negatively, were used as an insult referring to the destruction of the civilized and institutionalized order. Pierre-Joseph Proudhon was the first thinker to describe himself as an anarchist. He wrote "What is Property?" in 1840 and declared himself an anarchist,

What is to be the form of government in the future? I hear some of my younger readers reply: 'Why, how can you ask such a question? You are a republican.' 'A republican! Yes, but that word specifies nothing. Res publica; that is, the public thing. Now, whoever is interested in public affairs-no matter under what form of government - may call himself a republican. Even kings are republicans.' - 'Well, you are a democrat?' - 'No.' - 'What! you would have a monarchy?' - 'No.' - 'A constitutionalist?' - 'God forbids!' - 'You are then an aristocrat?' - 'Not at all.' - 'You want a mixed government?' - 'Still less.' -

⁵ The title of newspaper launched by Louis Auguste Blanqui (1805-1881) in 1880. It means "Neither God nor Master." It became a catch word among anarchists.

'What are you, then?' - 'I am an anarchist' (Proudhon, 1840, as cited in Woodcock, 1977, p.65).

Under the influence of Proudhon, the first formations of early anarchist thought, and practice began to emerge, emphasizing the unity of an unorganized and non-authoritarian society on the basis of its “laws of nature.” Classical anarchism claims that the state is ontologically evil and must be rejected. Essentially, they aim for a social ideal where no power restricts or hinders society, and thus different lives and relationships can co-exist. Seeing a stateless society as possible, anarchist thought rejects any authority that interferes with the spontaneous actions and voluntary associations of individuals. In general, anarchism is a social situation in which different lifestyles, different modes of production, and property forms that are not dependent on the central ruling authority and are not determined by the power can co-exist and function together.

It would not be wrong to position anarchist movement within the rapidly developing socialist movement towards the end of the 19th century. Particularly, the participation of anarchists in the formation of the First International (International Workingmen's Association) in 1864 strengthens this argument. However, this process, which would result in the expulsion of the anarchists from the International, resulted at the beginning of a long-term feud between Anarchists and Marxists. While Marxists advocated political organization aimed at transforming the proletariat into a ruling class, Anarchists advocated the economic organization of workers according to their occupations (Woodcock, 1977, p. 35-45).

With the ongoing debate over the issues of authoritarian and libertarian industrial action versus political action, the immediate abolition of all state power against the transitional proletarian dictatorship grew ever more prominent. The debate culminated in the 1872 Hague Congress when the Marxists expelled the anarchists from the 1st International and transferred the General Council to New York, out of reach of the anarchists. Moreover, most of the federations were also excluded in the following months, which eventually led to the International's end (Angaut, 2007, p. 4-5).

At the beginning of the 20th century, especially in France, Italy, and Spain, syndicalism made a significant contribution to the transformation of anarchism into a mass movement. At the same time, the management of the powerful General Confederation of Labor (CGT) union in France and the National Confederation of Labor (CNT) in Spain were also anarchists. In fact, it is claimed that the CNT reached two million members in Spain during the Civil War. Anarcho-syndicalist movements were also influential in Latin America, especially in Argentina and Uruguay. However, due to authoritarian governments, war, and political repression, anarchist movements began to disperse around the world. The oppression suffered by anarchists also marks the end of anarchism, which had reached the size of a mass movement. Besides, with the Soviet Revolution of 1917, Marxist-Leninism was accepted as the only viable form of socialism, and this situation lasted until the revival of the anarchist movement in the mid-20th century (Woodcock, 1977, p.44-47).

Tarrow (2011) states that during the classical period of the anarchist movement, anarchists differentiated from other movements like socialists and social democrats in their organizational models. According to this model of organization theorized by Proudhon, a network of workers' associations, democratically organized and loosely linked voluntary federation could replace the capitalist mode of production and the state. The author claims that the organizational model that anarchists embraced determined both the mobilization of the movement and its success:

lacking an organizational template similar to that of their opponents, they surged into different forms in different parts of Europe in close approximation to different local economic and political conditions. In Eastern and Southern Europe, economic conditions were most backward and political organizations least developed, and it was here that anarchism became a mass movement. Whereas the hierarchical model of Social Democracy turned movements into parties, the anarchists' obsession with action and their allergy to organization transformed them into a sect and, ultimately, the world's first terrorist network (Tarrow, 2011, p.125-126).

Sub-branches such as individualism, collectivism, communism, and syndicalism, which intersect with differing economic and organizational attitudes, have influenced

anarchism's being a complex ideology and form of political action in its classical period as well. When we come to today, it is possible to say that these sub-branches have increased with intellectually new approaches to anarchism. New sub-branches such as anarcha-feminism, green anarchism, postmodern anarchism, and anarcho-queer are influenced by and transforming the organizational practices and intellectual legacy present in anarchist thought.

The revival of anarchism, especially in Europe, with the protests of 1968, continued throughout the 1970s and 1980s. Various new social movements highlighted new, second-wave, anarchist-inflected groups, activists, and thinkers within this period. These new movements, including second-wave feminism, the Greens, the anti-nuke movements, and Gay Rights, practiced organizational forms of anarchist-affiliated principles that invoked participatory democracy, affinity groups, consensual forms of decision-making, prefiguration, and direct action. However, even though the apparent revitalization of interest in anarchist ideas that these movements represented, it is essential to note that these waves of new politics affiliated with an anarchist theory and methodology still eclipsed by social democratic and socialist counterparts (Levy & Adams, 2019, p.3).

However, as Gurran (2006) claims, there are serious differences between classical anarchism and new anarchism, which was revived in the 1960s, transformed with the new social movements during the 70s and 80s and gained momentum after the 1990s. (p.2). According to Lederman (2015), new anarchism is “less theoretical and more experimental, more multifaceted and less clear about possible forms of decentralized society, more prefigurative and less utopian” compared to the classical anarchism in the late 19th and early 20th centuries (p.244). As Gordon notes:

Contemporary anarchism is new that it is only in small part a direct continuation of the 19th and early 20th century anarchist movements, which had been for the most part physically wiped-out by the end of the Second World War (Gordon, 2010, as cited in Lederman, 2015, p.244).

Although organizing characteristics of anarchist movements have been neglected in social research for years, the interest in anarchist politics and anarchist organizational practices in social movement research and organizational studies has recently increased. The changing characters of social movements and insurrections after the 90s were influential in the emergence of this situation. With the dissolution of the Soviet Union in 1991, anarchism began to emerge again as a radical philosophy and political practice. Levy and Adams (2019) highlight the period during 1990s when resurgence of anarchism occurred:

The greatest impulse for a more publicly noticeable revival of anarchism as action, theory, and methodology emerged from a complex of historical ruptures. The penetration of varieties of neoliberalism in the West and the Global South; the downfall of the Soviet Union and the Marxist-Leninist model in its former bloc, and in its iteration as the 'heroic guerrilla' or radical post-colonial governments in the Global South; and the astounding rise of the Chinese model of Leninist Capitalism in place of Maoism, all informed an unstable political universe in which anarchism was rediscovered (2019, p.3).

Beginning with the Zapatista rebellion in Mexico against the North American Free Trade Agreement in 1994, anarchism and anarchistic movements became significant for the global left. Organized by the Zapatistas in 1996, the Intercontinental Encounter for Humanity and Against Neoliberalism started the process that enabled activists within the alternative globalization movement to form a transnational network, Peoples' Global Action (Dupuis-Déri, 2019, p. 471-472).

Anarchism begins to gain currency in the alter-globalization or global justice movement beginning in the 1990s. During those protests, anarchist or anarchist-affiliated groups attracted attention even though there was a coalition behind the anti-WTO protests in Seattle in 1999 (Hammond, 2015, p.293). The "black bloc" tactic⁶

⁶ "Black bloc is an organizational tactic often employed by anarchists and anti-fascists when engaging in protests or direct action. When in black bloc, individuals wear masks, bandanas, and head-to-toe black clothing to project strength and group uniformity while maintaining anonymity. The primary rationale for black bloc is to prevent identification of individual actors by authorities or other opponents. Black blocs form and disassemble within the marches and protests; they are often formed by a coalition of groups rather than by a single organization. The tactic originated with Germany's "autonomous

used by some anarchist groups during these protests drew the attention of the mainstream media. Owens and Palmer (2003) discuss the function of the black bloc tactic for the anarchist movement as,

There is no question, however, that it has played a critical role in re-establishing the public visibility of the anarchist movement. This, in turn helped anarchists to overcome the access problems of the Web, allowing anarchists online to tap the potential of the medium to expose a wider audience to their views (2003, p.355-356).

In the following decades, the interest in the anarchist movements reached a climax with the Occupy protests. Occupy Protests spread to different parts of the world and influenced several demonstrations in the following years. Disalvo (2005) notes that the main divide in the Occupy protests has developed between those who prioritize horizontal processes and those who believe that Occupy's core value is to bring thousands of people onto the streets in a mass movement against the ruling class. On the other hand, Disalvo (2005) argues that anarchists adopted horizontalism not as a tactic but as their basic organizing strategy and ultimate goal, and this attitude became evident during the Occupy protests (2005, p.267).

Several studies conducted on these protest events focus on the anarchistic tactics, strategies, and organizational principles adopted during the demonstrations. These strategies and organizational practices employed in those events were discussed to understand the spontaneity, autonomy, and mutuality elements of the protests. However, celebrating the new characteristics of these protests overshadows the experimentation and accumulation processes of these practices. This study is a humble attempt to discuss the anarchist organizational practices in Turkey.

movement” (Autonomen) during the late 1970s and 1980s and received attention in the United States following the 1999 Battle for Seattle”(Gartenstein-Ross, 2021, para.62).

1.1.2. The Problem of Political Violence in Anarchism

As a part of the literature on the revival of anarchism, the discussions on the use of political violence by anarchist groups and organizations are significant to understand the continuities and discontinuities in the anarchist movement throughout history. The relationship between violence and anarchist practice has been a topic of debate within the circles of anarchist groups and the outside. To analyze the organizing strategies of a specific anarchist group, it is significant to understand the degree and the direction of the violence embedded within those tactics. A considerable amount of literature has been published on the relations between anarchist groups in contemporary social movements and political violence. However, it is not surprising since the studies about political violence and anarchism date to the 19th century. “Anarchist extremism” was a crucial topic for Europe and America's governments for nearly thirty-five years (Casanova, 2005, p.82-83). The period between 1880 and 1915 was dominated by the anarchist strategy known as “propaganda by deed,” which targeted the heads of governments and dynasty members in Europe (Colson, 2017, p.167).

The term was first used to describe the insurrections of Italian anarchists and then became related to the individual acts of assassinations in the 1880s (Linse, 1982, p.201). According to Zimmer, although propaganda by deed originally meant the political actions which aimed to accelerate the process of revolution, it became a type of direct action to publicize the ideals of individual anarchists and enlighten the masses (2009). Although there is no unified theory behind the concept, and it is generally assumed equal to violence, propaganda by deed could be defined as a specific political direct action method that includes every action that exceeds the discourse aiming to expose “the enemy.”

Following the assassinations and bombing acts all around Europe, the International Anti-Anarchist Conference was held in Rome in 1898 by European governments, including Ottoman Empire. This conference was the initial step for the anti-anarchist protocol signed in St. Petersburg in 1904, which resulted in increased “intra-European police communication and information exchange.” These two events are accepted as

the root of modern police surveillance and cooperation between official police forces all around the world (Jensen, 1981, p.324).

Moreover, the propaganda by deed strategy was influential within some anarchist circles in America. The Alien Immigration Act of 1903 was implemented after President William McKinley's assassination by the self-identified anarchist Leon Czolgosz in 1901. By enacting the Act of 1903, self-proclaimed anarchists, advocates, and anyone associated with anarchists was blacklisted and expelled. This act was the first federal law aiming at the deportation and exclusion of immigrants based on their ideologies (Kraut, 2012, p.172).

Recent research studies approaching anarchism as a threat to national and international security are partially based on this historical background discussed above. According to Bantman (2013), the result of the disproportionate focus on anarchist terrorism has historically been to consolidate a previous image problem that participants in the anarchist movement have both developed and suffered from, resulting in distorted representations of its aims and methods. Another consequence is that other historical representations of anarchists have been eclipsed (Bantman, 2013, p.6). However, for this time, anarchists are not assassins and do not throw bombs at assemblies. According to Hwang (2021), as anarchists in the USA attack private property and infrastructure rather than individuals, they present a low-level threat compared to far-right extremists (para.16).

On the other hand, a report prepared for the European Commission argues that left-wing and anarchist extremism is crucial for European countries. In the document, four characteristics are defined for the insurrectionary anarchist groups as follows: affinity groups' conception, informal organization, direct action, and double level (Farinelli and Morinone, 2021). All four characteristics refer to the organizing dynamics of anarchist groups rather than the amount of violence they used, which make anarchism still a concern for national and international security discussions.

Borum and Tilby (2005) assert that anarchist groups create challenges for law enforcement in terms of structures, tactics, and strategies they developed, even though most studies agree that the degree of threat these groups pose to the institutions is lower than the right-wing extremist groups (p.220). The characteristics of organizing dynamics of anarchist groups and their relations with political violence gain importance within the social and political environments in which they emerge. Koch (2018) states that the intensification of violent confrontations with anarchists and their opponents results from the availability of the Internet to form transnational networks, the increasing trend of the right-wing extremist parties and movements, and the existence of battlefronts in different parts of the world (p.2018). These factors can vary in degree within different contexts, considering them with the distinctive characteristics of locals.

This situation became much more visible with the Syrian Civil War, which started when the uprisings in 2011 turned into military clashes with the involvement of various actors. Leftists and anarchists from different parts of the world traveled to Syria to fight alongside Kurdish forces against ISIS (The Carter Center, 2017, p. 2; De Craemer & Casier, 2017, p. 34). The discussions related to foreign fighters in the Syrian Civil War concentrated on potential security issues resulting from when those leftist and anarchist fighters returned to their countries. As an example case of this argument, in recent years, there was a public discussion about whether the International Revolutionary People's Guerilla Forces, a Greek anarchist group in Syria, would serve as a domestic security issue in Greece or not.⁷⁸ The potential threats foreign leftist and

⁷See details in <https://www.dw.com/en/greek-extremists-go-abroad-for-training-in-revolution/a-39094660> and <https://www.dailysabah.com/europe/2017/05/29/greek-anarchists-vow-to-implement-warfare-methods-they-learned-from-pyd-terrorists-in-syria> Retrieved 03.17.2022

⁸ There are several anarchist armed groups consisting of foreign fighters in Syria. For example: Social Insurrection, International Revolutionary People's Guerrilla Forces, The Queer Insurrection and Liberation Army, and Tekosina Anarşist (Anarchist Struggle). See details in <https://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/middle-east/queer-insurrection-isis-lgbt-unit-gay-islamic-state-fight-forces-coalition-syria-middle-east-a7858651.html> Retrieved 03.17.2022
<https://www.middleeasteye.net/news/anarchy-ypg-foreign-volunteers-vow-turkish-revolution> Retrieved 03.17.2022

<https://anarchistsworldwide.noblogs.org/post/2020/08/01/interview-with-tekosina-anarsist-an-armed-internationalist-anarchist-collective-in-rojava/> Retrieved 03.17.2022

anarchist fighters in Syria serve to their home countries raise the discussions on far-left extremism.

The revival of anarchism refers to a transformation of the anarchist movement in general. In a broader sense, it implies a recoinning of the tactics and strategies parallel to the changing contexts and the technologies. Considering the relations of anarchism with political violence, today's main concerns are related to the organizing processes of anarchist groups rather than assassinations and bombings as in the 19th century, which create challenges for authorities. One can claim that what makes anarchist politics the subject of security discussions in contemporary society is the difficulty of identification and the unpredictability of the organizing logic of the anarchist groups.

Considering these recent discussions on the anarchist politics in general, this study tries to understand the organizational dynamics of anarchist movement in Turkey. The anarchist movement emerged in the second half of the 1980s within an environment influenced by the September 12, 1980, military coup. For some socialist milieu, anarchism, like feminism, was the “ideology of defeat” or “ideology of petty-bourgeoisie” trying to divide the class struggle. However, the first self-proclaimed anarchists in Turkey were ex-members of the socialist groups before the 1980 military intervention. This situation warns us not to overlook the conditions in which the anarchist movement emerged in Turkey.

The questions of what changed after 1980, what did anarchists want to change against what, and what kind of organizational practice they developed for this end highlight important points that need to be focused on. For the scope of this study, the organizing practices of the anarchist groups in Turkey and the underlying dynamics of the mobilization of anarchist movement will be explored. By doing this, the study aims to locate anarchist groups within the field of social movements in Turkey and provide a starting point for future discussions on anarchism in Turkey.

1.2. Research Questions

The publication of the Kara journal in 1986 is an official milestone in the history of anarchism in Turkey. Although Kara has a publication life of only 12 issues, it represents a critical threshold in the field of social movements in Turkey, as it brings up topics such as conscientious objection, anti-militarism, ecology, and the LGBTTTQ movement, which left-wing groups in Turkey have avoided until then. In other words, the period that started with the publication of anarchist periodicals coincided with the diversification of the oppositional discourses in Turkey.

Moreover, Kara journal, published by self-proclaimed libertarians, has an important place not only because it was the first anarchist publication of Republican Turkey but because characteristics related to the period in which it emerged have been determined in the discussions within anarchist circles during the following years. One of the most significant discussions was the relations of the anarchists with the leftist movement in Turkey. From 1986 to the present, the anarchist movement has always been structurally related to the history of the socialist movement in Turkey. The first anarchists were the members of different leftist groups before the 1980 military coup. It was the reason why the criticism of the leftist movements in Turkey was one of the primary debates in the Kara journal (Soydan, 2014, p.). This situation created tension between the first generation of anarchists and the later generations and also influenced the organizing strategies of the anarchist groups in specific ways in the following years.

Therefore, the 1980 military coup is significant to understanding the reflexes of the first generation of anarchists and the position of the anarchist groups in the field of social movements in Turkey. Moreover, anarchist movement presented new agendas to the social movements field in Turkey by initiating the discussions such as anti-militarism, animal liberation, horizontalism, and ecology. However, while doing this, anarchist groups have been affected by other movements, most significantly by the socialist movement, adopting specific strategies and tactics from them. This complex

but unpopular position of the anarchist movement makes it worth studying its organizational practices in the context of Turkey.

Therefore, the research question is developed as follows:

What are the dynamics of the anarchist movement in Turkey?

Three sub-questions are determined to support the main research question of the thesis.

- Which conditions are effective in the process of organizing an anarchist group in Turkey?
- What strategies are used by self-proclaimed anarchist activists for an anarchist organization?
- What are the structure and internal dynamics of an anarchist organization?

For the scope of this analysis, I conducted a field research on the self-identified anarchist activists who have organized in an anarchist organization. I used a snowball sampling method to find respondents who fulfilled the requirements. I conducted semi-structured, face-to-face, and in-depth online interviews with 18 respondents and; a written interview via E-mail with one respondent. Moreover, I developed a content analysis of secondary sources. These sources are limited to articles related to organization discussions published in anarchist magazines in Turkey. To do this, Amargi, Efendisizler, Ateş Hırsız, Apolitika, and Proleter Teori-A journals were selected among other anarchist publications. The rationale for choosing written materials and the selection of interviewees will be explained in the methodology chapter in detail.

CHAPTER 2

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK AND LITERATURE REVIEW

This thesis uses the term “movement” to define the field of activities of self-proclaimed anarchists, anarchist organizations, and anarchist-led projects to differentiate anarchism from campaigns or political movements. By doing this, it tries to show how anarchism is located within the field of social movements in Turkey. Diani’s (1992) definition of the social movements will be employed to identify characteristics of an anarchist movement for analytical clarity (p.1).

After defining anarchism as a social movement, I will focus on the forms of organizational structures. I claim that the anarchist organizations are partial organizations since they do not have all elements of a formal organizational structure. Later on, I will discuss the oligarchization problem in the organizations and propose Leach’s (2005) conceptualization of oligarchy for analyzing the emergence of the oligarchy in partial organizations.

I move on to the social movements literature by reviewing the resource mobilization theory, political process theory, and framing approach. I claim that a combination of these three approaches provides a significant ground for understanding the dynamics of the anarchist movements.

In the final section of this chapter, I will review the history of the social movements in Turkey. I will begin with the absence of anarchist politics until 1986 and move on to the history of the socialist movement in Turkey.

2.1. SOCIAL MOVEMENTS AND ORGANIZATIONS

2.1.1. Anarchism as a Social Movement?

Both anarchism and social movement are contested concepts in the literature. As I discussed in the Introduction Chapter, anarchism as a social movement has the appearance and disappearance periods in its history, which challenges making a coherent definition of the anarchist movement. While certain continuities can be identified between the classical period of the anarchist movement and new anarchist movements, recent anarchist movements have organized in quite different dynamics. To determine the dynamics of the contemporary anarchist movement in Turkey, it is necessary to clarify on which grounds anarchism is defined as a social movement.

As a social phenomenon, social movements have been defined in various ways in the literature. Whether social movements are defined as “a set of opinions and beliefs in a population representing preferences for changing some elements of the social structure and/or reward distribution of a society” (McCarthy & Zald, 2017, p.20) or “as collective challenges, based on common purposes and social solidarities, in sustained interaction with elites, opponents, and authorities,” (Tarrow, 1998, p.9), imply some form of “organized efforts to bring about social change” (Jenkins and Form, 2005, p.331). Generally speaking, social change targeted by social movements varies in degree and scope.

Although all these definitions of social movements reflect certain aspects of the phenomena, it is necessary to locate anarchism into a more inclusive definition of social movements to understand its diversity. For the scope of this study, I prefer to use Diani’s definition of social movements as a starting point for analyzing the contemporary anarchist movement in Turkey. According to Diani, social movements are:

defined as networks of informal interactions between a plurality of individuals, groups and/or organizations, engaged in political and cultural conflicts, on the basis of shared collective identities (Diani, 1992).

Diani's definition of the concept highlights the significance of the processes of interaction between various individuals, informal groups, and organizations through the communication or joint action that enables understanding of social movement as a social dynamic. Moreover, Meyer (2015) emphasizes the oppositional characteristics of social movements that create challenges to the authorities. Social movements for Meyer "use a broad range of tactics," locating themselves "both inside and outside of the conventional politics" to "promote social and political change"(2015, p.386).

On the other hand, theoretical debates in the history of anarchism concentrated on the opposition to the state and its institutions. Whether this opposition will be in the form of individual or collective struggle ultimately differentiates the notion of political action (Gemie, 1994, p. 352). For the classical period anarchism, French historian Manfredonia distinguishes three types of anarchism syndicalist, insurrectionist, and educational (Manfredonia, as cited in Altena, 2016, p.21). As Altena (2016) argues, this differentiation reflects a Weberian ideal type that provides analytical clarity for approaching anarchist practice (p.21-22).

When I use the concept of the anarchist movement, I refer to social anarchism, which prioritizes the balance between individual autonomy and collectivity rather than individualistic anarchism (Gemie, 1994, p. 353). To be able to avoid ambiguousness, I decided to locate the conceptualization of the anarchist movement from a specific standpoint within the anarchist tradition. Although there is no agreement on the definition of anarchism in the anarchist literature, Kropotkin's description is the most appropriate one to highlight the organizational reflections of social anarchism. In the 1910 edition of the Encyclopaedia Britannica, Kropotkin defines anarchism as:

the name given to a principle or theory of life and conduct under which society is conceived without government - harmony in such a society being obtained not by submission to law or by obedience to any authority but by free agreements concluded between various groups, territories and professional, freely constituted for the sake of production and consumption, as also for the satisfaction of the infinite variety of needs and aspirations of a civilized being (Kropotkin 1910, as cited in Altena, 2016, p.20).

Considering the elements of the social movements presented above, anarchist movements can be discussed by the terms and concepts of the social movement literature. However, to be able to engage such kind of analysis, we need to re-examine the dimensions of anarchist movements. The anarchist movements, like other movements, consist of individuals and different organizations that are embedded in dense and diffused networks of relations who share collective identities and specific goals that actively participate in extra-institutional actions. Williams suggests that anarchism as a movement is both independent of other social movements and also has interactions, and in some situations, it overlaps with them (2017, p.4). Williams also identifies four characteristics that differentiate the anarchist movement from other social movements. These characteristics are:

First, anarchist movements exclusively use direct action. Those who act as anarchists do not choose the route of representation via bureaucrats, elected officials, or spokespersons...Second, anarchist movements internally organize themselves without leadership or authority figures...Third, anarchist movements involve multi-issue foci. Instead of concentrating on one or a small number of social problems, hierarchies, or issues, anarchists focus on hierarchy itself as a source of domination and inequality in society...Fourth, anarchist movements advocate and act for eternal vigilance against hierarchy (Williams, 2017, p.16, 17).

Accordingly, the major characteristic differentiating the anarchist movement from other social movements except for the Autonomist movement is its rejection of engaging in political action to capture or manipulate political power. Anarchist movement is an a-political movement in the sense that they locate themselves outside of representative politics. On the other hand, avoiding authority and leadership and creating structures and practices to limit those tendencies point to ongoing monitoring within the anarchist groups and organizations. The third difference implies that a wide range of social conflicts can be the focus of an anarchist movement whether that conflict requires a direct confrontation with the state or not. That is, anarchist interpretation of power and domination expands beyond the state by including any

social issue. These differences categorized by Williams resonate the Gustav Landauer's arguments on the state. He writes,

The state is a social relationship; a certain way of people relating to one another. It can be destroyed by creating new social relationships; i.e., by people relating to one another differently...we are the state! And we will be the state as long as we are nothing different; as long as we have not yet created the institutions necessary for a true community and a true society of human beings (2010, p. 214).

The characteristics of the anarchist movement identified by Williams resonate with Landauer's emphasis on the significance of the relations between individuals. Similarly, Confino (2010) states in his study on Russian anarchists at the beginning of the 20th century that anarchism as a movement reflects specific codes of behavior or determines a way of life that can be realized through members' actions (p.179). What I aim to understand in this study is how this anarchist way of life relates to the general conditions during the mobilization of the movement and what organizational dynamics are generated through this confrontation.

2.1.2. Defining Anarchist Organization

After describing significant characteristics that differentiate the anarchist movement from other social movements, it is necessary to define anarchist organization. Although I utilize social movement literature to explain the organizational dynamics of the anarchist movement in Turkey, the concept of social movements organization is not suitable for the subject of the study. Indeed, the term social movement organization is an ambiguous term in the literature; various scholars define the term differently. However, the main tendency is to explain social movement organizations as formal and complex organizations. For instance, McCarthy and Zald define the concept as,

A social movement organization (SMO) is a complex, or formal organization which identifies its goals with the preferences of a social movement or a countermovement and attempts to implement those goals (2015, p.162).

This definition of SMOs can only be applied to highly structured and formal organizations. However, an anarchist organization that is far away from being a formal and structural organization cannot be explained through this definition. Another definition of social movement organization indicates that organizations are “associations of persons making idealistic and moralistic claims about how human personal or group life ought to be organized that, at the time of their claims-making, are marginal to or excluded from mainstream society” (Lofland, 1996, p. 2-3). Apparently, this definition might be applied to understand the moralistic or idealistic attachments of the self-proclaimed anarchists to their organizations; however, Lofland’s definition becomes insufficient to understand the organizational dynamics of the anarchist movement in Turkey. Concentrating on only the moralistic and idealistic attachments of individuals to explain the emergence and mobilization of the specific movement might become insufficient for understanding the political, social, and economic processes that provide favorable or detrimental conditions for the movement. Therefore, to be able to discuss the anarchist movement in Turkey, I prefer not to limit the concept of SMO to subjective attachments of self-proclaimed anarchist activists.

However, the social movement field involves various organizational forms which are developed by the activists in relation to the social, political, and economic processes. According to Kriesi (1996), the internal structures of these organizational forms result from specific parameters as follows:

(1) formalization, with the introduction of formal membership criteria, written rules, fixed procedures, formal leadership, and a fixed structure of offices; (2) professionalization, understood as the presence of paid staff who pursue a career inside the organization; (3) internal differentiation, involving a functional division of labor and the creation of territorial units; and (4) integration, through mechanisms of horizontal and/or vertical coordination (Kriesi, 1996, as cited in Della Porta, 2006, p. 140).

Considering these parameters of internal structurations of organizations, Della Porta (2006) argues that the degree of the SMOs’ compliance with those parameters, certain

“organizational dilemmas occur” (p.140). These organizational dilemmas create a spectrum of organizational forms. As a result, organizations differentiate from each other,

sometimes to a very high degree, in their response to dilemmas such as whether focusing on the mobilization of people or other types of resources, adopting some kind of formal hierarchy or a totally informal structure, targeting their efforts at opponents or also providing services and life opportunities to their own constituents (Della Porta, 2006, p.161).

Although this approach provides a multi-dimensional ground for analyzing the anarchist organizations, I decided to follow a different path for defining the subject of the study. In order to define anarchist organizations, I borrowed the term “partial organizations” from organizational studies. I will explain the characteristics of partial organizations and how this term can be applied to anarchist organizations.

2.1.3. Partial Organizations

Piven states that scholars should consider the advantages and disadvantages of different organizational forms while “more recent movements have struggled to create alternative forms of organization, sometimes called anarchist, emphasizing internal direct democracy”(Piven, 2013, p.191). However, it is common in both social movements and organizational studies to restrict the concept of organization to the formal, complex, and highly structured types of organizations.

From this point, the organization becomes a narrower concept to define only a part of the existing forms. It is clear that an anarchist organization is not an example of a formal or highly-structured organization. However, it is not logical to assume that an organization can organize without any structure that defines its characteristics. As Freeman (2013) argues,

Contrary to what we would like to believe, there is no such thing as a structureless group. Any group of people of whatever nature that comes together for any length of time for any purpose will inevitably structure itself in

some fashion. The structure may be flexible; it may vary over time; it may evenly or unevenly distribute tasks, power and resources over the members of the group. But it will be formed regardless of the abilities, personalities, or intentions of the people involved (Freeman, 2013, p.232).

According to Weick, the concept of organization refers to any form of social order (Weick, as cited in Ahrne et al., 2016, p.3). However, Ahrne et al. (2016) claim that this approach equates the concept of organization with the reproduction of social order (p.3). Although all forms of organizations refer to the reproduction of social order in different levels, it is necessary to ensure the explanation power of the concept for the sake of analysis. To achieve this, the authors propose that the organization as “decided order allows for the transfer of the term to other domains outside the formal organization, while simultaneously preserving its distinctiveness” (p.3).

Such kind of interpretation of the organization requires making decisions as to the fundamental aspect of the organization. Ahrne and Brunsson (2011) clarify the significance of the decision in organizations as follows,

Organizational decisions are statements representing conscious choices about the way people should act or the distinction and classifications they should make—statements that are communicated to these people. In formal organizations, decisions allocate specific tasks to members; they classify the members, with the use of job titles, for example, creating identities and status orders; and they classify resources, for example, within the accounting system (2011, p.85).

Ahrne and Brunsson (2011) propose that the organization is a particular kind of social order. Accordingly, the organization is a decided order involving one or more of the elements of hierarchy, membership, rules, sanctions, and monitoring (p.84). Therefore, since formal organizations have access to the elements of membership, rules, hierarchy, monitoring, and sanctions, they are complete organizations. At this point, the authors claim that not all organizations have to adopt all of these elements; they can be used separately. (p.86). It is what makes it possible to define partial

organizations. Partial organizations mean that some forms of organizations are incomplete and heterogeneous, not including all elements of the formal organizations mentioned above. (Ahrne and Brunsson 2011, de Bakker et al., 2017).

However, it is necessary to clarify certain points of the decision-making for the concept of partial organizations. The elements of membership, rules, monitoring, hierarchy, and sanctions are subjected to the decision-making processes within an organization. All forms of organizations consist of varying degrees of decided social order. Therefore, organizations are founded by decision-making on various elements. Individuals who form organizations come together on the basis of certain factors, goals, etc. However, the result of organizing might be pretty different from what was decided at the beginning.

The element of membership is decided in organizations. Decisions on membership create a specific identity by defining who is a member and who is not. This organizational identity also draws the borders of the organization and its outside. Moreover, membership refers to a sense of responsibility for behaving in specific ways that are not expected from the non-members. One who does not conform to the code of behavior within an organization can be excluded. The rules of organizations can be internalized through the socialization of the members. Organizations monitor their members to guarantee conformity to the rules of organizations and manage the recruitment and socialization processes of members.

Sanctions can be both positive and negative, aiming to prevent the violation of the rules and norms of the organizations and promote the access of members to the resources of the organization. All these elements require some source of power, that is, the power of decision about who makes the decision. The power of decision-making can belong to specific individuals and committees or can be realized through voting processes. Regardless of the type of decision-making, the power of decision crystallizes in specific positions. Therefore, a hierarchy emerges as the product of the organization of the power of the decision (Ahrne and Brunsson, 2011, p.86).

The characteristics of organizations differ concerning the tension between decided and result/emergent order. Although decisions are made to eliminate uncertainty, making decisions has always carried the potential for uncertainty and disagreements. That is, the decided order, which is designed as a result of certain decisions in an organization, and the emergent order, which is shaped by the uncertainty in the decision-making processes, are always in tension. This tension determines the social order of the organization at a certain moment in the process.

On the other hand, decisions might create positions within organizations regarding the concentration of decision-making power on specific individuals or groups. The last thing to emphasize about decisions in organizations is that making decisions is related to the mechanism of responsibility in the organization that is a necessary condition for an organization to engage in any kind of activity (Ahrne and Brunsson, 2011, p. 90-91). The responsibility can be the major dimension for task allocation in partial organizations which do not organize on the basis of the defined positions.

Moreover, den Hond et al. (2015) argue that to be able to understand the organizational dynamics in social movement it is necessary for taking a less formal view on organizations. In their study, they supplement the elements of organizations with insights from an “ideal-typical anarchist organization”(Graeber, 2004, as cited in den Hond et al., 2015, para.7) that characterized by anti-organizational principles such as voluntary association, self-organization, direct democracy, autonomy, and mutual aid (para.6-7, 2015). Laamanen et al. (2017) examine the implications of participation, direct democracy and social control, and autonomy and mutualism as elements of establishing social order in partial organizations. They state that

what matters is how movement participants interpret and enact the various opportunities to organize that are available to them. Organizing, as an ongoing process, seems more relevant than ‘organization’, as a static snapshot of how some movement is organized at a particular moment in time. We propose how recent theorizing in organization theory—partial organizing—offers a way to elaborate on movement organizing as a continuing balancing act between decision and emergence—order and incompleteness—as a quest to maintain a desired

social order and as a continuous interplay between different elements of organization. The idea of partiality in organizing connects to the underlying prefigurative politics that draw particularly from the rejection of formal (and potentially) oppressive structures, hierarchies and forms of representation (Laamanen et al., 2017, p.224).

Therefore, we can define an anarchist organization as a partial organization that does not simultaneously access all the elements of membership, rules, hierarchy, control, and sanctions that complete an organization. In anarchist organizations, there can be one or more missing elements. The partiality of the anarchist organizations is the result of the set of decisions described as anarchist ways of living or anarchist conduct. How this partiality influences the emergent order occurs within the process of relations and interactions with other organizations, institutions, and social, political, and economic structures is a problematic issue for analyzing anarchist organizations.

Throughout the thesis, I use the concept of the “anarchist organization(s) to refer to formations that have been active during a certain period, had had specific names, and engaged in activities to accomplish a specific goal. On the other hand, I define the whole period in which an organization is active and engage in political activities as organizing. That is, the organizing redefines the organization as a process rather than a stable entity. I use the terms “the organization” and “organizing” interchangeably; however, I specifically try to highlight the process dimension when I use the term organizing.

2.1.4. The Iron Law of Oligarchy

Robert Michels (2001) argues that all organizations have the tendency to develop an oligarchic leadership structure and conservative goals when the permanence of the organization and official cadres gain power over time. Michels work is based on his own experiences in the German Social Democratic Party. He asserts that

Organization implies the tendency to oligarchy. In every organization, whether it be a political party, a professional union, or any other association of the kind, the aristocratic tendency manifests itself very clearly. The mechanism of the

organization, while conferring a solidity of structure, induces serious changes in the organized mass, completely inverting the respective position of the leaders and the led. As a result of organization, every party or professional union becomes divided into a minority of directors and a majority of directed (2001, p.26).

According to Michels (2001), direct democracy and decision-making in any significant size social group are impossible to be achieved. There are two significant components of this argument. First, when leaders are concerned with the organizations' endurance, they retreat from developing radical goals and tactics. The existing goals and tactics of the organizations became much more conservative. Second, As the number of staff in the organization increases, the distance between members and staff would increase, and the organization would come to represent the interests of staff and leaders (Voss & Sherman, 2000, p.305).

