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***In a Protest Far Far Away: Analyzing the Cross-
national Spread of Collective Action through
Emotional, Cognitive and Relational Mechanisms***

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Abstract

In this dissertation project, I investigate why and how a protest inspires individuals in distinct and distant countries to engage in a similar type of collective action. Studies on the diffusion of protests and social movements often emphasize the importance of geographical proximity, historical, organizational or cultural ties, or the presence of strong activist networks between countries as the factors that facilitate the spread of ideas, frames, identities and repertoires of collective action from one country to another. However, the recent protest waves in the aftermath of the 2007-2008 Global Financial Crisis have significantly challenged these assumptions. The emergence of similar social, economic and political grievances in different contexts, together with the popular use of mobile communication technologies and the increasing role of micro-level actors such as unorganized protesters and local groups, has introduced new pathways and dynamics of the diffusion of collective action. In order to explore the mechanisms of diffusion in the absence of strong activist ties or similarity and proximity factors, I analyze three “least-likely” cases: 1) The connections between the 2013 Protests in Turkey and Brazil (Summer Case), 2) the connections between the 2019 Protests China (Hong Kong) and Spain (Catalonia) (Autumn Case), and 3) the connections between the 2019-2020 Protests in Chile and Turkey (Winter Case). Given the limitations of existing theoretical frameworks in the social movement studies, I employ Grounded Theory Methodology to analyze 61 in-depth interviews with activists, along with fieldwork notes, memos, and various textual and visual materials released by activist networks, organizations, and political parties. The data analysis, conducted using an exploratory and inductive approach, has led to the introduction of three new mechanisms of diffusion of collective action: cathartic resonance, admirative diffusion, and affinitive diffusion. The findings indicate that the perceived contextual and motivational similarities, the cathartic feelings triggered by the shared traumas and moral shocks, and the multilayered resonance and identification process among the activists from different contexts consequently lead to the spread of emotional, behavioral, and ideational components of collective action through adoption and stimulation. By focusing on the emotional, cognitive, and relational dimensions of collective action, which have been often overlooked in previous studies, I aim to propose suggestions for revising and refining the theorization of diffusion from a cultural and agentic perspective.

Keywords: Social movements, protest, collective action, diffusion, resonance, mobilization, emotions

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List of abbreviations

AKP: Adalet ve Kalkınma Partisi

ANC: Assemblea Nacional Catalana

BRICS: Brazil, Russia, India, China, and South Africa

CDC: Convergència Democràtica de Catalunya

CDR: Comitès de Defensa de la República

CHP: Cumhuriyet Halk Partisi

CiU: Convergència i Unió

CUP: Candidatura d'Unitat Popular

ERC: Esquerra Republicana de Catalunya

EU: European Union

FIFA: Fédération Internationale de Football Association

GTM: Grounded Theory Methodology

HDP: Halkların Demokratik Partisi

IBOPE: Instituto Brasileiro de Opinião Pública e Estatística

ICV-EUiA: Iniciativa per Catalunya Verds–Esquerra Unida i Alternativa

KBGP: Kadınlar Birlikte Güçlü Platformu

KC: Kampüs Cadıları

KCDP: Kadın Cinayetlerini Durduracağız Platformu

KM: Kadın Meclisleri

KS: Kadın Savunması

MD: Mor Dayanışma

MPL: Movimento Passe Livre

NGO: Nongovernmental organization

PSC: Partit dels Socialistes de Catalunya

PSOE: Partido Socialista Obrero Español

PT: Partido dos Trabalhadores

SKM: Sosyalist Kadın Meclisleri

UNDP: United Nations Development Programme

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1. CHAPTER: INTRODUCTION

In June 2013, a protest in São Paulo, initiated by the social initiative Movimento Passe Livre, arose in response to the increase in public transportation fares (Larrabure, 2016; Purdy, 2019; Saad-Filho & Morais, 2014). As the number of participants increased rapidly following violence enacted by police, “Love is over, this is going to be Turkey!” became a famous slogan during the fiercest days of these protests in Brazil. The slogan was a reference to the 2013 *Gezi Park protests* in Turkey, which started as a reaction to the government’s regeneration plans for a public park in Istanbul and escalated after the excessive use of force by police a couple of days before the protests in Brazil. The Gezi Park protests remained an inspirational benchmark for some Brazilian protesters both in the streets and on social media platforms, as a protester stated that “what happened in Turkey had an enormous impact on the people here in the streets” (Hamsici, 2013). Six years later, tens of thousands of Catalan protesters occupied Barcelona’s international airport El Prat on October 14, immediately after the Supreme Court of Spain’s decision sentencing the Catalan political leaders to prison for years (Burgen & Jones, 2019). This unconventional tactic was highly inspired by the Hong Kong Protests, which began in March 2019 to protest the new extradition law enhancing China’s power over Hong Kong politics and continued for months following the violent police interventions to initial protests. Catalan protesters chanted “We are going to do a Hong Kong!” as the protests in Hong Kong were perceived as a struggle that “resonated with us (Catalan protesters) a lot” (Lau, 2019). Just a couple of months later, in November 2019, participants of the Socialist Women’s Assembly of Turkey staged the Turkish version of the performance called *Un violador en tu camino* [A Rapist in Your Path], which was choreographed by the Chilean feminist organization Las Tesis to draw attention to gender-based violence and femicides (“Las Tesis Activists”, 2022). While the performance spread to various countries from Chile since November 2019, Turkey became one of the most contentious sites due to the weeks of protests in different cities and violent police interventions. The performance was even brought to the parliament by the members of opposition parties (“Las Tesis Activists”, 2022). “Our experiences and struggles are so similar that the fact that the Las Tesis was initiated in Chile does not mean that the lyrics and the message do not reflect the reality here in Turkey”, a leading activist stated (“Yasaksız Meydan”, 2020).

In the field of social movement studies, such phenomena of the inspiring influence of a protest on individuals or social groups are usually analyzed by using the *theory of protest diffusion* (or

collective action diffusion). According to this theory, collective action can spread from one country to another through various channels and mechanisms. This phenomenon is particularly prevalent in regions where there is a high degree of geographical proximity, cultural and linguistic similarities, institutional equivalence and historical connectivity between countries, as well as strong organizational linkages among activists (della Porta & Diani, 2006; Kolins Givan et al., 2010; McAdam & Rucht, 1993; Strang & Meyer, 1993; Strang & Soule, 1998). These proximity and similarity factors, along with *nonrelational channels* such as the mass media and *mediated channels* through brokers, enable protesters to emulate and adopt tactics, frames and ideas that originated in different countries. Since its adoption and theorization by social movement scholars especially after the 1960s, the theory of diffusion has successfully explained various cases of the cross-national spread of collective action such as the peace movements in Western European countries in the 1980s (Kriesi et al., 1995) and the Global Justice Movement in the 2000s (della Porta & Tarrow, 2005).

The recent protest waves in the aftermath of the 2007-2008 Global Financial Crisis, however, have significantly challenged the above-mentioned assumptions of this widely acknowledged theoretical framework (della Porta, 2017; della Porta & Mattoni, 2014). The 2010s can be considered as a period of global turmoil defined by the failures of the neoliberal premises leading to a surge in social, economic and political crises across the world. In this time of crisis, many countries experienced similar problems such as devastating impact of the ongoing economic crisis especially on middle and lower classes, the shift away from social policies in favor of privatization and austerity measures, a decline in the capacity and functions of democratic institutions, a crisis of democratic representation and legitimacy, and the exclusion of various social groups from political decision-making mechanisms (della Porta, 2017; della Porta & Mattoni, 2014; Fominaya, 2019). The emergence of similar social, economic and political grievances in different contexts in the aftermath of the crisis, together with the popular use of new mobile communication technologies and social media, introduced a complex and interactive transnational dimension for the recent mobilizations (della Porta & Mattoni, 2014). Mostly shaped by actions of micro-level actors such as individual protesters and horizontal activist groups from different countries and their relations, this dimension has enabled the spread of ideas, frames or repertoires of action across time and space through unconventional pathways and mechanisms (della Porta, 2020).