Buechler (2016) states that although some organizations, parties, and movements try to be committed to democratic principles, leadership authority and complex division of labour is a technical-administrative necessity for sustaining organizational structure. As organizations grow, members' ability to directly participate in decision-making becomes increasingly limited. This situation leads to the development of a hierarchical bureaucracy (p.36).

Alongside the technical necessity of leadership, psychological and intellectual factors are significant in the process of oligarchization of the organizations (Tolbert & Hiatt, 2009, p.177). Combining professional qualifications and cultural capital, leaders fulfill the needs of members of mass organizations for leadership and direction. Some of these leaders may be prone to autocratic tendencies that widen the gap between leaders and followers. Therefore, whatever the type of organization whether it be union, political party, social movement, or collectivist organization, the process of the maintenance of organization may create conditions for oligarchy.

The debate around Michels' thesis on oligarchy in social movements literature mainly concentrated on to which degree the organization serves favorable or unfavorable

conditions for the success of movements (Gamson & Schmeidler, 1984, p.568). As de Bakker et al. (2017) discuss, the organization concept is not just relevant for analyzing the success and failure of movements but also is related to the ideological and cultural concerns such as forms of authority within movements, attitudes toward democracy, hierarchy, and equality (2017, p.214). The authors argue that

Although the advent of oligarchy is often associated with processes of bureaucratization, formalization, professionalization, institutionalization, and de-radicalization (one example is Rucht 1999), the equation of oligarchy with these processes is unfortunate as it misses the normative core of the idea: loss of democracy. Although these processes may be associated with the loss of democracy, there is no necessary association between them (Laamanen et al., 2017, p.215).

Following de Bakker et al. (2017), it is significant to emphasize the insufficiency of Michels' thesis on oligarchy for analyzing social movement organizations that do not engage in the processes of formalization, bureaucratization, and de-radicalization. Leach (2005) proposes a conceptualization of oligarchy

is a concentration of entrenched illegitimate authority and/or influence in the hands of a minority, such that de facto what minority wants is generally what comes to pass, even when it goes against the wishes (whether actively or passively expressed) of the majority (2005, p.329).

Leach's conceptualization of authority provides a suitable ground for analyzing oligarchic tendencies within both formal and informal organizations by altering the central criteria of formalization and bureaucratization for the assessment of the oligarchy with the normative definition of oligarchy as loss of democracy (de Bakker et al., 2017, p.215). Leach continues by presenting the two steps of the emergence of oligarchy in collectivist or representative democratic organizations.

(1) the move from the legitimate to the illegitimate exercise of formal and informal power; and (2) the concentration of illegitimate power in the hands of a minority such that is able to retain its position over time against the wishes of the majority, whether the wishes are expressed through disgruntled passive resistance or conscious organized

opposition (and it would be a combination of two) (2005, p.329).

In the case of partial organizations that do not have all elements of the formal organization structure, observing the emergence of oligarchy becomes challenging. Laamanen et al. (2019) claim that horizontal organizations (those that adopt inclusive democratic participation and avoid authority and leadership) with prefigurative social order (experiencing the targeted social order at present) avoid decided order. However, this avoidance may not prevent oligarchic social order within an organization (p.296-297). Therefore, Leach's conceptualization of oligarchy is significant to understanding the emergence of oligarchy in partial organizations. Leach's conceptualization will provide a significant ground for understanding the internal dynamics of the anarchist organizations in Turkey. The process of the oligarchization in these organizing remains an essential question to be discussed in this study.

2.2. SOCIAL MOVEMENT THEORIES

Theories of social movements are significant for analyzing the underlying conditions of why social movements emerge, how individuals organize for specific goals, and how the outcomes of the movements influence the broader social, political, and economic processes. Social movements are complex and multi-layered phenomena; therefore, social movement theories focus on different levels of social movements from different perspectives. The social movement literature, which is rich in this sense, enables us to analyze the different dynamics and conditions involved in all processes of social movements. Moreover, social movement theories are also significant in understanding the dimensions effective in the emergence and the mobilization of marginal movements, like anarchist movements, by directing the focus at different levels of phenomena. Thus, in this part of the study, I mainly discuss the Resource Mobilization Theory, Political Opportunity/Process Theory, and Framing Theory to be able to understand the dynamics of the anarchist movement in Turkey and its organizing practices.

2.2.1. Resource Mobilization Theory

Resource mobilization theory is a landmark in the literature on social movements by referring to the social movements are rational and normal. Before RMT, the main tendency in the literature was that the social movements were irrational acts and caused by anomie in society. RMT argues that social movements need diverse resources to be able to achieve their specific goals. According to Oberschall, these resources are “anything from material resources – jobs, incomes, services- to non-material resources -authority, moral commitment, trust, friendship, skills” (1973, p.23).

Edwards and McCarthy (2003), on the other hand, propose five types of social movement resources: moral, human, cultural, socio-organizational, and material. Moral resources include solidarity, support, legitimacy, and celebrity. According to the authors, moral resources generally arise outside of a social movement and are often given by an outside source. Financial resources are all financial and physical resources, including office space, equipment, money, property, and supplies. Another type of resource is the human resource which includes experience, expertise, skills, and labour. Recruiting volunteers, congregation, and dissemination of information are examples of socio-organizational resources. And the cultural resources include implicit knowledge of how to perform certain tasks, such as organizing a protest event, holding a press conference, and holding a meeting (2003, p.125-128).

Zald and McCarthy (1977) underline “societal support and constraints of social movements phenomena.” (p.1213). Consequently, RMT aims to investigate diverse resources that must be mobilized for the emergence of a social movement, the connections between social movements and other groups in the society, the dependence of movements on external resources to achieve their goals, the tactics used by authorities to control or integrate social movements (p.1213).

As an entrepreneurial theory of social movements, RMT highlights the importance of the availability of resources, like cadres and organizing facilities, in the formation process of social movements (Jenkins, 1983, p.530). Accordingly, social movements

need to adopt organizational forms to aggregate resources in the environment. The main focus of this approach is the social movement organizations with formal organizational structures since formal organizations are more successful in strategy-making and coordination of resource aggregation (Zald and McCarthy, 1977, p.1216). According to RMT, social grievances and derivation are not sufficient to explain the formation of social movements and the participation of individuals in movements. The actions of the actor of social movements have to be understood with regard to the logical calculation of costs, benefits as well as opportunities of the specific action.

The problem of the availability of resources to different social groups in society is significant to understanding the complexity of the resource aggregation process for social movements in the formation stage. Edward and McCarthy (2003) state that:

Even the “simple availability” of resources is actually more complicated, since, in order to be available for use, resources must be both present in a specific socio-historical context and accessible to potential collective actors... The resources crucial to the initiation or continuation of collective action are unevenly distributed within societies and among them. Moreover, within a society, the control of resources varies from one social group to another, as it does among the various members of each group. Not all social groups control the same types and amounts of resources, and not all individuals within a given social group have equal access to group resources (2003, p.118).

What is crucial in this argument is that, within a given society, currently mobilized groups represent only a part of its potential social movements. Therefore, as Edward and McCarthy (2003) emphasize, existing movements in any society mirror the social change preferences of groups with better resources than the others (p.120). Resource mobilization theory provides valuable theoretical lenses to analyze which processes and groups through which resources are influential in the emergence and mobilization of social movements.

In this study, I will focus on diverse tangible and intangible resources that self-proclaimed anarchist activists utilized during the emergence and mobilization of the

anarchist movement in Turkey. I claim that throughout the process of its mobilization, from its emergence to today, different resources have determined the characteristics of the development of the anarchist movement in Turkey. The continuity of the availability of specific resources within the mobilization process of the anarchist movement can be observed. In the analysis part, available resources for the anarchist movement in Turkey will be discussed in line with its emergence and mobilization and the internal organizational dynamics of the anarchist organizations.

2.2.2. Political Process Theory

The political process essentially implies that exterior elements can be detrimental or favorable for the mobilization of the social movements by determining which claims to be articulated, which strategies to implement, and which movements affect mainstream political institutions (Meyer & Minkoff, 2004, p.1457). The formal political institutions constitute the root of the structures. The degree of separation of power and centralization of a political system is directly related to the openness of this system. In such a political system, the higher the degree of localization, the wider the official reach and the smaller the capacity to act on any part of the system. Therefore, a decentralized political system means the proliferation of the state actors and the points of access to decision-making (Kriesi, 2004, p.70).

Political process theory criticizes both the classical social movement theories for reducing the social movements into a psychological state and the RMT for being apolitical. According to Dalton et al. (1990), resource mobilization theory neglects the political and ideological components of the social movements.

The theory appeared indifferent to the political or ideological content of a social movement; it was applied in an almost mechanistic way to organizations of widely differing political and ideological scope, without incorporating these factors within the workings of the model (1990, p.9-10).

Doug McAdam (1982), on the other hand, claims that the theoretical groundings of resource mobilization theory conform with the elite model of the American political system that asserts that the majority of people do not have a chance to influence the political systems since the power and wealth are in the hands of few groups (McAdam, 1982, p.37). McAdam claims that the political process theory is compatible with Marxist theory in two ways. First, similar to Marxist theory, the political process indicates that although the power disparity between elite groups and people exists, this state of affairs is not unavoidable. The positions of marginalized groups in various political-economic structures provide them a potential for insurgence. Second, political process theory states that subjective processes are significant in forming insurgencies. The Marxist theory emphasizes that the political powerlessness of the masses stems from a shared perception of powerlessness as well as from the objective conditions that hinder action (McAdam, 1982, p.37-38).

McAdam (1982) identifies three factors that are effective in the formation of social movements. The first one is the structure of political opportunities available to people. In a given situation, marginalized groups face several obstacles that prevent them from influencing political institutions to realize their group interests. However, it is not a stable situation because the political opportunities for enabling excluded groups to form a collective action to claim their demands enormously change over time. Therefore, the political structures are not stable entities; on the contrary, they are flexible enough to be open to interventions of marginalized groups. At this point, McAdam warns of the threat of constructing direct relations between the events like industrialization, wars, urbanization, and demographic change with the emergence of social movements. He argues that contrary to the classical theories that construct direct relations with social processes and the protests, the political process approach emphasizes that those social processes stimulate social movements only indirectly by restricting existing power relations (p.40-41).

The second factor influencing the generation of social movements is the indigenous organizational strength. The capacity of the marginalized groups to generate social insurgency is highly dependent on the presence of established networks of association.

That is, excluded groups need organizational infrastructure to mobilize the population when the political structures are convenient to organize social insurgency. If the aggrieved population does not have the organizational infrastructure, favorable political opportunities are not sufficient to generate a social movement (Buechler, 2016, p.134). McAdam (1982) identifies four significant resources that influence the organizational strength of the organizational capacity of the population: members, communication, incentives, and leaders. Accordingly, the members are recruited along with the existing networks of relations within marginalized groups.

The established solidarity incentives as a resource increase the motivation of the people to participate in social movements. Through the existing structures of incentives within an excluded group, the free-rider problem⁹ can be eliminated. Another significant feature that improves the strength of the organizational infrastructures is the existence of the communication networks within an aggrieved population (p.46). Freeman (1973) highlights the significance of the communication networks for generating the women's liberation movement.

The development of the women's liberation movement highlights the salience of such a network precisely because the conditions for a movement existed before a network came into being, but the movement didn't exist until afterward. Socioeconomic strain did not change for women significantly during a 20-year period. It was as great in 1955 as in 1965. What changed was the organizational situation. It was not until a communications network developed among like-minded people beyond local boundaries that the movement could emerge and develop past the point of occasional, spontaneous uprising (1973, p.804).

The last feature that affects the generation of the social movements is the leaders. The recognized leadership cadres are necessary for the coordination and direction of the collective action. The availability of recognized leaders within a marginalized group

⁹ According to Olson (1965), the free rider problem occurs when the number of individuals in a group is quite large. "The rational self-interested individuals will not act to achieve their common or group interests" (Olson, 1965, p.2).

indicates the existence of the organizational infrastructure within that population to form social movements (McAdam, 1982, p.47-48).

Alongside the opportunities and organizations, the third mechanism that influences the generation of social movements is cognitive liberation. McAdam argues that

In effect, the altered responses of members to a particular challenger serve to transform evolving political conditions into a set of "cognitive cues" signifying to insurgents that the political system is becoming increasingly vulnerable to challenge. Thus, by forcing a change in the symbolic content of member/challenger relations, shifting political conditions supply a crucial impetus to the process of cognitive liberation (McAdam, 1982, p.49).

People must have subjective perceptions that the existing political institutions and authorities are unjust and delegitimate. By defining an existing system of political relations as delegitimate, people initiate to raise their voices to claim their demands. At this point, people have to convince that their participation in the social movements makes change the present circumstances that lead to insurgence. Therefore, for the political process approach, the subjective perceptions of the people are the causal mechanism for generating social movements.

The emergence of the social movements requires favorable political opportunities, existing organizational infrastructure, and cognitions. However, the opportunities that enable the emergence of social movements are generally short-lived. McAdam (1982) stresses that two factors are significant for explaining the survival of the social movements. The first one is the degree of formalization and the bureaucratization of social movements. Movements need to maintain their organizational strength and exploit opportunities to survive and improve their conditions within the existing political configurations. To be able to achieve this, movements have to create enduring organizational structures. With the establishment of centralized and formal organizations, the power to determine the direction of movement formerly used by informal groups is transferred to legally founded organizations. McAdam states that

This transfer of power can only occur, however, if the resources needed to fuel the development of the movement's formal organizational structure can be mobilized. Accordingly, insurgent groups must be able to exploit the initial successes of the movement to mobilize those resources needed to facilitate the development of the more permanent organizational structure required to sustain insurgency. Failing this, movements are likely to die aborning as the loosely structured groups previously guiding the protest campaign disband or gradually lapse into inactivity (1982, p.54).

Buechler (2016) draws attention to the dangers of the formalization and the bureaucratization of the social movements. According to him, the formalization of social movements may cause oligarchization of the organizations by differentiating the leadership cadres from the base. Moreover, over time, movements may become increasingly dependent on external factors for resources, as the resources of the mass base will not be sufficient to sustain social movements. This dependence and cooptation on external factors may cause movements to lose their mass support (2016, p.135).

The second factor that is crucial for the survival of the social movements is the degree of social control. Movements with revolutionary goals and non-institutionalized tactics are much more vulnerable to the social control of the elite group than those do have reformist goals and employ conventional tactics. However, the revolutionary goals and non-institutional tactics may provide opportunities to achieve the insurgent goals of the movements and to sustain the mass support. Therefore, the movements have to construct a balance between goals, tactics, and social control to be able to avoid the repression of the elite group and tactical impotence (McAdam, 1982, p.56-59).

Goodwin and Jasper (1999) criticize the political process for ignoring that not all social movements are focused on the political processes and are not dependent on the political opportunities for mobilization and survival equally (p.34). Although Kriesi (2004) argues that the social movements have a greater degree of autonomy from the political concerns that are less adequately explained by the political process, the movements do not directly engage in the political institutions are enormously

influenced by the changes in the political opportunity structures (p.77). In fact, the how political processes are indirectly influential in the mobilization and survival of the movements that do not engage in institutional politics to realize their insurgent goals is significant for explaining the dynamics of the social movements relied upon non-institutional resources.

In this study, I focus on the conditions and the processes in which the anarchist movement emerged and maintained its mobilization. To discuss the anarchist movement in Turkey being emerged after the 1980 military intervention, it is necessary to focus on the political processes. Which political opportunities influenced the existing configuration of the power relations that enabled the emergence of anarchist politics in the social movements field in Turkey is a significant point to understand the peculiarity of the anarchist movement in Turkey. Moreover, not only political opportunities that indirectly affect the lifecycle of the anarchist movement but also the characteristics of the existing indigenous organizational strength for the mobilization of the anarchist movement and the subjective processes experienced by individuals that convince them to engage in anarchist politics have to be considered for a comprehensive analysis. Therefore, the political process approach provides significant analytical lenses for a detailed examination of the organizational dynamics of the anarchist movement in Turkey.

2.2.3. Framing

Both Resource Mobilization Theory and Political Process Theory marginalized the social-psychological aspects of the social movements by focusing on the resources, mobilization, organization, and external factors (Buechler, 2016, p.141). By emphasizing the significance of the grievances, recruitment processes, inter-personal relations, and motivations, the framing approach aims to investigate the micro-level dynamics of social movements. As Snow et al. (1986) argue that RMT and Political Process Theory reduce the discussions on grievances on existence or absence level;

however, what is significant is to understand “the manner in which grievances are interpreted and the generation and diffusion of those interpretations” (p.466).

The frame analysis approach derives the concept of the frame from the work of Goffman. Goffman defines frames as “schemata of interpretation” that enable individuals to “locate, perceive, describe, and label” events in their own living space and the world in general (Goffman as cited in Benford & Snow, 2000, p.614). Frames have the function of organizing experience and guiding action by helping events and occurrences meaningful.

In the context of social movement frames, collective action frames serve both delegitimizing the existing system and legitimating the actions against grievances. In other words, actors, on the one hand, need to break their bonds with the existing authority by delegitimizing it through collective action frames (Gamson et. al., 1982, p.6, as cited in Buechler, 2000, p.144). On the other hand, these frames are “action-oriented sets of beliefs and meanings that inspire and legitimate the activities” of social movements against specific grievances (Benford & Snow, 2000, 614).

According to Benford and Snow (2000), collective action frames consist of two characteristic elements: the first functions as an action-oriented feature; and the second one is related to the interpretative and discursive processes in which frames are constructed.

Collective action frames are constructed in part as movement adherents negotiate a shared understanding of some problematic condition or situation they define as in need of change, make attributions regarding who or what is to blame, articulate an alternative set of arrangements, and urge others to act in concert to affect change (Benford and Snow, 2000, p. 615).

Snow and Benford (1988) distinguish three types of frames: diagnostic, prognostic, and motivational (p.200). The construction of these three frames is significant for social movements to succeed in mobilizing the consensus among actors and triggering people to take action. Diagnostic framing identifies the reasons for the problematic

issue or situation. That is, this component takes on the function of bringing people together in the face of a common problem by focusing on blame or responsibility. Prognostic framing, on the other hand, articulates the strategies, solutions, and plans to overcome the problems identified by diagnostic frames. Finally, motivational framing serves rationale for action and vocabularies of motive supporting that action (Buechler, 2000, 148). Therefore, the aim of the motivational framing is to convince people that their participation in the movement would make a difference.

As discussed above, the concept of cognitive liberation coined by McAdam highlights similar points as the framing approach concentrates on. People must be persuaded that their involvement will make a difference in the outcome of the process. Taken together with opportunities and resources, cognitive liberation provides the opportunity to approach and analyze the concept of social movements from different levels.

In this thesis, I specifically focus on the framing processes of the anarchist movement in Turkey formulated in the periodicals published by anarchist groups. I discuss how these periodicals define anarchist organizing and set targets for organizations. I argue that the frames developed in these anarchist periodicals are essential for understanding the major social conflicts or arguments on which the anarchist movement in Turkey was built. These frames did not operate in the involvement of individuals in the anarchist movement but also, in certain ways, affected the anarchist organizational dynamics in Turkey.

2.3. SOCIAL MOVEMENTS IN TURKEY

In this part, I will concentrate on the social movements in Turkey. Through these discussions, I aim not only to give a historical background of the anarchist movement but also to highlight the conditions and processes that influence the emergence of anarchist politics in Turkey. First, I will start with the background of the delay of the anarchist movement in Turkey. To provide a comprehensive background for the anarchist movement in Turkey, I will focus on the brief history of the absence of anarchist politics in Turkey. Later, I will give a brief account of the socialist movement

in Turkey, which is directly related to the trajectory of the anarchist movement. Then, I will move on to the proliferation of the social movements after the 1980 military intervention in Turkey by tracing the transformations of the socialist movement and the emergence of new actors in the field of social movements in Turkey, including the anarchist movement.

2.3.1. Delayed Anarchism

Anarchism as a movement has two hundred years of history on the world scene. As discussed above, it was one of the main movements until the revolution of the Soviets. Despite its prevalence in different parts of the world during the 19th century, anarchism did not appear as a movement in Ottoman Empire. According to historian Mehmet Ö. Alkan (1988), there are three possible reasons for this situation. The first reason why anarchism did not develop as a movement in the Ottoman Empire is the absence of certain institutions that operate as a buffer zone between the state and the individual. While the modernization process in the Ottoman Empire dissolved religious institutions, new institutions such as associations, unions, and political parties that were being established instead of them were not effective enough to break the influence of the state on the individual. For Alkan, the second reason why anarchism was not influential in the Ottoman Empire is that an antecedent ideology providing favorable conditions for anarchism, such as liberalism, was not widespread in the Ottoman Empire. And the last reason is the relations between the intelligentsia and the state. Intellectuals in the Ottoman Empire were mainly civil servants. According to Alkan, it was a structurally problematic situation for a group whose existence was dependent on the state to adopt an ideology that opposed the state (Alkan, 1988, p.1818).

Furthermore, Benedict Anderson (2013) claims that anarchism spread in Europe through pamphlets, leaflets, and bulletins. Therefore, the late arrival of the printing press to the Ottomans, the fact that publishing activities were a source of suspicion for the state, and the low literacy rate were the main reasons why anarchism did not emerge in the Ottoman period. For Anderson, the solid patriarchal structure in the

geography of the Ottoman Empire and the erasure operations of the Marxists Socialists after the October Revolution were other potential reasons for anarchism's delay in Ottoman Empire (Anderson, as cited in Soydan, 2013, p.19).

On the other hand, the interest of Ottoman intellectuals in anarchism was limited to the tactics employed by the European and Russian anarchists. As the previous sections have mentioned, during the propaganda by deed period, the assassinations of bureaucrats, members of dynasties, and politicians created fear of anarchism. While the state authorities took measures against the threat of anarchism, the oppositional groups were significantly affected by this tactic. During this period, it's known that some Young Turks¹⁰ have influenced by the anarchist propaganda by deed as their primary obstacle to realizing their cause was the sultan (Soydan, 2013, p.34; Hanioglu, 1995, s.171).

Contrary to the Muslim population, anarchism has been influential among Armenian intellectuals. Alexander Atabekian¹¹ , a member of the Armenian Revolutionary Federation, published Hamanykh magazine in 1895 in Paris. According to Selbuz, these periodicals consisted of articles related to anarchism and Armenian revolutionary movements and also some critics of the authoritarian and statist structure of these movements (Selbuz, 2006, para.15). On the other hand, Çorlu (2016) argues that the surveillance reports on activities of anarchists within the borders of the Empire and the countermeasures taken by the state show a significant existence of anarchists in the Ottoman Empire during the late 19th and early 20th centuries (p. 560-569). Çorlu's study shows us that the activities of especially Italian anarchists in the Ottoman Empire point to the existence of an informal network in geography covering Europe, the

¹⁰ Young Turks, is a coalition of various reform groups that led a revolutionary movement against the authoritarian regime of Abdulhamid II. After coming to power, the Young Turks started activities that modernized the Ottoman Empire and supported a new understanding of Turkish nationalism (Britannica, 2020, para.1).

¹¹ According to Cemal Selbuz, anarchists members in the Armenian Revolutionary Federation sent a leaflet to 1896 International with a signature as "a group of Armenian Libertarian." This leaflet was translated by Max Nettlau and published in Der Sozialist which was run by Gustave Landauer. (Der Sozialist 26 of September 1896 No:39) (Soydan, 2013, p.52-53).

Ottoman Empire, and Egypt. Unfortunately, the anarchist experiences in the Ottoman Empire period still remain an unexplored area for us.

After the founding of the Turkish Republic, it is not possible to trace the activities of anarchist groups or self-proclaimed anarchists in Turkey. 1917 Soviet Revolution has declared the official victory of Marxism/Socialism in one sense while defusing the rival political movements. Anarchism started to lose its power and legitimacy until the 1936 Spanish Civil War, as it was the last moment of anarchism in the first half of the 20th century.

Anarchism regained visibility during the 1968 protests in different countries. It does not mean that anarchist activists dominated 1968 social insurrections. Anarchist groups in many countries were not strong enough to determine these protests in number. However, the 1968 protests represent a challenge against all established hierarchies and domination in every social realm, including the institutionalized left (Berry, 2019, p.449-470; Porter, 2016, p.154,155). In that sense, for George Woodcock, 1968 was a sign of the revival of anarchism in the second half of the century. However, as he emphasizes, it was not the return of classical revolutionary anarchism but rather a “moral-political movement typical of the age” (Woodcock, 1968).

The 1968 protest cycle is not significant only for the history of anarchism, but it also shapes the social movements literature. Together with the socio-cultural transformation of the society in the post-war era, the 1968 protests reflect a shift from the class-based old social movements to the new social movements with the different logics of action based on politics, ideology, and culture (Buechler, 1995, p.442). According to Boggs, the protest cycles in the 1960s influenced the feminist, ecology, LGBTTTQ, and urban protest movements, which mobilized millions of people in the following decades (1995, p.348). Furthermore, Wallerstein and Zukin (1989) stress that national and social anti-systemic movements that emerged in the nineteenth century prioritized the oppression of a particular “class” or “nation” by the dominant

ones. However, he continues by adding the significant difference between the old anti-systemic movements and 1968:

Both kinds of movements took concrete organizational form in one country after another, eventually almost everywhere, in the second half of the nineteenth and the first half of the twentieth century. Both kinds of movements came to emphasize the importance of obtaining state power as the indispensable intermediate achievement on the road to their ultimate objectives. The social movement, however, had an important worldwide split in the early twentieth century concerning the road to state power (parliamentary versus insurrectionary strategies) (Wallerstein and Zukin, 1989, p.434).

Arrighi, Hopkins, and Wallerstein (1989) argue that the transformation of the anti-systemic movements in the second half of the twentieth century resulted from the changes in their social base. That is, the old antisystemic movements emerged within the environment of the late nineteenth century when the intensification of the capitalist accumulation and the rationalization of the economic activity deepened enormously (p. 77). As Wallerstein and Zukin (1989) highlight, the 1968 protests signify changes in the strategies of the political action targeting the social transformation. New political actors claimed their rights and voices by refusing the assumed role of the industrial proletariat in the revolutionary process, creating challenges for the established parties and organizations of the socialist left (1989, p.436).

However, the 1960s were significantly different for Turkey regarding social movements protests. While protests in Europe were characterized as the beginning of questioning the authoritarian tendencies of the institutionalized socialism (old anti-systemic movements) and the intensification of the new identities in the social movements field, radical socialist politics emerged as a new political ideology in Turkey, especially for students and the intellectuals who were previously sympathizers of the Kemalist Republican People's Party (CHP) (Gurpinar, 2011, p.451). Gün Zileli expresses this situation as follows:

A general name is 68, but I think the 68 in Turkey has little resemblance to the 68 in Europe. Because while Europe 68 was something that broke away from Stalinism, moved away from it, targeted it, and blamed the French Communist Party or something, we were running towards Stalin (Zileli, as cited in Soydan, 2013, p.61).

This difference between Turkey and Europe in terms of the significant characteristics of 1968 is highly associated with the developments of the socialist movement in Turkey until that day. It is significant to understand the characteristics of the socialist movement in Turkey to be able to evaluate the emerging conditions of the anarchist movements and their major characteristics. It can be claimed that the changes and transformations the socialist left went through during the course of the recent history of Turkey would enlighten the roots of the emergence of anarchist politics in Turkey.

2.3.2. A Brief History of Socialist Movement in Turkey

It is possible to divide the history of the socialist movement in Turkey into three main periods: until the 1960s, the period between 1960 and 1980, and after 1980. The official history of the socialist left in Turkey can be started with the foundation of the Communist Party of Turkey (TKP). CPT was established in the Soviet Union under the leadership of Mustapha Suphi in 1920. The Party emerged as a product of the relations between the Soviet Union and the Anatolian government during the independence movement.

During this period of good relations, the Soviets declared that they supported the "struggle against the British in Anatolia" at the Congress of Peoples of the East convened in Baku in 1920. Likewise, Mustafa Kemal declared that the Anatolian government agreed to cooperate with the Soviets to fight against imperialism in a letter dated April 26, 1920 (Sala, 2021, p.17). Therefore, as a product of the rapprochement between the Soviets and the Anatolian government, CPT supported the Anatolian independence movement while positioning itself with Bolshevism. Furthermore, this situation led the Turkish socialist movement to adopt the Leninist organizational type from the very beginning.

As mentioned above, the Soviet Union supported the Anatolian government and Mustafa Kemal; the period started with the independence movement in Anatolia. However, this support did not find an answer in the same way that the Kemalists treated the socialists in Turkey. Mustafa Suphi and his comrades were assassinated on January 28, 1921, off the coast of Trabzon. Thus, both the founder of the Turkish communist party and its most militant cadres were eradicated. However, the killing of Turkish communists did not negatively affect the relations between the Soviets and Turkey. Two months later, a Soviet-Turkish agreement was signed, stating that both countries were united in the fight against imperialism.

It would not be wrong to say that the basic dynamic of the relationship between the Soviet Union and Turkey is the anti-imperialist struggle. In addition, Bukharin claimed that despite Turkey's persecution of the communists, it played a revolutionary role because it was a destructive tool for the imperialist system (Bukharin, as cited in Samim, 1981). According to Durgun (2015), the process within the Turkish nation-state established and the developments of left-wing movements in other countries and the socialist countries determined the developments of the socialist left in Turkey (p.9). Durgun points out that the Comintern's strategy of supporting the independence movements of the nationalist groups by the communist parties in the East shaped the first period of the socialist movement in Turkey:

As a matter of fact, the support strategy of the Comintern to the national movements of independence deeply influenced the approaching of the left-wing movements in 1920s and 1930s in Turkey to the Kemalist ideology. The pro-Soviet CPT argued in this period that the conditions were not ripe for a socialist revolution in Turkey and that the Kemalist government should be supported for the development of capitalism so as to gain independence from imperialism and to eradicate feudalism. To keep the Kemalist government on the right track and to help the necessary steps to be taken, the communist movement would play an important role as a strong opposition. To do this, CPT followed, until 1925, a policy of “support to the government to protect the gains of the bourgeoisie revolution and opposition to the government for the progress of the bourgeoisie revolution (Durgun, 2015, p.14).

The oppressive attitude of the Kemalist regime against the communists continued in the same way in the decades after the proclamation of the republic. As stated by Sala (2021), communists were suppressed and pushed underground with the 1925 Takrir-i Sükun Law (the Law of the Procuring of Peace), although they supported the government against the Sheikh Said Uprising¹² in Eastern Anatolia (2021, p. 17). In such a climate, the CPT tried not to attract attention by minimizing its activities in the face of this attitude of the government. As a result, socialist publications did not deal with current political issues and avoided direct criticism of the government. The focus was on issues such as urbanization and modernity, which are in line with this moderate line of socialist publications and did not directly target the government (Tunçay, 1995, 1954). In a similar vein, there was significant oppression of the workers' movements and communists in the first decades of the republic. As Moreno (1997) notes:

The workers' movement of the country in the period of the one-party rule was no more animated, experiencing just a few modest mobilizations -all of them crushed by the CHP-led state. In 1925, a Kurdish uprising in the east began, and it was used as an excuse of the first extensive arrest of the TKP (Communist Party of Turkey) members, accompanied by the banning of all workers' organizations for good. The CHP government continued to make periodical arrest of communists in 1927, 1929, 1930, 1932, and 1946 (1997, p. 124).

Notwithstanding the severe pressures of the Kemalist regime, the communists of Turkey never took an open front against the Kemalists; on the contrary, they were content to encourage the Kemalist revolutions to take them further (Somay, 2008, p.649). The early period of the socialist movement in Turkey can be characterized by efforts to define itself within the sovereign national culture and its official ideology. The socialist movement in Turkey could not get rid of the reflex of "saving the state"

¹² According to Olson and Tucker, the Sheikh Said rebellion, which broke out in Kurdish districts in southeastern Turkey in 1925, was the first large-scale rebellion to occur immediately after the founding of the Turkish Republic. The Kurds, led by a tribal leader known as Sheikh Said and a Naqshbandi dervish, took up arms against newly formed Ankara government. The revolt quickly spread. The most important effects of this revolt are the strengthening of Turkish nationalism and acting as a catalyst for the growth of Kurdish nationalism (Olson & Tucker, 1978, p.195-196).

inherited from the last periods of the Ottoman Empire. This situation determined the color of the socialist movements' attitudes toward Kemalist revolutions.

For Başkaya (2008), the ideological-theoretical repertoire of the socialist left was based on a hybridized version of Stalinism and Kemalism. Although CPT had existed since the early 1920s, it had consistently failed to connect with the mass, which had remained a secret organization. In particular, CPT could not go beyond being an ideological backup for the Stalinist and Kemalist bureaucracies. CPT was a diplomatic manipulation tool of the Stalinist Soviet Union and the corrupt Comintern (2008, p.73-74).

After the transition to the multi-party system, Kemalists and socialists united against the Democratic Party government, which won the elections in 1950. While socialists regarded the Kemalist regime of the early Republican period as an anti-imperialist and national developmentalist revolutionary breakthrough, they saw the Democratic Party's coming to power in 1950 as a counter-revolutionary break (Doğan, 2021, p.1517). The rapprochement between Kemalists and socialists not only had strategic purposes such as party and organization but also theoretically led to the emergence of a synthesis trend between the Kemalist development model and the socialist development model (Sala, 2021, p.18). With the May 27, 1960 coup, serious alliances were established between Kemalists and socialists, and this situation became one of the main factors in the differentiation of 1968 Turkey from the movements in Europe.

It is not surprising that anarchism as a political ideology did not find ground in Turkey within such an environment. Even the socialist movement was a newly discovered ideology that had just begun to reach larger masses. At this point, it is significant to understand the conditions that shaped the characteristics of socialist movements in Turkey. As it is discussed above, until the 1960s, the development of the socialist movement was limited to then illegal Turkey's Communist Party (TKP). Although the Turkey Worker's Party (TİP) was legally founded in 1961 and has made significant contributions to the socialist legacy in the following decades, socialist politics was an amateurish and still-emerging movement in Turkey at the beginning of the 1960s.

With the 1960 military coup, the Democrat Party was removed from government, and Prime Minister Adnan Menderes and two ministers were executed. On the other hand, the country began to be governed by the National Unity Committee, composed of military officers. A constituent assembly was established, and a new Constitution was made in 1961. The 1961 Constitution is significant for the proliferation of different socialist groups during the 1960s since it introduced broader definitions of rights and freedoms. For instance, with the 1961 Constitution, establishing and becoming a member of a political party has been facilitated, and the only authorized court for the financial audits and closure cases of the parties has been decided as the Constitutional Court (Tanör, 2004, p. 387). According to Buçukçu (2022), the military coup on May 27, 1960, changed the social and political realms of Turkey significantly. For him, the social movements started to develop more incredibly, and the diversification within the socialist movement based on revolutionary strategies and criticism of Kemalism accelerated (Buçukçu, 2022, p.246).

In spite of being oppressed in the period until the 1960s, the socialist movement in Turkey managed to become massive throughout the 1960s. Undoubtedly, the political and social changes in Turkey have been influential in the massification of the socialist left. On the one hand, civil and political organizations were paved with the 1961 Constitution; on the other hand, political and social developments gained momentum with the rapid increase in urbanization. In the case of the socialist movement, the debates on the possibilities and conditions of a socialist revolution in Turkey accelerated in this period with the translation of European socialist literature.

However, these discussions were limited to strategic revolutionary method discussions on how to make the revolution, and analyzes of Turkish society were made superficially. The revolutions in China and Cuba were primarily followed, believing that similar revolutions could also occur in Turkey (Sala, 2021, p.23). Within such an environment, there were three main currents within socialist movements: the Yön Movement, the National Democratic Revolution (NDR), and the Worker Party of Turkey (TİP).

Another significant issue that determined the development of the socialist movement during the 1960s was the attitudes of socialists toward Kemalism. It can be claimed that Kemalism has been redefined by the socialists of Turkey as an anti-imperialist, anti-feudalist, developmentalist, and progressive ideology (Doğan, 2021, p.1515). Since the CPT, the socialist movement in Turkey has felt close to and embraced Kemalism as a progressive and anti-imperialist legacy. As a continuation of this trend, socialist groups emerged in the 1960s, which saw Kemalism as a stage on the road to socialism. The first of these groups was the circle of the magazine *Yön*, which was started to be published in 1961. Bora explains the main argument of the *Yön* Movement as follows:

Yön Movement wanted to turn Kemalism's superstructural (educational-cultural) revolutionism into infrastructural (economic) revolutionism and make it a step toward socialism. According to the leaders of the *Yön* Movement, the socialist potential of the Turkish national liberation revolution was wasted due to ignorance on economic issues and submission to the comprador aghas (as well as the sublime Porte and corrupt intellectuals), and therefore the counter-revolution was victorious. The working class, which was missing at that time, was now on the way to being; however, it was weak and uneducated. Therefore, *Yön* Movement claimed that in order to restart the national revolution, it was necessary to rely on the "robust force" of the Kemalist military-civilian intellectual group. What *Yön* Movement did was transfer the substitution and tutelary spirit of Kemalism to socialism, which they already considered as a way of rapid development and modernization (2017, p.165).

The *Yön* movement, a hybrid of Kemalism and socialism, attributed a developmental and national character to socialism. Therefore, according to *Yön* Movement, for the economic and social development of an underdeveloped country like Turkey, it was necessary to break away from Western imperialism and determine a state-led development strategy.

The second significant group in the second half of the 1960s was the National Democratic Revolution, a Stalinist movement that originated from the Communist Party of Turkey. According to this argument, in countries with capitalism, the

proletariat is not mature enough, a national democratic revolution with the union of the peasants and the proletariat was required to achieve socialism (Durgun, 2015, p.18-19). In the background of the revolutionary strategy of the NDR movement, there were the influences of Lenin and Mao-Zedong rather than Marx and Engels. In other words, it can be said that the main factor in the focus of the NDR movement on Lenin and Mao was the search for a revolutionary strategy for Turkey (Stephenson, 2011, p.111).

The National Democratic Revolution movement was also influential in adopting the armed struggle method by some factions within the left of Turkey. Therefore, young socialists, influenced by the arguments and the revolutionary strategy of the NDR, formed armed guerrilla groups in the 1970s (Sala, 2021, p.22). Similar to the Yön Movement, the NDR regarded Kemalist Turkey as an independent, anti-imperialist and anti-feudal country. They saw Kemalist reforms as necessary but never completed breakthroughs. According to the NDR, this situation allowed counter-revolutionary groups to regain political power. Therefore, a "national" revolution was essential before socialism. Also, like the Yön Movement, the NDR believed in the necessity of a national revolution supported by the army as a precondition for a socialist revolution in Turkey.

By following a different strategy from the Yön Movement and NDR, the Worker Party of Turkey (TİP) was the most significant legal socialist organization in Turkey. According to the dominant socialist understanding of the period represented by the Yön movement and the NDR, the underdeveloped countries had to go through the stages of an anti-imperialist and anti-feudal revolution in order to transition to socialism. For this, a "national front" to be established under the leadership of the army was needed. This approach was also supported by the Soviet Union. However, TİP¹³,

¹³ The Workers' Party of Turkey (TİP) was founded by socialist intellectuals and union representatives in the post-coup conditions of the 1960s, in a relatively pluralistic political and legal environment. The party is the first socialist party represented in the Turkish Grand National Assembly. Despite the party's socialist rhetoric, it was criticized for its poor contact with the low-income and rural areas of the country (Baykan, 2018).

which was against this argument, argued that the anti-imperialist struggle and the socialist struggle should be carried out together (Şener, 2008, p.356).

In the party program, the class struggle was taken as the basis, and it was stated that the leadership of the working classes should be supported in order to solve the problems. Thus, TIP, which draws the framework of a Marxist form of struggle and takes part in parliamentary politics, differs from other socialist movements of the period (Şener, 2008, p.359).

On the other hand, the WPT, which had a statist and centrally planned development approach, argued that underdeveloped countries could only develop through statist economic planning and the non-capitalist path. While the WPT did not explicitly present socialism as a goal, it claimed that the non-capitalist way strategy was what Atatürk had formulated (Akın 2008, p.91). Therefore, WPT, whose legitimacy was based on the 1961 Constitution, interpreted Atatürk's principles from a socialist perspective in an effort to integrate Marxism with Kemalism.

Especially until the 1970s, the leftist movement in Turkey embraced the Kemalist revolutions but saw them as incomplete breakthroughs that needed to be developed. The reflex to save the state determined the direction of the socialist movement, and the primary strategy of the leftist groups was to seize the state power. Likewise, the relationship of the socialist movement with the masses was embodied in the understanding of "for the people, despite the people" as a continuation of the Kemalist discourse. However, March 12, 1971 Military Memorandum refers to a significant transformation in the socialist left in Turkey in terms of the relationship between Kemalism and socialism.

When it comes to the 1970s, it is possible to claim that Turkey's political instability and uncertainty prevailed. So much so that ten different governments were established in Turkey from 1971 to the military intervention of September 12, 1980. None of them represented the majority in the Turkish Grand National Assembly (Gunter, 1989, p.64). On the other hand, the divergences within the left movement that started

towards the end of the 60s continued to increase in the 70s. Some segregating groups claimed that guerrilla warfare was the only solution to achieving a revolution in Turkey.¹⁴ The tendencies of armed struggle and guerrilla warfare became widespread, especially among young militants between 1971 and 1972. After the military coup on March 12, 1971, the radical socialist movements had become silent for three years because all leftist political organizations were banned, and young leftist militants were arrested by the military regime (Moreno, 1997, p.132).

The socialist movement in Turkey regained strength in the second half of the 1970s, with the release of leftist organizations and union cadres with the 1974 amnesty. DISK (The Revolutionary Confederation of Labour Unions) expanded its organizations with thousands of members; the student youth movement struggled with the ultra-nationalist militants; civil servants formed several mass organizations. Most of these organizations were under the control of socialist organizations and parties (Moreno, 1997, p.134). On the other hand, the right extremist groups have also formed organizations in the same period. Idealists, publicly known as Grey Wolves, have been active in violent confrontations in universities since the 1960s. The most significant characteristic of this armed extremist-right group is its organic relations with Nationalist Action Party (MHP).

With the May Day massacre in 1977¹⁵ and the Kahramanmaraş massacre in 1978¹⁶, the violent confrontations between leftist and right extremists became street politics. While the attacks of extremist-right militants on the leftist groups were increasing,

¹⁴ Major groups supported guerilla warfare in this period are as follows:
TKP-ML-TIKKO (Communist Party of Turkey – Marxist-Leninist Revolutionary Workers’ and Peasants’ Army of Turkey)
THKP-C (People’s Liberation Party-Front of Turkey)
THKO (People’s Liberation Army of Turkey)

¹⁵ See details in: <https://www.nytimes.com/1977/05/02/archives/39-killed-in-fighting-at-may-day-rally-in-istanbul-39-are-killed-in.html> Retrieved on 11.22.2021

¹⁶ The attacks targeted Alevi population in Kahramanmaraş. After one-week attacks, 111 Alevis were killed and hundreds more injured. See details in: <https://www.rudaw.net/english/middleeast/turkey/29122013> and <https://www.cumhuriyet.com.tr/haber/kahramanmaras-pain-of-39-years-889789> Retrieved on 12.22.2021

there was dissensus among the leftist organizations regarding the armed struggle. As a result, with the violent atmosphere extending to the streets, leftist groups lost their legitimacy in the eyes of the masses, and the workers' movement started to retreat from the political struggle.

2.3.3. After 1980

By the 1980s, the main problems were increasing violence across the country, the divisions that led to violent conflicts within the socialist left, and the economic crisis. The army staged a coup on September 12, 1980, giving the "anarchy and chaos" environment throughout the country as a justification. The 1980 military coup has a notable place in the collective memory of society. It was not because the military interventions were unusual for society; on the contrary, Turkey experienced military interventions almost every ten years.

However, one can claim that the 1980 military coup was the most destructive one regarding its impacts and scope. The military intervention in 1980 led by General Kenan Evren abolished all political establishments and brought repressive measures to limit fundamental rights such as freedom of speech, freedom of organization, and the press. Political parties and a large number of politicians were banned from politics. Both left and right movements suffered from illegal detentions, arrests, and enforcement during this period.

Factors such as the increase in the state's intervention in the social sphere after September 12 and the liberal policies that accelerated the free market economy with the January 24 decisions led to structural change. The different interpretations of the socialist movements on how to display a political attitude in the face of this change have led to new divisions. In this period, issues such as the qualitative structure of the state, the state-society relationship, the liberalization of the market, and how the political struggle would be conducted were on the agenda of socialists. The difference in interpretation of these issues deepened the separation of socialist left movements in the 2000s (Sala, 2021, p.26).

The history of the socialist movement in Turkey has witnessed many periods of rising and falling. However, it would not be wrong to claim that none of them shook the socialist movement as much as the 1980 military coup and caused sharp transformations. This period has been a period when the left's relationship with the masses was limited. Socialist movements that moved away from the action were primarily published in magazines and newspapers and tried to continue their existence through publications. As the political left moved from the "political sphere" to the "intellectual/individual sphere," it manifested itself as an intellectual curiosity rather than a political outline. After 1980, the circle of the *Birikim* journal came to the fore as a significant intellectual movement (Durgun, 2015, p.24).

In the 1990s, socialists began to enter the political struggle again through parties and unions. Especially the weakening of the Soviets and the failure of real socialism caused disappointment for the socialist movements. Intra-left debates about redefining socialism were more intense. The popularization of the "new left" concept also corresponds to this period. The developments and social movements in the national and international arena in the late 80s led the socialist movement to evaluate itself on a critical basis. With the restructuring policies of the USSR and the end of the Cold War, the international system was on the verge of a major change. The worldwide socialist movement entered into a process of unity and restructuring in parallel with the end of the cold war conditions and the international disintegration of the socialist movement. Some dynamics ignited a similar process in Turkey as well. Workers' actions in the spring of 1989, the Kurdish movement, the feminist movement, and the youth movement were important dynamics that emerged in the post-1980 period and that the left of Turkey had to relate to. (Öngider, 2008, p.999-1001).

Socialists came together in 1989 in meetings with the theme of "unity among socialists" held in Istanbul Kuruçeşme. Representatives of many legal and illegal socialist groups attended these meetings. The Socialist Unity Party was established as a result of these meetings. After the Constitutional Court dissolved this party, party members joined the United Socialist Party. On the other hand, this party dissolved itself in 1996 and joined the Freedom and Solidarity Party (ÖDP), which was founded

as a result of these meetings (Sala, 2021, p.23-24). Öngider describes the consequences of ÖDP as:

The failure of the ÖDP, as a unity and restructuring project that covered a significant part of the socialist movement, penetrated the accumulation of the left in the last quarter-century by including its main currents and activated the existing left potential to some extent, was the failure of the left's serious breakthrough after 12 September. In fact, a critical 10-year process that started in Kuruçeşme in the summer of 1989, passing through various moments, progressing in different organizational and political forms, came to a point with the ÖDP and ended unsuccessfully (Öngider, 2008, p.1003).

During this period, another important group within the Turkish socialist movement was the Revolutionary-Left group, which saw itself as the natural heir of the THKP-C. Revolutionary-Left founded the Revolutionary People's Liberation Party/Front illegally in 1994. The concept of sacrifice (turning the body into a weapon), which is the prominent political discourse of the DHKP-C, was embodied in prison resistances and death fasts. With the prison resistances, 1984 death fasts, 1996 death fasts, and death fasts initiated against the F-type isolation regime in 2000, the culture of sacrifice has become the main political activity and political socialization mechanism of the movement (Bora, 2017, p.686).

Apart from the new formations and divisions within the socialist movement after 1980, new actors have also been included in the field of social movements in Turkey. The first of these is the human rights movement. In 1986, the Association for Solidarity and Assistance for the Relatives of Prisoners and Convicts (TAYAD) and the Human Rights Association (IHD) were established. Continuing its activities under intense pressure, TAYAD was established to carry out the struggle against the oppressive attitude toward prisoners in prisons outside the prison. Bora (2017) argues that while

trying to expose and prevent human rights violations, TAYAD does not adopt the human rights philosophy that it defines as bourgeois. This stance of TAYAD stemmed from its evaluation of human rights law as an achievement to be exploited in the war between the revolutionaries and the power that captured them. (p.687). On the other hand, although there are circles close to TAYAD's stance within the İHD, circles that embrace human rights as a stand-alone struggle perspective emerged from the İHD. According to Bora (2017),

Especially in the '90s, İHD, which inevitably focused on the systematic gross violations of the state of the emergency regime against the Kurdish people, while naturally increasing the number of Kurdish victims-and-activists, was subjected to pressure and attacks on the accusation of "Kurdishism." Nearly twenty—predominantly Kurdish—administrators and members were killed, and Akın Birdal, the chairman between 1992-1999, survived an attack from which he returned from the dead. In the meantime, İHD tried to explain constantly, in the face of an uninterrupted statist-nationalist campaign, that human rights should be claimed and defended against the state 'inherently.' On the other hand, it did not stay away from advocating that the law of war is also binding on the armed forces fighting the state, and condemning the PKK's attacks on civilians (Bora, 2017, p. 687).

At this point, it is necessary to mention the relationship between the Turkish socialist movement and the Kurdish movement. The rejection of Kurdish identity as the official policy of the Republic resulted in the visibility of a Kurdish movement intertwined with the workers' and student movements in the 1960s. At the end of the 1970s, the PKK (Workers' Party of Kurdistan) stood out among other revolutionary and separatist groups and adopted the Kurdish question as to its central political concern (Şimşek, 2004, p.130-131). With the coup d'etat of September 12, 1980, new groups emerged that adopted the methods of armed struggle, despite the prohibition of all kinds of

separatist, extreme right, and extreme left ideologies and organizations. Increasing its effectiveness in the 1980s, the PKK launched a guerrilla war against the Turkish state and has remained the main point of departure within the Turkish socialist movement since then. Bozarslan (2008) claims that in the 1990s, there was an irreversible break between the Kurdish left and the Turkish left, despite some efforts to cooperate (p.1196).

In addition to socialist groups criticizing the Kurdish movement, especially the PKK, there were also socialist groups close to the Kurdish movement. However, the transformation of the relationship between the Turkish left and the Kurdish movement into a common ground movement that transcends both sides was only possible with the Democratic People's Congress established in 2011. This platform consisted of a number of leftist organizations and independent leftist, feminist, LGBTTTQ+ groups and individuals, apart from the Kurdish movement, which constitutes the main body. HDK transformed into the Peoples' Democratic Party in 2013 (Bora, 2017, p.732).

Another important actor that has been influential in the field of social movements in Turkey, especially since the 1980s, is the feminist movement. Although the history of the women's movement dates back to the Ottoman period, within the scope of this study, I will briefly touch upon the post-1980 feminist movement's relationship with the socialist movement. According to Zihnioğlu (2008), the period until 1980 was a period when male chauvinism and militarism rose in Turkey, and the problems of female workers were not even mentioned. Although the İKD, which was established under the TKP, had an effect that broke sexism in 1975, it could not change the main trend. The feminist movement, which was initially faced with denial, ridicule, and accusation by the men of the left movement, was quickly adopted by socialist women in the following years. The March Against Beating, organized by feminists in 1987, has been an important milestone in the history of the feminist movement in Turkey. With this march, which is accepted as the first outward street action after September 12, the feminist movement has a special place and importance as it is the first radical movement to break the bans of the coup (Zihnioğlu, 2008, p.1120-1127). The feminist wave that started in the 1980s continued to gain strength in the 1990s. The feminist

movement, which became widespread with many components of the women's movement in the 2000s, is one of the most critical social movements in Turkey today.

In addition to these, other important movements such as the anti-militarist movement, the ecology movement, and the queer movement emerged and became massive in Turkey's post-1980 period. While KAosGL, which was founded in 1994, developed the critical and intellectual potential of the LGBTTTQ+ movement in Turkey, the environmental movement, which started to find a response in Turkey with the effect of the green movement in the world, is effective in many areas from anti-HPP protests to Anti-Nuclear platforms. On the other hand, the anti-militarist movement initiated by the anarchists brought a critical attitude not only to the violence used by the army and the state but also to the acts of violence within the left movement. It opened a new political space in the field of social movements in Turkey.

On the other hand, the movement that had a significant impact on the socialist movement after 1980 and other social movements in Turkey was the Gezi Uprising in May/June 2013. The violent police intervention of the protest attempts against the dismantling of Gezi Park in Taksim through an urban gentrification operation sparked a public uprising. After a few days of fighting, Taksim turned into common life and a permanent meeting place for about ten days. These protests, which constituted a communal experience, ended with very violent police intervention (Bora, 2017, p.706-707).

The anarchist movement in Turkey has emerged and mobilized within the field of social movements described above. Öztan and Kartal (p.120) state that anarchists in Turkey use their intellectual energies to criticize the left and evaluate different currents of the left in one pot by making generalized comments about the left in Turkey. In addition, the authors criticize anarchists for seeing the left movement as the reason for the delay of anarchism in Turkey. On the other hand, according to Öztan and Kartal, the intellectual effects of the anarchist movement in Turkey, combined with the analysis of the new wave of oppositional politics brought by the post-modern era and

changed the organizational characteristics of the oppositional discourse (p.120). The authors continue as follows:

Many subjects, such as the horizontal organization model and the principle of self-management, gained popularity on the ground gained by anarchists. Many social movements in Turkey, from anti-militarism to the LGBT and ecology movement, have followed the path opened by anarchists and have shown the possibility of another politics beyond the one imposed by institutional politics...The political tension between certain "left" circles and anarchists continued in the 1990s and 2000s. Today, the anarchist movement in Turkey is still not very visible on the scale of oppositional discourses, but it has the potential to offer new possibilities with its accumulation. It should be noted that, although not directly, the "anarchist" perspective of anarchism inspires today's new opposition movements (Öztan & Kartal, 2014, p.121).

The history of the Turkish socialist movement continues to be both a point of departure and a reference point for the new actors and new left groups that emerged in the field of social movements, especially after the 1980s. For this reason, every discussion about the emergence and organizational processes of the anarchist movement in Turkey has to be associated with the Turkish socialist movement. In this section, the purpose of my discussion of the crucial points in the Turkish socialist movement is to try to explain how the anarchist movement emerged in a political environment, the starting point of anarchist policy, and the main discussions in Turkey by placing the anarchist movement in the context of social movements in Turkey. The historical background presented in this section will make the discussions in the analysis section more understandable.

CHAPTER 3

METHODOLOGY

My curiosity about anarchism has begun with the 2008 Greece demonstrations. However, my sociological interest in the organizing dynamics of anarchist groups in Turkey had started with a specific case that I saw in a news article from 2001. The title¹⁷ of the news article was quite interesting, claiming that the Turkish jurisdiction approved anarchism. The news was about the trial of five people who distributed a "No to Capitalism and War" leaflet at a rally in Uşak on 1 December 2001. Subsequently, they were sued for distributing leaflets and being members of an organization called the "anarchist youth federation."¹⁸ The anarchists from Uşak, who were put on trial with up to five years in prison for alleged membership of an unarmed terrorist organization according to the seventh article of the Anti-Terrorism Law, were acquitted as a result of the trial. The news article claims that with the High Court of Appeal's approval of the court decision, anarchism was not included in the scope of terrorism.

In another news report,¹⁹ it is stated that after the information note sent by the General Directorate of Security to the court, Tayfun Gönül, one of the writers of the Kara Journal and one of the first conscientious objectors of Turkey, was summoned as a witness to the court on the allegation that he was the leader of an illegal organization, including the Uşak anarchists. In the interview, Tayfun Gönül stated that it is a funny

¹⁷ <https://www.gazetevatan.com/gundem/yargi-anarsizmi-onayladi-12002>. Retrieved on 12.05.2021

¹⁸ <https://bianet.org/bianet/insan-haklari/11925-dunyadan-izole-edildik>. Retrieved on 12.05.2021

¹⁹ <https://www.milliyet.com.tr/pembekar/anarsist-tanimi-hapisten-kurtardi-5219747> Retrieved on 12.05.2021

situation that he is called as a witness by the court on the claim that he is the leader of the organization, and he continued by saying that there can be no leadership in anarchism. The news report claims that the definition of anarchism and Tayfun Gönül's statement in the court saved them from the prison sentence. This case is noteworthy because it was the first confrontation between the anarchists and the Turkish jurisdiction. Besides, the example above shows the ambiguous position of anarchist organizations that becomes more visible when an anarchist organizing form confronts the legal sphere.

For me, the whole judicial process of this case shows the conflicting but unique characteristics of the anarchist movement in Turkey in terms of its organizing dynamics. Moreover, the accusations of being a member of an unarmed terrorist organization and the court's efforts to find "organization" and "leader" are significant in terms of understanding what the concept of "organization" means in the context of Turkey. As another example that reinforces this situation, the 2006 report titled Turkey and Terrorism prepared by the Union of Turkish Bar Associations explains the main difference between anarchist groups and Marxist/Leninist/Maoist Left groups as the absence of an organization founded by militants united around a purpose in anarchism (Türkiye Barolar Birliği, 2006). More importantly, these examples indicate how vague each one of the concepts "anarchist," "organization," and "anarchist organization" are in the context of Turkey.

3.1. Background of the Methodology

Dealing with the methodological concerns related to this study was the major challenging part of the process. The problem was how I should approach the research subject to be able to explain the conditions that shaped the organizing practices of the self-proclaimed anarchists within a historical process while avoiding locating descriptions of respondents' experiences at the center of the research. This study searches for more than individual opinions and experiences; instead, it aims to explain the conditions that affect the existence of all of these experiences within the specific context.

These concerns pushed me to enlarge the map of the connections, interactions, and relations that produce the spatio-temporal context in which the anarchist/anarchist groups emerged in contemporary society before starting my field research. Since the primary motivation for studying this specific research subject was to explain the grounds of the anarchist organizing practices in Turkey, contrary to describing the experiences of individuals without explaining how they emerge as they do, I designed this research as a case study with a methodology informed by the critical realist approach.

Critical realism formulated by Bhaskar (1975) is a significant alternative to positivist and interpretive paradigms in social research. Although I positioned myself as a researcher in line with the ontological and epistemological assumptions of the critical realist approach, the principles of the approach did not be used dogmatically. The main reason for choosing this position for this thesis is its ability to explain historically anarchist organizing practices in the context of Turkey by complementing the qualitative data collected for the study with social movements literature. Before presenting methods and techniques that I employ for this research, I briefly address the main ontological and epistemological assumptions of the critical realist approach since they affect the limits, design, and possibilities of this research. As it is not in the scope of the study, I will not cover all philosophical foundations of critical realism.

The critical realist approach indicates a switch from epistemology to ontology within philosophy. According to critical realism, the world exists independently from our knowledge of it, but this world is more than just events and our experiences of them. Despite the fact that our knowledge of the world is fallible, the critical realist perspective holds that knowledge can be produced through the available discourses and descriptions. The objective world exists independently from our perceptions, imaginations, and languages; however, the critical realists acknowledge that the world also contains subjective interpretations that influence the ways of experiencing and perceiving this objective world (Edwards et al., 2014, p.3).

On the other hand, critical realist ontology proposes that reality is stratified into three domains: empirical, actual, and real (Bhaskar, 1975, p.56).

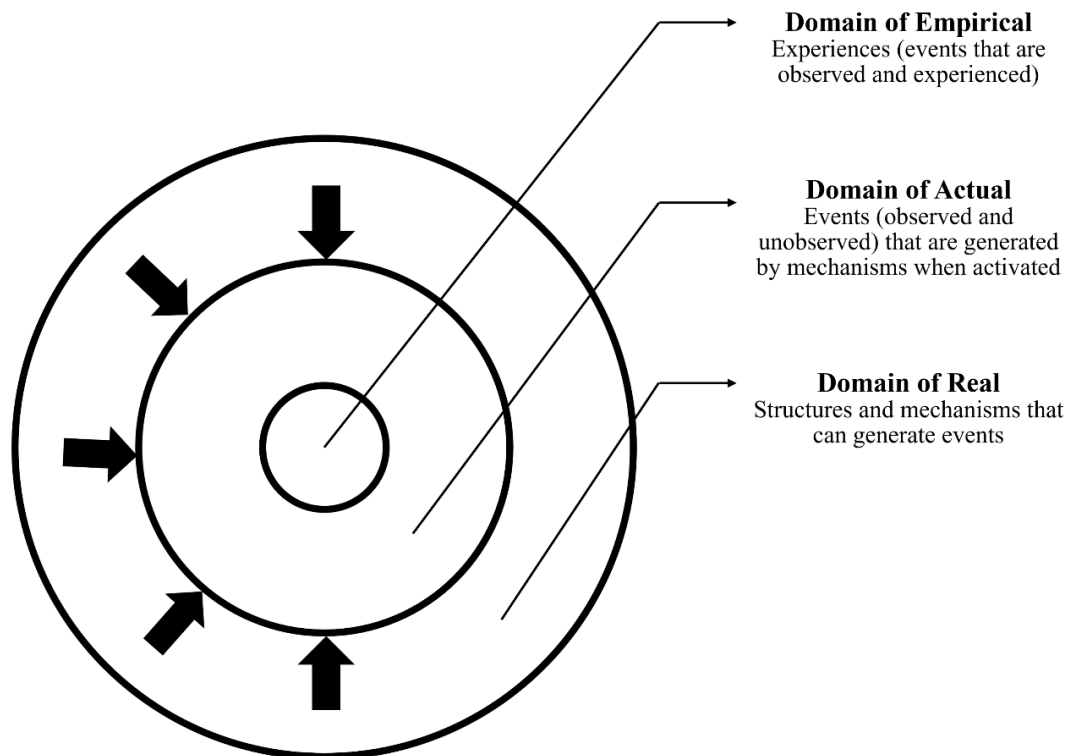


Figure 1. Three domains of reality. The figure is generated from “*Real-izing Information Systems: Critical Realism as An Underpinning Philosophy for Information Systems.*” by Mingers, J. (2002). *Information and Organization*, 14(2), 87–103.

As Figure 1 shows, the empirical domain of reality consists of the events that can be observed and experienced by individuals, while the domain of actual consists of observed or unobserved events generated by mechanisms. The domain of real comprises mechanisms and causal powers that generate the events that constitute the domain of empirical and actual. The real, in critical realism, does not imply a privileged knowledge about the world. However, critical realists refer to two things by the real:

First, the real is whatever exists, be it natural or social, regardless of whether it is empirical object for us, and whether

we happen to have an adequate understanding of its nature. Secondly, the real is the realm of objects, their structures, and powers. Whether they be physical, like minerals, or social like bureaucracies, they have certain structures and causal powers, that is capacities to behave in particular ways, and causal liabilities or passive powers, that is susceptibilities to certain kinds of change (Sayer, 2000, p.11).

The actual refers to the events that happened, whether they are observable to us or not when the powers in the realm of real activated. On the other hand, the empirical domain consists of our direct or indirect experiences. The empirical domain, containing data and facts for scientific research, is “theory-laden” or “theory-impregnated.” Therefore, all our conceptions about the empirical domain are connected to theoretical explanations (Danermark et al., 2002, p. 20, 21).

For critical realists, the real can not be reduced to the experiences of individuals; therefore, a research study guided by the critical realist approach has to direct its focus on the mechanisms and causal relations that generate the diversity of experiences in the empirical and actual domains (Parr, 2015, p.195). For critical realists, the reality is a stratified, open system of emergent entities. The open system indicates that entities interacting to cause events we observe cannot be studied in isolation from their environment (Edwards et al., 2014, p.6).

Critical realism emphasizes that the social world is not a closed system like laboratories but open to diverse possibilities of influences that can change geographically and temporally in expected or unexpected ways. As the research is a social practice (Sayer, 1992, p.16), it is significant for researchers to specify under which conditions a social phenomenon emerges, which influences the ways of approaching them. Therefore, critical realism defines a complex causality and a reality that is not deterministic but contingent and emergent (Boonstra & Rauws, 2021, p. 306). Sayer argues that the emergence in critical realism characterizes the world, and he continues:

that is situations in which the conjunction of two or more features or aspects gives rise to new phenomena, which have

properties which are irreducible to those of their constituents, even though the latter are necessary for their existence (Sayer, 2000, p. 13).

As I discussed in detail in the Introduction chapter, the anarchist movement is a relatively new phenomenon in Turkey. Its newness as a movement also refers to a “historical emergence of a specific political activism”(Cresswell & Brock, 2017, p. 7). Methodologically, this emergence emphasizes a “process of absenting absence,” as Bhaskar explains as follows:

argument, change or the augmentation of ... freedom, which depend upon the identification and elimination of mistakes, states of affairs and constraints, or more generally ills – argued to be absences alike ... dialectics depends upon the positive identification and transformative elimination of absences. Indeed, it just is ... the process of absenting absence (Bhaskar, 2008, 393 and 43 as cited in Cresswell & Brock, 2017).

What is important in this point is that the word anarchist always signifies a troublemaker and deviant individual rather than a type of political activism in Turkey. The process of the emergence of the anarchist movement in Turkey refers to the emergence of “the anarchist” as a group of political activists. Therefore, the critical realist approach also will guide this study to detect which transformative conditions were met for the emergence of anarchist activism in Turkey at a specific period.

The ontological and epistemological assumptions of critical realism provide a solid ground to employ a highly contextual methodology. The critical realist approach offers a rationale for this thesis aiming to explain the conditions of anarchist organizing practices in Turkey. Sayer claims that critical realist research is compatible with various research methods (2000, p.19). However, he distinguishes between the extensive research based on taxonomic groups and the intensive research based on causal groups. While the extensive research focuses on formal relations of similarity, intensive research searches for substantial relations of connection (Sayer, 1992, p.243).

Therefore, I decided to apply an intensive case study design for this study since the case study provides sufficient tools for contextualized explanations that I seek to understand the conditions of anarchist organizing practices in Turkey. Yin defines a case study as:

an empirical inquiry that investigates a contemporary phenomenon in depth and within its real-life context, especially when the boundaries between phenomenon and context are not clearly evident (2003, p.13).

Similarly, Easton emphasizes that the critical case study design allows the researcher to understand a phenomenon in-depth and comprehensively (Easton, 2010, p.119). In the case of social movements literature, this study investigates a highly focused system of action of a single movement to explain how the processes of organizing anarchist groups “are produced and reproduced or changed by examining their ongoing interaction with other elements within the particular context” (Snow and Anderson, 1991, p.153).

For this study, I analyze the anarchist movement in Turkey as a single case to explain what conditions influence the organizing practices of separate groups of activists in relation to the specific contexts. Employing a case study design has several advantages in various ways; as I mentioned above, however, it also has limitations. I will cover the study’s limitations related to case study design at the end of the methodology chapter.

Moreover, I chose semi-structured interviews for the data collection method since this strategy has several advantages for the research subject. First, semi-structured interviews allow analyzing respondents’ individual accounts of experiences to generate explanations for the conditions in which social phenomena emerge in much more flexible ways. Second, the semi-structured interview strategy has a great advantage in research on “loosely organized, short-lived, or thinly documented social movements” and in cases when gathering data through field observation and structured questionnaires is not possible (Blee and Taylor, 2002, p. 93). This situation is relevant for this research since anarchist movements in Turkey can be characterized by

relatively short-lived organizations and initiatives. Finally, the semi-structured interview strategy is quite useful when the respondents are high-risk activists, as in the case of this study. Thanks to this interview strategy, building trust between the interviewer and the respondents becomes easier.

3.1. The Rationale of the Selection of Social Group

The subject of the study necessitated a flexible strategy for the research sample. The information of being an anarchist activist is not readily available to anyone. In some cases, reaching individuals through trusted networks was not enough to convince people to participate in the research. Before starting my field research, I had planned to involve individuals who had been active in an anarchist organization between 1995 and 2005. My aim for setting this criterion for sampling was based on the assumption that the characteristics of anarchist organizing had been consolidated between 1995 and 2000. However, during the field, I realized that this time limit was not representative of the groups, organizations, and initiations within the anarchist movement in Turkey.

Moreover, as finding respondents who wanted to participate in the research was difficult, each potential participant was valuable for the study. For this reason, I decided not to limit my sample in terms of the date of participation. During the field research, I realized that enlarging the sample in terms of the date of involvement was a fair trade-off since the last version of the sampling strategy revealed the whole process of the anarchist movement in Turkey. Thus, as shown in Table 1, the date range of the respondents' involvement in anarchist organizing is between 1995 and 2014.

There are mainly two conditions for the sampling of respondents. The first one is that all respondents have to be self-identified anarchist activists. The second criterion for the sampling was the duration of the activism. Therefore, all respondents of the study have been active as self-identified anarchist activists for at least a year. There is only one exception related to the self-identification as an anarchist for one respondent, A4,

who prefers to call himself an anti-authoritarian rather than an anarchist. Even though he did not suit the first sampling criterion, I included him in the study due to his involvement in the anarchist organizing processes.

Furthermore, there are no sampling conditions related to location. Although all groups and organizations have been located in Ankara and İstanbul, the respondents were living in different places when the interviews were conducted. The online video-conference programs were used to conduct interviews with respondents living in other cities or countries.

I conducted 18 semi-structured interviews with anarchist/anti-authoritarian activists and one key informant interview with a respondent who was the only individual among my sample who had experienced the period before 1995-2000. I preferred to conduct a key informant interview with a different question set since some questions in the previous question set are not relevant to the period before 1995. In addition, the duration of field research lasted from 2019-2021 due to the Covid19 pandemic conditions.

In order to describe the commonalities and the differences of the research sample, I added socio-demographic questions in the interview guide. At the initial stage of the field research, I asked those questions to the respondents at the beginning of the interview. However, I realized that asking personal questions about educational background, occupation, and gender interrupted the interview process. It showed me that the interview is a dynamic process; it can be interrupted if the order and the tone of the questions are not formulated accordingly. Therefore, I decided to ask socio-demographic questions at the end of the interview.

At the initial stages of the field research, my social network provided me to gain access to potential respondents. As the field research process proceeded, the respondents who participated in the study helped me reach new respondents. I preferred to use snowball sampling to access new possible respondents rather than other techniques since it allowed me to indirectly access the respondents' networks.

Table 1. The Profile of Respondents

Respondent s	Ag e	Education	Occupation	Gende r	Date of participatio n in an anarchist group	The age of being recruited in an anarchist organizin g
A1	32	Doctoral student	Unemployed	Male	2009	20
A2	30	Bachelor's degree (drop out)	Natural Building Expert	Queer	2008-2009	17
A3	NI	Bachelor's degree	NI	Female	2009	NI
A4	32	Bachelor's degree	Artist	Male	2008-2009	19
A5	43	Bachelor's degree	Engineer	Male	1995	17
A6	43	Graduate degree	NI	Male	2001	23
A7	37	University student	Videographe r	Male	2005	21
A8	38	Graduate degree (drop out)	Unemployed	Male	2000	17
A9	39	Bachelor's degree	Unemployed	Female	2001	19
A10	44	Associate's degree	Civil Servant	Male	2000	23
A11	36	Open Education Faculty	Web Graphic Designer	Male	2009	24

Table 2. (continued)

Respondent s	Age	Education	Occupation	Gender	Date of participation in an anarchist group	The age of being recruited in an anarchist organization
A12	26	Graduate Student	Research Assistant	Male	2013	18
A13	28	High School Graduate	Unemployed	Male	2013	20
A14	43	Bachelor's degree	Engineer	Male	1999	21
A15	42	Bachelor's degree	Cook	Male	1996	17
A16	28	Bachelor's degree	Carpenter	Male	2014	21
A17	37	Bachelor's degree	Archeologist	Queer	2008	24
A18	31	Bachelor's degree	NGO worker	Female	NI	NI
A19	NI	NI	Publisher	Male	1994	NI

Table 1 displays, there are no dramatic differences between the educational

Respondent s	Age	Education	Occupation	Gender	Date of participation in an anarchist group	The age of being recruited in an anarchist organization
A1	32	Doctoral student	Unemployed	Male	2009	20
A2	30	Bachelor's degree (drop out)	Natural Building Expert	Queer	2008-2009	17
A3	NI	Bachelor's degree	NI	Female	2009	NI
A4	32	Bachelor's degree	Artist	Male	2008-2009	19
A5	43	Bachelor's degree	Engineer	Male	1995	17
A6	43	Graduate degree	NI	Male	2001	23
A7	37	University student	Videographer	Male	2005	21
A8	38	Graduate degree (drop out)	Unemployed	Male	2000	17
A9	39	Bachelor's degree	Unemployed	Female	2001	19
A10	44	Associate's degree	Civil Servant	Male	2000	23
A11	36	Open Education Faculty	Web Graphic Designer	Male	2009	24

backgrounds of the respondents. Almost all respondents have at least a bachelor's degree or equivalent, except one high school graduate and one university dropout. In terms of occupations, there is considerable diversity between respondents. While 4 of

them were unemployed for the time interviews were conducted, the others have full-time jobs. One respondent did not prefer to give information related to occupational status, as shown in the above.