The connections in three cases that I mentioned in the beginning, for example, would have been unlikely due to the absence of similarity and proximity factors such as geographical adjacency,

historical connections, cultural and linguistic ties, strong organizational connections or hierarchical position and structural interactions between the countries (della Porta & Diani, 2020; Diani & McAdam, 2003). Such cases, along with various others during the post-2008 era, demonstrate that individuals or activist groups in a country may be inspired or motivated by a foreign protest to perform similar actions in their country even in the absence of proximity factors, structural similarities or previously established organizational ties between them and the protesters in the foreign country. This study starts from this puzzling phenomenon and addresses two main questions:

Why and how does a protest have an inspirational influence on the individuals in a distant country? Which mechanisms can explain this theoretically unexpected spread of collective action despite the absence of the theoretically acknowledged similarity and proximity factors and strong activist networks?

In pursuit of elucidating the recent spread of protests across distant locations and refining the theory of protest diffusion in consequence, I analyze the cases of the connections between the 2013 Protests in Turkey and Brazil (*Summer Case*), the connections between the 2019 Protests in China (Hong Kong) and Spain (Catalonia) (*Autumn Case*), and the connections between the 2019-2020 Protests in Chile and Turkey (*Winter Case*). All these cases exhibit three fundamental and shared characteristics that render them ideal for the purposes of this research: (1) They consist of cross-national protest relationships between a foreign country (Turkey, China [Hong Kong], Chile) and a host country (Brazil, Spain [Catalonia], Turkey) during the post-2008 Global Financial Crisis era; (2) in all these cases, the protesters in the host country either adopted some tactics, strategies and frames from the protests in a foreign country or referred them as an inspirational and motivational benchmark in the repertoires of action they used during the protests; and (3) the host country and the foreign country did not share geographical, historical, linguistic and cultural ties or strong organizational networks between activists prior to the protests investigated in these cases. Considering these similar patterns that contradict several main assumptions of the theory of protest diffusion, these three cases can be classified as the “least likely” cases of cross-national spread of collective action from one country to a distant one in the absence of evident factors that can facilitate the diffusion of collective action across the countries.

I hope to achieve five major research objectives that can contribute to the recent scholarly debates in the field of social movement studies. The first one is to explore the conditions and

mechanisms of protest diffusion across distant and diverse places in the absence of theoretically acknowledged similarity and proximity factors and strong activist networks. As the agency of the micro-level actors including individual protesters or local activist groups has an increasing role in the mobilization processes, their emotional and cognitive processes, along with their relations and the protest cultures shaped by their perceptions, actions and interactions, have forged a dynamic, fluid and complex mechanisms of the protest diffusion recently. These mechanisms have enabled the interactive and interconnected escalation of protests in both sequential and rhizomatic forms in various international cycles of contention such as anti-austerity movements in Europe since 2008, Arab Uprisings during the 2010s, Indignados and Occupy movements in 2011, the 2013 protest wave in the top developing countries such as Turkey, Brazil and Russia, Fridays for Future protests since 2018, the 2019 global wave of protest in different parts of the world such as Catalonia, Hong Kong, Chile, Lebanon, or Algeria, the 2020 Black Lives Matter and anti-Covid 19 restrictions protests in various countries. In this context of contentious politics, the relations among actors, their actions and consequences are more complex than the linear and adoption-based relationship between the adopter and transmitter groups sharing physical, cultural or historical proximities. Despite the success of the recent theoretical attempts to explore these mechanisms, the conventional and mainstream formulation of diffusion with its strong emphasis on the structural similarity and proximity factors, activist networks and causal mechanisms is limited to capturing the complexity of these cross-national connections precisely. Especially the connections “across such widely divergent and geographically distant contexts” without the presence of most of the proximity and similarity factors still require further theoretical work (Oikonomakis & Roos, 2016, p. 227). Thus, a refined theorization of diffusion from a more micro-sociological and cultural perspective is still to be developed to explore the dynamics of the spread of protests across distinct locations (della Porta & Mattoni, 2014).

Secondly, I intend to introduce new emotional and cognitive mechanisms of cross-national diffusion of collective action that extend the theoretical and explanatory boundaries of the current theorization. While *diffusion* itself still functions as a theoretical framework to explain various cases of the spread of collective action, the current theoretical framework and mechanisms often neglects the emotional, cultural and cognitive processes of collective action and their impact on the spread of protests and social movements. Considering the increasing role of micro-level actors and their experiences, perceptions and emotions in diffusion processes, exploring and integrating theoretical frameworks focusing on the emotional and

cognitive dimensions of collective action into the theory of protest diffusion can be significant step for the revision of the theory. In the context of a broader examination of cultural understanding of social movements, recent scholarship has highlighted the significance of relational, emotional, and cognitive dimensions of collective action as components of mobilization. However, empirical analysis of their impact on the cross-national spread of protests remains a nascent area of investigation. By primarily analyzing the emotions, perceptions and experiences of the individual activists from a microsociological and cultural perspective, this study aims to fill this gap in the literature and explore the emotional and cognitive mechanisms of the cross-national spread of collective that enable the spread of collective action across distant and distinct contexts.

This objective paves the way for the third one, which is to propose ontological and epistemological suggestions for redefining the boundaries of the theorization of protest diffusion based on the findings. When I started this dissertation project, my major motivation was to explain the cases of protest diffusion that emerge in the absence of proximity and similarity factors. However, the more I engaged in theoretical debates and data collection processes, the more I realized that the theory of protest diffusion requires a fundamental revision to understand not only the spread of collective action but also the recent dynamics of contentious politics in general. As an eclectic umbrella theory with static ontological principles, the traditional theory of protest diffusion often remains limited to capturing the rapid complexification of the dynamics of the spread of collective action. Highlighting this situation of the theory, della Porta and Mattoni (2014) have already urged scholars “to update their analytical tools, revise their research questions, and look for alternative answers related to the transnational dimension of protests” and “to expand and redefine traditional conceptual frameworks about diffusion” (p. 278). This dissertation project is a humble answer to this call, and I sincerely hope that it contributes to the theoretical discussion about the revision of the theory of protest diffusion and beyond it in social movement studies.

The fourth objective is to contribute to the recent methodological debates about the use of Grounded Theory Methodology in social movement studies. Grounded Theory Methodology, which I used in this research, represents a well-known qualitative methodological tradition within the social sciences. This methodology enables researchers to construct novel theoretical explanations and frameworks based on the analysis of empirical data through inductive, abductive and constant comparative methods (Charmaz, 2006; Charmaz et al., 2018; Corbin & Strauss, 1990; Glaser & Strauss, 1967). It also provides a significant “opportunity to

combine in a consistent research design different methods of data gathering that scholars are familiar with in social movement studies” to analyze the role of “perceptions, meanings, and emotions” in mobilization processes (Mattoni, 2014, pp. 23-38). Despite its potential for social movement research, this methodology “still remains at the margins of social movement studies” and has been used “mainly in a scattered and implicit way” (Mattoni, 2014, pp. 22-23). Employing Grounded Theory Methodology in the analysis of three cases, I hope to demonstrate how this comprehensive methodology can be fruitful in social movement research. My comparative approach in this study can also contribute to the discussions regarding the use of Grounded Theory Methodology in the fields of comparative political science and sociology.

Lastly, I hope to raise a normative point in this research. Since the first days of my PhD journey in November 2019, I have seen and experienced various catastrophic and historical incidents including (but not limited to) a global pandemic, genocidal acts and invasions in different parts of the world from Ukraine to Palestine, from Yemen to Xinjiang, the rise of authoritarian and extreme right-wing groups across Europe, the devastating impact of global warming including the floods and wildfires in Mediterranean region, and the disastrous earthquake in my home country Turkey. As a non-EU immigrant, I spent most of these times of despair waiting for the renewal of my residence permit, being unable to travel to other countries for months due to Kafkaesque bureaucratic practices and immigration policies. Hearing this from a PhD student may be a bit surprising, yet in these “times of crises” and isolation, my thesis helped me mentally and emotionally by demonstrating that we are not alone in our struggles despite all the distance between us. In countries where we cannot even pronounce their language properly, there are people who resemble and resonate with us with their resistance to these crises and their passion for a better world. This thesis is an attempt to show this, to bring some hope and relief, and to reveal some cross-national connections that can be further investigated by the activists to strengthen their transnational solidarity networks.