According to answers given to the gender question in the socio-demographic question set, the number of respondents who identified themselves as queer is 2, as the female is 2, and the male is 13. Thus, the research sample is male-dominated, which is one of the limitations of the study that will be explained and discussed in the limitations section at the end of the Methodology Chapter.

Another significant point for the research sample is the date on which respondents were involved in an anarchist organizing form. According to related data gathered from the respondents, it is seen that the first organization experience intensifies in specific date ranges. That is, there are changes in the recruitment in the anarchist movement with increases and decreases. In line with the concentration in these date ranges, I defined four stages of the anarchist movement in Turkey, as can be seen in Table 2.

Table 3. Stages of Anarchist Movement in Turkey

Stages	Respondents
1986-1994	A19
1995-2001	A5, A6, A8, A9, A10, A14, A15
2002-2009	A1, A2, A3, A4, A7, A11, A17, A18
2010-2015	A12, A13, A16

This classification is significant to gain a better understanding of how the anarchist movement in Turkey has changed over time and what caused these changes. Accordingly, only one respondent became an anarchist activist between 1986-1994

that can be defined as the first stage of the anarchist movement in Turkey. A significant increase in the number of respondents who engage in an anarchist organizing form can be observed in the second stage, between 1995 and 2001. In the third stage, between 2002-2009, the number of respondents who became anarchist activists is the same as the second stage, while a considerable decrease can be observed at the last stage. In the Analysis Chapter, I will explain this diversity in the involvement in anarchist activism concerning the conditions and structures that generate differentiation in concentration.

3.2. The Selection Criteria of Journals Reviewed

The access to data was relatively limited for this study, so that I planned to add a second unit of analysis for the research. From the initial stages of the anarchist movement in Turkey to today, several journals, newspapers, and fanzines have been published by the anarchist groups or individuals. These journals and fanzines generally have been published aperiodically. I gathered these publications from an anthology of anarchist publications edited by Can Başkent (2011, 2012), different online blogs, libraries, archives, and also personal archives provided by some respondents of the study.

To find discussions related to organization problems, I reviewed 13 publications: 4 of them fanzines, 2 of them newspapers, and 7 of them are journals. I selected five journals among them to further review for all available issues. I concentrated on articles discussing topics like how an anarchist organization should or should not be and which organizing form is the most appropriate one for anarchists in Turkey. Finally, I chose seven articles from five journals for analysis. As Table 3 shows below, the date of publications of journals varies from 1988 to 2005. I did not determine a time criterion for the publication date; however, I noticed that the discussions related to organizing issues concentrated on a specific time period.

Table 4. The Profile of Articles Analyzed for the Study

Journal	Article	Date of Publication	Author
Amargi	Neden Otonom?	No:7	Anonym
Amargi	Neden Otonom? II	January 1994 No:8	Anonym
Apolitika	Otonomlar Nasıl Oluşacak?	August 1994 No:2	Yükselen Umut
Apolitika	Çünkü, Anarşizm Örgütlülüktür	August 1994 No:2	Hızır Yetiş
Ateş Hırsız	İdeoloji, Örgüt, Politika, Sınıf	April-May 2004 No:6	Gün Zileli
Proleter Teori-A	Nedeniyle Nasılıyla Örgütlenme	December 2005 No:1	Anonym
Journal	Article	Date of Publication	Author
Efendisiz	Toplumsal Örgütlenme Sorunu	November 1988 No:1	Osman Konur

Table 4. (continued)

3.3. Limitations of the Study and Implications with Further Research

The Covid 19 pandemic was the first limit of this study. Due to the pandemic conditions and quarantine measures, it was impossible to meet with the participants initially, but online interviews could be started in the following months. I think it is more advantageous to have face-to-face interviews, especially in this study, where the participants are high-risk activists. It has been more challenging to provide an environment where participants can easily convey their experiences in online interviews. In addition, the widespread and strong security culture among anarchist

activists, their suspicion of online tools used in the interview phase, and their desire to get extra online security are among the factors affecting this situation.

This brings me to the second limit of the study. The subject of the study and the interest group creates a limitation for the study. I interviewed people who had been active in anarchist organizations at some point in their lives, based on their past experiences. The fact that the participants were generally not active in any anarchist formation in the current situation caused them to respond positively to the invitation to meet. However, the main problem was reaching these people. People often choose not to express their anarchist identity unless they are openly organized. Reaching people who were active in different periods of the nearly 35-year anarchist movement or had organizational experience was a complicated process, especially in the early stages.

Accordingly, the third limit of the study is the inability to reach socio-demographic participant diversity. While the majority of the participants stated their gender as male, the number of female and LGBTTIQ participants was limited. Another diversity problem of the study is education. Almost all of the participants are university graduates. Non-university graduates, on the other hand, are generally those who started university but dropped out. In this sense, there was no diversity in terms of the educational background of the participants. On the other hand, although it is not correct to say that the study participants represent the entire anarchist movement, this may provide us with an idea about the anarchist activist profile in Turkey. Although it is a tentative interpretation that needs confirmation, it can be said that the anarchist movement in Turkey consists of male-dominated, with high-educational level, middle or middle-upper class individuals.

In addition, interviewing activists who were politically active and carried out propaganda activities made it difficult at times to draw the axis of the conversation from personal opinions to experiences. This situation sometimes led to the extension of the interviews up to two or three hours. During the interview, it was more functional in such cases to advance the interview through events and concepts rather than using a fixed set of questions. This made me realize that doing research is a social practice

and that the most challenging and also the most playful part of the interview technique is being able to ask the right questions to grasp the interviewee's experiences. However, fortunately, not all interviewees hesitated to share their experiences. In fact, off-the-record interviews were held as well as recorded interviews with the approval of the interviewees. Although off-the-record data were not included in the study, they were helpful in forming a broader perspective on the anarchist movement for me.

The last limitation of the study is one of the main problems that the research focuses on: organization. “Örgüt,” which is the Turkish translation of the word organization, is a word with negative connotations in Turkish society. In this case, the language used by the state and governments also has an effect. On the other hand, the word organization is also a word with negative connotations for some anarchist groups. The “örgüt” is defined as a hierarchical and authoritarian structure pointing to the classical left organizations. While anarchist activists used words such as formation and initiative, they used the word “örgüt” during the interview when they talked about a hierarchically organized structure.

Despite all these limitations, this study has enabled me to make an alternative reading of the last 35 years of Turkey from the perspective of a movement that has remained marginal in terms of numbers and influence. While focusing on the periods of the Turkish anarchist movement, which is part of the study, I indirectly focused on critical periods and points related to recent Turkish history and the field of social movement in Turkey. As I mentioned above, this research, which I tried to do on a marginalized group in terms of numbers and effects, was influential in seeing different layers of social and political reality.

CHAPTER 4

ANALYSIS:

THE ORGANIZATIONAL DYNAMICS OF THE ANARCHIST MOVEMENT IN TURKEY

*“It is not a definition that can be made once and for all, put in a safe and considered a patrimony to be tapped little by little. Being an anarchist does not mean one has reached a certainty or said once and for all, “There, from now on, I hold the truth, and as such, at least from the point of view of the idea, I am a privileged person” [...] Anarchism is not a concept that can be locked up in a word like a gravestone.” (Alfredo M. Bonanno, *The Anarchist Tension*, 1996).²⁰*

In this study, I aim to explain the organizational dynamics of the anarchist movement in Turkey. To be able to achieve this end, I believe that it is necessary to approach the anarchist movement from different angles. First, I discuss in which conditions anarchist activism emerged in Turkey. The social and political environment after the 1980 military intervention created spaces for former leftists to generate discussions related to the authoritarian tendencies of the socialist movement and the potential of anarchism to overcome these problems.

Second, I focus on the strategies of framing of anarchist movement by analyzing the discussions related to organizational problems in the anarchist periodicals. I claim that the anarchist periodicals and the strategic frames they develop are influential in terms of determining major organizational tendencies in the anarchist movement in Turkey.

²⁰ Retrieved on 25.04.2022 from www.geocities.com

In the next part of the chapter, I determine the significant events that produce favorable or detrimental conditions for the mobilization process of the anarchist movement in Turkey. I claim that the anarchist movement as a conjunctural movement emerged in the second half of the 1980s, and its mobilization processes with ups and downs and the organizational tendencies of anarchist groups became meaningful within the social, political, and cultural conditions in the history of Turkey.

Third, I try to explain the diversity of organizational forms in the anarchist movement in Turkey by concentrating on the experiences of self-proclaimed anarchist activists. My main claim is that anarchist organizations can be defined as partial organizing in terms of their divergencies from the formal organizational structures. After zooming in on the strategies adopted in the processes of organizing, such as participation, resourcing and task and resource allocation, and decision-making and control mechanisms, I discuss the main characteristics of the process of organizing anarchist organizations in Turkey. As partial organizations, the anarchist organizations can differ in terms of differences in maintaining social order based on the elements of participation, direct democracy and social control, and autonomy and mutualism.

Lastly, I focus on the primary debates in the anarchist movement. I identify three main discussions related to the organizational practices of anarchist organizations and the relations between anarchist movements with other social movements.

4.1. Anarchist Movement in Turkey

4.1.1. The Emergence of the Anarchist Movement in Turkey

Before discussing the organizational dynamics of the anarchist movement in Turkey, I have to deal with why the anarchist movement and activism emerged in the second half of the 1980s. Today, having a 35-years history, the anarchist movement has different generations of self-proclaimed activists and considerable visibility in the field of social opposition in Turkey.

As Cresswell and Brock (2017) argue for emerging political activism, replacing an absence with a presence, “some transformational conditions historically” must be

realized. (p.10). The authors approach this question through the category of absence coined by Bhaskar, claiming that the category of absence has the potential to explain the emergence of particular political activism. Through the reading of the emergence of specific types of political activism, they identify social movement activism as dialectical praxis, which refers to a process of absencing absence. (p.10). If anarchist activism is a dialectical praxis, which transformational conditions occurred to present an absence in the society?

For the scope of this study, it is significant to focus on what transformational conditions historically had to be met for the emergence of anarchist activism in Turkey. We can determine 1986, the publication date of the Kara journal, as the milestone of the anarchist movement in Turkey. However, it was not an isolated moment in the history of the social opposition in Turkey, and therefore the anarchist movement did not emerge ex nihilo. The absence of libertarian/anarchist politics in Turkey was mentioned in Kara Manifest as follows:

It was not easy to publish such a journal as Kara in Turkey. First, 'KARA' is a manifestation of a social movement, theory, that is, libertarian thought and movement, which is not in Turkey's past, does not occupy a place and is unknown or known from the mouth of its enemies. However, despite everything, Turkey is still a country of people who love authority (Kara, 1987, No:10).

In this part of the thesis, first, I will try to address the presence of the anarchist movement in Turkey by utilizing the political process approach. Political opportunities provide conditions that increase or prevent the mobilization of social movements. According to Tarrow, “contention increases when people gain the external resources to escape their compliance and find opportunities in which to use them.” (1998, p.71). On the other hand, McAdam (1982) argues that political opportunity structure, indigenous organizational strength, and cognitive liberation are three major factors that are significant in emerging social movements. I discuss how these factors affected the emergence of the anarchist movement in Turkey. To be able to determine which

conditions affect the emergence and mobilization of the anarchist movement in Turkey, I focus on country-specific opportunities.

The category of country-specific implies those opportunities at the nation-state level. This approach has pitfalls since focusing on the nation-state level might cause reductionism, especially for the movements like anarchist movements, which are defined outside of the political institutions. Nevertheless, I argue that, despite the risk of reductionism, the country-specific opportunities are significant as the nation-states still have a specific power to define the conditions for the mobilization of social movements. In addition to this, focusing on the country-specific conditions enables me to limit the scope of the study and cling to the direction of the analysis.

Among the study participants, only one participant can be defined as the first generation of anarchist activists in Turkey. Because of various constraints, I could not conduct interviews with other first-generation self-proclaimed anarchist activists. I benefited from the interviews made with first-generation anarchist activists, especially with the writers of *Kara* journal and articles written by the first-generation anarchists.

When I focus on these interviews and articles, increasing state repression of the socialist movements after the military intervention in 1980 was the foremost “opportunity” for the emergence of the anarchist movement in Turkey. This situation might seem contradictory since a decrease in the mobilization of social movements when the state repression increase can be expected from the political opportunity perspective. However, the fragmented field of social movements after the dissolution of the socialist movement opened the place for the emergence of the anarchist movement. Ufuk Ahiska (2014) explains this situation as follows:

There must be the effect of coincidence, but the reason why so many people have started to take similar paths independently of each other is obviously the great defeat of the '80 Coup. It emerged overnight that the left opposition, which was so bulging, was ineffective (as cited in Soydan, 2014, p.83).

Although ideologically, anarchism signifies a withdrawal from the existing political systems, the movement's trajectory depends upon the changes in the political processes. In the 1970s, when the socialist movement was stronger enough to mobilize a considerable amount of masses, a political orientation like anarchism could not find a ground to emerge. One of the respondents is a first-generation self-proclaimed anarchist who explains the situation of the socialist movement before the 1980 military coup.

The youth movement, called the 68/78 generation in Turkey, entered the ideological hegemony of Marxism. The years immediately after 68 were the years when the socialist movement in Turkey was at its most lively. Like many of my anarchist friends, I was an advocate of Marxist thought before embracing anarchism. But the political group I belonged to advocated a less fanatical—perhaps eclectic—interpretation of Marxism than its light to dark hues. This partial originality gave us the courage to move the stone laid by the masters who shaped the architecture of thought. As a matter of fact, as I eliminated the figures in the hierarchy of thinkers, I remember being alone with Marx (A19, NI, Male).

As it is discussed in the Literature Chapter and the respondent argues, there was a hegemony of the socialist left, especially Stalinist and Leninist groups. Even Trotskyism was not a common ideological standpoint within the socialist left. After the violent environment of the 1970s, the military staged a coup on September 12, 1980, on the grounds of so-called "preventing anarchy" and "preserving peace in society." While the military government was maintaining peace in the society, 18 people were executed, and 171 people were killed in tortured interrogations after the coup (Bora, 2017, p.681). My first-generation participant, a former member of a socialist group, addresses his experiences during the military intervention period,

Then, the army, which had watched the situation for about ten years, put on its bayonet and seized not only the state apparatus but also social life. Thus, the social opposition lost its political position and all its opportunities up to that time, all the relationships it had, and everything, including its political presence in most places. The martial law, which started earlier and continued on September 12, lasted seven years. For me,

September 12 meant the usurpation of every area of social life and social life by force, just like today. It should also be noted that in those days when the military state tried to destroy not only political existence but also the slightest hope for change or revolution, tens of thousands of people who were imprisoned in prisons put aside their intellectual differences and tried to survive against this monopoly of violence (A19, NI, Male).

With the military coup of September 12, 1980, the socialist movement was suppressed entirely. It was almost impossible for the socialist organizations, which had already been divided among themselves before September 12, to quickly recover after the coup due to the conditions of the period. On the other hand, after 1980, Turkey entered a period of change both economically and politically. The previous arguments of the socialist left were no longer sufficient to constitute a viable political alternative. Furthermore, significant human resources of the socialist cadre were either in prison or abroad. The lack of members with the organizational experience was another obstacle for the socialist movement to re-organize after the military coup.

The anarchist movement emerged in Turkey when the socialist movement was repressed by the 1980 military coup and lost its hegemony in oppositional politics. It was common in some socialist circles to blame new movements, especially anarchist and feminist movements, for being the ideology of defeat and petty-bourgeoisie tendencies since those movements became influential within the existent socialist groups after the 1980 military coup. A19 describes the period when the discussions related to the September 12 defeat of the socialist left started and the attitudes of the socialists on newly emerged anarchist politics in Turkey.

Although the emergence of the phenomenon that can be called the anarchist movement in the 1980s has something to do with the September 12 defeat, this cannot be explained by the "defeated mood," as the left argues. The Turkish left was only able to open up to the West and Europe after 12 September. Exiled revolutionaries met with different realities of the world. New perspectives, interpretations, and translations began to shake the old orthodox understanding. Significant changes began in the left groups as well. Of course, that was up to a point. The old left generations were content to get rid of Stalin

and partly Lenin in this process. The presence of the feminist movement on the street was also realized in this period. The effect of September 12 on this is limited to the fact that the left, which is focused on the goal of revolution, stumbles disastrously, scattering it all over the world and confronting other facts, especially its own history (A19, NI, Male).

Indeed, the negative attitude of socialists towards the nascent anarchist movement was not only due to the emergence of the anarchist movement as an oppositional alternative to the socialist movement in the field of social opposition. The official history of the communist movement, written by the Soviet Union and especially by Stalin, demonizes everything except the Marxist interpretation of communism and labels them as class-divisive reactionary movements. Therefore, this negative attitude of the Turkish socialist movement, which has been ideologically fed by the Soviet Union from its earliest days, towards anarchism is not surprising.

Anarchists existed then, but these were people who had nothing to do with politics, evil people who were tearing the International apart. Here Marx cursed, I don't know, Stalin said anarcho-syndicalists are wrong, these are the references for us. You don't know them, and you have an opposition to them without knowing them. That's what I thought, but on the other hand, the things we're discussing are somewhat more similar to those of anarchists (A14, 43, Male).

Despite the avoidance of anarchists from formal political institutions and processes, the opportunities and constraints that occurred in nation-state-level political processes indirectly influenced the emergence of the anarchist movement in Turkey. In the context of Turkey, the underlying mechanism that fostered the presence of anarchist activism was the dissolution of the socialist movement after the 1980 military coup. However, it is inconvenient to establish a direct cause and effect relationship between the military coup and the emergence of the anarchist movement. As McAdam (1982) argues, major social processes do not directly affect the emergence of social movements but indirectly influence their emergence by transforming the existing power relations (p. 40-41). In line with this argument, I claim that if a specific movement has hegemonic power over the entire field of social opposition, the existing movement must lose power or disintegrate in order for new movements to emerge as

alternatives to this movement. It is the case for the emergence of the anarchist movement in Turkey. The 1980 military coup did not directly affect the emergence of the anarchist movement but indirectly by restricting the hegemonic power of the socialist groups in the opposition social field in Turkey.

The prohibition of socialist organizations with the military coup and the general defeat of the left movement caused some socialists to enter a self-critical process towards the past and their own organizations. The fact that the anarchist movement in Turkey emerged from the socialist movement as an objection to the authoritarian tendencies of socialist politics can be understood from the fact that almost all of the first generation anarchists were former socialists. At this point, the influence of existing networks among former socialists and the intellectual socialist magazine circles that gained momentum after the 1980s should not be overlooked. One of my participants describes this "coming from the left-wing" situation of first-generation anarchists as follows:

Of course, the originality of that period is that most anarchists had taken part in the left movements before, then had other discussions and described themselves as anarchists. But everyone's anarchism is different. I still have all the political cores of the tradition I came from. My view on the Kurdish question is not anarchist; it is the leftist tradition I was brought up in. So is my view on the question of religion. In fact, we used to have such a joke as "Kıvılcımcı Anarşist," "Kurtuluşçu Anarşist," "Dev-Yolcu Anarşist," and so on. Because everyone was there with the praxis from the past, with what they have learned in their previous socialist organizations (A14, 43, Male).

Another factor that fed the process of emergence of anarchist activism was the relations with the people who fled abroad because of political concerns after the 1980 military intervention. Moreover, the first anarchist periodicals were published by those people in Germany. Zileli and Özkaya (2008) argue that the first anarchist activities and publications in the early 1980s emerged even before Turkey, especially among the political immigrant communities of Turkish and Kurdish origin, who escaped from the September 12 military intervention and took refuge in Germany (p.1161). The first

anarchist Turkish publication was Anarko, published in Tübingen in November 1981, and also Liberter Publishing, founded in Cologne in 1987, has published anarchist books. Another group emerged in the 1990s in Britain. This formation, which used the name 5th of May Group and also stated that it is a part of the British movement, has done translations published in Turkey. (p.1162). Another participant of the study explains the degree of the relations with the individuals who lived in other countries,

There was a May 5 libertarian group in England. They were an immigrant group of 7-8 people. There was communication with them, yes. For example, when Kaos Publishing was first established, The People Armed was either the second or the third book published by the Kaos. They (5 May Group) translated that book and sent it here. The book was printed here. I remember, for example, that book came to our house in a parcel. Because there was no distributor again, we distributed books (A5, 43, Male).

The relationship between the self-proclaimed anarchists living abroad with the anarchists in Turkey was not limited to the introduction of anarchist literature. Still, also they provided support and a sense of community across borders. However, it was not peculiar to the anarchist movement in Turkey. Altena (2016) shows that anarchist immigrants in the 19th century were significant in terms of forming transnational ties in the anarchist networks. (p.40). In a similar vein, the immigrant anarchists played an essential role in accelerating the diffusion of anarchist literature in Turkey by constructing informal networks between Turkey and Europe. Moreover, the existence of the pre-established relations between former leftists who were estranged from the socialist movement after the 1980 military intervention served as a basis for the proliferation of the discourses in the social-oppositional field and the emergence of the new movement actors in Turkey. Therefore, it is possible to argue that even though the anarchist movement did not have indigenous organizational structures that could be based on specific social groups, the pre-established relations between former socialists provided an intellectual baseline for the emergence of the anarchist movement in Turkey, especially in its initial stages.

It cannot be determined underlying social grievances that led to the emergence of anarchist activism. Still, the grievances of the first-generation anarchist activists are related to the methods and structures of the socialist organization that they were participants in once. When I asked my first-generation participant to describe the process he encountered with anarchist ideas and how he decided to be defined himself as an anarchist during the interviews, he described the process after the 1980 military intervention as the re-evaluation of socialist ideas. The participant explains his questioning process after the 1980 military intervention as follows:

In this stagnation period, which each of the socialist left versions defines in its own way and some call it a defeat, some retreat, and some call it a period of waiting, I also had the opportunity to review what was going on as a person, as well as review myself. I was asking myself simple questions. What did we want? Where would we go if September 12 hadn't cut our way? ...Simply put, we wanted the short straw to get its due from the long straw. But when we look at the programs, statutes, and our entire history of struggle, we want the short straw to dominate. We, who were against class domination, would put an end to the domination of the property-owning class and bring the propertyless class to power and make it dominant. Thus, the concepts of power and sovereignty appeared before me with dimensions that I had never thought of before. As a handful of people who set out with huge masses for the right of the short straw, with what right would we manage all the straws in the name of the short straw, without saying long or short? Basic concepts such as state, power, administration, sovereignty, authority, and hierarchy occupied my mind for a long time, which naturally opened the way for a mental transformation. If you list these concepts one after the other in terms of their meanings, your antidote will be anarchy. This is how my anarchy began (A19, NI, Male).

The 1980 military intervention and the defeat of the socialist movement led some leftists to question their experiences. Similarly, the questioning process of my respondent has started by criticizing the concepts such as authority, dominance, and hierarchy related to the socialist movement in Turkey. The anarchist movement in Turkey did not emerge outside the socialist movement and organizations but against the socialist movement, not the state or its institutions at first. It does not mean that the

only agenda of the anarchist movement in Turkey is anti-socialism; however, the characteristic that determined the emergence of anarchist politics is the ideological break from the socialist movement.

On the other hand, as we have learned from the interviews with Kara writers in Barış Soydan's book (*Anarchism in Turkey: 100 Years of Delay*, 2014), some periodicals were published before the 1980 military coup were influential for the first generation of anarchists to challenge their socialist background. Tayfun Gönül states that the anti-Stalinist journal *Birikim* and the *Toplumcu Düşün* journal were influential intellectual sources before the military coup. (2014, p.84). Gönül narrates his turning point after the military coup as follows

But the turning point for me was my meeting with Tanıl Bora. His writings on the alternative movement in Germany were influential. A book by Necmi Zeka was published about the alternative movement [Alternative Movement in West Germany]; at that time, news from the Greens began to come to Turkey. We were very impressed. Then, together with Tanıl Bora, we started to publish *Yeni Olgu* magazine. It is the first youth magazine after September 12. Interestingly, one wing of this consisted of former *Aydınlık*. By the way, I'm a former member of the *Aydınlık* group... Whoever was around at that time came together (2014, p.85).

Yeni Olgu magazine also led to the spread of a political discourse based on an alternative life. Itaka Cultural Center, which was opened after the publication of the magazine, has turned into a commonplace where people with different ideas come together. Gönül describes the significance of the *İtaka* for the development of the alternative discourse in the social-oppositional field after 1980 in Turkey. "Many firsts come out of *İtaka*. For example, the first women's circle meetings were held in *İtaka*. The first petition against nuclear power plants came from *İtaka*. The commune life that made a mess at that time is the origin of *İtaka*"(Soydan, 2014, p.86).

As a result, the field in which the anarchist movement entered in the second half of the 1980s was fragmented after several socialist organizations were banned and leftists were arrested by the military. The emergence of the anarchist movement was not only

a result of the purposive actions of the individuals. It was a product of a process in which some leftists started to criticize the authoritarian tendencies of the socialist movement that were not questioned before the 1980 military intervention. It can be claimed that the anarchist movement in Turkey is a conjunctural movement regarding its emergence in the second half of the 1980s with the dissolution of the socialist movement by the repression of military intervention. However, as Kriesi (1991) argues, political opportunity structures are not constant, “they may shift over time, as a result of factors that are not controlled by the actors involved (p. 3).

For the following periods of the anarchist movement in Turkey, shifts in the opportunity structures have influenced the social, economic, and cultural resources available for the self-proclaimed anarchist activists. Therefore, the emergence of anarchist activism coincides with the process of dissolution of the socialist movements in Turkey and the increasing state repression; however, its growth as a movement has been influenced by several other circumstances.

4.1.2. Framing a Movement: Anarchist Periodicals and Organizing Formulations

A key question for the emergence of a new movement is which conditions explain the organizing dynamics of the movement. As the social reality is complex and multi-layered, individual interpretations and frames related to social processes are worth considering for the sake of a comprehensive analysis. For the scope of this study, the analysis of organization discussions presented in the anarchist periodicals in different periods will provide a base for understanding the experiences of activists. The discussions related to anarchist organizing concentrated mainly on the purpose of anarchist organizing, different perspectives of organizing, and methods for organizing an anarchist movement in the context of Turkey.

The first generation of anarchist activists who published Kara journal were members of left-socialist organizations before the 1980 military intervention. Their questioning of the leftist organizations in Turkey pushed them to come together. The process of

gatherings and discussions resulted in establishing Sokak Publishing. In this period, various books related to critiques of Marxism and the history of anarchism have been published. The translation of the anarchist literature into Turkish prepared the ground for anarchist periodicals. Ahmet Kurt narrates in an interview that they connected with anarchists in Europe to reach documents and books on anarchism. This period is significant in introducing the anarchist literature in Turkey and producing intellectual ground for further generations of anarchist activists (as cited in Başkent, 2011, p.11). As Soydan mentions in his book on anarchism, the Kara journal attracted considerable attention at the time of its publication.

The magazine was published by a group of young people who moved away from Marxism in the "atmosphere of defeat" after the 1980 Coup. Editor-in-Chief, Ahmet Kurt, says that the number of visitors to the office never exceeded 30. In contrast, Kara was selling close to a thousand units. A significant part of the readers were revolutionaries in prisons. But, as Ali Kurek points out in this book, there was a wide range of readers, including Islamists (2014, p.79).

As being the first anarchist/libertarian periodical, Kara journal has an important place in the history of the anarchist movement in Turkey. Kara writers have focused on various subjects such as the LGBTTI+ movement, critique of science and education, opposition to waged work, and critiques of Marxist organization principles that had been rarely discussed in a media outlet in Turkey until that day. However, the discussions on how an anarchist movement should be organized were limited in Kara journal.

In the 10th issue of Kara journal, a Black Manifest was published to clarify some misunderstandings about Kara's perspectives. In this manifest, Kara journal was defined as an anti-militarist, anti-sexist, social revolutionist, and libertarian media outlet. The standpoint of first-generation anarchists on the organization question is apparent in this manifest. Although Kara journal did not aim to create a libertarian movement in Turkey, the writers proposed a particular form of organizing. Accordingly, Kara Journal:

proposes decentralized, directly democratic, horizontal organizations and federative styles consisting of autonomous units, without bureaucrats and professionals, not based on a representation system, to those movements emanating from partial areas of life such as student, worker, gender. The intersection of these areas will only be possible if they achieve common social targets with their demands (Kara, 1987, No:10).

Through these sentences, it is pretty clear that Kara journal was not an attempt to initiate a libertarian/anarchist movement in Turkey; however, it was a starting point for evaluating the potential of alternative forms of organizing for those who were disappointed after the 1980 military intervention. It is not surprising that the first instances of the anarchist movement's presence resulted from the questioning of former leftists regarding authoritarian tendencies within left socialist organizations in Turkey since all these critiques made by the first-generation anarchists were directed towards the organizational forms of the socialist movement. Publication of Kara journal is also significant for the first generation of self-proclaimed anarchists in Turkey. My respondent describes the place of Kara in the anarchist movement in Turkey and his own activist biography:

Kara became a magazine that affected me, like many others, and changed my perspective. More importantly, I was unaware of the existence of anarchist thought anywhere in the world. According to my socialist thoughts and knowledge, which I had received until that day, anarchism was "swept into the dustbin of history" even in Bakunin's time. Now, Kara has reached me like a messenger who concretely shows that both anarchism and anarchists survived after the Spanish revolution and that there could be an option on the road to social freedom. However, I was able to meet the friends in Kara after Kara was closed. I was not present during the publication of the journal. From the eyes of a reader who is moving away from Marxism, some of the observations and criticisms I made afterward were also inconsequential. Kara became a distinctive, eye-opening voice that shunned fanatical bias, embodied in every color of anarchism (A19, NI, Male).

Between 1986 and the first half of the 1990s was dominated by anarchist/libertarian periodicals publishing. Periodical publishing has been a common method for different

anarchist activist circles to propagate their perspectives during the following years. These periodicals functioned as an introduction to anarchist literature and also discussions related to anarchist theory and practice. Among these numerous discussions, debates on anarchist organizing forms and methods have specific significance for this study. As I explained in detail in the Methodology Chapter, five periodicals were selected to analyze how the discussion of anarchist organizing was presented in these journals.

The analysis of the discussions related to the anarchist organizing issued in these periodicals will provide a ground for analyzing the experiences of anarchist activists since all these discussions reflect a functional differentiation between groups and organizational forms. The articles to be analyzed in this part of the thesis were published between 1988 and 2005. As the first self-proclaimed anarchist organization Anarchist Youth Federation (AGF), was founded in 1998, it can be claimed that the anarchist periodicals provided an intellectual infrastructure for anarchist organizations and groups during the following years. Most importantly, these periodicals were attempts to develop a framework to determine the main social conflict to channel the anarchist movement.

At this point, it is helpful to ask how these periodicals interpreted Turkey's social, political, and cultural atmosphere and what issues they offered for organizing an anarchist movement. These questions can be answered by focusing on how organizing issues were discussed in these periodicals. Periodicals published by self-proclaimed anarchists reflect the heterogeneity of the anarchist groups within the movement and also the diversity of frames developed by these groups. Some articles in these periodicals aim to mobilize groups against particular social problems and propose different organizational types specific to the context of Turkey. As Benford and Snow (2000) claim, participants of the movement,

negotiate a shared understanding of some problematic condition or situation they define as in need of change, make attributions regarding who or what is to blame, articulate an

alternative set of arrangements, and urge others to act in concert to affect change (p.615).

The interpretative role of these articles on organization discussions functions as the simplification of complex structures of social problems in order to mobilize potential supporters and as well as demobilize antagonists. (Snow and Benford, 1988, p.198). By doing this, anarchist periodicals also try to define the characteristics of an anarchist organization by drawing its borders. Therefore, the description of the social problems as the target of the movement and the formation of the anarchist organization concept go hand in hand. The first subject that periodicals have different perspectives on is the purpose of an anarchist organization. In the Ateş Hırsız (2004) journal, a specific purpose for an anarchist organization is determined as follows:

Anarchist propaganda and broadcasting organizations can be established, even should be, in order to spread the idea of destruction among the masses and propagate it. But that's it. Beyond that, a private anarchist organization will inevitably put us in a privileged position vis-à-vis the masses (Zileli, 2004, No:6).

According to this claim, an anarchist organization should be limited in its organizational targets and forms. It must be realized to avoid becoming a vanguard organization that aims to direct the masses. In the other parts of the article, the author claims that anarchists are not pioneers of the social struggles; their only purpose in the process is to propagate the idea of the destruction of existing structures. The author strictly defines an anarchist organization's limits and scope through these descriptions. In fact, according to this formulation, anarchist organizations should focus on propaganda or publications without presenting further projects for society.

However, it is not the only interpretation of anarchist organization. Another article published in Efendisiz (1988) explains the purpose of an anarchist organization is “to decrease the contradiction between means and ends, desired and committed, and, in this way, reduce tension between ethics and politics” (Konur, 1998, No:1). The emphasis on reducing the tension between politics and ethics is significant to understanding what kind of organization can be called anarchist. The main challenge

is neither the scope of the organization nor presenting projects for the masses. This approach prioritizes the redistribution of power without instruments of domination within the organization to reduce the tension between the desired social order and the emergent one.

Another line in the anarchist movement in Turkey reflects the class-based politics within the anarchist currents. *Proleter Teori-A* (2005) journal represents an excellent example of this standpoint. PTA journal accuses the other anarchist groups and leftists of being influenced by liberalism and highlights that the base struggle should be the labour-capital contradiction rather than other social problems such as ecology or gender. The article defines other movements in Turkey as fragmented oppositions, especially pointing to differences in its perspective from other anarchist groups. Accordingly, the PTA journal differentiates the anarchist into two categories:

The first one is those who are anti-authoritarian, antimilitarist, individualist opposed to organization. The second group is anarchist-communists who follow the line of PTA, refusing synthesis anarchism, principled, supporting the solidarity between oppressed people, accepting the labour-capital conflict as the principal contradiction of capitalism, emphasizing the class politics, organizing through the platformist principles (Anonym, 2005, No:1).

As I discussed in the Literature Chapter, the PTA group adopts the platformist anarchism with its principles of organizational forms. The primary purpose of the organization is to support the struggle of oppressed people, the workers, against capitalist relations. With this article, fractions within the anarchist movement in Turkey can be seen straightforwardly,

Those who do not accept the real possibility of the social revolution, either seeing it as impossible or dreaming, ruin the socialist or communist anarchism to its foundations (Anonym, 2005, No:1).

As seen in the differentiation of the perspectives on the purpose of an anarchist organization, there are contrasting frames within the anarchist movement in Turkey. Indeed, it is not wrong to claim that these frames are produced not for the potential

supporters, non-anarchists, but for individuals who have already defined themselves as anarchist activists and also for the politicized members of other movements.

On the other hand, three journals, *Efendisiz*, *Apolitika*, and *Amargi*, agree on the form of anarchist organization. These articles propose autonomous organization as a form of anarchist organizing. However, these articles differentiate in terms of the content of the autonomous organizing form. *Efendisiz* journal stresses the importance of utilizing the potential of the existing cooperatives, unions, and associations to create social unity in the face of social problems. The critical condition the article emphasizes is that whether it is a syndicate or association, the organization must be local since,

Masterless perceive life as a whole; do not separate its subcategories such as education etc. neighborhoods can still preserve their originality and bring people from different parts of the society together and frame similar problems, albeit with changing balances. At the same time, neighborhoods embrace life in a much greater diversity than, say, a factory space. There are women, the unemployed, the sick, the disabled, and children in the neighborhood; there is an environment much more dimensional than production relations and much more open to creativity. Undoubtedly, these features, that is, the establishment of a neighborhood from different people and different human relations, in short, its originality, distinguish the social organization of a neighborhood from the associations or unions of another locality, even if they were established with the same general aims and orientations. This is the basis that masterless social organizations should be autonomous (Konur, 1988, No:1).

The article offers a neighborhood-based organization form as the most suitable one for the anarchist movement in Turkey. The author defines neighborhoods as the space of plurality that opens to diverse social conflicts as well as opportunities for mobilization. Furthermore, the author goes one step further by determining the potential allies from other movements such as Trotskyists, Luxemburgists, some new leftist groups, and also some libertarian Islamists in Turkey. An alliance between a libertarian Islamist group and some groups in the anarchist movement is not contradictory. Especially, during the first period of the movement, several articles were published on subjects

such as anarchist-Islam and heterodox interpretations of Islam. By doing that, the author expands the potential supporters and the allies of the anarchist movement.