I preferred using Grounded Theory Methodology to achieve these goals, as I previously mentioned. Considering the theoretically unexpected characteristics of the cases where protesters’ emotional and cognitive experiences had a significant impact on the relations between protests in distant countries, I believe that employing Grounded Theory would be a proper methodological strategy to explore the uncharted dimension of the recent spread of contention. The data predominantly consists of 61 semi-structured in-depth interviews with Brazilian, Catalan and Turkish protesters as well as figures from political parties, NGOs, activist groups and think tanks from the countries under investigation. It was collected through

a combination of snowball and theoretical sampling procedures. The notes from two fieldworks (one in Spain in November 2021, the other one in Turkey in January 2023), the memos, and visual and textual material released by the protesters/organizations/activist groups were also included as complementary data sources. Starting simultaneously with the data collection, the collected data for each case was processed separately through a sentence-by-sentence and passage-by-passage coding procedure based on open, axial and selective coding steps. Consequently, three distinct mechanisms, which are *cathartic resonance*, *admirative diffusion* and *affinitive diffusion*, were introduced to explain the pathways of the spread of collective action in each case. Following the introduction of these novel theoretical mechanisms, the similarities and differences among the three cases as well as these mechanisms were also analyzed comparatively to offer theoretical suggestions to refine and revise the theory of protest diffusion.

Three new mechanisms of cross-national diffusion can be considered as the most significant contribution of this research to the debates regarding the revision of protest diffusion theory. For the *Summer Case*, which covers the relationship between the 2013 Protests in Turkey and Brazil, I introduced the mechanism of *cathartic resonance*. This mechanism refers to the spread of collective action by the emotional and inspirational impact of a relatable struggle in one country on the individuals in another country due to the perceived contextual and motivational similarities between them along with the sympathetic identification built upon the shared traumas. According to this concept, the moral shocks triggered by a foreign but relatable struggle may have a motivating influence on sympathizers' decisions to engage in a similar struggle in their own context even in the absence of proximity and similarity factors. In the *Autumn Case*, the mechanism of *admirative diffusion* explains the connection between the 2019 Protests in Hong Kong (China) and Catalonia (Spain). According to this mechanism, the local protesters' admiration for the tactical success and moral principles of a competent and identifiable foreign protesting group (admirable), combined with the emotional resonance of shared traumas with this group and admiration for the group's resilience to relatable traumatic conditions, may facilitate the diffusion of the frames, ideas and repertoires of collective action from this group to the local activists. The admirative diffusion both causes the adoption of the behavioral and ideational components of collective action such as the tactics, strategies, slogans, frames, ideas, etc. and stimulates extra motivational and emotional energy for the adopters to act in a similar way to the transmitters. Regarding the *Winter Case*, which investigates the connection between the 2019-2020 Protests in Chile and Turkey, the

mechanism of *affinitive diffusion* functions as the explanatory framework. This mechanism shows that the attachment to the shared and interactively constructed transnational identities by the adopters and transmitters, along with the perceived similarities between them and the multi-layered resonance of the transmitters' collective action practices with the conditions of the adopters enables cross-national diffusion of collective action. Similar to admirative diffusion, affinitive diffusion results in not only the adoption of the collective action but also the stimulation of the extra motivational and emotional energy to engage in and emulate collective action. All these mechanisms demonstrate that diffusion of collective action is a social process that requires complex and multilayered resonance and identification processes leading the spread of collective action through the adoption of its behavioral/ideational components and the stimulation of emotional/motivational energy to engage in a similar action in another context. Acknowledging the facilitating impact of the proximity and similarity factors as well as the strong activist ties in various mechanisms of diffusion, I hope to show that a revised understanding of diffusion with the integration of emotional and cognitive processes of collective action into its theorization can be fruitful to understand the spread of protests and social movements across distant countries in this research.

This study consists of seven chapters. This introductory chapter is followed by a theoretical chapter based on the critical review of the theorization of diffusion in social sciences and social movement studies. It starts with the conceptual and theoretical evolution of the diffusion in social sciences and continues with its adoption by social movement scholars. This review aims to demonstrate that the current limitations of diffusion theory in explaining the recent phenomenon are due to its ontological and epistemological fundamentals which were constructed as a reaction to the early scholarly works pejoratively framing collective action as an emotional and spreading phenomenon. Built upon the structural and rational understanding of social movement paradigms, the ontological formulation of diffusion often overlooks the impact of emotional, cognitive and cultural elements of collective action on its spread. Following these discussions, the chapter concludes with a presentation of the recent works and their contributions to the necessary revision of the theory of protest diffusion. It particularly highlights why the current situation of the conceptualization of diffusion still has some limitations in explaining the cases under investigation. In the light of these debates on the theoretical and conceptual limitations, the third chapter presents the methodological practices employed to overcome these issues in this research. It begins with an overview of the fundamental principles and epistemological pillars of Grounded Theory Methodology. This is

followed by a description of the technical procedures of this methodology and its potential contributions to social movement studies. The reasons for the use of Grounded Theory Methodology in this research are also discussed. The chapter then presents the steps of data collection, operationalization and data processing. Finally, the criteria for case selection and descriptions of the selected cases are presented in this chapter.

The following three chapters present the analysis of the three case studies. The fourth chapter, which focuses on the *Summer Case*, examines the connection between the 2013 protests in Turkey and Brazil. It begins with an introduction to the case, followed by theoretical and methodological notes. The chapter then presents an overview of urban struggles in Brazil and a chronological description of the 2013 June Protests. This overview is subsequent to the introduction of the mechanism and cathartic resonance and its components. The chapter concludes with a discussion regarding the causal claims and suggestions to refine the theory of protest diffusion. The fifth chapter analyses the *Autumn Case*, which explores the connection between the 2019 Protest in China (Hong Kong) and Spain (Catalonia). The chapter first introduces the case and presents the overview of the Catalan cycle of contention leading to the 2019 Protests. This introduction is subsequently accompanied by a descriptive analysis of the activist group Tsunami Democratic, which played a pivotal role in the adoption of tactics and strategies by the Catalan protesters during the 2019 Hong Kong Protests. Following a brief discussion of the methodological and theoretical considerations, the mechanism of admirative diffusion and its principal components are presented. The chapter concludes with a theoretical debate concerning the potential contributions of this mechanism to the ongoing debates surrounding the refinement of the theory of protest diffusion. The sixth chapter is the final empirical chapter and comprises the analysis of the *Winter Case*, which examines the relationship between the 2019-2020 Protests in Chile and Turkey. After a preliminary discussion regarding the methodological and theoretical approaches employed in this case study, the protest cycle of the feminist movement against gender-based violence and femicides in Turkey and the position of the 2019 Las Tesis Protests in this cycle are analyzed. This overview is followed by an introduction to the mechanism of affinity diffusion and its elements. The chapter concludes with a discussion of how this mechanism can contribute to the ongoing debate regarding the distinction between diffusion and transnationalization.

The final seventh chapter presents a comparative analysis of the mechanisms introduced in the preceding three chapters. It begins by identifying the patterns in these three mechanisms. Based on this analysis, several theoretical suggestions are offered to refine the theorization of cross-

national protest diffusion. In particular, the integration of the cultural, emotional and cognitive dimensions of collective action into the theoretical framework of diffusion, the redefinition of the ontological and epistemological boundaries of the pivotal concept of social movement studies, and the call for a *renaissance* of diffusion studies to understand recent mobilizations more precisely represent the central points of these suggestions and theoretical debates in this chapter. These debates are followed by an analysis of the limitations and their implications in this dissertation project. The chapter concludes with a general discussion of future research and potential contributions to several recent debates in the field of social movement studies.

2. CHAPTER: THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

2.1. Introduction

Diffusion is a complex concept with approximately 140 years of theoretical evolution in social sciences. Before commencing this lengthy journey of the critical review of diffusion, I think it would be useful to begin this chapter with a brief summary of what the concept of diffusion is in the field of social movement studies, so as not to fatigue the readers with conceptual uncertainty and to enable them to follow this review more easily. According to its classical theorization in social movement studies, diffusion of collective action can be defined as the spread of the ideational and behavioral elements of collective action from a transmitter group to an adopter group through relational, non-relational or mediated channels of communication (della Porta & Diani, 2020; Kolins Givan et al., 2010; McAdam & Rucht, 1993; Tarrow & McAdam, 2005). Diffusion is often theorized as a causal process to explain the emergence and spread of mobilization, with a focus on the structural, institutional and cultural similarities, as well as the impact of spatial proximity and activist networks, as the facilitating factors of diffusion (McAdam & Ruchy, 1993; Strang & Soule, 1998). The concept also refers to either conscious or unconscious adoption of a component of collective action through linear relationships flowing from transmitters to adopters (McAdam & Rucht, 1993). Since its initial theorization, diffusion has been widely used as the principal concept to describe the patterns of the cross-national spread of protests during international cycles of contention such as the peace movements in Western European countries during the 1980s (Kriesi et al., 1995), the Global Justice Movement during the 2000s (della Porta & Tarrow, 2005), the anti-austerity protests in Mediterranean region in the 2010s (della Porta & Mattoni, 2014), or the Black Lives Matter in the US and Europe in the 2020s (della Porta et al., 2023).

Especially the changing dynamics of the cross-national spread of the recent protests and social movements have posed significant challenges to the traditional ontological assumptions and conceptual formulation of the diffusion in social movement studies. The rapid escalation of various protests due to similar social, political and economic crises across the world interactively and interconnectedly during the 2010s and 2020s accompanied by the increasing role of micro-level actors such as individual protesters and activist groups. Meanwhile, the introduction of mobile communication and information technologies that both create new connections among protesters and enable novel meaning-making processes to have also

revealed new pathways, channels and mechanisms for the spread of collective action. The escalation of interactive, unidirectional, and parasocial connections among different types of actors has resulted in the emergence of novel and undertheorized forms of the spread of collective action. Despite its overall success, the structural and causal formulation of diffusion, which is heavily reliant on proximity and similarity factors, attributes of innovations, adoption-based mechanisms and transmitter-adopter dichotomy, sometimes fails to adequately capture these critical changes. In this review, I argue that the root of the problem lies not in the elements or mechanisms associated with diffusion, but rather in the ontological formulation of the concept itself. Inspired by della Porta and Mattoni's (2014) call "to expand and redefine traditional conceptual frameworks about diffusion", I believe that the concept itself is in need of a fundamental revision and redefinition (p. 278). It is my contention that without such a conceptual and ontological revision, the concept of diffusion will be insufficient—and perhaps even misleading—in explaining the rapidly changing dynamics of contentious politics. For this reason, this review examines approximately 140 years of literature in order to gain a deeper understanding of the ontological foundations of diffusion and to better diagnose its fundamental problems.

In this chapter, I followed a chronological, thematic and critical review of the original sources, which represent pivotal moments in the conceptualization of diffusion in the fields of social sciences and social movement studies. Prior to and throughout the review of these sources, I was significantly inspired by and benefited from several literature reviews, including those written by Jasper and Goodwin (2015), Jasper (2018), Aslanidis (2015), Polletta (2008), van Stekelenburg and Klandermans (2009), and Goodwin, Jasper, and Polletta (2000). Such reviews were instrumental in my comprehension and explication of the historical and intellectual contexts of the debates in social movement studies. Moreover, they directed my attention to the original sources pertaining to the conceptual evolution of diffusion. Despite the inspiration derived from these seminal works and the parallels with them, this review diverges from its predecessors in its focus on the conceptualization of diffusion. Previous reviews, the majority of which critically describe the evolution of social movement paradigms and the incorporation of affective and cultural approaches into the new paradigms, have not extensively explored the conceptual journey of diffusion in social movement studies. I hope that by placing diffusion at the center of the analysis, this review can make a modest contribution to filling this gap.

Despite the tens of thousands of words in this review, the main idea can be summarized with one sentence: The structuralist and rationalist paradigm of social movements, established as a

reaction to the Le Bonian paradigm based on a pejorative approach to collective action, has led to an ontological formulation of diffusion which tends to neglect the role the cultural, emotional and cognitive dimensions of collective action. Elaborating on this argument, I hope that at the end of this long journey, I can explain why we need a new perspective. To achieve this objective, the review starts with a discussion about how diffusion had been introduced and conceptualized in social sciences by analyzing the seminal works of several scholars from Gabriel Tarde to Everett Rogers. It then proceeds to examine pivotal works that have shaped the conceptualization of diffusion since the early 20th century. This section aims to elucidate the ontological and epistemological origins of the concept of diffusion in the social movement scholarship. It is crucial to examine how diffusion has been conceptualized as a central component of, and in accordance with, the newly established structuralist paradigms, particularly since the 1960s. The review concludes with an examination of current debates on the conceptualization of diffusion, particularly in the 21st century, in the context of changing conflictual political dynamics and the popularization of cultural social movement approaches. I hope that the image below, which is a brief summary of the evolution of diffusion, will be useful to the reader while reading this review.

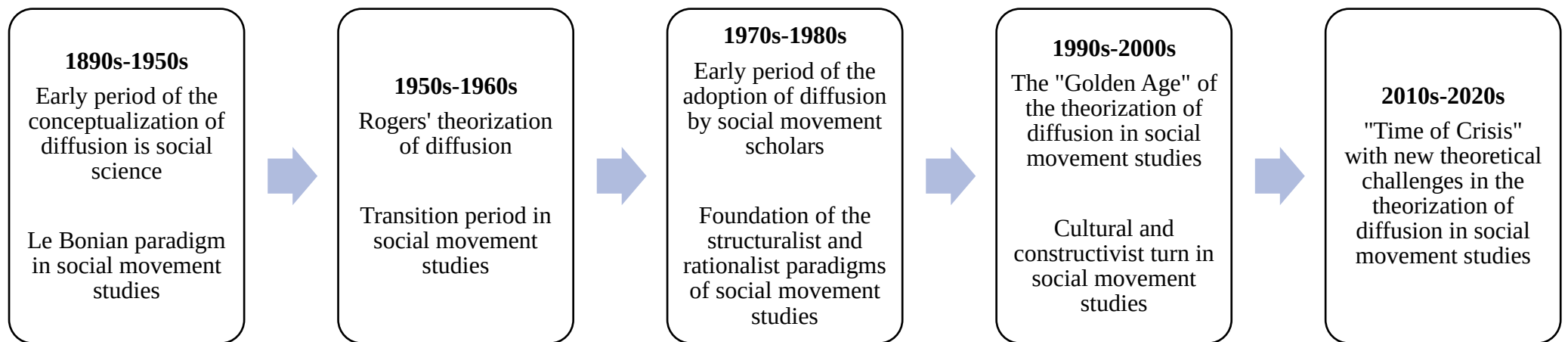


Figure 1: Evolution of Diffusion and Social Movement Studies

2.2. Diffusion as a Concept in Social Science

2.2.1. 1890s-1950s: Innovators from Tarde to Rogers

Diffusion has a long history in social sciences as a concept. In his review, Rogers (1995) mentions that the early studies regarding the diffusion of innovations were introduced by several European ethnologists and anthropologists in the late 19th century and early 20th century. However, it is widely accepted that the French sociologist Gabriel Tarde was the pioneering figure of the conceptualization and theorization of diffusion in social sciences and philosophy (Katz, 1999; Kinnunen, 1996; Rogers, 1995). In his famous work *The Laws of Imitation* (Tarde, 1903), Tarde adopts the concept of *diffusion* from the natural sciences to explain *social change*. From Tarde's (1903) perspective, "socially, everything is either invention or imitation" (p. 3), and "an idea or a volition, a judgment or a purpose, which embodies a certain amount of belief and desire" triggers the changes in the social order (p. 145). In Tarde's formulation, inventions generally refer to "any kind of an innovation or improvement" (p. 2) proposed by "all individual initiatives" of a minority group of elites and their social interactions, and they *diffuse* through "contagious imitations" (p. 25) across different groups of *society*, which is "a group of beings who are apt to imitate one another" (p. 68). Imitation, along with innovation, emerges as the central mechanism of Tarde's framework, and it is determined by either the *logical* or *extra-logical* laws. While logical laws mostly depend on the functions and features of the innovations such as their similarity, usefulness or efficiency in the social context of imitators, extra-logical ones rely on subjective reasons such as prestige and reputation stemming from social hierarchies, the fashion and admiration, or other emotional reactions such as sympathy shaped the social context and culture. The imitation mainly starts with the adoption of the innovation by the opinion leaders or elites in a social group and follows a significant and contagious growth as other members of the group and the crowds are involved in the adoption process, which consequently ends as the innovation is normalized.