On the other hand, another journal *Apolitika* (1994) claims that Islamic fascism is the first social problem that anarchists have to face. According to the author, other social conflicts that anarchists have to develop a strategy to fight against them as follows:

1. The fight against Islamic fascism,
2. To take a stand against the "people's war" and to oppose the oppression of the Kurdish people,
3. To create a revolutionary workers' movement against capitalism,
4. The fight against militarism,
5. Struggle against the destruction of nature,
6. Fight against sexual discrimination and sexism,
7. Struggle against the dominating education system (Umut, 1994, No:2).

The author stresses that there will be areas where social opposition must concentrate, and in parallel to the main opposition, the color of the anarchist movement will be determined. That is, the style and the form of the movement will result from practical conditions, not theoretical reasoning. A few years after this article was written, Turkey experienced the February 28 process in 1997²¹, which was a significant moment in the history of the country in terms of confrontation between secular Kemalism and the Islamic political identity (Aslan, 2016, p.367). During such a period, the journal preferred to develop a strategic frame related to increasing concerns of specific groups in society related to political Islam. Although the article did not mention which neighborhoods should be selected for the autonomous organization of the masterless, in the following decades, some anarchist groups initiated neighborhood organizing in

²¹ At the meeting of the National Security Council, which lasted for nine hours on February 28, 1997, an 18-item statement, which will go down in history as a "postmodern coup," was issued. In the statement, the government was harshly warned about secularism and demanded that laws be implemented and the listed measures taken to ensure secularism. The main demands of the army from the government were the closure of the religious sects, the transfer of schools affiliated to the religious sects to the Ministry of National Education, 8 years of uninterrupted education, supervision of Quran courses, the implementation of the Unification Education, the control of the media that defends those expelled from the army due to reaction and portrays the army as an enemy of religion, compliance with the dress code, and punishment of the actions against Atatürk.

the Alevi districts²² of the metropolitan cities in Turkey. The following passage from the article serves as an example of a roadmap for this strategy,

people with the same perspectives should first establish autonomous organizations in three big cities. And anarchists in other towns should work with these larger autonomous organizations. Autonomous organizations in three big cities should break into the district and provincial autonomies over time. Considering the scattered structure of big cities and our small number, all friends should consider the social struggle axes in order not to be disconnected from the hot struggle for a long time... We must step firmly into the neighborhood. We should not only move our residence, but also move our workplace if possible, and open many workplaces in solidarity with our unemployed friends. Workplaces such as markets, coffee shops, and barbers are places where the pulse of the district beats and information circulation takes place. First of all, we must have such places (Umut, 1994, No:2).

Although we cannot assume a direct relationship between the defined organizational schemata in this article and the emergent experiences of the anarchist groups, we can not ignore the influence of the discussions on framing an anarchist movement in Turkey. On the other hand, the Amargi journal, one of the significant initiatives of anti-militarism and conscientious objection in Turkey, refuses any organizational attempts to capture the power. Instead, the journal represents affinity group-type organizations by locating itself outside of the existing political structures in the anarchist movement in Turkey. The article highlights the importance of autonomous organizing as follows:

The autonomous type of organizing has some opportunities to change the habits and perceptions of those accustomed to

²² Ertan (2019) relates the affinity between the Turkish socialist movement and the Alevi community to the urbanization process in Turkey. According to him, the Alevi community isolated itself as a result of the suppression of the rebellions that took place during the Ottoman period and established an autonomous social system away from the central authority. This semi-closed autonomous social system of the Alevi community began to erode with the secular policies of the republic. With the rising rural-urban migration in the 1960s, the Alevi community began to integrate into the cities. In this case, Ertan states that urbanization triggers an identity crisis through the active adaptation of Alevis to socio-economic life. In addition, Ertan states that Alevis, who became more visible in the urbanizing environment, participated in political movements predominantly as a part of leftist politics in this period. In this context, the socialist movement ensured the integration of Alevis into urban life and the central state apparatus during the disintegration of traditional Alevism. (Ertan, 2019, p.933-934).

generating solutions at the societal level. People who are in political struggle have a disease named “missionary-rebelliousness.” Missionary rebel who searches his/her salvation at the societal level starts to think on behalf of others who have their own will. Autonomous organizing enables changing scales of politics from macro-level to micro...Amargi, by its article, served the perspective of developing an anarchist tradition and also protecting the existing ones. This perspective is clear and correct that any anarchist cannot deny. Although there are no settled styles, we encounter people and groups who identify themselves as anarchists, obsessed with the complex of self-righteousness (Anonym, 1994).

The articles analyzed for their diverse strategies of framing the anarchist movement in Turkey represent different perspectives of organizational understandings in practice. Some of them were put into practice in different spaces and periods within the 35-years history of the anarchist movement, while others remained as provocative attempts to push self-proclaimed anarchists to develop strategies for social organizations. When the question arises whether any of these frames became successful in the mobilization of the anarchist movement or not, we can mention temporary successes with numerous organizing experiences. However, how the anarchist movement was framed by the movement intellectuals is significant to understanding the anarchist movement's organizational dynamics in Turkey as a process.

4.1.3. The Process of Mobilization of Anarchist Movement in Turkey

After elaborating on the emergence of the anarchist movement within the specific circumstances that occurred following the 1980 military intervention in the previous section, I will focus on the significant events that influenced the mobilization of the anarchist movement in Turkey. During the interviews, participants highlighted the specific processes in their personal histories of activism. When I categorized the respondents of the study according to their participation dates in an anarchist organization or group, I noticed that the participation in an anarchist formation is

concentrated between certain periods. These periods intersect with the participants' personal histories of anarchist activism.

Therefore, to be able to grasp the underlying conditions that affected the mobilization of the anarchist movement in Turkey, I differentiated these periods for the analysis. This analysis will provide a ground of explanation for which processes produced what kind of resources for the mobilization of the anarchist movement in Turkey. In this section, I will analyze the experiences of the participants by utilizing both the political opportunity structure and resource mobilization perspectives complementary. Although stages of the anarchist movement can be determined as a much shorter span of time, I discuss the mobilization of the anarchist movement in Turkey in three main stages as follows: 1995-2001, 2002-2011, 2012 and later.

Political processes are dynamic processes outside of the anarchist movement that create conditions favorable for the mobilization of the anarchist movement or restrict activities of self-proclaimed anarchists. As I mentioned before, although anarchism refers to a-political action outside of the institutions, the anarchist movement's emergence is influenced by the opportunities and constraints developed at the institutional level. According to McAdam, "a movement represents a process from generation to decline, rather than a discrete series of developmental stages" (1982, p. 36). By emphasizing the political dimension of the social movements, McAdam highlights the dynamic processes of social movements developed through strategic interactions with and responding to the political environment (McAdam et al., 2001, p.16). On the other hand, resource mobilization refers to the economic, social, and cultural structural factors. Through utilizing these factors, activists engage in activities, form organizations, and carry out their projects. Zald and McCarthy explain that resource mobilization theory includes many resources located in the larger society. And, they continue,

These include all levels of government, foundations, religious institutions, and conscience constituencies, groups that support movement's goals, even though its members are not

eligible to receive the direct output of the policy/political changes that the movements advocate (2002, p.150).

Therefore, what I refer to as resources are not only tangible resources like money and goods but also spaces for organizing, supporters, sympathizers of the group, access to media, and available institutional resources for the mobilization of the anarchist movement in Turkey.

When I first classified the interviewees who participated in the study according to the date they were organized in an anarchist group, I noticed that joining an anarchist organization intensified at specific periods. This clustering within the sample group shows that there may be a relationship between the first organizational experience and the conditions specific to the period. In total, eight participants were organized in an anarchist group for the first time between 1995-2001, which I categorize as the first period of the anarchist movement. The first organizational experience of the other eight interviewees in an anarchist formation coincides with the period of 2002-2011, which I define as the second period of the anarchist movement in Turkey. The remaining three interviewees were organized in the period after 2012. The reason for developing this classification is that although the size of the research group is not sufficient to make such a generalization, data obtained from the interviews on the experiences of self-proclaimed anarchist activists provide valuable insights into the differentiation of periods of the anarchist movement in Turkey.

In this section, I will focus on the dynamics of the anarchist movement in Turkey through the experiences of the interviewees on anarchism, anarchist groups, and the anarchist movement, specific to the specified periods. In this way, I will discuss what social, political, or cultural factors have increased interest in an anarchist organization at certain times and to what extent individuals have been politically mobilized through these organizations.

4.1.3.1. The first period: 1995-2001

We can see that the political socialization of the majority of the interviewees who were organized in the first period, which I determined as between 1995 and 2001, was through socialist organizations. The fact that the family members were leftists and were already organized in leftist organizations caused the interviewees to meet the socialist movement at an early age. One of the interviewees, A9, expresses this situation as follows:

Many people in my family were organized in leftist groups. I was questioning the thing in the 98-99 period, so okay, we are leftist, but the authority part of this situation bothered me (A9, 39, Female).

A9, whose political socialization took place within the family, the majority of which are organized leftists, stated that as a result of her questioning about authority, she became interested in anarchism during her university years and that they formed an anarchist group of 5-6 people in the small city where she studied at university.

On the other hand, the processes experienced by our interviewees, who were organized for the first time in a socialist organization, then became interested in anarchism and left the organizations they were members of, vary according to their positions in their current organizations. For example, one of the interviewees, A14, had a high position within a socialist organization before turning to anarchism. A14's reasons for leaving the current organization are primarily due to intra-organizational discussions and conflicts to gain power. During this period, when he was in the minority group, A14 states that he started to question the concept of authority. While describing this, he said, "You embrace democracy when you remain in the minority."

At that time, I was in another Marxist-Leninist group. At the beginning of 99, it's classic such thing discussions within organization, taking a side in those discussions, your side cannot be active there, etc. With these processes, a break began there, but this break is not only an organizational break but also a questioning of mentality. And after a while, you start to feel that the perception of power that your position gives you

creates alienation between you and people. You know, there are people with political intentions and good intentions, but in your eyes, they are not subjects but objects. You feel the thing; they are people responsible for doing the assigned tasks; you are the person who will determine those tasks. There was always such an ethical tension to this; the real breaking point was after that discussion. Classic, you cling to democracy when you are in the minority (A14, 43, Male).

On the other hand, although A15, one of the interviewees, was organized in a socialist organization when he started to be interested in anarchism, he did not have any problems with the separation processes because his position was lower. In fact, A15 states that he heard about anarchism thanks to the "in-organization training activities" of the socialist organization of which he was a member and that the process of breaking away from the organization started in this way.

SIP (Socialist Ruling Party) had good educational strategies. We read other groups' magazines and developed discussion strategies with them. Not a good thing; it is an agent-like thing. But it developed us. In those training, I turned to anarchism. Then I started researching. In '97, I was working as a bartender in a hotel at that time. I decided - magazines such as Apolitika and Ateş Hırsız were published at that time - one day, I took a break from lunch and went to Kaos publications, Cağaloğlu. Such was my first contact with the anarchists. Because there were no others. I was disappointed when I first met them. Of course, I went as a person who was excited and believed in the revolutionary struggle of the working class. I immediately ask such naive questions, "how can I be organized? Give me a task." When X said, read a book, improve yourself, you don't need to do anything, I said if anarchists are like that, we're screwed. Then I started my own search (A15, 42, Male).

At this point, A15's experiences of the first interaction with anarchists are important in terms of seeing the positioning of the anarchist movement at that time. In the mid-90s, we can talk about the existence of an anarchist group that focused on intellectual activities against the political organization, criticized it, and was therefore accused of being pacifist by the next generations. However, for young people who became interested in politics and anarchism in the second half of the 90s, this intellectual group is "a group that ignores the excitement of the youth and is even gerontocratic."

Many anarchists in Turkey were in this situation. Getting organized was not something everyone wanted. People wanted to be seen; to engage in political activity, but the organization was a huge debate. I think there was a phobia among the group that positioned AGF negatively: organizing is taboo. It is a subject that is always half discussed and not understood. We, I did not see myself as a person against organizing (A6, 43, Male).

It is necessary not to ignore the conditions of the period that shaped this attitude of the younger generation, who were acquainted with politics, socialism, and anarchism in the 1990s, towards older intellectual anarchist groups organized in socialist organizations before 1980. The situation in Turkey in the 1990s is worth being researched in many different ways. At this point, one of the arguments may be that the younger generation of anarchists differed from the first-generation anarchists since they grew up in an environment where the effects of the military coup faded, Turkey became more and more integrated with the West, private TV channels were opened, and the Internet began to be used.

There was a strong fanzine culture. You have a lot of peers, and you go through a lot of similar emotional processes. Those were the years when the war, the first Gulf War, was questioned more deeply, and also the military. There was nothing then that questioned the army. There was the leftist movement, the Kurds, who had always suffered from the force of an army and coups, and there were also the anti-militarists, who took a different, slightly deeper approach than these. And there were people in their 20s in those circles; they were publishing fanzines, magazines, and stuff. We found them and shared them with each other (A6, 43, Male).

It is possible to talk about two main factors that were effective in the formation of this social and cultural environment in Turkey in the 90s, as stated by A6, one of the interviewees. Firstly, the 90s was a period in which the daily results of the economic and social transformations caused by Turkey's rapid integration into the world markets with the effect of the neoliberal economic policies of the Özal administration in the 1980s were felt concretely.

The second factor is the weakening of the cultural hegemony of the socialist left after the 1980 coup. At this point, it is essential to underline that cultural, artistic, and intellectual production in Turkey was carried out by socialist or social-democratic intellectuals until the 1980s. After the September 12 coup, the socialist movement did not only lose power in the political sense. Many socialists went abroad after the coup and encountered issues that had not been discussed in Turkey until that day and were not on the agenda of the socialist movement. Through these people, the new debates introduced into the cultural and intellectual environment in Turkey have led to the cultural environment becoming polyphonic.

The crisis of 95 was over, or there was a strange relief. But they did affect it. The paper was cheap; the magazine could be printed, right? People were experiencing artificial relief before 2001, leading to the crisis. Tiny transformations lead to substantial cultural differences. That was such a time. And it was the Seattle or the Rage Against the Machine albums, post-punk, all of which were influential. These have shaped me (A6, 43, Male).

The second-generation anarchists, who lived their early youth in such a social and cultural climate, did not experience the criticism and discussion processes that the first-period anarchists carried out in groups by breaking away from socialist organizations. The socialist left is not something to be overcome for them; it is something that has already been criticized, and its shortcomings and mistakes have been discussed.

However, there is another side of the coin that we should not ignore in order to understand the period. It would not be wrong to say that the two generations differed, especially in terms of their attitudes towards organization. What is important is the conditions under which the differentiation in the perspectives of organization between these generations is concentrated. During the 10-year period, we call the 90s, significant turmoils Turkey had experienced; such as the civil war that continued with the Kurdish movement in the East and Southeast regions²³; the continuation of tortured

²³ The PKK, which has been carrying out guerrilla operations since 1984 to establish an independent Kurdish state in Turkey, has gained strength with the developments after the Gulf War. At the same time, this situation has also increased the ethnic awareness among the Kurdish citizens of Turkey, especially those living in the southeastern part of the country. During the 1990s, Turkey also witnessed

interrogations and unsolved murders²⁴; the 1994 economic crisis²⁵; the Çorum-Maraş Massacres²⁶; the Madımak Massacre²⁷; the Susurluk incident²⁸; and 28 February process have an impact on young generations' prioritization of the field of action in political struggle. Interviewees A5 and A6, who were university students in the 90s, describe their experiences as follows:

There was only one thing, the force of the state apparatus was more complicated, more sophisticated, no longer making a

a heightened awareness and politicization of Kurdish identity, its visibility in mainstream public-political discourse, and the rise of Turkish nationalism, which saw the Kurdish rebel movement and the PKK as the main enemy (Somer, 2004, p.235). The PKK's challenge to Turkey's political order and territorial integrity has become the most important item on the country's domestic and foreign policy agenda. The PKK's violent actions and the Turkish army's campaign to suppress the PKK proved costly: more than 20,000 people died in the conflicts; It has caused large-scale social and economic problems in Southeastern Anatolia; and caused the government to devote a large part of its economic resources to the fight against the PKK (Sayari, 1997, p.46-47). After the capture of PKK leader Öcalan in 1999, Kurdish separatism's reduced threat to state security and the EU's pull in the context of democratization further changed the domestic environment of Turkey's Kurdish conflict. (Somer, 2004, p.235).

²⁴ Human rights violations increased in Turkey in the 1990s, with the lack of freedom of expression and increased restrictions on the press and political activists. According to a report published by Human Rights Watch (1990), human rights activists and lawyers report that more than 90 percent of political suspects and more than 50 percent of people suspected of ordinary crimes have been tortured. Torture in police stations is practiced by methods such as detaining the victim for a long time, applying electric shocks, directing high-pressure water to the victim, and faking it. In 1990, Helsinki Watch reported that seven people had died while in custody under suspicious circumstances. In three of the cases, the security forces claimed that the detainees had committed suicide. Torture is not limited to police stations, either. In 1990, many credible reports claimed a resurgence of torture in prisons, largely in the form of mass beatings with batons or wooden sticks. (Human Rights Watch, 1990). Among the hundreds killed in the early 1990s, nine journalists and four distributors of pro-Kurdish publications were killed in 1992 alone. According to the figures of human rights groups in 1993, six journalists and eight distributors lost their lives. (Bruinessen, 1996).

²⁵ At the beginning of 1994, there was a very serious financial crisis in Turkey, which also affected the real economy. According to Özatay, in the first quarter of 1994, the Turkish lira depreciated by nearly 70 percent against the US dollar. The Central Bank intervened heavily in the foreign exchange market, and as a result, it lost more than half of its international reserves. Economic growth decreased by 6 percent (Özatay, 2000, p.327).

²⁶ See details in <https://hakikatadalethafiza.org/en/truth-commission-for-the-mass-killing-of-alevis/> and <https://tr.euronews.com/2021/12/19/maras-katliam-nedir-olaylar-nasil-basladi-neler-yasandi>

²⁷ See details in https://www.bbc.com/turkce/haberler/2015/07/150702_sivas_1993 , <https://m.bianet.org/english/human-rights/210014-the-ones-massacred-in-madimak-26-years-ago-commemorated-in-sivas> and <https://www.duvarenglish.com/human-rights/2020/07/02/turkey-remembers-victims-of-sivas-massacre-on-27th-anniversary>

²⁸ See details in https://dbpedia.org/page/Susurluk_scandal and <https://www.bbc.com/turkce/haberler-turkiye-57230730> Retrieved on 09.05.2022.

coup or hanging, but torture continued in the 90s. The years of tortured interrogations also coincide with this. The second half of the 90s was the year when the struggle of the İHD (Assosiation of Human Rights) was on the rise (A6, 43, Male).

At that time, there was concrete pressure, but the state could not do this; for example, it could not prevent organization. Now it hinders all forms of organization. I don't know if fear has dominated or whether people's life expectancies have changed. But I'm talking about the days when cell phones didn't exist. For example, can you imagine such a world? (A5, 43, Male).

The point emphasized by both interviewees is that in the 1990s, with the intense pressure on the opponents, there was no political or social retreat. In fact, despite all the pressures applied, the state could not prevent the organizing efforts of opponents. The 1990s, especially with the birth of the human rights movement in Turkey, is essential in terms of understanding the foundation on which many social movements that exist today are based.

Up to this point, I had discussed the general political processes in Turkey in the 1990s, when the anarchist movement started to organize. The country-specific conditions played an essential role in the differentiation of anarchists regarding the methods of political struggle, and the differing perspectives on organization led to the factionalization between the first and second generations. In such an environment, the Anarchist Youth Federation, the first anarchist organization aimed at massification directly on the axis of anarchist politics, was established in 1998 in Istanbul.

Then came the period of organization for anarchists. AGF was established. That group influenced a certain segment of youth, including us. There were a lot of young anarchists who argued for the current intellectual anarchist stance, even the gerontocracy within anarchism. It was in such an environment that AGF emerged. AGF was oriented towards active struggle and organization (A15, 42, Male).

At this point, another dynamic that affected the course of the anarchist movement in Turkey was the alternative globalization protests. Demonstrations such as Seattle,

Prague, and Genoa have increased the interest in anarchism of the younger generation, who became informed of anarchist movements and protest demonstrations in the world with the use of the Internet. It was in this context that young people, who were also affected by the aesthetics of violence exhibited by the black bloc, which took an active part in these protests, turned to anarchism. One of the interviewees, A6, describes the period when he became interested in anarchism.

Thanks to the actions in Seattle and Prague. That's how I found anarchists. So I heard the word anarchy somewhere. There was internet in the mid-'90s, good or bad. That's how I met. Neither revelation came, nor did I go to the library and meet the word anarchy. Of course, through the anti-globalization protests (A6, 43, Male).

The widespread use of the internet as a material resource has been critical in facilitating the transfer of knowledge and experience between anarchist movements in different countries. While first-generation anarchists were able to access anarchist literature through their networks in Europe, it became easier to reach written and visual materials about anarchism with the internet in the 90s. In the case of alternative globalization, the black bloc's actions have also increased anarchist visibility in Turkey. A8, one of the interviewees, talks about the impact of alternative globalization actions on their own organization process as follows.

That was probably the year 2001 when the Seattle events broke out. In fact, I can say that I was organized based on that activism. There was Seattle, Genoa, and the Global Justice Movement. I'm talking about the sphere of practice right now. There were protests in Prague at that time, and even our friends were going to these protests. We were preparing articles about these protests for the newspaper. Frankly, there was such an anarchist frenzy at that time, like Seattle. John Zerzan's books were being translated, and we were reading and discussing them. They were good times, rich in terms of both intellectual sense and action (A8, 38, Male).

As A8 stated, we can claim that with the alternative globalization protests, interest and curiosity towards anarchism have increased in Turkey. With the increasing interest, the translation of anarchist books into Turkish has also gained momentum.

Interestingly, the works of primitivist anarchists like Zerzan were translated into Turkish during this period. In addition, during this period, Murray Bookchin's books were also translated into Turkish, discussed in anarchist circles, and even organizations and groups focused on the struggle for ecology began to form along Bookchin's libertarian municipality line. Rediscovered by the Kurdish movement in Turkey in the 2000s, Bookchin's direct impact on anarchists was that the distinction between ecological struggle and liberal environmental activism was drawn from the very beginning. It would not be an exaggeration to claim that this perspective brought by anarchists, who have been involved in the ecology movement in Turkey since its early days, influenced the ecology movement in Turkey.

On the other hand, A14, while describing the impact of anti-globalization movements on the anarchist movement in Turkey, touches on the relationship between the anarchist movement and the current socialist movement.

At least at first, our main problem was that we had trouble explaining anarchism to our leftist friends. But Seattle gave us very serious legitimacy. For example, at that time, when the IMF Turkey officer at that time came to Turkey, **we joined the demonstration as anarchists, and this was accepted.** For example, this acceptance was definitely not related to the politics of anarchists in Turkey. **We were accepted there with the effects of Seattle, Genova, and anti-globalization actions** (A14, 43, Male).

The issue of legitimacy mentioned by the interviewee is significant. The activities of anarchist groups in anti-globalization protests have resulted in the acceptance of the anarchist movement in Turkey by the socialist movement; even if they were not entirely accepted, the presence of anarchists in the political arena was not regarded as strange by socialists. Hence, anti-globalization movements have been a source of legitimacy for the anarchist movement in Turkey. In this way, it became easier for them to be visible in the social opposition area dominated by the socialist left and to socialize organizationally within the existing social movements. The results of this socialization will be discussed later in the analysis chapter.

4.1.3.2. The second period: 2002-2011

By the 2000s, the anarchist movement in Turkey had increased its visibility compared to the 90s. The main centers of the movement were generally university circles in Istanbul, Izmir, and Ankara. The main reason for this was that most of the activists in the anarchist movement were university students. In this period, it can be said that small anarchist groups started to form in cities such as Mersin, Sivas, Eskişehir, and Van, as well as metropolitan cities. A7, who was a university student at that time and was organized in the Ankara Anarchy Initiative, summarizes the general situation on campuses as follows:

There was an atmosphere created by organizations that emerged from the complex and challenging period of the 90s and the heavy tortures of the state, many of whom are still in prison and have not yet fully established their university organization. There was a void in the field. There was a socialist movement that was still dealing with the concerns of the 90s, preferring to be illegal, invisible, and professional revolutionary, far from daily life and social space, and in this sense, it was a kind of leftist arrogance. This actually points to a period when parties like the TKP and organizations like the TGB started to grow. These groups were beginning to reach much more college students at that time. The faculties were entering their own axis (A7, 37, Male).

In the early 2000s, the weak organization of the socialist movement on university campuses, whose experienced cadres mainly were in prison or abroad, created a political vacuum in the field. This gap, caused by the inability of left-wing organizations to be fully organized on university campuses, has caused many other political groups to increase their influence. During this period, the activities of some groups close to the nationalist side of the leftist movement at universities and the number of organized members increased. On the other hand, the anarchist movement has also organized in this area left empty by the left and has started to increase its visibility, especially on campuses.

Anarchist groups continued the momentum they had gained with the organizations at the end of the 90s by increasing their activities in university circles in the early 2000s. One of the most critical factors in increasing the organization activities of the anarchist movement in this period was the implementation of democratization reforms within the scope of Turkey's EU Harmonization Process. One of the interviewees, A18, described this process as follows: “The political environment at that time was a little better. It was a more comfortable environment where the AKP was in the EU harmonization process. You could protest.” (A18, 31, Female). Another interviewee, A15, describes how anarchist groups increased their visibility in Istanbul as follows:

We were constantly in action. I can say that it was the most democratic period in Turkey after the 90s because we could make demonstrations in Taksim. Even the police did not come to the demonstrations anymore. So we were a crowd that was constantly marching around Taksim with black flags. On the other hand, there are anarchists in Taksim apart from the AGF. There were IMF demonstrations in 2009. In that process, we formed a team in Taksim and Avcılar: anti-civilization anarchists and green anarchists. We were putting out fanzines and weekly newsletters. It was a colorful process, with demonstrations, camps, etc. (A15, 42, Male)

In this period, Turkey's EU candidacy status has put pressure on Turkey to adopt EU rules. This resulted in extensive reforms between 1999 and 2004. The pre-accession strategy included providing assistance to Turkey for faster alignment with the EU *acquis* through various programs and financing schemes. In the context of this process, in order to participate in Community programs and agencies and meetings between candidate States and the Union, Turkey had to undertake democratization and human rights reforms. (Alpan, 2021). One of the most significant changes in Turkey, which had just emerged from the environment of political pressure in the 1990s and where a liberal atmosphere started in line with the democratization reforms, was the Justice and Development Party's (AKP) coming to power alone by winning the 2002 elections.

It was the time when the AKP was a new power, and everyone was undecided and confused. With the EU harmonization process, in a sense, freedoms were paved. During the 90s, I had a childhood who knew and witnessed the tyranny of the

state from time to time. My views on the state were formed at a much earlier age. The difference between that period was this: everything was smoother, and everything seemed much more effortless. You were less likely to get in trouble getting organized or saying something. The last Molotov fired during the protests in Ankara was in 2004-2005. After that, along with this softening, the forms of action of the organizations began to soften. But at that time, the left could not use this situation very well (A7, 37, Male).

Established in 2001 under the leadership of Recep Tayyip Erdoğan, AKP defines itself as a mass party with a "conservative democrat" identity and political vision. The Justice and Development Party (AKP), which came to power in the general elections held on 3 November 2002, stated that one of its main tasks was EU-Turkey relations. In its first period, the party used the EU's full membership process as a tool to gain support and legitimacy in both domestic and foreign policy. In this process, the rising liberal wave and democratization process in Turkey has relatively widened the range of action of the organizations.

In the second period of the anarchist movement in Turkey, another important dynamic affecting the movement was the protest demonstrations in Greece in 2008. The Greek revolt started with the murder of Alexis Grigoropoulos by a police officer and soon spread to different cities. One of the interviewees, A11, describes the impact of this revolt on the anarchist movement in Turkey as follows:

The response to the 2008 uprising in Turkey was perhaps a bit of anarchist clenching. When I contacted the anarchists towards the end of 2008, there were such entrenched formations, and they wanted to do something. They wanted to be constantly mobilized and in action all the time. Because the newspapers of the leftist movements in Turkey did not even write anything about anarchists in the rebellion in Greece, they did not even say anarchist. Some wanted to do something to eliminate this invisibility (A11, 36, Male).

Having a strong organization in Greece, the anarchist movement was also influential during the 2008 Greek Revolt. The fact that the media affiliated with the socialist groups in Turkey did not include the anarchists in the Greek Revolt in their news drew

the reaction of the anarchists in Turkey. Arguing that this was done deliberately to ignore the presence of anarchists in the Rebellion, the anarchists carried out actions in front of the Greek consulate buildings in Turkey. A2, one of the interviewees, stated that the organization of the Ankara Anarchy Initiative increased during the Greek Revolt, especially high school students started to come to the office of the initiative, and some of them were organized in the group. The visibility of anarchists, which had increased under the influence of the black bloc in the Seattle protests, likewise increased during the Greek Revolt. A1 stated that the anarchist image formed during the Greek Revolt was beneficial for them and that they benefited from this image in their organizational work.

(Socialists). They have an anarchist profile in mind. In Greece, after the murder of Alexis. We also took advantage of this situation. There was an image created there; that image is an anarchist profile that is constantly shattering, dispersing, and destroying (A1, 32, Male).

In fact, the importance of the Greek anarchist movement for the anarchist movement in Turkey is not limited to the 2008 Greek Revolt. The existence of a strong anarchist movement so close geographically and culturally has been important for anarchists in Turkey. A6 describes the influence of the Greek anarchist movement on anarchists in Turkey as follows:

In Thessaloniki, there was the Anarchy Initiative. And they had repulsed a police attack, maintaining their autonomy. They had short videos. If I'm not mistaken, it may be on Indymedia's Greek extension site. It was an exciting thing. It was a level we couldn't get over here. We look at what they say, clear sentences, you are impressed. There is cultural affinity, you know, there is also a human thing, similarity in behavior and such. I think the movement in Greece affected the anarchists in Turkey the most. It affected us a lot (A6, 43, Male).

The Greek anarchist movement also influenced the anarchists in Turkey in terms of their organizational forms and strategies. The Thessaloniki Anarchy Initiative had effects on the establishment of the Ankara Anarchy Initiative, which was founded in Ankara in the early 2000s as an initiative organization form.

For example, I got involved in the initiative after the Greek issue faded away. I have already witnessed the connections established at that time. Friends were coming from Greece. There was such constant communication. It continues today. There is no organization at the moment, but, for example, I personally have connections with anarchists in all countries. Relationships were first established on a platform, and after the contacts started, they continued through individuals (A1, 32, Male).

It is also an essential issue that geographical and cultural proximity facilitates relations between anarchists in the two countries. While geographical proximity made it easier for anarchist groups to visit each other, cultural proximity facilitated the meeting of perspectives on events on the same political ground. After the 2008 Greek Revolt, it is possible to say that the relations between the anarchists of the two countries have become stronger. The most important factor facilitating the establishment of these relations is the newspapers and magazines published by anarchists in Turkey in order to announce their political activities and carry out their propaganda activities. So much so that a part of Ahali newspaper, published by Ankara Anarchy Initiative, was sent to Europe through anarchists who came to Turkey from abroad. A7 explains that besides the Greek anarchist movement, they also establish relations with anarchists in other countries:

With the newspaper process, recognition began to increase in Turkey and Europe. During this period, anarchists from Europe came and began to associate with the Ankara Anarchy initiative. For example, a Starbucks employee named Maria, a member of the CNT was being laid off, and there was a global call for action. We were the only ones from Turkey who answered that call. At that time, Starbucks was on the newly opened boulevard in Kızılay. We dropped homemade smoke bombs there. We still have close relations with anarchists from Germany, France, Greece, Albania, and Portugal. We were invited to the antifascist fighting tournament in Russia held every year. An organization leading to any martial arts so that those on the anti-fascist front can develop their fighting skills. For example, we also had relations with anarchists in Azerbaijan. After the Alexis actions from Southern Cyprus, we ensured that two anarchists who fled to Cyprus illegally and

from there to Turkey passed to Greece via Turkey (A7, 37, Male).

Following the agendas of anarchists in other countries and the participation of anarchists in Turkey in international calls for action are among the factors affecting the establishment of these relations. Also, as A7 mentioned, thanks to the already established relations and networks with anarchists in Turkey, when anarchists in other countries need to relocate for different reasons, this can also be done through Turkey. At this point, the informal and loose organization of anarchist movements can be seen as both an advantage and a disadvantage. It is a disadvantage because relationships are usually built on individuals. When the person establishing the relationship leaves the movement for any reason, the same relationships have to be established again through other individuals. However, in some cases, the person leaving or moving away from the movement may transfer the networks and relations she/he has established abroad to others in the group. The reason why this is an advantage is that when the relationships are established on a personal level, the risks are also on a personal level. Relationships that are not established through any organizational affiliation are as flexible and secure as they are fragile.

The Diren-Istanbul process, which started due to the arrival of the World Bank (WB) Group and the International Monetary Fund (IMF) in Istanbul on 6-7 October for the 2009 Annual Meetings, is another important event in the second period of the anarchist movement. The Diren-Istanbul project, which was organized not only over the opposition to the IMF and the World Bank but also on problems such as urban transformation, gentrification, and ecology, has been an important initiative where many organized/unorganized people with different ideological backgrounds meet on common ground. A15, one of the organizers of the DirenIstanbul process, describes the formation process of the DirenIstanbul project as follows:

On May 1, 2009, our circles became apparent in terms of action and organization. Actually, it was project-based rather than a "let's get together and form an organization" mentality. There were individualists, insurrectionary anarchists, or anarchist communists in the group, but in perspective, they

were people who were against the rigid organizational structure. Then the IMF meeting and the DirenIstanbul process started. Again, they were project-based and action-based. Until then, we were at odds with many anarchists, for example. Anarchists were quarreling with each other in mailing groups and forums. They managed to come together with DirenIstanbul. Our aim was to wage an anti-IMF struggle. The organization was organized to be established and then dissolve itself. It was founded by anarchists, but many different groups joined: Trotskyists and Autonomist Marxists. Many movements emerged after the project was over, such as Freedom to Earth Association, Black Sea is in Revolt, Animal Liberation Initiative, and Black Bloc (A15, 42, Male).

The Diren-Istanbul process, which affected many ecology-oriented movements after it, created a form of action that was initially organized by anarchists but later expanded with the inclusion of different groups, which in a way culminated in the 2013 Taksim Gezi Park protests. In addition, the Black Bloc established during the DirenIstanbul process led to events that would significantly affect the mobilization of the anarchist movement in the following years.

4.1.3.3. The third period: 2012 and after

From the DirenIstanbul process to 2012, anarchist organizations in Turkey continued their activities in areas such as ecology, anti-militarism, LGBTQ+ struggle, and feminist struggle. Through the increase of both the police repression against anarchist groups and the discussions about the use of violence within the movement, the process that started with the arrest of some anarchist groups that joined the Black Bloc protests on May 1, 2012, will create the conditions for the current situation of the anarchist movement. The tension between anarchists who accept the use of violence as a form of political action and anarchists who oppose political violence caused the movement to focus on problems within itself. A11, who participated in the demonstrations with the black bloc on May 1, 2012, describes that period as follows:

The police operation was quite extensive. I remember that a police team of 20-25 people came to my house. So, I don't even have a gun. They carried out operations in different parts of Turkey and brought a group of 60-70 people to Vatan Police Department. In this process, there was a 3–4-day custody period. Some anarchists were released later. Those who could be proven from the footage or who confessed their guilt were sent to prison. An anarchist group of 20-25 people was imprisoned there for three months. The lawsuits continued at that time. In that process, criticism came from the team that I called pacifists against this activism. There was a lot of marginalization of those who carried out that activism, and separations occurred (A11, 36, Male).

For the anarchists, who were targeted by the police and the state for the first time with their anarchist identities, the process after May 1, 2012, resulted in intra-movement debates and the departure of some people from the movement. The distinction between anarchists who advocate violence as a form of action and anarchists who are against violence has increased more than ever before. The Taksim Gezi Park protests, which developed after such a process, interestingly coincided with the beginning of the stagnation period of the anarchist movement in Turkey. A11 states that a strong anarchist group could not be found in Gezi since the Gezi Park protests were in a period where the anarchists had not yet recovered after the police operation in 2012. Stating that the Gezi process was a critical breaking point for the anarchist movement in Turkey, A14 emphasizes that while the anarchist movement was expected to emerge stronger from the Gezi process, it gradually weakened afterward.