Although Tarde did not explicitly define what diffusion is, his work can be considered the pivotal study that introduces an ontological proposal for conceptualizing diffusion in the social sciences. His conceptualization of innovation and imitation, his emphasis on the contagious process of the spread of an adopted innovation (invention) within a community, and his focus on objective and subjective criteria determining the imitation processes had an inspiring impact on subsequent works on diffusion in the social sciences. Nevertheless, despite being

acknowledged as the founding figure of diffusion theory, Tarde's two significant contributions in his work have received relatively limited attention. Firstly, Tarde highlights the significance of sentimental and cultural processes of imitation and incorporates them into his ontological formulation. As Kinnunen (1996) explains, Tarde was ambitious in understanding the impact of such processes yet “he had great difficulty in realizing his objectives with his approach and method”, which even led him to criticize “the French governmental statistics for not having data on people's values, religious activities, linguistic change or emotional attributes, beliefs or desires” (p. 434). Even in the most rudimentary terms, Tarde's work sought to explore the cultural dimension of diffusion and its emotional and cognitive processes, which had been frequently overlooked for decades after his death. The second contribution, which is closely associated with the first, is Tarde's emphasis on the role of agency in imitation processes and the emphasis on social psychological factors shaping the decisions of individuals. The imitation process is influenced by a number of factors, including individuals' perceptions of innovations, their interactions with each other in a social context, and the broader social and cultural context in which imitation occurs. Tarde's *diffusion* can be contagious yet neither totally unconscious nor automatic process: Individuals' “desires” and “beliefs” along with other logical and non-logical factors have an influence on their choices about the imitation of an innovation, which is also proposed by different individuals – mostly elites or small group of “geniuses” (Tarde, 1903, p. 14).

In the historical context, it is important to recognize that Tarde's aforementioned ideas also represent the fundamental pillars of his ontological view of sociology (Abrutyn & Mueller, 2014; Katz, 1999; Kinnunen, 1996; Walker, 2013). However, these ideas were strongly criticized by the other prominent figure in sociology, Emile Durkheim. Tarde's microsociological and interactionist understanding of society as an “aggregate of the individuals,” analyzed through a social psychological and agency-centric approach, was challenged by Durkheim's holistic and structural formulation, in which he strongly rejected Tarde's imitation thesis. The dispute between the two sides became public and lasted from the 1890s until Tarde's death in 1904. It even led to a face-to-face debate between the rivals at the École des Hautes Études Sociales in 1903. Kinnunen (1996) explains this decade long dispute as follows:

Both Tarde and Durkheim believed they had found the correct ontological view of sociology. Tarde believed that society was simply an aggregate of its individuals that should be studied on micro-level with a psychological method and the focus should be on imitation. Durkheim struck the other extreme, claiming that society is a reality in

itself, 'a whole is greater than its parts'. Tarde thought this was metaphysics or mysticism. Durkheim thought of psychological facts as basically inherited phenomena and, therefore, uninteresting (Ritzer 1988:70). He stated that social facts were to be explained on the social level and he wanted to keep the distinction clear. For generations to come Durkheim offered numerous pieces of concrete sociological research and methodological advice. In Tarde's works the sparks were rather well hidden in the ashes of his obscure approach and somewhat circular reasoning. One of his worst problems was in having to explain away the information that contradicted his theories. As much as Tarde's work was full of insightful and significant observations, he failed to create the means for scientific research. (p. 39).

In consequence of Durkheim's allegations that Tarde reduced the scientific enterprise to an "intellectual game" without the requisite methodological rigor, and Tarde's subsequent demise in 1904, Tarde was ultimately unable to prevail over Durkheim in defining the ontological foundations of sociology. As Kinnunen (1996) notes, this "defeat" against Durkheim has had a detrimental impact on Tarde's legacy, as evidenced by the fact that "books on the history of sociology give much less attention to Tarde's longer lasting contributions" (p. 431). I think that this situation is significant for two major reasons in the newly emerging post-Tarde paradigm of sociology. Firstly, Tarde's formulations of imitation and diffusion were often overlooked by subsequent scholars in sociology for several decades (Katz, 1999). As Abrutyn and Mueller (2014) argue, "Tarde's social psychological theory of the spread of emotions, ideas, and behaviors" was "marginalized" after the "victory" of Durkheim, and diffusion had been ignored until around the 1940s (p. 698). Although Tarde's contribution to this field has gradually been acknowledged since that time, his emphasis on the sociopsychological dimensions of the diffusion process continues to receive limited attention in academic discussions on this topic. It can even be claimed that this missing part of the puzzle significantly impacted the ontological formulation of diffusion as a theory on its own in social sciences. Secondly, Tarde's ideas, which were among the few that were relatively optimistic about the nature of human beings and crowds, became marginal in the emerging crowd behavior debates. As will be discussed in greater detail in the subsequent section, Tarde's emphasis on the socially constructive potential of crowds and the agency of individuals in imitation processes was eclipsed by the pejorative and pathological formulation of crowds and collective action by scholars such as Gustav Le Bon and Sigmund Freud (Walker, 2013). Tarde's optimism along with his ideas on diffusion and imitation remained unpopular in the debates on collective behavior and its "aggressive" contagion for decades.

The revival of the concept of diffusion mainly happened during the post-World War II Durkheimian era accompanied by a significant expansion of technological advancements and their increasing impact on social, political and economic structures. The abovementioned impact of Tarde's defeat can be seen in this revival process: The microsociological imitation thesis with an emphasis on the role of social psychological factors and interactions evolved into a more structural framework of diffusion with a strong emphasis on the characteristics of the innovation as the major determinants of the diffusion process. The socioeconomic characteristics of the adopters were also accompanied by attributes of the innovations as the criteria diffusion. Based on this changing perspective, few studies were conducted such as the works of Bowers (1938), who analyzes the intra-societal dynamics of diffusion of a new innovation such as new radio sets, in different disciplines from communication to rural sociology, however, none of these works became as influential and popular as rural sociologists Ryan and Gross' (1943) work since Tarde's introduction of the concept. In their prominent work, Ryan and Gross (1943) analyze the process of how a new agricultural innovation, which was hybrid corn seed, became popular among the Iowa farmer communities within ten years after its release in 1928. Ryan and Gross (1943) demonstrate that after the relatively slow adoption of the seed, which was introduced by salesmen, to the farmers, the interpersonal relations between the farmers resulted in the rapid diffusion of this new innovation among the community. Their findings show the significance of interpersonal networks and relations within a community for the diffusion of an innovation to take place.

In his review, Everett Rogers (1983) praises this study as the benchmark that created the pillars of the newly emerging paradigm of diffusion research. Rogers (1983) claims that Ryan and Gross' study "headed later diffusion scholars toward pursuing certain research questions" which investigate the factors that affect the rate of adoption of a new innovation, rate and speed of diffusion this innovation, and the role of different communication and social relation types on the process of diffusion (p. 56). He (1983) adds that Ryan and Gross' study also introduced the fundamentals of methodology in diffusion research by systematically using "survey interviews with the adopters of an innovation, who were asked to recall their behavior and decisions regarding the innovation" (p. 56). This methodological approach is still dominant today in diffusion research – as I also used semi-structured in-depth interviews with the "adopters" as the main data source. In 1950, Ryan and Gross (1950) revised their study and proposed a more systematic analysis for diffusion in rural sociology, which explains the characteristics of acceptance of a new innovation, the role of diffusion agencies and leadership

in the diffusion process, introduction of the terms *early adopters* and *late adopters* and their differences, and the positive impact of interpersonal relations on the rapidity of diffusion. They also focused on the cultural and socioeconomic conditions that enabled the acceptance of hybrid corn technology by the farmers. Their findings revealed that the urbanization and secularization of rural behavior among farmers have a positive impact on the adoption of new techniques and innovations. Despite their success in “structuring the diffusion paradigm theoretically” which was also mimicked by other rural sociologists and researchers from different disciplines who studied the diffusion of innovations (Rogers, 1983, p. 56), Ryan and Gross did not attempt to propose a general theoretical framework for the diffusion of innovations in none of their works.

It can be contended that the Ryan and Gross studies on hybrid corn address one of Durkheim’s criticisms of Tarde, which is the dearth of an epistemological approach employing systematic and methodological tools that can be regarded as scientific in Durkheimian sociology. As they were establishing the foundations of diffusion research, their ontological and epistemological approach diverged fundamentally from Tarde’s underdeveloped imitation and diffusion thesis. In contrast to Tarde’s emphasis on sociopsychological processes of imitation and interactions between individuals, a more structural understanding of diffusion, focusing on socioeconomic conditions of adopters, their networks, and the functional/pragmatic features of the innovation, became central components of this new approach. While perceptions of adopters and their role were acknowledged, their impact as explanatory frameworks was minimized compared to Tarde’s approach. As will be discussed subsequently, these modifications did not merely impact the conceptualization of diffusion within the social sciences; they also influenced the field of social movement research.

2.2.2. 1960s: A New Age with Roger’s Pioneer Conceptualization of Diffusion

In the wake of Ryan and Gross’s groundbreaking study, which both exemplifies the potential of diffusion for social sciences and elucidates the operationalization of this phenomenon, the number of diffusion-related research projects has proliferated across a range of disciplines, including health sociology, communication studies, agricultural sociology, and business studies (Rogers, 1983). While some significant studies such as *The Diffusion of an Innovation Among Physicians*, which was conducted by Coleman, Katz and Menzel (1957), or *Traditions of Research on the Diffusion of Innovation* by Elihu Katz, Herbert Hamilton, and Martin L. Levin (1966) can be mentioned as the works that contributed to advancement of the ontological and

epistemological discussions in the diffusion literature after Ryan and Gross' prominent study, publication of the book titled *Diffusion of Innovations* by Everett M. Rogers in 1962 can be marked the milestone for this literature. As a sociologist and communication theorist, Everett Rogers proposed a theory of diffusion of innovations not for a specific scientific branch or discipline but as a paradigmatic and comprehensive theoretical framework on its own for social sciences in general. In his seminal work, Rogers reviews nearly all of the previous studies that employed diffusion-based approaches to explain social change. He defines the key terms and concepts of diffusion research, analyzes the elements and mechanisms of diffusion of innovations, and proposes methodological tools to further develop diffusion research. As the inaugural comprehensive theoretical work in the field of diffusion of innovations, Rogers' work, encompassing all definitions and conceptualizations, has been regarded as a foundational reference point in social sciences, including social movement studies, since its initial publication in 1962. Rogers has since revised and expanded upon his pivotal conceptual framework in five subsequent editions (Hornik, 2004).

In his famous work, Rogers (1983) defines diffusion as the “process by which an innovation is communicated through certain channels over time among the members of a social system” (p. 5). He (1995) considers diffusion as a “special type of communication” in which the spread of new ideas from one social group to another is the main concern (p. 5). Similar to Tarde, Rogers also argues that diffusion is a primary principle of social change, which occurs “when new ideas are invented, diffused, and are adopted or rejected, leading to certain consequences” (Rogers, 1983, p. 6). In this conceptualization, diffusion has four major elements: (1) *Innovation*, (2) *communication channels*, (3) *time*, and (4) *a social system*. As the core of his model, Rogers (1983) defines an innovation as “an idea, practice or object that is perceived as new by an individual or other unit of adoption” (p. 11). As he (1983) argues, innovation mainly refers to new “technological innovations” and the “innovation” and “technology” is used in an interchangeable way in his conceptualization (p. 12). For the diffusion of such innovation, Rogers states that there must be a *communication channel* between the transmitter group who has the experience and knowledge of the innovation and the adopter group who does not know about or experience the same innovation. A communication channel is “the means by which messages get from one individual to another” (Rogers, 1983, p. 17), and Rogers uses the examples of interpersonal channels and more indirect ones such as mass media channels to explain how messages from one social group to another one diffuse through these communication channels. Another fundamental element of diffusion is *time* as it helps to

understand the rate and speed of diffusion and how the responses of the different adopter groups and their innovation-decision processes vary across time during the diffusion process. Based on the element of time, Rogers (1983) uses the term *innovativeness* to explain “the degree to which an individual or other unit of adoption is relatively earlier in adopting new ideas than the other members of a system” (p. 20). He (1983) argues that there are five steps in this adoption and *innovation-decision* process:

We conceptualize five steps in this process: (1) knowledge, (2) persuasion, (3) decision, (4) implementation, and (5) confirmation. An individual seeks information at various stages in the innovation-decision process in order to decrease uncertainty about the innovation. At the knowledge stage, an individual obtains software information that is embedded in a technological innovation; he or she wants to know what the innovation is and how it works. But at the persuasion and decision stages, an individual seeks innovation-evaluation information in order to reduce uncertainty about an innovation's expected consequences. The decision stage leads (1) to adoption, a decision to make full use of an innovation as the best course of action available, or (2) to rejection, a decision not to adopt an innovation. (p. 36)

In his categorization based on innovativeness, Rogers (1983) classifies adopters under five categories: (1) *Innovators*, which is the cosmopolitan and pioneer group that introduces an innovation to a social system; (2) *early adopters*, which is the local and respected group in the same system who embrace the new innovation and spread the information about this innovation to the other members of the social system who appreciate their ideas as opinion leaders; (3) *early majority*, which is the local group that adopts the innovation as a result of the positive impact of early adopters about the innovation on the public opinion; (4) *late majority*, which is the local group that adopts the innovation because of the increasing pressure in the system after the early majority and average members of the system accept the necessity of innovation; and (5) *laggards*, which is the conservative local group that resisted the adoption of innovations in the system (pp. 263-268). Utilizing this categorization, Rogers verifies and further theorizes the *S-Shaped Curve of Diffusion*, which was proposed by prominent scholars of diffusion research such as Tarde, Ryan and Gross before. Rogers (1983) states that:

The s-shaped adopter distribution rises slowly at first when there are few adopters in each time period. It then accelerates to a maximum until half of the individuals in the system have adopted. Then the S-curve increases at a gradually slower rate as fewer and fewer remaining individuals finally adopt. This s-shaped curve is normal. Why? The reasoning rests on the role of information and uncertainty reduction in the diffusion of an innovation. (p. 244)

As the last element of his conceptualization, Rogers proposes a *social system*, which is defined as “a set of interrelated units that are engaged in joint problem solving to accomplish a common goal” and consists of “individuals, informal groups, organizations, and/or subsystems” (p. 24). In Rogers’ (1983) formulation, social systems are defined by social structures which are “the patterned arrangements of the units in a system”, and the collective perceptions and norms of such systems play a significant role in the adoption of new innovations (p. 37). Rogers also highlights that opinion leaders, who are individuals who are “able to influence other individuals’ attitudes or overt behavior informally in a desired way with relative frequency”, also have a significant role in the adoption of new innovations even if they do not have formal “formal position or status in the system” (Rogers, 1983, pp. 26-27).