The first of the most severe breaking points for us, very strangely, was Gezi. The Gezi was actually the proof of everything we said until that date. We had theories that self-organizations and social movements without leaders would be decisive in social struggle. While we were discussing these theories, we came across Gezi. The Gezi was actually a moment when we were thrilled. Because the logic of Gezi was not strange to us anyway, but, strangely enough, we couldn't handle that process. The mood created by the Gezi Protests turned into a severe problem for all of us (A14, 43, Male).

Anarchists, who entered the Gezi process with tensions and debates within the movement, could not reach a consensus on many issues related to the general situation

of the movement. The differentiation of different organizations in the movement regarding political and organizational understanding has caused this situation to deepen. On the other hand, the following statements about the anarchist movement in Turkey were included in the thesis written by Sofuoğlu in 2016 at the International Security Department of the Police Academy on the Black Block actions of May 1, 2012:

they have managed to get out of what we might call the dormant phase. In a way, this state of awakening; It can be seen in examples such as Greece, France, USA. A similar situation was experienced in Turkey during the Gezi Park events, which took place exactly one year after the May 1, 2012, Events. It is not possible to argue that the anarchist movement in Turkey entered a dormant phase after the May 1, 2012, Events and that the time difference between the two events was long. However, this example shows that the anarchist movement may come out of a possible sleep phase in Turkey as well. First of all, it should be noted that it would be a huge mistake to attribute the events only to anarchists. Although many people from different sections and ideological standpoints took part in the events, the contribution of anarchists to the Gezi Park and the anarchist side of the events cannot be denied (p. 161).

The situation of the anarchist movement in Turkey after the Gezi Park events is not much different from the other movements that constitute the social opposition, considering the current conditions in Turkey. The killing of 5 demonstrators during the Gezi protests and the inability to sustain the mobilization that started with Gezi are important points in terms of social opposition. Although the anarchist movement, which entered Gezi with discussions within the movement, continued its activities in university circles after this period. However, it could not regain its vitality before 2012. Many socialist and anarchist organizations entered a period of stagnation as a result of the increasing pressure on the social opposition, especially with the war in Rojava²⁹,

²⁹ Northern Syria's autonomous region of Rojava was established during the ongoing Syrian civil war, initially as part of the insurgency against Syrian President Bashar al-Assad and later to combat the Islamic State/ISIS. The main armed force in the Rojava region is the Syrian Democratic Forces (SDF), whose main part is the Kurdish-dominated People's Protection Units (YPG). The Turkish state sees the YPG primarily as a part of the PKK and has always opposed Kurdish autonomy in Rojava. Turkey has carried out numerous military operations against Rojava since 2016. In 2018, in the Afrin region, which

the collapse of the peace process³⁰, and the 6-7-8 October Kobani events³¹. The influence of the anarchist movement, which has a loose organizational structure, is expected to decrease even more under these conditions than other groups. A16 stated that this situation is also reflected in the environment in universities:

It was a war period in the Kurdistan region, at least in Rojava. Other than that, I remember it was a challenging process. I even remember talking to my friend about the thing; organizations are weakening, and people and institutions are losing power. We were talking about the importance of staying together during this period. It was a time when there was pressure on universities. These were the times when the AKP government started to show its oppression very clearly. The thing I remember most clearly is that there is pressure on us, and we can lose power because of this pressure (A16, 28, Male).

The gradual weakening of the anarchist movement in Turkey and its disintegration started with the Suruç³² and Ankara Train Station³³ massacres in 2015. On 20 July, 33 people lost their lives in the suicide bombing attack against people from different movements and organizations gathered under the organization of the SGDF (Socialist Youth Associations Federation) to rebuild Kobani. Afterward, many demonstrators were injured due to police intervention during the protest actions across Turkey. After the Suruç Massacre, an international call for action was made under the name of the

is part of Rojava, Turkey, together with allied Syrian opposition forces, launched a military operation codenamed “Olive Branch” to retake the town of Afrin from the SDF (CAAT, 2022).

³⁰ Peace process refers to the peace negotiations between the Republic of Turkey and the Kurdistan Workers Party (PKK) between 2009 and 2015. Although the peace process came to an abrupt end in 2011 due to political crises and a lack of commitment, the process regained momentum with the announcement of a new, more public, more serious and more formal peace process by the Government at the end of 2012. However, as a result of the changes in the balance of power with the intensifying war in the region, and the strong tensions and disagreements about the events in neighboring Syria, the peace process officially ended in the summer of 2015 (Savran, 2020, p.778).

³¹ See details in <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-middle-east-29688108> Retrieved on 09.05.2022

³² See details in <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-33593615> and <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-middle-east-29530640> Retrieved on 08.05.2022.

³³ See details in <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2015/oct/10/turkey-suicide-bomb-killed-in-ankara> Retrieved on 08.05.2022.

Anarchy Initiative. Police intervened in the protest in Eskişehir, Turkey, and 16 anarchists were detained. The 10 October Ankara Train Station Massacre, which took place a few months after the Suruç Massacre, can be described as the most critical breaking point of the anarchist movement. As a result of the bomb attacks in front of the Train Station, where the groups gathered for the Peace Rally, which is planned to be organized with the participation of DİSK, KESK, Turkish Medical Association, TMMOB, HDP, and many non-governmental organizations, 107 people lost their lives, and more than 500 were injured. According to A1, after this process anarchist movement wholly dissolved:

On July 20, when we got the news of death, we were all building a house in Izmir. We called a few of our friends, and they stopped coming. Of course, it's very understandable. It was not about us; there was a decline in all organizations. For the first time in Turkey, anarchists have been murdered and people we are directly connected with. I think we couldn't get over that process psychologically. This is the first reason, when the activities decreased even more, together with fear, there was a gradual retreat, and we could not produce a political strategy. No matter how hard we tried to continue, I can say that after October 10, we completely dissolved (A1, 32, Male).

As the interviewee stated, the common point of many movements and organizations from different branches of the social opposition is that they entered a period of stagnation in the post-2015 period, with the effect of the losses and increasing pressure. After 2015, the political atmosphere in Turkey limited the activities of social movements and organizations, and one of the movements most affected by this situation was the anarchist movement.

In this section, I have referred to specific political processes and resources that influenced the mobilization of the movement between 1995 and 2001, which I described above as the first stage of the mobilization process of the anarchist movement in Turkey. Accordingly, in the first period of the anarchist movement in Turkey, one of the dynamics supporting the differentiation arising from the organizational strategies between the first- and second-generation anarchists was the

economic crisis and political instability environment in Turkey. Another is the increasing visibility of anarchist actions in anti-globalization movements in Turkey with the increase in Internet access. This process prepared the establishment of AGF, the first anarchist organization organized with an anarchist identity. As I mentioned before, anarchist politics emerged in the favorable political, cultural, and social conditions that emerged with the military coup weakening the hegemony of the socialist left in Turkey. By the 90s, anarchist politics transformed into a movement within the conditions specific to the period. In this process, on the one hand, the reflections of the economic and political transformations that Turkey has experienced after the 1980s on social life are effective in the formation of these conditions. However, on the other hand, those mentioned above, social and political ruptures are effective in helping the younger generation of anarchists acquire an organized political struggle perspective. It is possible to say that these developments in Turkey during the mentioned period created political opportunities that accelerated the mobilization of the anarchist movement.

On the other hand, this situation signifies the beginning of the differentiation between the first generation anarchists, who continue to exist as an intellectual circle, and the new generations. However, in the emergence of new anarchist circles in the '90s, it is essential to highlight the infrastructure provided by the periodicals and discussion channels published by the first generation of anarchists. The political activities of the first generation of anarchists formed a kind of intellectual infrastructure for the next generations. This shows that anarchists have a good educational background and are proficient in other foreign languages, enough to translate and interact with anarchist organizations in Europe.

In the 2002-2011 period, the anarchist movement continued its organization, especially on university campuses, as the pressure on civil society and social opposition decreased due to the democratization reforms that Turkey started to implement in line with the EU Harmonization process. In addition, with the effect of the 2008 Greek Revolt that took place in this period and the anarchists, one of the groups that were influential in the Revolt, the interest of the younger generations in

anarchism and anarchist groups increased in Turkey. In this period, thanks to the relations and communication networks developed by anarchists in Turkey with anarchist groups abroad, experience and knowledge transfer between anarchist groups abroad and in Turkey increased, and solidarity networks were established.

Finally, in the period after 2012, the anarchist movement in Turkey entered a period of stagnation and disintegration, both due to the internal debates of the anarchist movement and the effects of the divisions within the movement, as well as the increasing pressure on the social opposition. In this case, the effect of the pessimistic environment created by the death of some anarchists in the bomb attacks that took place one after the other in 2015 should not be ignored.

In this section, I discussed which conditions were influential in the mobilization process of the anarchist movement and the organization processes of anarchist groups in Turkey. To do this, I dealt with the mobilization process of the anarchist movement in 3 stages, as I mentioned at the beginning. In line with the information I gained from the interviews, I focused on the specific key events and processes that stood out at each stage. When we consider these events and conditions in terms of political opportunity structures, it is possible to say that country-specific political opportunities have a decisive influence on the mobilization of the anarchist movement. However, these political processes are not stable. While the restrictive and oppressive political environment in the first period enabled the movement to mobilize rapidly and the organizations to increase, it caused the movement to lose power in the third period. The main reason for this situation is that the discussions within the anarchist movement in the third period negatively affected the indigenous relationships that would feed the movement and provide continuity.

On the other hand, the periods in which the communication and solidarity practices of the anarchist movement with the anarchist movements and organizations abroad increased were the periods when the anarchist movement in Turkey was most active. The intensity of these relationships and the increasing anarchist visibility around the world have increased the organizational socialization of the anarchist movement in

Turkey with other social movements. It is possible to say that the alternative globalization movements and the 2008 Greek uprising had a unifying effect on the anarchist movement in Turkey. In addition, these movements and rebellions have been a source of legitimacy for the anarchist movement in Turkey.

From the Resource Mobilization Perspective, the participation of individuals with good educational backgrounds in the first period of the mobilization of the anarchist movement facilitated the anarchist movement's access to many intellectual resources. The availability of these intellectual resources and their novelty in the context of Turkey has enabled anarchist activists to be influential in other new movements, especially in the anti-militarist and ecology movements. This diversity, which provides operational maneuvering space for the anarchist movement in the political sense, has also caused the anarchist literature to significantly impact the early formation stages of the mentioned social movements.

4.2. The Organizational Practices of the Anarchist Movement

In his research on movement anarchism Williams (2017) states that although a wide range of organizational types exists in anarchist movements, certain forms are much more frequent. For instance, media-oriented groups, infoshops, bookstores, syndicalist unions, and generalist anarchist organizations can be observed in Europe and America. There is little transference from previous waves of organizational activity in the anarchist movement, as in other small, decentralized organizations. This indicates that the anarchist movement consists of very temporary organizational structures. Nevertheless, the repeated consistency of locations from the first generation suggests local and structural factors that contributed both to the routine creation of anarchist organizational forms and to the socialization of new anarchists. (p.227).

In fact, there is always trial and error in anarchist practices. When you first start anarchism, you start with classical anarchism. As it continues, animal liberation, women's struggle, etc. That's actually why anarchist experiences are so

plentiful and discontinuous: questioning. And every experience leads to questioning. As your interrogation progresses, different identities emerge, but then problems arise within those identities as well. Anarchists with adjectives-specialization, compartmentalization, black-red, black green, etc. (A15, 42, Male).

4.2.1. The Partiality of Anarchist Organizations in Turkey

Depending on the context that changes throughout the life cycle of the organization, the elements of the organization -membership, rules, sanctions, hierarchy, and control- can also change; some elements may appear and disappear depending on the problems, tensions, and conflict. Each time the composition of changing organizational elements constitutes the organization's partiality. As den Hond et al. (2015) discuss,

it might seem that organizational elements can be “switched on and off” at the organizers’ will, suggesting a high level of voluntarism and agency in social movements. However, it is more likely that there are path dependencies and contingencies in a movement’s social order; hierarchies may be connected with rules and rules with monitoring and sanctioning. Yet various organizational elements need not be permanently present at the same time for effective mobilization in the long run (2015, para.3).

I describe the anarchist organizations within the anarchist movement in Turkey as partial organizing since they do not access one or more formal organizational elements. However, I argue that “anarchist conduct” is a set of principles regarding how social life should be organized anarchistically and draws the borders of the anarchist organization type. The categorization developed by den Hond et al. supplements organizational elements (membership, rules, sanctions, hierarchy, monitoring) determined by Ahrne and Brunsson (2011) with the ideal-typical anarchist organization principles (autonomy, direct democracy, social control, mutual aid, voluntary association). If we define the anarchist conduct for organizations as the combinations of these anti-organizational principles, they represent defined order in an anarchist organization. We can expect that organizational forms and structures of

anarchist organizations may vary over time due to the presence or absence of the elements of organizations.

Organizations are the contingent balance between defined order and emergent order, and I argue that all anti-organizational principles might not be present simultaneously. Although the scope and the context of the study prevent me from developing a longitudinal analysis of one or more anarchist organizations in Turkey, I will focus on the presence or absence of the elements of anti-organizations. One reason I discussed the changing mobilization dynamics of the anarchist movement over time in the previous section is to describe background information in the context of organizational forms of the anarchist movement in Turkey. In this way, I reckon to introduce at least a time dimension to the organizational analysis. Following the classification developed by den Hond et al., I discuss to what extent anarchist organizations consist of the organizational elements and ideal-typical anarchist organizational principles. To do this, I focus on the combination of the organizational elements with anarchist principles through participation, financial resources, and decision-making processes.

4.2.1.1. Participation

Membership numbers generally explain participation in social movements. They represent formal, documented, and measurable support for social movements. Membership indicates formal participation in social movement organizations. In this section, I will discuss the issue of participation in organizations within the anarchist movement in Turkey. I asked the interviewees about their involvement in organizations in order to understand their experience with participation processes. In addition, I wanted to find out if the interviewees knew the processes of the new recruits during the period they were organized. The purpose of asking these questions was to understand whether the organization's practices in participation have changed over time. However, the answers of the interviewees show that the participation strategies of anarchist organizations in Turkey differ.

What is common to all organizations within the anarchist movement in Turkey is the absence of an official membership system. Although some organizations have a formal membership system, it is not used to recruit new participants. In line with the answers given by the interviewees about participation, it is observed that the informal participation processes also differ within the movement. While the first strategy does not aim to increase the number of participants in the organization, it prioritizes the security or adaptation problems that may arise from the new participants. For this purpose, the participation process is not complete without establishing a full trust relationship with the person who wants to join the organization. At this stage, organized individuals who socialize with the person who wants to join the organization are in a position to decide whether that person is eligible to join the organization or not. Considering that the groups that adopt this strategy are generally small in number, the person who wants to join the organization should have the same perspective as the organized people. One of the interviewees, A16, explains this strategy as follows:

We operated a process by looking at his belief in the struggle, his will, what he can give, and his reliability. So let's meet first, be friends socially, and get to know. It's about getting to know the person, like, let's talk to his family if necessary. It's not like you come as soon as you meet. There were people with whom we put a period of 3 months and started the conversation after that (A16, 28, Male).

The main factor observed in the participation strategy described by A16 is the compatibility of the new participants to the existing order of the group. It is an attitude towards protecting the internal dynamics of the group, not increasing the number of members.

Similar to this strategy, another participation strategy that does not focus on increasing the number of organizations determines participation in the organization through involvement in the activity that the organization basically carries out. The basic participation strategy of the Taçanka³⁴ (Tachanka) organization, which carries out

³⁴ Tachanka, horse-drawn military equipment with a heavy machine gun behind it, used by the Ukrainian Revolutionary Insurgent Army, the Makhnovists, or the Black Army.

training activities for young people in a workers' neighborhood in Ankara, is that the individual who wants to join the organization must regularly come to the neighborhood and actively participate in the activities of the association. A6 explains the participation strategy of Taçanka, which adopts platformist³⁵ organization principles, as follows:

We were a very closed group anyway, and our organized number did not exceed 10-15 people. Our understanding of organization was actually rigorous. Because we said that if he comes to the neighborhood, okay, this person thinks like us—a narrow form of organization. And because there were few students among us, we couldn't become huge in number. Our maximum number was 20 or so. We were adopting platformism, Makhno. The core staff, the periphery, and another periphery outside that perimeter. Actually, it's a bit like leftist organizations. Maybe there was no chiefdom but that narrow cadre (A10, 44, Male).

The difference between the participation strategy adopted by Taçanka from other anarchist organizations is that Taçanka, which carries out organizing activities through a legal association, has official members as well as unofficial participants. The main reason for adopting formal membership and informal participation strategies is that the organization does not openly organize in the neighborhood with its anarchist identities. The motivation for this strategy is that it will be easier and safer to organize in a workers' neighborhood through a legal association and an official membership system. In this sense, the subject and venue of the organization determined the membership strategies of the organization.

On the other hand, there are also organizations within the movement that adopt a more inclusive participation strategy. In these organizations, the distinction between members of the group and people close to the organization but outside the organization is unclear. In this situation, which the interviewees call the "*çevre-çeper*" relationship,

³⁵ Platformism is a trend within the anarchist movement that shares affinity with organizing in the tradition of Nestor Makhno and the "Organizational Platform of Libertarian Communists". The platform derives from the experiences of Russian and Ukrainian anarchists. According to the platform, the four main principles that should be in an "anarchist" organization are ideological unity, tactical unity, collective action and discipline, and federalism.

the difference between who is an organized member and who is not is unclear. The interviewee, A1 (32, Male), made the analogy of the “stock market” for this type of participation. Joining the organization is like the stock market; the number of members constantly changes and does not remain constant. These organizations, whose members are usually university students, operate on campuses. The group that can be called the “çevre-çeper” of the organization is also university students. In such organizations, the number of participants appears more than in demonstrations such as May 1 and March 8, when the “periphery” is also included. However, the routine work of the organization is carried out by a small group of participants, such as publishing newspapers, designing posters, setting up booths on campuses, and finding financial resources for the organization's activities.

Another participation strategy is entirely different from the other strategies mentioned here in terms of purpose and motivation. One of the aims of this strategy, adopted by the AGF (Anarchist Youth Federation) and seen in other anarchist organizations in Turkey, is to increase the number of participants as much as possible. For this purpose, branches are opened in different locations but connected to the center. Although this method is defined as an autonomous organization type by organizations, the fact that branches are tied to the center at all decision-making stages does not comply with the logic of an autonomous organization. This strategy serves to overstate the organization's impact by distributing branches in different locations. One of the interviewees, A8, argues that the reason for this strategy is the focus on propaganda and organizing activities in the organization:

But this is what happens in organizations when propaganda is at the forefront. That's what our organization did. Propaganda and organization. Here, when you come from this leftist mentality, the situation turns into pulling people's legs. Here I organized you; you went and opened a branch there; it's like you introduced me (A7, 37, Male).

In addition, participation in organizations that adopt this type of organizational strategy provides an opportunity to diversify the resources that the organization can reach. Stating that those who are interested in anarchism generally belong to the

middle, middle-upper class individuals, A15 stated that this result also affects the organization's participation strategy:

There was always a concern about organizing rich children. But this was not very systematic. Because most of the young people who turned to anarchism and that kind of sabotage were actually from the middle class. But I didn't hear him say, "let's organize that rich man" (A15, 42, Male).

The fact that anarchist organizations generally do not have regular financial resources has led some organizations to produce strategies focused on diversifying their financial resources. As in this example, this may also affect the participation strategy. The contributions from the participants who are in good financial condition cover some of the expenses to be used for the organization's activities.

4.2.1.2. Financial Resources

Anarchist organizations in Turkey generally have limited access to financial resources to provide a stable income. If there is no fixed and regular source of income, organizations have to diversify their methods of providing financial resources in order to continue their activities. Accordingly, anarchist organizations have sought to provide financial resources through legal or illegal methods. In anarchist organizations, the majority of which are university students, the main financial resource is the participants' pocket money or scholarships. Apart from these, A2 stated that they organized a solidarity concert in order to pay the debts of the organization office:

I don't remember at all that we had money at that time. We were organizing things like a solidarity concert or something. I remember one. The newspaper had a lot of debt. We organized a solidarity concert in 2008. We sold the tickets for the concert at schools. It was the first time I had worn a skirt to an event at a bar. I guess it means something to me. As I said, we didn't care much about these issues (A2, 30, Queer).

The fact that organizations with strong "çevre-çeper" relationships provide financial resources from the activities they organize for solidarity shows that these relationships can be functional. Since members and the organization's close relations are generally

young university students, it determines the content of the solidarity activity to a great extent. A7 explains to what extent they have diversified their resources to finance the Ankara Anarchy Initiative (AAİ) as follows:

At that time in Europe, there was an economic contribution by organizing a party for us. But since the exchange rate was not as advantageous as it is today, we could pay the rent of the office with that money. We sold a lot of beer in METU at the festivities to earn the rent money. No two people lived in a house between us; at least five people stayed. Sometimes it went up to 10. We weren't paying for food, and we were stealing all the time. In fact, we turned it into a source of income for a period. At that time, we talked to the bar owners in Sakarya and Konur and made needs lists. A little embarrassing on the one hand, but it was a fact. That's how we could survive. At that time, the Beytepe team got into the pirated CD business. We were making archives and discographies. Or we were making street music (A7, 37, Male).

The situation described by A7 is a good example of how organizations can diversify their financial resources to generate income. First of all, since the basic financial resources of individuals and institutions are pocket money and scholarships, people make living arrangements to reduce their fixed expenses such as rent, food, and clothing. Therefore, there are common houses where people in the organization live together. Sometimes the number of people staying in these shared houses can reach up to ten. In this way, people who reduce their rental expenses meet their dressing and food needs by stealing from markets and stores. This does not pose an ethical problem for anarchists, who regard private property itself as theft. This behavior, also defined as expropriation, argues that the person should meet her/his basic needs. If she/he cannot meet them, her/his share has already been stolen by others, and in this case, theft is a legitimate act. A7 stated that theft or expropriation was also done as a "business" for a while and that they sold the products stolen from the markets to the pubs, the owners of which they knew, according to their needs. To do this, the organization must have a good local network. This again shows how important the relationships with the environment are for the organization. In addition, relations with anarchist organizations in Europe are also crucial for providing financial resources.

With the money collected from the solidarity parties organized in Europe, the organization can meet some of its needs. This depends on the solid and good relations between anarchists in different countries.

On the other hand, some anarchist organizations can benefit from the opportunities provided by legal institutions and organizations to provide financial resources. For example, A8 states that the facilities provided by the municipality, for a while, constituted the primary financial resource of the organization:

The municipality had become our most significant resource for a while. We were doing our activities in Kadıköy Youth Center. We were using the whole youth center, and we were doing sports there, kickboxing or something. Apart from that, we organized tournaments and got funding from the municipality. At the same time, the center had a restaurant, and our friends were working there. There were no dues (A8, 38, Male).

AGF, like Taçanka, carried out its organizing activities through a legal association. However, although Taçanka is affiliated with a legal association, it did not apply for funding support to provide financial resources. Claiming that this is an ideological choice, A9 (39, Female) states that they cover the organization's expenses with the fees collected from the members instead of the funds. The fact that the organized people also work full-time jobs ensured the regular collection of dues.

On the other hand, AGF benefited from the facilities in the youth center of the municipality. Receiving funds from the municipality and the salaries earned by the organization members working in the restaurant in the youth center enabled the organization to diversify its financial resources. Another work undertaken by AGF to provide financial resources is described by A5 as follows:

AGF opened a shop in Uşak. A man named Mehmet in Uşak, a friend of AGF, was also an anarchist. He owns a silver shop. Like the ones in Kızılay, it's not very big, but the man sells silver there. And the income pays the shop's rent, he sends money to Istanbul, and the magazine is financed with that money. Therefore, AGF cares about that shop. Because the

money source finances many things, it makes good money
(A5, 43, Male).

In this example, an anarchist living in another city associated with the AGF was financially supported by the organization to start a business. In return, a specific part of the money earned by the shop is reserved for the organization of AGF. Thanks to this financial relationship established with this person, who is not a direct member of the organization and can be described as a sympathizer, the organization has established a regular income source to cover some of its expenses while establishing its network in different cities. However, this financial strategy is important for diversifying income sources; establishing such a relationship requires serious planning and a relationship of trust. It is possible to state that AGF follows a different strategy for providing financial resources than other anarchist organizations. Diversifying its resources as much as possible, AGF used legal and illegal methods together. Considering that the organization with the highest number of participants among them is AGF, its expenses are higher, and its connections are much higher than other organizations to access the resources to meet these expenses.

4.2.1.3. Decision-making mechanism

An ideal-typical anarchist organization should take decisions based on consensus within the organization in line with the principles of direct democracy. Again, in an ideal-typical anarchist organization, the sharing of work and duties should be determined by rotation according to the wishes and interests of the individuals, but in a way that does not crystallize the positions within the organization. DeLeon (2019) states that anarchist theory emphasizes avoiding hierarchical arrangements within the group and continues as follows:

At the heart of the anarchist theory is an aversion to structural, hierarchical arrangements in which a leader emerges that dictates orders and tells others what to do without counsel or suggestion. The types of leadership and organizational structures/styles that anarchists find problematic are static

leaders that remain in power for an indefinite amount of time, and that dictate orders and policy without full counsel from those generally affected by these decisions (2019, para. 15).

Based on anarchist theory, anarchist organizing principles or anarchist conduct opposes hierarchical associations, specialization, and majority rule in an organization. However, the skeptical approach of anarchist theory to authority does not ignore the possibility of hierarchical relations depending on the authority in an anarchist social order. This persistent skepticism towards authority reminds us that social control mechanisms in anarchist groups must also work. In the defined order of anarchist organizations, this principle of social control is an essential factor that ensures that the organization adheres to the anarchist principle. However, authoritarian associations and static leaders may also emerge within anarchist organizations due to the emergent order.

In this part of the study, I will discuss the intra-organizational decision-making mechanisms of anarchist organizations in Turkey, how tasks and work are distributed among the participants, and whether there is any control mechanism in these processes. For this purpose, I asked the interviewees how they make decisions within the organization and how the task allocation within the organization is realized. A13, who is organized in the Eskişehir Anarchy Initiative (EAI), states that they decide what to do in the organization at joint meetings and that work and task sharing are done in line with the abilities and competencies of the individuals:

We were writing leaflets together in a meeting. Another task sharing was actually determined according to the individual skills of the individuals. Graffiti, for example, were made by people who were seriously willing to do this. For example, it changes depending on the drawing ability of the person in charge of preparing the banner or who is more involved in this job. Or if a poster is to be made, in connection with the person's experience who has computer knowledge and can use that program. In fact, task sharing was based entirely on individuals' personal skills or what they could do. This was also sometimes seen in communication with other groups. This was undertaken by people who had strong communication skills, had better influence, or could propagate effectively (A13, 28, Male).

The low number of organized participants and the fact that all of the present participants were students ensured that the social order in EAI was established through affinity or friendship. EAI, which we can also describe as the affinity group, is an organization that does not require a complex network of relationships and where the participants manage the decision-making and task distribution processes through face-to-face communication. On the other hand, decision-making processes in Taçanka, which has a small number of participants, are different from EAI:

There is a certain young population there, but of course, we talk more in discussions due to years of experience. Of course, as we talk, we actually draw attention. Because certain age groups start to manage things, this bothers me after a while. Because I criticize things, I have the truth in my head. And as I see the mistakes, I try to intervene in them. As you intervene, your name comes to the fore, “anyway, these are platformists, these are men who are inclined to authority anyway” (A5, 43, Male).

As stated by A5, characteristics such as age, experience, and competence of the participants influence decision-making processes. The experience and competence that increases with age will inevitably create differentiation among the participants in the group. The fact that there were individuals who formed the first anarchist organizations in Ankara in the 1990s among the participants caused these experienced people to have a more respected place in the group than the new participants. One of the interviewees, A5, emphasizes that the experienced person has the right to "convince" others:

But we are not saying that it can be done with authoritarian methods. This is also partly in Tachanka. The experienced one always has the right to have a say. And he has the right to persuade the other person. Persuasion processes work, and you are convinced. Even if you are convinced, no one can ask a question like, “why are you being persuaded? That's authority.” No, because that discussion process convinced him. This is how we looked (A5, 43, Male).

The process described by A5 shows that authority within the organization arises indirectly from a form of relationships that are established and legitimized by age,

experience, and competence. The difference of Taçanka is that the prominent status of a high-profile participant, which can also be observed in other organizations, stems from an order accepted by all participants within the organization. On the other hand, A15 explains how the decision-making and task distribution processes in AGF differ from other organizations as follows:

DAF (Revolutionary Anarchist Action) and AGF (Anarchist Youth Federation) are all made up of uncertainty. And this uncertainty causes some high-profile people to come forward. The division of labor is like this: "you know the camera, come here." it's like a family business. Nothing has order but seems to be in order because it is challenging (A15, 42, Male).

A15, who took part in both organizations (DAF and AGF), states that the uncertainty in the decision-making and task-sharing processes causes some participants to come to the fore and become decisive in the decision-making processes within the organization. This "uncertainty" about how the processes within the organization will work is overcome by the emergence of "leaders" who solve the uncertainty and coordinate the participants. It is possible to say that the chief and leadership positions in the mentioned groups are similar to Taçanka, depending on age and experience. However, unlike Taçanka, in these groups with many participants, the difference between the position of these informal leaders and the position of a newcomer to the organization is quite significant. This situation led to the formation of peripheral-cadre groups closer to the leaders. In some cases, as A18 mentioned, it has reached the point where it determines the participatory strategy:

It seemed like we were all talking and making decisions together. But it was still what X and Y said. Because they could somehow manipulate it, and because the people around them believed in them, they could implement those decisions. I think that's why they give so much importance to the high school organization. Because he knows it will be easier to interfere with them. The struggle for rights cannot be like this. It means a closed organization, such as a sect or congregation (A18, 31, Female).

In organizations where influential individuals in decision-making processes come to the fore and positioning is visible, leaders can develop strategies to organize younger individuals that they can more easily influence to maintain their current positions. This strategy not only increases the number of participants but also ensures that new participants who believe in the leader's competence and, in some cases, even admire the leader are included in the organization for the "periphery-cadre" formed around the leader. Thus, the leader, who creates a buffer zone around him that consists of participants who believe in his legitimacy and accept his authority, strengthens his own position against objections or interventions that may come from other participants.

In this section, I have tried to discuss the two questions I initially asked. These are "What strategies are used by self-proclaimed anarchist activists for an anarchist organization?" and "What are the structure and internal dynamics of an anarchist organization?" Anarchist organizations can be defined as partial organizations because they do not have one or more of the formal organizational elements (membership, sanctions, control, hierarchy, and rules). However, on the other hand, anarchist organizing principles and anarchist conduct express a defined order in anarchist organizations. Accordingly, the basic anarchist principles of organization are autonomy, mutual aid, direct democracy, social control, and voluntary associations. Through decision-making mechanisms, financial resources, and participation dynamics, I tried to evaluate how formal organizational elements and anarchist organization principles are included in anarchist organization processes.

Accordingly, anarchist organizations that adopt different strategies in their participation processes generally determine whether these strategies aim to increase the number of organized participants or not. While participation in smaller groups proceeds through individual relations, participation processes are managed to depend on propaganda activities in large groups. On the other hand, some anarchist organizations have a formal membership system. However, official membership is not effective in the process of joining the organization. The specific characteristics of the locality in which the organization operates are essential elements of the adoption of formal membership processes. The official membership system can also diversify the

organization's resources and propaganda areas. That is, the presence of membership, which is one of the formal organizational elements in anarchist organizations, is instrumental in this case.

Generally speaking, it can be said that anarchist organizations in Turkey have limited access to financial resources. In organizations where most of the participants are university students, the primary financial resource of the organization is student scholarships and pocket money. When it comes to expenses such as the rent of the office, expenses of newspapers, magazines, and printing costs, the organization's limited budget becomes a problem. Participants who resort to legal and illegal methods to overcome their financial problems reduce the expenditures required for their basic individual needs. On the other hand, in organizations where the participants are middle-class individuals working full-time jobs, the most basic financial resource is dues. Another strategy developed for financial resources is founding associations. Associations established to operate in areas not directly related to the anarchist politics of the organization, such as education and the environment, enable organizations to find material input by receiving funding support. Informal anarchist organizations supported by official and formal organizations are less financially fragile than other anarchist organizations.

The main factor in the differentiation of decision-making mechanisms among anarchist organizations is the number of participants. In organizations where the number of participants is low, decisions are taken in face-to-face meetings. In these organizations, task sharing is carried out in line with the interests and wishes of the people. On the other hand, in large numbers of organizations, it is possible to say that certain crystallized positions within the organization become evident over time. In these organizations, which do not have determined decision-making mechanisms, positions such as leadership or chief are emerging as the number of participants increases. In this case, the distance between the newly recruited individual and the informal leaders' increases. This gap is closed by the narrow cadre organized around the leader. The purpose of narrow cadres is to act as a bridge between the organization's leader and other participants, maintain control in the organization, and

supervise the implementation of the decisions taken by the leader by other participants. These narrow cadres fulfill the function of a kind of social control apparatus within the organization.

4.3. Ongoing Debates on Anarchist Organizations in Turkey

In this part of the work, I will touch on some issues that have been the subject of debate in the anarchist movement in Turkey for many years. In line with the experiences of the interviewees, we can list the most fundamental problems in the anarchist movement as follows: the influence of the socialist left on individuals in the anarchist movement, the oligarchization of anarchist organizations, and the involvement of anarchists in other social movements. In the following sections, I will focus on how these problems were grounded by the interviewees.

4.3.1. “Coming from the Left”: The Relationship with Socialist Movement

In the first part of the analysis chapter, I discussed the emergence of the anarchist movement in Turkey. As I mentioned in that section, the anarchist movement in Turkey was born due to the ideological and organizational discussion processes that the individuals in the socialist movement went through after the September 12, 1980 coup. After the coup, the first-generation anarchists stated that the structural and intellectual problems they saw in their old organizations pushed them to a personal questioning process. They discussed the concepts of authority, domination, and freedom and how these concepts were handled in practice in the functioning of socialist organizations. As a result of these discussions, the first anarchist activist circles began to form. Some former leftists broke away from socialist organizations, turned to anarchism, and started publishing activities gathering around small publishing circles. The skeptical approach to the concept of the organization, criticism of science and rationality, and anti-violence, which are frequently seen among the first generation anarchists, clearly reveal the intellectual transformation that these people

went through when they left the socialist organizations. By the mid-1990s, the number of second-generation anarchists started to increase in Turkey. A19 notes that there are distinct differences between first-generation anarchists and later anarchists:

Those who left the socialist organizations in groups in the 90s and 2000s formed their own circles without any change. On the contrary, they came to the anarchist ranks as ready circles. They took a roughly anarchist stance, keeping the reflexes of the old left tradition intact. Thus, some leftist groups' old/new diseases were unfortunately carried over to us. They spoke, but their language was not our language. They were writing, but what they said was not our word. Some even felt blessed as some left groups embraced them as "true anarchists." Unfortunately, many of our friends who cannot break with the left trajectory do not want to see that their anarchy is just a name while caricatured the road and locked in the target (A19, NI, Male).

A19 explains the reason for this differentiation between generations as the second-generation anarchists participated in the existing anarchist circles without going through a process of questioning like the first generation anarchists. Accordingly, the second-generation anarchists became anarchists without engaging in the fundamental intellectual questioning that distinguishes anarchism from the mainstream current of socialism in Turkey. The participants, who moved from socialist organizations to anarchist groups in groups or individually, brought with them problems within leftist organizations. A19 states that "anarchists close to the left have always remained leftists" for this situation. On the other hand, according to A11, the main reason for the leftist tendencies of anarchists in Turkey is the first generation of anarchists who came from socialist organizations.

If we think in this context, people who escaped the troubles of the left and were overwhelmed by the chiefs on the left became anarchists in Turkey. Anarchists did not open a field directly; they came with their left experience and became anarchists. The first generations were like that. The next generations became directly anarchists. As I said, such things happen when it comes to *proving themselves to the left*. This is something related to our Turkish history as well. Yes, there was anarchism in Turkey in the past, in the Ottoman period, but there were few people who called themselves anarchists until

the 80s. After that, they started to organize a little more, and they started publishing magazines. Of course, what they do is very valuable, but there are still problems with coming from the left (A4, 32, Male).

A11 claims that the main problem from the first period is that individuals left socialist organizations and participated in the anarchist movement. Stating that the anarchist movement, since its first emergence, is characterized by the fact that people who want to escape from the problems in the socialist organizations or who could not reach the positions they want in the left organizations are anarchists, the interviewer states that this situation brings with it the problem of "proving oneself to the left" in anarchist groups. On the other hand, A10 states that not all anarchists from the left movement are anarchists with similar motivations, and the difference between them is crucial.