Apart from his focus on the elements of diffusion, Rogers also aims at exploring the factors that influence the decision and rate of diffusion. In his conceptualization of innovation, Rogers (1983) primarily focuses on the attributes of the innovations that lead individuals to adopt them, and he argues that there are five of them that facilitate such process: *Relative advantage* of the innovation compared to the existing “the idea it supersedes”; its *compatibility* with the “existing values, past experiences, and needs of potential adopters”; its *complexity* in a degree to be adopted and used easily by adopters; its *trialability* that enable adopters to experiment it in their own context; and the *observability* of its consequences by the adopters and bystanders (p. 15-16). In addition to these factors, for the rate of adoption, it is also decisive if the change agents promote the new innovation effectively and if the innovation-decision process is shaped optionally and individually, collectively, or by an authority. While Rogers’ major emphasis on such factors as explaining the rate of adoption, he also discusses the significance of similarities between the adopter and transmitter groups that directly shapes and mostly facilitate the diffusion process. Rogers uses the concepts of *homophily* and *heterophily* to discuss this issue as the degrees of similarity between communicating social groups who participate in the diffusion process. While homophily refers to a high level of similarity “in certain attributes such as beliefs, education, social status, and the like” between these groups, heterophily covers the differences and dissimilarities in the same attributes (Rogers, 1995, p. 36). According to this formulation, although transmitters and adopters must be heterophilous at least on the attributes related to the knowledge and experience of the innovation for diffusion of that innovation to take place, the increasing rate of homophily and effective communication between them facilitates the diffusion of the innovation. *Communication networks*, as Rogers (1983) mentions, cover all these homophilous and heterophilous relations between the members of the

social system and should be analyzed in order to understand the dynamics and mechanisms of diffusion by using the method of *communication network analysis*, which is similar to the Social Network Analysis (p. 295-296).

It would not be wrong to claim that Rogers introduced a paradigmatic model of diffusion theory with clear ontological boundaries, conceptual definitions and methodological tools. Following its publication, *Diffusion of Innovations* became the *biblical text* of diffusion research, the most cited theoretical work, and a widely acknowledged study by scholars of various fields in the social sciences, including social movement scholars. While Rogers' contributions are significant, it is also important to note that as with all scientific paradigms, Rogers' theorization that defines the paradigmatic understanding of diffusion also leads to the exclusion of several significant dimensions from the theoretical debates that follow. Similar to Ryan and Gross, Rogers attaches great significance to innovation in his theorization and constructs his theory based on this concept. McMaster and Wastell (2005) raise the criticism of “pro-innovation bias” in Rogers’ work and they argue that “the ideological and moral orientation of diffusion research is geared to the assumption that the adoption of an innovation is desirable, while the failure to adopt is pejoratively” (p. 385). Rogers' approach to *innovation* can be described as “deterministic and positivistic,” aligning with the rational and economic model of decision-making. Adopting a pragmatist/functionalist perspective, Rogers reduces innovation to “an idea, practice, or object,” primarily referring to technological innovation consisting of software and hardware “a small set of key attributes of technology (perceived usefulness, ease-of-use etc.) bearing deterministically on the decision to adopt” (McMaster & Wastell, 2005, p. 386). His *technological* innovation has clear conceptual boundaries, omitting several cultural, emotional, and cognitive processes.

Another significant aspect of Rogers’ conceptualization is the diminished role of agency in the adoption processes. In this model of diffusion, the attributes and functions of the innovation are considered to be more decisive elements than the agency of the adopters. As Dearing and his colleagues (1994) argue, “conceptualizing innovations as ‘having’ attributes (...) serves to obscure the importance of human perception in the diffusion of innovations” (p. 19). Perceptions of individuals are not entirely disregarded by Rogers; however, they are primarily employed to determine whether the innovation is advantageous or disadvantageous in a given situation. As Redmond (2003) argues, Rogers’ “model of individual behavior is embedded in the rational choice mode” which assumes that the adopters “to weigh the costs and benefits of an innovation in a more or less traditional economic sense and from a more or less

individualistic perspective” (p. 667). In light of this, it can be argued that Rogers’ model is inadequate in capturing the “noneconomic” reasons for the adoption of an innovation, which are largely shaped by contextual and cultural factors (Dearing et al., 1994, p. 20). The agency is often described as the pragmatist, making decisions based on the attributes of the innovation and the calculations of its potential benefits.

The attribute-based approach in Rogers’ formulation also does not elucidate the potential role of emotions in the diffusion processes. Although there is a limited amount of emphasis on behavioral and cognitive factors that “influence the adoption, there appears to be no explanation for the role of affect in the diffusion process” in Rogers’ formulation (Chaudhuri et al., 2010, p. 340). Cultural dimensions of diffusion including emotional and cognitive processes are mentioned in the discussions few issues such as *homophily* or *compatibility*, yet their influence is minimal and explained from a pragmatic perspective to elaborate the conditions of the adoption of a technology. Rogers’ book does not even have the word “emotion” in it as the emotional responses to innovation; their influence on the interactions among adopters and transmitters, and more importantly, emotions as the *object* of diffusion process are never raised as topics to be discussed. Emotions basically do not exist in Rogers’ formulation of diffusion, and this situation has caused the exclusion of their potential impact in the theorization of diffusion processes usually. Notwithstanding these shortcomings, Rogers’ work has exerted a dominant influence on the diffusion paradigm in the social sciences, and it remains the most influential book in diffusion research. As will be discussed in greater detail in the subsequent section, the work, along with the previously reviewed other works, has a significant impact on the conceptualization of diffusion in social movement studies, serving as a well-developed benchmark centered around a pragmatist approach with a strong emphasis on the attributes of innovation as the major determinants of diffusion. Nevertheless, despite the pivotal influence of these works on social movement scholars, the conceptualization of diffusion in this field has a long history of evolution, shaped by various intellectual and normative debates that began even before these works were published. Based on the theoretical background presented in this section, the next section reviews this evolution and argues how the diffusion paradigm discussed so far has influenced social movement research.

2.3. Diffusion In Social Movement Research: A Contentious Concept

2.3.1. 1890s-1940s: Early Works on Collective Action and the Foundation of Le Bonian Paradigm

Theoretical debates about the introduction and conceptualization of diffusion in the social movement field date back to the 1960s, however, the discussions about the spread of collective action that paved the way for these debates have always shaped the ontological and ontological boundaries of the field since the 1890s. As Sarah Soule (2004) highlights, “the field of social movements has historically been an area upon which the diffusion literature has had a significant impact” since the early thinkers of collective action strongly and popularly assumed that collective action is inherently a contagious and emotional phenomenon (p. 294). Because the concept of collective action was ontologically constructed around these attributes, discussions about the spread of collective action remained at the center of theoretical debates about the *nature* of collective action, rather than being a peripheral subject. Studying collective action is mostly meant to study, to understand and to explain the *contagiously* and *aggressively* spreading essence of collective action. In his review, Jasper (2010) argues that the main reason for this common assumption was the liberal-individualist position and middle-upper class socio-economic background of early European and American scholars of collective action: From their point of view, the collective movements, including revolutions and mobs, which were mainly dominated by the lower classes in the nineteenth century, were the moments of the erosion of individuality and rationality; in other words, they were the moments of *madness*. This classist (sometimes also racist) approach was inevitably embedded with a negative and pejorative tone formulating collective action as a “pathological”, “maladaptive and aggressive” behavior that contagiously spreads and transforms rational and reasonable individuals into the violent, irrational and primitive members of the *crowds* (Jasper et al., 2000, p.70; Soule, 2009, p. 294). Such ideas and attitudes dominated the studies of collective action until the 1960s (Goodwin et al., 2000).

One of the earliest and most influential examples of this approach that shaped the archaic period of social movement studies is the works of French sociologist Gustav Le Bon. Le Bon, who was also a contemporary of Tarde and inspired by him, specifically focuses on crowd behavior in his work *The Crowd: A Study of the Popular Mind* published in 1895. In his work, he (1896) describes the crowds as “an agglomeration of men” that “presents new characteristics very different from those of the individuals composing it” because “the sentiments and ideas of all the persons in the gathering take one and the same direction, and their conscious personality

vanishes” (p. 13). From Le Bon’s (1896) perspective, an individual who participates in a crowd is being possessed by “a sort of collective mind which makes them feel, think, and act in a manner quite different from that in which each individual of them would feel, think, and act were he in a state of isolation”, as “a sentiment of invincible power which allows him to yield to instincts which, had he been alone, he would perforce have kept under restraint” (p. 17). Such instincts merge into a “collective mind of crowds” with special characteristics of the crowds, which can be summarized as “impulsiveness, irritability, incapacity to reason, the absence of judgment and of the critical spirit, the exaggeration of the sentiments” (p. 20). Le Bon strongly argues that *contagion* is the central phenomenon in the emergence of these characteristics of crowd psychology. Though Le Bon does not clearly define what contagion is, he emphasizes that “in a crowd every sentiment and act is contagious” (p. 18), and “ideas, sentiments, emotions, and beliefs possess in crowds a contagious power as intense as that of microbes” (p. 73). Contagion is a powerful driving force for the crowds that possess the individual thinking and leads to the disappearance of “even the sentiment of personal interest” (p. 75). Le Bon highlights that while it is a highly sentimental and emotional process, ideas and opinions and beliefs are also “propagated by contagion, but never by reasoning” (p. 74). With their unconscious, contagious and aggressively emotional collective mind, consequently, crowds emerge as an unpredictable, “barbarian” and contagious phenomena that “are only powerful for destruction” (Le Bon, 1896, p. 10).