On the one hand, the coming of a person from the left and from a socialist structure is really this: There is a group that has come by observing those authoritarian relationships and the hierarchical structure very directly, drawing conclusions in their own way and thinking of the possibility of a more libertarian form of struggle, I think that is different. We can call it a segment that has come to the correct conclusions. Secondly, a section of people carries the habits of that type of relationship even though they actually want to be in a more liberal structure (A10, 44, Male).

A10 claims that some anarchists with a leftist organizational background have joined anarchist groups by questioning their experiences in their former organizations and drawing "correct conclusions." Accordingly, the difference between anarchists who reach the correct conclusions and anarchists who reach the wrong conclusions is evident in the processes in the functioning of the organization. According to A10, individuals who come to anarchist groups with correct results have abandoned their authoritarian tendencies, or at least try to do so; people who come to anarchist organizations with wrong results try to maintain their relationships in their old organizations. Claiming that the chief of the AGF can be shown as an example of this situation, A18 states that this person has created an authoritarian, introverted, and masculine anarchist organizational culture by combining his experiences in his former organization with anarchism.

In AGF, X is someone who came from the leftist movement and ran the practices of that movement. and the left movement in Turkey is very masculine and authoritarian. And he combined his experiences there with anarchism, yet he does the same things; practically nothing has changed. The anarchist movement in Turkey is very closed. And the anarchist movement is also very male in this country (A18, 32, Female).

The interviewees stated that the problems such as the use of authority and internal violence in anarchist organizations are experienced by people who have experience in socialist organizations in these groups. Accordingly, people who internalize socialist organization problems and continue them in anarchist organizations cause asymmetric power relations to emerge within the organization. It is an essential point that all interviewees mention the problems experienced within the anarchist organizations as individual deficiencies. According to the anarchist theory, the problem of authority, which can repeatedly occur in all social relations and arrangements, advocates that individuals should be a constant suspicion toward authority and that organizational functioning should be regulated in a direct, horizontal, and participatory way.

In the case of Turkey, these acknowledgments towards individuals who experienced their first political socialization in socialist organizations ignore the relational structure of authority. The authoritarian relations that can occur in any condition and social arrangement are matched by coming from the tradition of the socialist movement. As mentioned by interviewee A11, this situation also shows the tendency of individuals in the anarchist movement to prove themselves to the left. This argument is strengthened not only by "former socialists" who have established authoritarian relations but also by the tendency to show the reasons for authoritarian relations in anarchist organizations as the internalization of the principles of socialist forms of organization. So much so that the socialist tradition is seen as the main problem of anarchist organizations in Turkey being masculine, closed, and authoritarian.

These analyzes, which are made on individuals without mentioning the self-reproduction of authority and asymmetric power relations or the patriarchal system emphasized by anarchist theory, miss the deeper structural causes of the problems. Of

course, all these do not mean that the socialist organizations in Turkey are not authoritarian and patriarchal. However, this reasoning is too direct a cause-effect relationship to be the root cause of the problems of anarchist organizations in Turkey.

4.3.2. The Problem of Oligarchy in Anarchist Organizations

According to Michels' iron law of oligarchy thesis, oligarchic tendencies and leaders emerge from formalization and bureaucratization processes in highly-structured organizations (2001). However, since formalization and bureaucratization processes will not be seen in low-structured and informal organizations such as anarchist organizations, questions about the processes in which oligarchic associations are produced are significant. Although Michels sees anarchism as a polyphlactic alternative to the problem of oligarchy in one of the chapters in his *Political Parties* book, we should not ignore that hierarchical and authoritarian relations can be established within anarchist organizations, and authoritarian leader figures may emerge.

On the other hand, de Bakker et al. argue that a conceptualization that misses the normative basis of oligarchy will not be sufficient for us to understand the processes of oligarchy in informal organizations. (2017). Leach's (2005) conceptualization of oligarchy highlights the normative character of the concept rather than defining the oligarchy as a result of process of formalization and bureaucratization. According to the authors, the normative core of the concept of oligarchy is the loss of democracy. That is, the loss of democracy can be encountered in all informal or formal organizations. In this section, I will focus on the processes of oligarchy in anarchist organizations in line with the interviewees' experiences. A8, one of the interviewees, expressed the problems in the way the autonomous organization strategy was implemented in his former organization as follows:

So it goes like this, for example, here we have our office in Kadıköy, you go, you become autonomous of Maltepe, you become autonomous of Kartal, you become the autonomous

Marmara, and so on. But in essence, this is not how things work. You know, it's a completely Marxist structure. It has an autonomist platform, it seems right when you look at its structure, but unfortunately, it is like a continuation of a Marxist organizational structure. Because of centralization again. Maltepe is constantly getting permission from Kadıköy. When someone tells you to be autonomous over there, it's hierarchical anyway. It's a bit like branching (A8, 38, Male).

In this example, we see that the organizational strategy is implemented not by the joint decision of the participants but by the decisions taken by the chief himself. In addition to having a chief position in an anarchist organization, we can talk about an organizational structure formed by the decisions taken from the center and whose functioning is determined in line with the orders taken from the center. The reason why centralization is so high in organizations is due to the problems in the decision-making stages and the lack of social control within the organization. So much so that it is not possible to talk about an inclusive decision-making process that works with the principles of direct democracy in such anarchist organizations:

Of course, chiefs have "hitmen." For example, I was on a narrow cadre. You are holding secret meetings. They said, "you as a youth are the organization's future," and so on. We are subjected to brainwashing, and you are given such a mission. Actually, we were his hitmen, you understand? You don't understand right now. After a while, there are clearances and stuff. The function of that narrow cadre is actually to redeem people who oppose the chief.

What is the relationship of the narrowcast members with the other members?

Like control, for example, think of it as if what decision will be made in large meetings is determined in a narrow cadre meeting (A8, 38, Male).

Individuals in the narrow staff gathered around the chief over time assumed the function of implementing the decisions taken by the chief. This narrow staff, which also provides control within the organization, is the unit where the main decisions are taken. Despite this, decision-making meetings are held with other participants of the organization. However, since the decision has already been taken in a narrow staff

meeting, meetings open to all members are for show. It is inevitable for leaders to form in organizations where positions within the organization are so prominent. On the other hand, the loss of democracy in anarchist organizations without a leadership position occurs due to specific individuals taking on the same jobs for a long time. A16 describes his own experience in this regard as follows:

But after a while, the person who takes too much initiative becomes authoritarian. An anarchist organization must also avoid this. To prevent this, a specific control mechanism should be established. We couldn't do that, so we already had problems. I was on the initiative for a little while. It already disbanded shortly after I entered. I haven't had a chance to observe much. But in the next group, we witnessed one of our friends start to become authoritarian. We have already removed him later (A16, 28, Male).

The fact that people who take the responsibility of doing duties for a long time begin to have more say creates hidden positions within the organization by getting ahead of the initiative of others. This oligarchization situation, which is the result of specialization, resulted in the dismissal of the person who started to show authoritarian tendencies, in the example cited by A16. In this example, it is possible to talk about the existence of an internal social control mechanism in which the participants in the organization monitor each other, and those who act outside the principles of the organization are removed. On the other hand, A15 argues that the root of the oligarchization problem in anarchist organizations is the inability to fully internalize the concept of the anarchist organization.

They make stickers: "AGF is our life." What the hell is this? You are advertising yourself there. It creates an organization like a sect. Organize the AGF rather than anarchism. Anarchist principles cause problems because they are obstacles to an organization. You can say right because we also have a principle that aims to abolish itself. In this sense, any principle that the organization is questioned about could not be accepted by the AGF. If one thing belongs to the anarchist perspective, it is the principle of self-dissolution when the organization degenerates (A15, 42, Male).

According to the interviewee, the transformation of the organization, which should remain as a means, into an end, and the attitudes of anarchists reaching organizational fetishism are the main problems of the anarchist movement in Turkey. According to anarchist principles, an organization that begins to degenerate should dissolve itself. What is meant by corruption here is the emergence of leaders in the organization and the establishment of hierarchical and authoritarian relations, that is, oligarchization. Therefore, this organizational approach, which ignores the means-ends equivalation, is basically a corrupt structure that does not comply with anarchist organizing principles.

4.3.3. The Relations with “Organic Allies”

During the interviews, I asked the participants about their relations with other social movements other than the socialist movement. In the answers I received to these questions, I realized that the anarchist movement in general has close relations with the LGBTTIQ+ movement, the ecology movement, and the animal liberation movements in Turkey. For example, A7, one of the interviewees, stated that they had close relations with the LGBTTIQ+ movement in Ankara when he was organized and that anarchists even saw LGBTTIQ+ activists as their organic allies. A14 explains the problems faced by socialists and anarchists in the early days of Kaos GL in Ankara with the following incident:

Some people came to us with some demands. They said that on May 1 last year, gays came, and all the media focused on them. This spoils the political color and attitude of May 1. That's why we won't let them into the demonstration area this year. But they are walking with you. Therefore, we ask you not to stand side by side with them, do not interfere when we interfere with them. When they came with such suggestions or even such threats, we said, yes, we are with them; this intervention is not only against them but also against us (A14, 43, Male).

A14 reports that anarchists and LGBTTIQ+ activists marched in the same cortege on May 1 at that time, and leftist organizations, which were uncomfortable with LGBTTIQ+ activists entering the May Day area, warned anarchists about this issue. Stating that this situation caused tension between anarchists and socialists, the interviewee conveys that later on, they went through a process of self-criticism because this protective attitude of anarchists had a masculine tone. On the other hand, A2, who is both an anarchist and an LGBTTIQ+ activist, describes the period when they organized with anarchists at the university as follows:

I was the youngest in the LGBTTI+ movement at that time. At that time, the leftists dared to produce homophobic discourse openly. There were also situations where you could call it ignorance, with bad or good intentions. He does not see it as a political problem; he accepts that oppression relationship, but he does not have the capacity to understand, nor did the leftist movement have an organizational infrastructure to offer this capacity. Where can you find information about that at that time? There was Kaos GL, and then there were the anarchists. Anarchists, for example, were the only group that made up this discourse in areas where LGBTTI+ were not open. For example, one of the actions I observed before getting close to the anarchists at the DTCTF was this. There was a trans murder, and anarchists organized a protest at DTCTF. It was leftists who reacted. "Why are you protesting here just because a transvestite was killed? Here is a political area." Some said this is not a political issue (A2, 30, Queer).

Stating that there were few resources for people to learn about LGBTTIQ+ activism at that time, A2 stated that anarchists carried out actions against hate crimes and homophobia in areas where LGBTTIQ+ individuals were not open, and they organized studies and readings on these issues. On the other hand, A15 claims that the close relations established by anarchists with other movements are the main reason for the weakness of the anarchist movement in Turkey:

When anarchists engaged in such movements, those areas were owned by politically powerful groups. Because the anarchists were not organized. And many anarchists withered in those movements. When I became vegan, I advocated for anarchism through the vegan perspective of animal liberation

for many years. In fact, I, myself, have only existed in one part of anarchism or existing social movements. For example, it did not seem possible for an anarchist who was in the struggle for animal liberation to be also in the struggle for workers' liberation. Because you are moving away from the agenda of the workers. Your struggle was seen as eliminating abattoirs, even removing farms, and leaving workers unemployed. It is because strict distinctions were made (A15, 42, Male).

A15, which has also been involved in project-based movements such as DirenIstanbul, as well as anarchist organizations, claims that because anarchists are unorganized, politically powerful groups in other areas of action have begun to dominate these movements. The fact that anarchists could not develop a holistic struggle strategy resulted in individuals within the movement to struggle in the field of social opposition through other movements. A15, who argues that this situation brings compartmentalization and specialization, states that the separation of struggle areas causes different movements to be perceived as rival movements. On the contrary, A18 claims that the activeness of anarchists in different social movements is a result of the authoritarian and masculine nature of anarchist organizations in Turkey:

Actually, I am not in an anarchist struggle, I am not fighting over anarchism, but I am using anarchist practices in my own work. Those who did not give up the struggle continued like this. They were active in urban movements, ecology, and animal rights movements. But they developed these struggles. As we entered these movements, we began to change these movements. When I first got into the animal rights movement, there were only animal lovers. There were very few people working in the sense of rights. Since I am an anarchist, I knew that the context of rights was important, so we were able to transfer anarchist methods of struggle there. In fact, I can say that the anarchist movement in such a terrible position in Turkey strengthened other movements. We all left the anarchist organizations and started working more strongly in other movements (A18, 32, Female).

The interviewer claims that anarchists' participation in other social movement areas develops these movements. A18, who is also an activist working in the field of animal liberation, states that she applies anarchist methods while working in this field. In conclusion, it is essential to state that the problem of oligarchization in anarchist

organizations in Turkey alienates the individuals from anarchist organizations. These individuals who move away are included in movements such as ecology and animal liberation. As the interviewee stated, this situation caused the anarchist movement to lose power. At the same time, individuals who participated in the organizations of other movements with an anarchist perspective also changed those movements. The influence of anarchists in the transformation of the animal liberation movement from animal philanthropy to rights-based activism in Turkey is at a level that cannot be ignored.

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSION

In this research, I aimed to understand the mobilization dynamics of the anarchist movement in Turkey and the organizational structures of the formations within the movement. Accordingly, I had online and face-to-face interviews with 19 self-proclaimed anarchist activists involved in any anarchist group or formation in Turkey. In addition to this research in which I used the semi-structured interview technique, I examined the articles on the subject of anarchist organization in periodicals published by anarchist groups in Turkey. In line with the data I obtained, I structured the analysis chapter into three main sections to discuss the anarchist movement in Turkey.

I tried to discuss the conditions of emergence, mobilization, and organizational dynamics of the anarchist movement in Turkey through social movements literature. I have employed the concepts of partial organization and oligarchization alongside Political Process Theory, Resource Mobilization Theory, and Framing to discuss anarchist organizing practices and the internal dynamics of organizations.

In the first part of the analysis chapter, I focused on the emergence and the mobilization processes of the anarchist movement in Turkey. Considering that some conditions must be transformed for the emergence of a new form of political activism, I discussed what political and social conditions had been transformed for anarchist activism to emerge in Turkey. Accordingly, the anarchist movement that emerged after the September 12, 1986 coup is structurally related to the socialist movement. The process that started with some ex-socialists moving away from their organizations in the post-coup period and criticizing the authoritarian tendencies of the socialist movement in Turkey resulted in some former socialists turning to anarchism. However, at this point, it would not be correct to establish a direct cause-effect relationship between the September 12 military coup and the emergence of the anarchist movement. The

conditions that created the emergence of the anarchist movement are the products of the processes that led to the transformation of the socialist movement in Turkey and its rapprochement with other leftist movements and new intellectual debates in the world.

Moreover, I reviewed articles focusing on discussions of anarchist organizations in periodicals published by anarchist groups in Turkey. In these articles, it is possible to say that different frames have been developed regarding the fields in which the anarchist movement in Turkey should operate, based on the anarchist organization discussions. Some periodicals argue that anarchist organizations should remain a mere broadcasting and propaganda activity; otherwise, anarchists will attempt to establish vanguard organizations similar to socialist organizations. In other periodicals, while an anarchist organization was approached positively, there were differences of opinion on what form the organization should take. One group argued that small autonomies would minimize hierarchical and authoritarian relationships, while the other group argued that anarchists should be organized in neighborhoods. From these periodicals, it is seen that there are differences in the definition, perspective, and method of organization within the anarchist movement. These differentiations in strategic frameworks led to the differentiation of organizational experiences in the following years.

In the next section, I focused on the mobilization processes of the anarchist movement in Turkey. I noticed that the dates when the interviewees first joined an anarchist organization clustered at specific intervals. I argue that there is a correlation between these date ranges and the mobilization dynamics of the anarchist movement. In this direction, I divided the mobilization process of the anarchist movement in Turkey into three phases: 1995-2001, 2002-2011, and after 2012. The main result that emerged in the period 1995-2001, which I define as the first period of the anarchist movement, is that the second-generation anarchist activists who turned to anarchism in this period, unlike the first-generation anarchists, had a more positive point of view towards the organization. As a result, there were divisions between the first-generation anarchists and the second-generation anarchists over the issue of organization. As a result of these

divergences, towards the end of the 1990s, the Anarchist Youth Federation was established, the first anarchist organization aimed at massification with an anarchist political identity.

I would argue that several factors were significant at the beginning of the formation of anarchist organizations. First of all, the political and economic processes that Turkey went through, the war conditions, and the interrogational torture that continued after the coup caused the second-generation anarchists to determine a more organized and action-oriented strategy. Secondly, with the use of the internet and the translation of anarchist literature into Turkish, second-generation anarchists' opportunity to have information about other movements and anarchist movements in the world has increased. The third factor related to this is the effect of anarchist visibility in the alternative globalization movements in the 90s. In particular, the anarchist movement, whose visibility increased worldwide with the black bloc tactic, began to revive in Turkey during this period.

The period 2002-2011, the second period of the anarchist movement, indicates a process in which the organizations within the movement increased and differentiated. The first of the main processes and conditions effective in this period is that some democratization and human rights reforms implemented by Turkey within the scope of the EU Harmonization process, which accelerated with the Justice and Development Party's coming to power in 2002, reduced the pressure in the field of social opposition. During this period, anarchists, who carried out their organizing and propaganda activities comfortably, concentrated on university campuses in metropolitan cities such as Istanbul, Ankara, and Izmir. During this period, another factor that was influential in developing the anarchist movement was the 2008 Greek uprising. The anarchist image embodied in these actions affected anarchists in Turkey.

The post-2012 period, which is the last period of the anarchist movement, can be defined as the period when the anarchist movement lost power and began to wither away. With the increasing pressure on the anarchists before Gezi Park 2013 and the events of black bloc protest on May 1, 2012, the movement turned to its own internal

discussions. After the Gezi protests, which took place in such an environment, the anarchist movement gradually entered the dormant phase.

It is possible to explain the emergence and mobilization conditions of the anarchist movement in Turkey with the political process approach. The purpose of the anarchist movement and its methods to achieve this goal do not involve a direct demand from the state and its institutions like other mainstream social movements. The principle of compatibility of ends and means of anarchist theory and the fact that this principle caused the anarchist movement to stay away from the state and state-like formations in the way of achieving the goal caused the anarchist movement to escape from academic scrutiny in the context of social movements. However, this does not mean that the anarchist movement will not be affected by political processes. Although the movement does not request the state to achieve its goal, the political opportunity structures must be suitable for the movement to continue its mobilization. In this study, I claim that the anarchist movement in Turkey, like other movements, has been affected by the availability or constraints of political opportunity structures during the periods it emerged and continued to mobilize.

To this end, in the first part of the analysis chapter, I discussed which political opportunity structures were influential during the emergence and mobilization of the anarchist movement in Turkey. It does not seem possible to conclude that country-level political opportunities are always favorable or detrimental in the mobilization process of the anarchist movement. Even if the county-level opportunity structures were not suitable, the strength of anarchist movements in other countries or other anarchist movements positively affected the development of the anarchist movement in Turkey. The anarchist movement, a new movement in Turkey, does not have a tradition on which to base its legitimacy on. However, in this case, it is seen that the movement provides its legitimacy through the anarchist movements abroad. Within the scope of the thesis, in addition to the country-specific political opportunities mentioned above, the economic, human, moral, and other resources that the anarchist movement can reach are among the crucial factors affecting the mobilization of the anarchist movement in Turkey.

At this point, the fact that the anarchist movement consists of middle-class, foreign language-speaking, and highly educated individuals shows that the movement has access to specific human resources. This human resource enabled the anarchist movement in Turkey to communicate and cooperate with anarchist groups in other countries. It is seen that the anarchist movement's access to middle-class, well-educated, and foreign language-speaking human resources was influential in establishing these relations, which we can define as a source of legitimacy, and in translating the works of anarchist thinkers into Turkish. Financial support from anarchist groups abroad within the scope of solidarity helped anarchist organizations in Turkey to diversify their financial resources.

In the second part of the analysis chapter, I focused on the internal dynamics of anarchist organizations in Turkey. In this discussion, which I conducted on organizational practices, I discussed the stages of participation, financial resources, and decision-making in anarchist organizations. My main claim in this section is that in anarchist organizations, where the form and structure of organization reflect the political ideology, the principles of organization constitute an "anarchist conduct of organizing." I argue that this can also be considered the defined social order of an anarchist organization. Moreover, I argue that anarchist organization, which I conceptualize based on the concepts of complete organization, partial organizing, and ideal-typical anarchist organization in the literature, is a contingent balance between anarchist conduct and emergent order.

The main point where anarchist organizations differ is whether formal organizational elements are included in the formation processes of the organization. While the stages of participation are determined according to strict criteria or for certain purposes in groups where formal elements are included, the basis of participation in organizations without formal elements is based on perspective similarity. At this point, it is essential to emphasize that some organizations set an inclusive participation strategy and distinguish themselves from others. Accordingly, the boundary between the "çevre-

çeper" relations³⁶ and those who participate in the organization is unclear. As for financial resources, the common feature of anarchist organizations in Turkey is that none of them have regular and fixed incomes. Financial resources are acquired through dues, solidarity activities, or expropriation/theft. However, at this point, organizations with a formal organizational element and a large number of participants have much more opportunities to develop their financial resources.

In the last part of the analysis chapter, I focused on the internal discussions of the anarchist movement in Turkey. I have classified the main debates in the movement as relations with the socialist movement, the problem of oligarchization in anarchist organizations, and the relations of anarchists with their organic allies. The prominent theme in the relations with the socialist movements, which is the subject of the first discussion, is that anarchists see the source of the problems experienced within the movement and organizations as anarchist individuals affected by the socialist movement. In this case, people left the socialist movements because they could not find what they wanted in those organizations. These people were inclined to perform authoritarian tendencies when they joined the anarchist movement.

The second topic of discussion is the oligarchization of anarchist organizations. The oligarchic relations, which started due to the emergence of some individuals in the decision-making and task-sharing stages, caused the materialization of some positions within the organization over time. In this way, the organizations' direct democracy and participatory processes are interrupted. While these people are removed in organizations with social control mechanisms such as face-to-face surveillance among members, positioning in some organizations has led to the formation of narrow-cadre groups. Finally, the problem in the relations of the anarchist movement with other social movements is that anarchists are assimilated and leave the anarchist movement. The counter-argument on this issue is that the weakness of the anarchist movement in Turkey causes anarchists to be active in other movements and transform these movements.

³⁶ Periphery relations

The topics that I define as the main discussions within the anarchist movement in Turkey, coming from the left, oligarchization of organizations, and relations with organic allies, are essential in understanding the organizational dynamics of the anarchist movement in Turkey. First of all, the "leftist attitude," claimed to originate from individuals with a socialist organizational background within the anarchist movement, seems to be related to the fact that the anarchist movement emerged from the left movement. Although the effects of individuals cannot be ignored, the persistence of this problem points to the structural relations between the anarchist movement and the left movement. The definition of this influence as "leftism" by the anarchist movement stems from the fact that it emerged as a reaction to the authoritarian relations within the left in the first period of the anarchist movement and that the left movement criticism was continuous in the following periods.

It is seen that formalization and bureaucratization processes are not effective in the oligarchization debate of anarchist organizations. The handling of oligarchization as a process related to the loss of democracy provides an opportunity to discuss the oligarchization processes of anarchist organizations. In this context, two main reasons for oligarchization in anarchist organizations can be identified. First, the large number of participants in relatively larger anarchist organizations led to the emergence of certain groups that were influential in decision-making processes. This organizational structure, which can be described as the leader, narrow cadre formations gathered around the leader and the remaining participants, are the situations in which oligarchization is most evident. On the other hand, in other anarchist organizations, the oligarchization process progresses in the form of individuals who stand out with their characteristics such as age, experience, and talent, dominating the task sharing within the organization. The fact that these individuals, who take on more tasks than other participants in task sharing, have a more significant say in the process causes the disruption of direct democratic functioning within the organization. It can be said that this process is also valid in terms of age and experience.

The problem that arises in relations with organic allies is that anarchist activists participate in these movements instead of the anarchist movement. This situation is

cited as the reason why the anarchist movement could not develop in Turkey, as it lost a severe human resource. On the other hand, it is stated that the shift of human resources within the anarchist movement to organic allied movements, the ecology movement, LGBTTTQ+ movement, etc. strengthens these movements. As I mentioned before, the anarchist movement, which has a well-equipped human resource, affects other movements, and these movements are transformed when anarchists participate in other movements. In general, although the anarchist movement has never been decisive in terms of the organization in Turkey, it can be said that they have been influential with the new discussions and perspectives they have brought to the field of social movements.

To sum up, this study tries to answer specific questions related to the anarchist movement in Turkey. There is a gap in scholarly knowledge regarding the anarchist movement in Turkey. I try to address this gap by discussing the dynamics of the anarchist movement in Turkey from different levels. First, I focus on its emergence and mobilization processes to explain the influential conditions for organizing the anarchist movement. I discuss which opportunity structures, existing networks of relations, and resources are influential in each period of the anarchist movement in Turkey. The research shows that the anarchist movement is highly affected by the country-specific opportunity structures, so I can describe the life cycle of the movement by giving reference to the major political processes that Turkey came through in the last 35 years.

The anarchist movement, which emerged in an environment where the left lost its influence and hegemony due to the oppressive methods of the 1980 military coup, passed into the stage of the organization when it came to the 90s, with the influence of the oppressive processes that continued on the dissidents in Turkey. At this point, although the political opportunity structures are not suitable, there is a shift from the pacifist-intellectual line to the action-based and organizational form of struggle within the anarchist movement. In the 2000s, the anarchist movement increased its organization, especially in university circles in metropolitan cities, with the effect of democratic reforms for freedom of association and expression, along with the EU

Harmonization process. The anarchist movement, which developed its field of action during this period, developed its relations with other social movements and the anarchist movement abroad. In the post-2012 period, the anarchist movement entered a dormant phase due to internal disputes and political and economic conditions such as war, crisis, and increasing political pressures. Although there are still active organizations within the movement, the anarchist movement in Turkey lost its vitality in the second half of the 90s and the beginning of the 2000s.

Another question that I tried to answer in this study was what kind of strategies anarchist activists developed and what resources they used in their organizing processes. I used the social movement organizing perspective instead of the social movement organization line to discuss the different anarchist organizations in Turkey. Accordingly, I have considered organizations as constantly changing and transforming processes rather than static entities. From this point of view, I have argued that the formal, highly-structured, and hierarchical form of organization that dominates discussions of social movement organizations is not suitable for explaining anarchist organizations. I have pointed out that anarchist organizations should be defined as partial organizations because they do not contain one or more of the formal organizational elements. In this context, I discussed the strategies and resources individuals develop during the organizing process in anarchist organizations, which are a partial type of organization. In order to do this, I have studied elements such as participation, financial resources, and decision-making in anarchist organizations.

Organizations within the anarchist movement in Turkey deal with these elements with different strategies and methods in their organizing processes. Although it is observed that the general tendency in participation is an informal participation strategy, the fact that some organizations carry out activities through the associations such as ecology associations and neighborhood associations has led to the combination of formal membership and informal participation strategy in these organizations. As for financial resources, similar strategies and resources are seen in all anarchist organizations discussed within the scope of the study. The inadequacy of anarchist organizations' access to financial resources and the irregularity of available resources have pushed

organizations to diversify their financial resources as much as possible. To achieve this, legal and illegal methods have been used. In the decision-making processes, the increase in the number of participants in the organization negatively affected democratic participation and decision-making processes. While decisions are taken together in meetings attended by everyone in small organizations, professionalization and positioning have increased in relatively large organizations.

Another question I discussed in this thesis was how to explain the structures and internal dynamics of anarchist organizations. At this point, I realized that oligarchization processes came to the fore in anarchist organizations. I defined oligarchization as the loss of democracy and discussed how the loss of democracy occurs in an anarchist organization. It is observed that the oligarchization process has started as a result of the positioning and the emergence of leaders in large organizations that were mentioned in the previous section. The existence of leaders and narrow cadre groups formed around the leaders who affect the decision-making processes is an indication that direct democratic methods do not work in these organizations. On the other hand, in small organizations, the oligarchization process occurs in the form of differentiation of individuals in terms of age, competence, and experience, and experienced participants come to the fore in decision-making processes. However, leadership and positioning are implicit in these organizations.

The importance of this thesis for sociology would reside in its offering a comprehensive account and sociological portrayal of the anarchist movement in Turkey, which was a topic mainly overlooked in the literature. So, this research contributes to sociology literature by situating the anarchist movement in Turkey in relation to organizational dynamics and strategies. Another critical point of this study is that it focuses on the experiences of self-proclaimed anarchist activists while dealing with the emergence and mobilization process of the anarchist movement in Turkey within the political processes. Conducting a study on a highly-sensitive research subject such as anarchist activists necessitates continuous review and evaluation of methodological concerns throughout the study. This situation required me to constantly evaluate my position as a researcher, not only in the data collection phase

but also in all processes of the thesis work. On the other hand, I encountered some limitations during the research phase. Because self-proclaimed anarchist activists are difficult to reach, the diversity of activists interviewed for the research is small. The major limitation of this study is that most of the interviewees are well-educated middle-class males and that I cannot reach different activist groups within the anarchist movement. Future research on the anarchist movement in Turkey can address the anarchist movement with the gender perspective that is missing in this study.

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APPENDICES

A. APPROVAL OF THE METU HUMAN SUBJECTS ETHICS COMMITTEE

UYGULAMALI ETİK ARAŞTIRMA MERKEZİ
APPLIED ETHICS RESEARCH CENTER



ORTA DOĞU TEKNİK ÜNİVERSİTESİ
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02 Ocak 2020

Konu: Değerlendirme Sonucu

Gönderen: ODTÜ İnsan Araştırmaları Etik Kurulu (İAEK)

İlgi: İnsan Araştırmaları Etik Kurulu Başvurusu

Sayın Helga Rittersberger TILIÇ

Danışmanlığını yaptığınız **Sibel KIRILMAZ**'ın "**1980 Sonrası Türkiye'de Sosyal Hareket Alanındaki Aktivist Deneyimlerinin Tipolojileri**" başlıklı araştırması İnsan Araştırmaları Etik Kurulu tarafından uygun görülmüş ve **502 ODTU 2019** protokol numarası ile onaylanmıştır.

Saygılarımızla bilgilerinize sunarız

Doç.Dr. Mine MISIRLISOY

Başkan

Prof. Dr. Tolga CAN

Üye

Doç.Dr. Pınar KAYGAN

Üye

Dr. Öğr. Üyesi Ali Emre TURGUT

Üye

Dr. Öğr. Üyesi Şerife SEVİNÇ

Üye

Dr. Öğr. Üyesi Müge GÜNDÜZ

Üye

Dr. Öğr. Üyesi Süreyya Özcan KABASAKAL

Üye

B. TURKISH SUMMARY / TRKE ZET

GİRİŞ

1980 darbesinden sonra siyasi ve toplumsal bağlamda ortaya çıkan anarşist hareketin Türkiye'de 35 yıllık bir geçmişe sahiptir. O yıllarda, anarşist aktivistler birkaç gazete, dergi ve fanzin yayınladılar; farklı ölçek ve formlarda oluşumlar organize ettiler; diğer toplumsal hareketlere aktif olarak katıldılar; ve bazı durumlarda bazı önemli hareketlerin başlatıcısı oldular. Ancak Türkiye'deki anarşist hareket akademide ihmal edilen bir alandır. Doğrudan anarşist aktivistlerin faaliyetlerine odaklanan sadece birkaç yayın mevcuttur. Ulusal Tez Merkezi'ne (YÖK Tez Merkezi) göre, 1995 ile 2019 yılları arasında anarşizm üzerine 19 tez yazılmıştır. Bunlardan ikisi doktora tezi, biri sanatta yeterlik, geriye kalanlar ise yüksek lisans tezleridir. Çalışmaların çoğu anarşizmin felsefi köklerine ve din ile anarşist düşünce arasındaki ilişkilere odaklanırken, bunlardan sadece üçü Türkiye'deki anarşist hareketle ilgilidir.

Öte yandan sosyologlar da anarşist örgütler ve örgütlenme pratikleri konusunda uzak kalmışlardır. Bu durumun nedenlerinden biri, anarşist grupların sayılarının az olması ve çoğunun resmi bir örgütsel yapıya sahip olmamasıdır. Resmi yapının olmaması, bu gruplara ulaşmayı ve örgütlenme pratiklerini ve yöntemlerini analiz etmeyi zorlaştırmaktadır. Anarşist hareketin akademideki görünmezliğinin diğer nedeni, anarşizm hakkındaki yaygın olan tüm anarşistlerin her türlü örgütlenmeye karşı olduklarıdır. Bu önyargının temelinde örgüt kavramını formel örgütle özdeşleştirmek ve informel örgüt biçimlerini göz ardı etmek yatmaktadır. Bu durumda, anarşist örgütlenme kavramı bir tezat olarak karşımıza çıkmaktadır. Bu çalışmanın amacı, anarşist aktivistlerin kendi deneyimlerine odaklayarak Türkiye'deki anarşist hareketin dinamiklerini açıklamaktır.

Tezin bu bölümünde anarşist hareketin tarihine değinip çağdaş toplumsal isyanların ve protestoların oluşumunda ve örgütsel dinamikleri bağlamında anarşizmle ilgili güncel tartışmalara geçeceğim. Sonrasında ise, tarihsel olarak siyasi şiddet ve anarşist hareket arasındaki ilişkilere odaklanacağım. Bu yolla, klasik dönem ile günümüz

koşulları arasındaki anarşizme ilişkin siyasi şiddet tartışmalarının sürekliliklerini ve süreksizliklerini göstermeyi amaçlıyorum.

Entelektüel, politik ve toplumsal bir hareket olarak anarşizm, Aydınlanma ve Fransız Devrimi'nden sonra on sekizinci yüzyılın sonlarında ortaya çıkmış ve modern ulus-devlet, kapitalizm ve modernleşme süreçlerine karşı bir tepkinin ifadesi olarak sosyalizm ve milliyetçilik hareketleriyle eşzamanlı olarak yükselmiştir. Siyasi anlamda ilk kez Fransız Devrimi'nde olumsuz olarak kullanılan "anarşi" ve "anarşist" kelimeleri, medeni ve kurumsallaşmış düzenin yıkımına atıfta bulunan bir hakaret olarak kullanılmıştır. Pierre-Joseph Proudhon, kendisini anarşist olarak tanımlayan ilk düşünürdü. Proudhon'un etkisi altında, örgütlenmemiş ve otoriter olmayan bir toplumun “doğa yasaları” temelinde birliğini vurgulayan ilk anarşist düşünce ve pratiğin ilk oluşumları ortaya çıkmaya başladı. Klasik anarşizm, devletin ontolojik olarak kötü olduğunu ve reddedilmesi gerektiğini iddia eder. Esasen, hiçbir gücün toplumu kısıtlamadığı veya engellemediği, böylece farklı yaşamların ve ilişkilerin bir arada var olabileceği bir sosyal ideali hedefler.

Anarşist hareketi 19. yüzyılın sonlarına doğru hızla gelişen sosyalist hareket içinde konumlandırmak mümkündür. Özellikle anarşistlerin 1864'te Birinci Enternasyonal'in (Uluslararası İşçi Birliği) oluşumuna katılması bu argümanı güçlendirmektedir. Ancak anarşistlerin Enternasyonal'den atılmasıyla sonuçlanacak bu süreç, Anarşistler ve Marksistler arasında uzun vadeli bir kan davasının başlamasına neden oldu. Marksistler proletaryayı yönetici sınıfa dönüştürmeyi amaçlayan siyasi örgütlenmeyi savunurken, Anarşistler işçilerin mesleklerine göre ekonomik örgütlenmesini savundular (Woodcock, 1977, s. 35-45). 20. yüzyılın başlarında, özellikle Fransa'da, İtalya ve İspanya'da sendikalizm, anarşizmin bir kitle hareketine dönüşmesine önemli katkılarda bulundu. Anarko-sendikalist hareketler Latin Amerika'da, özellikle Arjantin ve Uruguay'da da etkiliydi. Ancak otoriter hükümetler, savaş ve siyasi baskı nedeniyle anarşist hareketler dünya genelinde dağılmaya başladı. Anarşistlerin maruz kaldığı baskı, aynı zamanda bir kitle hareketi boyutuna ulaşan anarşizmin sonunu da işaret etmektedir. Ayrıca 1917 Sovyet Devrimi ile Marksist-Leninizm sosyalizmin tek

geçerli biçimi olarak kabul edilmiş ve bu durum 20. yüzyılın ortalarında anarşist hareketin yeniden canlanmasına kadar sürmüştür (Woodcock, 1977, s.44-47).

Yıllardır toplumsal araştırmalarda anarşist hareketlerin örgütleyici özellikleri ihmal edilmiş olsa da, son zamanlarda toplumsal hareket araştırmaları ve örgütsel çalışmalarda anarşist siyasete ve anarşist örgütsel pratiklere olan ilgi artmıştır. Bu durumun ortaya çıkmasında 90'lardan sonra toplumsal hareketlerin ve ayaklanmaların değişen karakterleri etkili olmuştur. 1991'de Sovyetler Birliği'nin dağılmasıyla birlikte anarşizm, radikal bir felsefe ve politik pratik olarak yeniden ortaya çıkmaya başladı. 1994'te Meksika'da Kuzey Amerika Serbest Ticaret Anlaşması'na karşı Zapatista isyanıyla başlayan anarşizm ve anarşist hareketler, küresel sol için önemli hale geldi. 1996 yılında Zapatistalar tarafından düzenlenen Kıtalararası İnsanlık ve Neoliberalizme Karşı Karşılaşma, alternatif küreselleşme hareketi içindeki aktivistlerin ulusötesi bir ağ, Halkların Küresel Eylemi (Dupuis-Déri, 2019, s. 471-472) oluşturmasını sağlayan süreci başlattı.

Anarşizm, 1990'larda başlayan alter-küreselleşme veya küresel adalet hareketinde geçerlilik kazanmaya başlar. Bu protestolar sırasında, 1999'da Seattle'da DTÖ karşıtı protestoların arkasında bir koalisyon olmasına rağmen anarşist veya anarşist bağlantılı gruplar dikkat çekti (Hammond, 2015, s.293). Bu protestolar sırasında bazı anarşist grupların kullandığı "kara blok" taktiği ana akım medyanın dikkatini çekti. Sonraki yıllarda anarşist hareketlere olan ilgi Occupy protestolarıyla doruğa ulaştı. Occupy Protestoları dünyanın farklı bölgelerine yayıldı ve sonraki yıllarda birçok gösteriyi etkiledi. Disalvo (2005), Occupy protestolarındaki temel ayrımın, yatay süreçlere öncelik verenler ile Occupy'nin temel değerinin egemen sınıfa karşı bir kitle hareketi içinde binlerce insanı sokaklara çıkarmak olduğuna inananlar arasında geliştiğini belirtiyor. Öte yandan Disalvo (2005), anarşistlerin yataycılığı bir taktik olarak değil, temel örgütlenme stratejileri ve nihai hedefleri olarak benimsediklerini ve bu tutumun Occupy protestoları sırasında (2005, s.267) belirginleştiğini ileri sürer.

Anarşizmin canlanmasıyla ilgili literatürün bir parçası olarak, anarşist gruplar ve örgütler tarafından siyasi şiddet kullanımına ilişkin tartışmalar, tarih boyunca anarşist

hareketteki devamlılık ve süreksizlikleri anlamak açısından önemlidir. Belirli bir anarşist grubun örgütlenme stratejilerini analiz etmek için, bu taktiklere gömülü şiddetin derecesini ve yönünü anlamak önemlidir. Çağdaş toplumsal hareketler ve politik şiddet içindeki anarşist gruplar arasındaki ilişkiler üzerine kayda değer miktarda literatür yayınlanmıştır. Ancak siyasi şiddet ve anarşizm üzerine yapılan çalışmaların 19. yüzyıla kadar uzanması şaşırtıcı değildir. 1880 ile 1915 arasındaki döneme, Avrupa'daki hükümet başkanlarını ve hanedan üyelerini hedef alan “eylemli propaganda” olarak bilinen anarşist strateji hakimdi (Colson, 2017, s.167).

Avrupa'nın dört bir yanındaki suikast ve bombalama eylemlerini takiben, 1898'de Osmanlı İmparatorluğu da dahil olmak üzere Avrupa hükümetleri tarafından Roma'da Uluslararası Anti-Anarşist Konferans düzenlendi. Bu konferans, 1904'te St. Petersburg'da imzalanan ve “Avrupa içi polis iletişimi ve bilgi alışverişinin” artmasıyla sonuçlanan anti-anarşist protokolün ilk adımıydı. Bu iki olay, modern polis gözetiminin ve dünyanın her yerindeki resmi polis güçleri arasındaki işbirliğinin temeli olarak kabul edilmektedir (Jensen, 1981, s.324). Bantman'a (2013) göre, anarşist terörizme orantısız odaklanmanın sonucu, tarihsel olarak, anarşist hareketin katılımcılarının hem geliştirdiği hem de muzdarip olduğu, onun amaçlarının ve yöntemlerinin çarpıtılmış temsilleriyle sonuçlanan önceki bir imaj sorununu pekiştirmek olmuştur. Bir başka sonuç da, anarşistlerin diğer tarihsel temsillerinin gölgede kalmasıdır (Bantman, 2013, s.6).

Anarşizmin canlanması, genel olarak anarşist hareketin dönüşümünü ifade eder. Daha geniş anlamda, değişen bağlamlara ve teknolojilere paralel olarak taktik ve stratejilerin yeniden kurgulanması anlamına gelir. Anarşizmin siyasi şiddetle ilişkisi düşünüldüğünde, günümüzün temel kaygıları, 19. yüzyılda olduğu gibi otoriteler için meydan okumalar yaratan suikast ve bombalamalardan ziyade anarşist grupların örgütlenme süreçleriyle ilgilidir. Anarşist siyaseti çağdaş toplumda güvenlik tartışmalarının konusu yapan şeyin, anarşist grupların örgütlenme mantığının tanımlanmasının zorluğu ve tahmin edilemezliği olduğu iddia edilebilir.

LİTERATÜR

Bir toplumsal hareket olarak anarşizm, tarihinde anarşist hareketin tutarlı bir tanımını yapmaya meydan okuyan, ortaya çıkış ve yok olma dönemlerine sahiptir. Anarşist hareketin klasik dönemi ile yeni anarşist hareketler arasında belirli süreklilikler tespit edilebilirken, son zamanlardaki anarşist hareketler oldukça farklı dinamikler içinde örgütlenmiştir. Türkiye'deki çağdaş anarşist hareketin dinamiklerini belirlemek için anarşizmin toplumsal bir hareket olarak hangi zeminde tanımlandığının açıklığa kavuşturulması gerekmektedir. Bu çalışma kapsamında, Türkiye'deki çağdaş anarşist hareketi analiz etmek için bir başlangıç noktası olarak Diani'nin toplumsal hareket tanımını kullanmayı tercih ediyorum. (Diani, 1992). Diani'nin kavram tanımı, sosyal hareketin sosyal bir dinamik olarak anlaşılmasını sağlayan iletişim veya ortak eylem yoluyla çeşitli bireyler, gayri resmi gruplar ve kuruluşlar arasındaki etkileşim süreçlerinin önemini vurgular.

Anarşist hareketler, toplumsal hareket literatüründeki terim ve kavramlarla ele alınabilir. Ancak, bu tür bir analiz yapabilmek için anarşist hareketlerin boyutlarını yeniden incelememiz gerekiyor. Anarşist hareketler, diğer hareketler gibi, kolektif kimlikleri ve kurum dışı eylemlere aktif olarak katılan belirli hedefleri paylaşan yoğun ve yaygın ilişki ağlarına gömülü bireylerden ve farklı örgütlerden oluşur. Williams, bir hareket olarak anarşizmin hem diğer toplumsal hareketlerden bağımsız olduğunu hem de etkileşimleri olduğunu ve bazı durumlarda onlarla örtüştüğünü öne sürüyor (2017, s.4).

Türkiye'deki anarşist hareketin örgütsel dinamiklerini açıklamak için toplumsal hareket literatürünü kullanmama rağmen, toplumsal hareketler örgütlenmesi kavramı çalışmanın konusuna uygun değildir. Çalışmanın konusunu tanımlamak için farklı bir yol izlemeye karar verdim. Anarşist örgütleri tanımlamak için örgütsel çalışmalardan "kısmi örgütler" terimini ödünç aldım. Ahrne ve Brunsson (2011), organizasyonun belirli bir tür sosyal düzen olduğunu öne sürmektedir. Buna göre örgüt, hiyerarşi, üyelik, kurallar, yaptırımlar ve izleme unsurlarından bir veya daha fazlasını içeren kararlaştırılmış bir düzendir (s.84). Bu nedenle, resmi kuruluşlar üyelik, kurallar,

hiyerarşi, izleme ve yaptırım unsurlarına erişime sahip olduklarından, tam kuruluşlardır. Bu noktada yazarlar, tüm kuruluşların bu unsurların tümünü benimsemesi gerekmediğini iddia etmektedir; ayrı ayrı kullanılabilirler. (s.86). Kısmi örgütleri tanımlamayı mümkün kılan şey budur.

Kısmi organizasyonlar, yukarıda bahsedilen resmi organizasyonların tüm unsurlarını içermeyen, bazı organizasyon biçimlerinin eksik veya heterojen olduğu anlamına gelir. (Ahrne ve Brunsson 2011, de Bakker ve diğerleri, 2017). Bu nedenle, bir anarşist örgütü, bir örgütü tamamlayan üyelik, kurallar, hiyerarşi, kontrol ve yaptırımların tüm unsurlarına aynı anda erişmeyen kısmi bir örgüt olarak tanımlayabiliriz. Anarşist örgütlerde bir veya daha fazla eksik unsur olabilir. Anarşist örgütlerin kısmiliği, anarşist yaşam tarzları veya anarşist davranış olarak tanımlanan bir dizi kararın sonucudur. Bu kısmiliğin, diğer örgütler, kurumlar ve sosyal, politik ve ekonomik yapılarla ilişki ve etkileşim süreci içinde ortaya çıkan düzeni nasıl etkilediği, anarşist örgütleri analiz etmek için önemli bir konudur.

Öte yandan, resmi örgüt yapısının tüm unsurlarına sahip olmayan kısmi örgütler söz konusu olduğunda, oligarşinin ortaya çıkışını gözlemlemek zorlaşır. Laamanen ve ark. (2019), oluşturucu sosyal düzene sahip (şu anda hedeflenen sosyal düzeni deneyimleyen) yatay örgütlerin (kapsayıcı demokratik katılımı benimseyen ve otorite ve liderlikten kaçınanlar) kararlaştırılmış düzenden kaçındığını iddia ediyor. Ancak bu kaçınma örgüt içindeki oligarşik toplumsal düzeni engellemeyebilir (s.296-297). Bu nedenle, Leach'in (2005) oligarşi kavramsallaştırması, oligarşinin kısmi örgütlerde ortaya çıkışını anlamak için önemlidir. Leach'in kavramsallaştırması, Türkiye'deki anarşist örgütlerin iç dinamiklerini anlamak için önemli bir zemin sağlayacaktır. Bu örgütlenmelerdeki oligarşleşme süreci, bu çalışmada tartışılması gereken temel bir soru olmaya devam etmektedir.

Toplumsal hareket teorileri, toplumsal hareketlerin neden ortaya çıktığının, bireylerin belirli hedefler için nasıl örgütlendiğinin ve hareketlerin sonuçlarının daha geniş sosyal, politik ve ekonomik süreçleri nasıl etkilediğinin altında yatan koşulları analiz etmek için önemlidir. Toplumsal hareketler karmaşık ve çok katmanlı fenomenlerdir;

bu nedenle, sosyal hareket teorileri, farklı perspektiflerden sosyal hareketlerin farklı seviyelerine odaklanır. Bu anlamda zengin olan toplumsal hareket literatürü, toplumsal hareketlerin tüm süreçlerinde yer alan farklı dinamikleri ve koşulları analiz etmemizi sağlar. Ayrıca sosyal hareket teorileri, odağı farklı fenomen seviyelerine yönlendirerek, anarşist hareketler gibi marjinal hareketlerin ortaya çıkmasında ve harekete geçirilmesinde etkili olan boyutları anlamada da önemlidir.

Kaynak seferberliği teorisi, toplumsal hareketlerin ortaya çıkmasında ve harekete geçirilmesinde hangi süreçlerin ve grupların hangi kaynakların etkili olduğunu analiz etmek için değerli teorik mercekler sağlar. Bu çalışmada, Türkiye'de anarşist hareketin ortaya çıkması ve harekete geçirilmesi sırasında anarşist aktivistlerin kullandığı çeşitli somut ve soyut kaynaklara odaklanacağım. Ortaya çıkışından günümüze kadar olan mobilizasyon süreci boyunca, Türkiye'deki anarşist hareketin gelişiminin özelliklerini farklı kaynakların belirlediğini iddia ediyorum. Anarşist hareketin seferberlik süreci içinde belirli kaynakların mevcudiyetinin sürekliliği gözlemlenebilir. Analiz bölümünde, Türkiye'deki anarşist hareket için mevcut kaynaklar, ortaya çıkışı ve mobilizasyon süreçleri ile anarşist örgütlerin iç örgütsel dinamikleri doğrultusunda tartışılacaktır.

Türkiye'de 1980 askeri müdahalesinden sonra ortaya çıkan anarşist hareketi tartışmak için siyasi süreçlere odaklanmak gerekir. Türkiye'de toplumsal hareketler alanında anarşist siyasetin ortaya çıkmasını sağlayan güç ilişkilerinin mevcut yapılanmasını hangi siyasi fırsatların etkilediği Türkiye'deki anarşist hareketin özelliğini anlamak için önemli bir noktadır. Ayrıca, yalnızca anarşist hareketin yaşam döngüsünü dolaylı olarak etkileyen siyasi fırsatlar değil, aynı zamanda anarşist hareketin mobilize olması için mevcut yerli örgütsel gücün özellikleri ve bireyler tarafından deneyimlenen ve onları anarşist siyasete girmeye ikna eden öznel süreçler de değerlendirilmelidir. Bu nedenle, siyasi süreç yaklaşımı, Türkiye'deki anarşist hareketin örgütsel dinamiklerinin ayrıntılı bir incelemesi için önemli analitik mercekler sağlar.

Bu tezde ayrıca, özellikle anarşist gruplar tarafından yayınlanan süreli yayınlarda formüle edilen Türkiye'deki anarşist hareketin çerçeveleme süreçlerine

odaklanıyorum. Bu süreli yayınların anarşist örgütlenmeyi nasıl tanımladığını ve örgütler için nasıl hedefler koyduğunu tartışıyorum. Bu anarşist süreli yayınlarda geliştirilen çerçevelerin, Türkiye'deki anarşist hareketin üzerine inşa edildiği başlıca toplumsal çatışmaları veya argümanları anlamak için gerekli olduğunu savunuyorum. Bu çerçeveler, sadece bireylerin anarşist harekete dahil olmasında etkili olmadı, aynı zamanda Türkiye'deki anarşist örgütsel dinamikleri de belirli şekillerde etkiledi.

METODOLOJİ

Bu çalışmayla ilgili metodolojik kaygılarla başa çıkmak, sürecin en zorlu kısmıydı. Sorun, anarşist aktivistlerin örgütlenme pratiklerini şekillendiren koşulları tarihsel bir süreç içinde açıklayabilmek için araştırma konusuna nasıl yaklaşmam gerektiği idi. Bu arada, yanıtlayıcıların deneyimlerinin açıklamalarını araştırmanın merkezine yerleştirmekten kaçınıyordum. Bu çalışma, bireysel görüş ve deneyimlerden daha fazlasını arar; bunun yerine, tüm bu deneyimlerin varlığını etkileyen koşulları belirli bir bağlam içinde açıklamayı amaçlar.

Bu endişeler, saha araştırmama başlamadan önce beni çağdaş toplumda anarşist/anarşist grupların ortaya çıktığı uzam-zamansal bağlamı üreten bağlantıların, etkileşimlerin ve ilişkilerin haritasını genişletmeye itti. Bu araştırma konusunu seçmekteki birincil motivasyonum, Türkiye'deki anarşist örgütlenme pratiklerinin temellerini açıklamaktı. Bunu yaparken bireylerin deneyimlerini, bu deneyimlerin nasıl ortaya çıktığına odaklanmadan açıklamaktan kaçınmaya çalıştım. Bu yüzden, bu araştırmayı eleştirel gerçekçi bir metodolojik bir perspektife sahip bir vaka çalışması olarak tasarladım.

Bhaskar (1975) tarafından formüle edilen eleştirel gerçekçilik, sosyal araştırmalarda pozitivist ve yorumlayıcı paradigmalara önemli bir alternatiftir. Eleştirel realist yaklaşımın ontolojik ve epistemolojik varsayımları doğrultusunda kendimi bir araştırmacı olarak konumlandırmış olsam da, yaklaşımın ilkeleri dogmatik olarak kullanılmamıştır. Bu tez için bu konumun seçilmesinin temel nedeni, çalışma için toplanan nitel verileri toplumsal hareketler literatürü ile tamamlayarak tarihsel olarak anarşist örgütlenme pratiklerini Türkiye bağlamında açıklayabilmesidir. Bu araştırma

için kullandığım yöntem ve teknikleri sunmadan önce, eleştirel gerçekçi yaklaşımın temel ontolojik ve epistemolojik varsayımlarını, bu araştırmanın sınırlarını, tasarımını ve olanaklarını etkilediği için kısaca ele alıyorum. Bu noktada önemli olan anarşist kelimesinin Türkiye'de bir tür siyasi aktivizmden ziyade her zaman baş belası ve sapkın bir bireyi ifade etmesidir. Türkiye'de anarşist hareketin ortaya çıkış süreci, bir grup siyasi eylemci olarak “anarşist”in ortaya çıkışına atıfta bulunur. Dolayısıyla eleştirel gerçekçi yaklaşım, Türkiye'de belirli bir dönemde anarşist aktivizmin ortaya çıkması için hangi dönüştürücü koşulların karşılandığını tespit etmek için bu çalışmaya da rehberlik edecektir.

Eleştirel gerçekçiliğin ontolojik ve epistemolojik varsayımları, oldukça bağlamsal bir metodoloji kullanmak için sağlam bir zemin sağlar. Eleştirel gerçekçi yaklaşım, Türkiye'deki anarşist örgütlenme pratiklerinin koşullarını açıklamayı amaçlayan bu tez için oldukça elverişli bir yaklaşımdır. Sayer, eleştirel realist araştırmanın çeşitli araştırma yöntemleriyle uyumlu olduğunu iddia eder (2000, s.19)

Bu nedenle, vaka çalışması Türkiye'deki anarşist örgütlenme pratiklerinin koşullarını anlamaya çalıştığım bağlamsal açıklamalar için yeterli araçları sağladığı için bu çalışma için yoğun bir vaka çalışması tasarımı uygulamaya karar verdim. Bir vaka çalışması tasarımının kullanılmasının çeşitli şekillerde birçok avantajı vardır; ancak, aynı zamanda sınırlamaları da var.

Ayrıca, bu stratejinin araştırma konusu için çeşitli avantajları olduğu için veri toplama yöntemi olarak yarı yapılandırılmış görüşmeleri seçtim. İlk olarak, yarı yapılandırılmış görüşmeler, sosyal fenomenlerin çok daha esnek yollarla ortaya çıktığı koşullar için açıklamalar üretmek için katılımcıların bireysel deneyimlerinin analiz edilmesini sağlar. İkincisi, yarı yapılandırılmış görüşme stratejisi, “gevşek bir şekilde organize edilmiş, kısa ömürlü veya zayıf belgelenmiş sosyal hareketler” üzerine araştırmalarda ve saha gözlemi ve yapılandırılmış anketler yoluyla veri toplamanın mümkün olmadığı durumlarda büyük bir avantaja sahiptir (Blee ve Taylor, 2002). , s. 93). Türkiye'deki anarşist hareketler görece kısa ömürlü örgütler ve inisiyatiflerle karakterize edilebildiğinden, bu durum bu araştırma için geçerlidir. Son olarak, yarı yapılandırılmış görüşme stratejisi, bu çalışmada olduğu gibi, katılımcıların yüksek

riskli aktivistler olduđu durumlarda oldukça faydalıdır. Bu görüşme stratejisi sayesinde, görüşmeci ile yanıtlayanlar arasında güven oluşturmak daha kolay hale gelir.

Anarşist/otorite karşıtı aktivistlerle 18 yarı yapılandırılmış görüşme ve 1995-2000 öncesi dönemi deneyimlemiş olan örneklemim arasında tek kişi olan bir katılımcıyla bir kilit bilgi kaynağı görüşmesi gerçekleştirdim. Bir önceki soru setindeki bazı soruların 1995 öncesi dönemle ilgisi olmadığı için farklı bir soru seti ile kilit bilgi kaynağı görüşmesi yapmayı tercih ettim. Ayrıca saha araştırması süresi Covid19 pandemi koşulları nedeniyle 2019-2021 yılları arasında sürdü.

Bu çalışma için verilere erişim nispeten sınırlıydı, bu yüzden araştırma için ikinci bir analiz birimi eklemeyi planladım. Türkiye'deki anarşist hareketin ilk aşamalarından günümüze kadar anarşist gruplar veya bireyler tarafından çeşitli dergiler, gazeteler ve fanzinler yayınlandı. Bu dergiler ve fanzinler genellikle aperiodyk olarak yayınlanmaktadır. Bu yayınları Can Başkent (2011, 2012) tarafından düzenlenen bir anarşist yayınlar antolojisinden, farklı çevrimiçi bloglardan, kütüphanelerden, arşivlerden ve ayrıca araştırmaya katılanların bazılarının sağladığı kişisel arşivlerden topladım.

Örgütlenme sorunları ile ilgili tartışmaları bulmak için 4'ü fanzin, 2'si gazete ve 7'si dergi olmak üzere 13 yayını inceledim. Mevcut tüm sayıları daha ayrıntılı incelemek için aralarından beş dergi seçtim. Anarşist bir örgütün nasıl olması ya da olmaması gerektiği ve Türkiye'deki anarşistler için hangi örgütlenme biçiminin en uygun olduğu gibi konuları tartışan makalelere odaklandım. Son olarak, analiz için beş dergiden yedi makale seçtim.

ANALİZ

Bu çalışma kapsamında, Türkiye'de anarşist aktivizmin ortaya çıkması için tarihsel olarak hangi dönüşümsel koşulların yerine getirilmesi gerektiğine odaklanmak önemlidir. Kara dergisinin yayın tarihi olan 1986'yı Türkiye'deki anarşist hareketin

dönüm noktası olarak belirleyebiliriz. Ancak, Türkiye'deki toplumsal muhalefet tarihinde münferit bir an değildi.

1980 askeri müdahalesinden sonra sosyalist hareketlere yönelik artan devlet baskısı, Türkiye'de anarşist hareketin ortaya çıkması için en önemli “fırsat”tı. Siyasi fırsat perspektifinden devlet baskısı arttığında toplumsal hareketlerin mobilizasyonunda bir azalma beklenebileceği için bu durum çelişkili görünebilir. Ancak, sosyalist hareketin dağılmasından sonra toplumsal hareketlerin parçalanmış alanı, anarşist hareketin ortaya çıkmasına yer açmıştır. İdeolojik olarak anarşizm, mevcut siyasi sistemlerden bir geri çekilmeyi ifade etse de, hareketin yörüngesi siyasi süreçlerdeki değişikliklere bağlıdır.

Türkiye bağlamında, anarşist aktivizmin varlığını besleyen temel mekanizma, 1980 askeri darbesinden sonra sosyalist hareketin çözülmesiydi. Ancak askeri darbe ile anarşist hareketin ortaya çıkışı arasında doğrudan bir sebep-sonuç ilişkisi kurmak elverişsizdir. McAdam'ın (1982) öne sürdüğü gibi, başlıca toplumsal süreçler toplumsal hareketlerin ortaya çıkışını doğrudan değil, mevcut güç ilişkilerini dönüştürerek onların ortaya çıkışını dolaylı olarak etkiler (s. 40-41). Bu argüman doğrultusunda, belirli bir hareketin tüm toplumsal muhalefet alanı üzerinde hegemonik gücü varsa, yeni hareketlerin bu harekete alternatif olarak ortaya çıkması için mevcut hareketin gücünü kaybetmesi veya dağılması gerektiğini iddia ediyorum. Türkiye'de anarşist hareketin ortaya çıkışının nedeni budur. 1980 askeri darbesi, anarşist hareketin ortaya çıkışını doğrudan değil, Türkiye'de sosyalist grupların muhalif toplumsal alandaki hegemonik gücünü sınırlayarak dolaylı olarak etkilemiştir.

Askeri darbe ile sosyalist örgütlerin yasaklanması ve sol hareketin genel yenilgisi, bazı sosyalistlerin geçmişe ve kendi örgütlerine yönelik özeleştirel bir sürece girmesine neden olmuştur. Türkiye'deki anarşist hareketin, sosyalist siyasetin otoriter eğilimlerine bir itiraz olarak sosyalist hareketten çıkmış olması, birinci nesil anarşistlerin hemen hemen hepsinin eski sosyalist olmaları gerçeğinden anlaşılabilir. Bu noktada eski sosyalistler ve 1980'lerden sonra ivme kazanan entelektüel sosyalist dergi çevreleri arasındaki mevcut ağların etkisi de göz ardı edilmemelidir.

Ayrıca, anarşist hareketin mobilizasyon sürecinde hangi koşulların etkili olduğunu ve Türkiye'deki anarşist grupların örgütlenme süreçlerini ele aldım. Bunun için anarşist hareketin mobilizasyon sürecini 3 aşamada ele aldım. Mülakatlardan edindiğim bilgiler doğrultusunda her aşamada öne çıkan belirli kilit olaylara ve süreçlere odaklandım. Bu olay ve koşulları siyasi fırsat yapıları açısından ele aldığımızda, anarşist hareketin harekete geçirilmesinde ülkeye özgü siyasi fırsatların belirleyici bir etkiye sahip olduğunu söylemek mümkündür. Ancak, bu siyasi süreçler istikrarlı değildir. Birinci dönemdeki kısıtlayıcı ve baskıcı siyasi ortam, hareketin hızla harekete geçmesini ve örgütlenmelerin artmasını sağlarken, üçüncü dönemde hareketin güç kaybetmesine neden olmuştur. Bu durumun temel nedeni, üçüncü dönemde anarşist hareket içinde yaşanan tartışmaların, hareketi besleyecek ve devamlılık sağlayacak yerli ilişkilerini olumsuz etkilemesidir.

Öte yandan anarşist hareketin yurt dışındaki anarşist hareketler ve örgütlerle iletişim ve dayanışma pratiklerinin arttığı dönemler, Türkiye'deki anarşist hareketin en aktif olduğu dönemlerdir. Bu ilişkilerin yoğunluğu ve dünya çapında artan anarşist görünürlük, Türkiye'deki anarşist hareketin diğer toplumsal hareketlerle örgütsel sosyalleşmesini artırmıştır. Alternatif küreselleşme hareketleri ve 2008 Yunan ayaklanmasının Türkiye'deki anarşist hareket üzerinde birleştirici bir etkisi olduğunu söylemek mümkündür. Ayrıca bu hareketler ve isyanlar Türkiye'deki anarşist hareket için bir meşruiyet kaynağı olmuştur.

Kaynak Seferberliği Perspektifinden, anarşist hareketin mobilizasyonunun ilk döneminde iyi eğitim geçmişine sahip bireylerin katılımı, anarşist hareketin birçok entelektüel kaynağa erişimini kolaylaştırdı. Bu entelektüel kaynakların mevcudiyeti ve Türkiye bağlamındaki yenilikleri, anarşist aktivistlerin diğer yeni hareketlerde, özellikle de anti-militarist ve ekoloji hareketlerinde etkili olmalarını sağlamıştır. Siyasi anlamda anarşist harekete operasyonel manevra alanı sağlayan bu çeşitlilik, anarşist literatürün bahsi geçen toplumsal hareketlerin erken oluşum aşamalarını önemli ölçüde etkilemesine de neden olmuştur.

Çalışma kapsamında, Türkiye'deki anarşist örgütlerin iç dinamiklerine de odaklandım. Örgütsel uygulamalar üzerine yürüttüğüm bu tartışmada anarşist örgütlerde katılım, finansal kaynaklar ve karar alma aşamalarını ele aldım. Bu bölümdeki temel iddiam, örgütlenme biçiminin ve yapısının siyasi ideolojiyi yansıttığı anarşist örgütlerde, örgütlenme ilkelerinin bir "anarşist örgütlenme davranışı" oluşturduğudur. Bunun aynı zamanda anarşist bir örgütün tanımlanmış sosyal düzeni olarak da düşünülebileceğini savunuyorum. Ayrıca, literatürdeki tam örgütlenme, kısmi örgütlenme ve ideal-tipik anarşist örgütlenme kavramlarına dayanarak kavramsallaştırdığım anarşist örgütlenmenin, anarşist davranış ile ortaya çıkan düzen arasında olumsal bir denge olduğunu savunuyorum.

Anarşist örgütlerin farklılık gösterdiği temel nokta, örgütün oluşum süreçlerinde formel örgütsel unsurların yer alıp almadığıdır. Resmi unsurların yer aldığı gruplarda katılımın aşamaları katı kriterlere göre veya belirli amaçlar için belirlenirken, resmi unsurların bulunmadığı organizasyonlarda katılımın temeli perspektif benzerliğine dayanmaktadır. Bu noktada bazı kuruluşların kapsayıcı bir katılım stratejisi belirlediklerini ve kendilerini diğerlerinden ayırdıklarını vurgulamak önemlidir. Buna göre "çevre-çeper" ilişkileri ile örgüte katılanlar arasındaki sınır belirsizdir. Mali kaynaklara gelince, Türkiye'deki anarşist örgütlerin ortak özelliği, hiçbirinin düzenli ve sabit geliri olmamasıdır. Mali kaynaklar, aidatlar, dayanışma faaliyetleri veya kamulaştırma/hırsızlık yoluyla elde edilir. Ancak bu noktada, resmi bir organizasyon unsuru olan ve çok sayıda katılımcısı olan kuruluşlar, finansal kaynaklarını geliştirmek için çok daha fazla fırsata sahiptir.

Analiz bölümünün son bölümünde, Türkiye'deki anarşist hareketin iç tartışmalarına odaklandım. Hareketteki ana tartışmaları sosyalist hareketle ilişkiler, anarşist örgütlerdeki oligarklaşma sorunu ve anarşistlerin organik müttefikleriyle ilişkileri olarak sınıflandırdım. İlk tartışmanın konusu olan sosyalist hareketlerle ilişkilerde öne çıkan tema, anarşistlerin hareket ve örgütler içinde yaşanan sorunların kaynağını sosyalist hareketten etkilenen anarşist bireyler olarak görmeleridir. Bu durumda sosyalist hareketlerden ayrılan ya da bu örgütlerde istediğini bulamayan kişiler, anarşist harekete katıldıklarında otoriter eğilimler sergileme eğilimindeydiler.

İkinci tartışma konusu, anarşist örgütlerin oligarklaşmasıdır. Karar verme ve görev paylaşımı aşamalarında bazı bireylerin ortaya çıkmasıyla başlayan oligarşik ilişkiler, zamanla örgüt içinde bazı konumların gerçekleşmesine neden olmuştur. Bu sayede örgütlerin doğrudan demokrasisi ve katılımcı süreçleri kesintiye uğramaktadır. Sosyal kontrol mekanizmasına sahip örgütlerde bu kişiler gruptan uzaklaştırılırken, bazı örgütlerde konumlanma dar kadrolu grupların oluşmasına neden olmuştur. Son olarak, anarşist hareketin diğer toplumsal hareketlerle ilişkilerindeki sorun, anarşistlerin asimile olmaları ve bu hareketlere katıldıktan sonra anarşist hareketten ayrılmalarıdır. Bu konudaki karşı argüman, Türkiye'deki anarşist hareketin zayıflığının, anarşistlerin başka hareketlerde aktif olmasına ve bu hareketleri dönüştürmesine neden olduğudur.

SONUÇ

1980 askeri darbesinin baskıcı yöntemleri nedeniyle solun etkisini ve hegemonyasını kaybettiği bir ortamda ortaya çıkan anarşist hareket, 90'lı yıllara gelindiğinde örgütlenme aşamasına geçmiştir. Bu noktada, siyasi fırsat yapıları uygun olmasa da, anarşist hareket içinde pasifist-entelektüel çizgiden eylem temelli ve örgütsel mücadele biçimine doğru bir kayma yaşanmaktadır. 2000'li yıllarda AB Uyum süreci ile birlikte örgütlenme ve ifade özgürlüğüne yönelik demokratik reformların da etkisiyle anarşist hareket, özellikle büyükşehirlerdeki üniversite çevrelerinde örgütlenmesini artırmıştır. Bu dönemde eylem alanını geliştiren anarşist hareket, diğer toplumsal hareketlerle ve yurt dışındaki anarşist hareketle ilişkilerini geliştirmiştir. 2012 sonrası dönemde iç çatışmalar, savaş, kriz gibi siyasi ve ekonomik koşullar ve artan siyasi baskılar nedeniyle anarşist hareket uyku dönemine girmiştir. Hareket içinde halen aktif örgütler olmasına rağmen, günümüzde Türkiye'deki anarşist hareket 90'ların ikinci yarısında ve 2000'lerin başında canlılığını yitirmiştir.

Bu çalışmada yanıtlamaya çalıştığım bir diğer soru ise anarşist aktivistlerin ne tür stratejiler geliştirdikleri ve örgütlenme süreçlerinde hangi kaynakları kullandıklarıydı. Bu noktadan hareketle, toplumsal hareket örgütleri tartışmalarına egemen olan formel, yüksek düzeyde yapılandırılmış ve hiyerarşik örgütlenme biçiminin anarşist örgütleri açıklamaya uygun olmadığını savundum. Anarşist örgütlerin bir ya da daha fazla resmi örgütsel öge içermedikleri için kısmi örgütler olarak tanımlanması gerektiğine işaret

ettim. Bu bağlamda kısmi bir örgütlenme türü olan anarşist örgütlerde bireylerin örgütlenme sürecinde geliştirdikleri strateji ve kaynakları ele aldım. Bunu yapabilmek için anarşist örgütlerde katılım, finansal kaynaklar ve karar alma gibi unsurları inceledim.

Türkiye'deki anarşist hareket içindeki örgütler, örgütlenme süreçlerinde bu unsurları farklı strateji ve yöntemlerle ele almaktadır. Katılımdaki genel eğilimin informal bir katılım stratejisi olduğu gözlenmekle birlikte, bazı kuruluşların dernek faaliyetlerine ilişkin çalışmalar yürütmesi, bu kuruluşlarda formel üyelik ve informal katılım stratejisinin bir araya gelmesine yol açmıştır. Mali kaynaklara gelince, çalışma kapsamında ele alınan tüm anarşist örgütlerde benzer stratejiler ve kaynaklar görülmektedir. Anarşist örgütlerin finansal kaynaklara erişiminin yetersizliği ve mevcut kaynakların düzensizliği örgütleri finansal kaynaklarını olabildiğince çeşitlendirmeye itmiştir. Bunu sağlamak için yasal ve yasadışı yöntemler kullanılmıştır. Karar alma süreçlerinde örgütteki katılımcı sayısının artması, demokratik katılım ve karar alma süreçlerini olumsuz etkilemiştir. Küçük örgütlerde herkesin katıldığı toplantılarda kararlar birlikte alınırken, nispeten büyük örgütlerde profesyonelleşme ve konumlanma artmıştır.

Bu tezde tartıştığım bir diğer soru da anarşist örgütlerin yapılarının ve iç dinamiklerinin nasıl açıklanacağıydı. Bu noktada anarşist örgütlerde oligarklaşma süreçlerinin ön plana çıktığını fark ettim. Ancak resmileşme ve bürokratikleşme süreçlerinin yaşanmadığı anarşist örgütlerde oligarklaşma sorunu görünmezdir. Bu yüzden oligarşizmi demokrasinin kaybı olarak tanımladım ve anarşist bir örgütte demokrasi kaybının nasıl gerçekleştiğini tartıştım. Bir önceki bölümde bahsedilen büyük örgütlerde liderlerin konumlanması ve ortaya çıkması sonucunda oligarklaşma sürecinin başladığı görülmektedir. Karar alma süreçlerini etkileyen liderlerin ve dar kadro gruplarının varlığı, bu örgütlerde doğrudan demokratik yöntemlerin işlemediğinin bir göstergesidir. Öte yandan küçük örgütlerde oligarklaşma süreci bireylerin yaş, yetkinlik ve deneyim açısından farklılaşması şeklinde gerçekleşmekte ve karar alma süreçlerinde deneyimli katılımcılar ön plana çıkmaktadır. Ancak, liderlik ve konumlandırma bu organizasyonlarda örtük olarak vardır.

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