Le Bon's arguments on the contagious and destructive nature of collective action exhibit some similarities with Tarde's ideas on crowd behavior and imitation. In contrast to Le Bon, Tarde does not specifically study crowds and crowd psychology, focusing instead on a general formulation of a sociological theory. Nevertheless, he acknowledges crowds as an important form of social collectivity with the capacity to trigger or energize social change, a perspective similar to that of Le Bon. Tarde posits that as individuals become members of a crowd, their rationality and intelligence decline, rendering them more susceptible to the influence and manipulation of crowd leaders. *Crowds* are also a sentimental phenomenon and have an accelerating impact on its members' emotional situations because of “the mutual contagion of sentiments among the assembled members” (Tarde, 2010, p. 291). Considering these features, Tarde argues that the crowds “are able to dismantle and to destroy” (Tarde, 2013, p. 232). Despite the pervasive emphasis on the destructive capacity of the crowds, Tarde does not adopt the explicit condemnatory stance towards crowds that Le Bon does. He particularly highlights that “crowds rarely deserve the criticism that people, including myself on occasion, have said

about them” because of their productive and pro-social potential (Tarde, 2013, p. 233). The crowds that are motivated by the “devotion and love of self, of a collective and national self” such as the festival crowds, the patriotic movements or the crowds of mourning can “play a critical and beneficial social role” in providing both material and nonmaterial benefits such as “peace and unity” for the society (Tarde, 2013, p. 233). A “devotion-motivated crowd”, Tarde argues, “counteracts all the wrongdoing of other collectives” (Tarde, 2013, p. 233).

In a manner analogous to his contrasting stance to Durkheim, Tarde advances an alternative and more constructive interpretation of crowds and collective action, emphasizing their prosocial and productive capacities in contrast to Le Bon's conservative and derogatory framework. In his comparative work, Thonhauser (2022) argues that Le Bon's ideas were mainly shaped by his “elitist and racist” “radicalized political” agenda reflecting his position against other “races,” lower classes, and socialism (p. 373) whereas Tarde's approach was “primarily theoretical – aiming at a methodological foundation of sociological research” (p. 373), with liberal tone recommending sociologists “to love social life, to sympathise with men of every race and every country brought together around one heart” (Vargas et al., 2008, p. 776). Apart from these intellectual and ideological differences, Tarde's emphasis on the role of positive emotions such as joy, compassion and pride and their contagious yet constructive potential significantly differs from Le Bon's ideas on the destruction of crowd emotions. Despite these differences, as Borch and Knudsen (2013) mention, there has been a popular tendency “to associate Tarde's theory of crowds with Le Bonian, and hence negative, frightened, ideas” (p. 112). This can be attributed, at least in part, to his previously discussed “defeat” against Durkheim, which ultimately led to Tarde's marginalization and subsequent “forgetting” within mainstream sociology (Abrutyn & Mueller, 2014; Katz, 1999; Kinnunen, 1996). Receiving “much less attention to Tarde's longer lasting contributions” than he deserved (Kinnunen, 1996, p. 431), Tarde has not been entirely excluded from the reviews of social movement studies, yet he has largely become a reference point for brief mention before Le Bon and his conservative formulation of the crowds and collective action are discussed in greater detail and with greater comprehensiveness.

The pejorative approach espoused by Le Bon dominated the proto-social movement field for decades, influencing not only the ontological and epistemological assumptions but also the normative stance of the field. Scholars working on crowds and collective action continued to frame these phenomena as pathological and deviant forms of behavior, perpetuating the dominance of the *Le Bonian* approach (Jasper, 2018). As Turner and Killian (1987) discuss in

their famous review, the concept of contagion and the spreading nature of collective action continued to be a core topic in the important works of several European scholars following the discussions and advancements in social psychology and psychology in general. In line with this tradition and developments, William McDougall, a British-born psychologist, emphasizes that crowds are shaped around the “group mind” that facilitates the intensification and escalation of primitive and impulsive emotions such as fear and anger while preventing the complex emotional and cognitive processes as well as individual rationality. Unorganized crowds, McDougall (1920) states, are “excessively emotional, impulsive, fickle, inconsistent, irresolute and extreme in action, displaying only the coarser emotions and the less refined sentiments” (p. 45?). McDougall (1920) raises the importance of sympathy as a driving force for collective action, and he argues that “emotional contagion”, which he describes as “the principle of direct induction of emotion by way of primitive sympathetic response”, is the reason for the emergence and rapid spread of the collective action (p. 25). A similar emphasis on the escalation and contagion of primitive feelings in crowds, which is also compatible with Le Bon’s ideas, can be seen in Austrian psychologist Sigmund Freud’s works on crowd psychology as well. Freud (1921) also approaches crowds and collective action as a primitive form of collectivity that enables the release of the unconscious and violent *id* in the absence of a *superego* that disappears in crowds – especially if there is a charismatic leader. Simplistic emotions irresistibly easily spread and influence the other members of the crowds as it became harder to “resist” or “oppose” the contagion of emotions that would be easier for an isolated individual outside the crowd.

Similar ideas about the crowd and collective action were also endorsed by American scholars in the early years of the 20th century. In his review, Leach (1992) argues that the emotional and irrational formulation of crowd behavior was not appreciated by American scholars at first due to the “democratic ethos militated against crowd psychology” to explain the social behaviors. However, such positive framing of the “collective” gradually disappeared as the irrational and barbarian crowds emerged as the opposing force against the rational and civilized public in the works of several scholars. According to Leach (1992), this change was a consequence of a growing conservative political and intellectual movement aiming at “delegitimizing working-class protests and mass entertainment” in the US. In light of these contextual similarities, the pejorative formulation of collective action, which emphasizes its contagious and primitively sentimental nature, remained largely consistent in the works of European and American scholars. In the United States, one of the earliest works in this tradition was authored by Robert

Park. Park's work was inspired by the works of Tarde and Le Bon in the early years of the 20th century. He mainly focuses on collective behavior and crowd psychology in his studies. Park's understanding of collective behavior does not completely *demonize* the crowds: He primarily argues that collective behavior emerges as spontaneous and interactive meaning-making processes in the conditions when the existing norms and social rules are challenged. However, referring to Le Bon's crowd consciousness, Park highlights that crowd behavior is still an emotional one in which "there is a corresponding loss of personality by the individual" in contrast to rational and deliberative public behavior (Park, 1939, pp. 631-632). In another work co-authored with the Canadian-American sociologist Ernest Burgess, Park states that crowd behavior is highly contagious as "the feelings and thoughts of all the crowd members move in the same direction" (Park, 1904, p. 12, as cited in McPhail, 2017). Park relates this consequence to the psychological and social processes such as *milling* and *circular reaction* - or *psychic reciprocity*-, which refers to a type of interaction in which each person reacts by repeating the action or mirroring the sentiment of another person, thereby intensifying the action or sentiment in the originator. He states that it's not the physical proximity but rather the intense level of interactions that cause crowd members to "mutually infect each other with their thoughts and feelings" (1904, p.18).

Park's ideas on the spreading nature of collective behavior are further developed by his student Herbert Blumer. Blumer's society is built upon agreements on shared meanings and norms, however, the individuals develop new and more "erratic, random, uncoordinated" impulses that can be intensified through interactions and repetitions when *disruptions* to the social order happen (McPhail, 1989, p. 409). Blumer (1939) frames this interaction and repetition processes as circular reaction, that is a "type of interstimulation wherein the response of one individual reproduces the stimulation that has come from another individual and in being reflected back to this individual reinforces the stimulation" (p. 170-171). Blumer uses a similar framework to explain the crowd behaviour: Once an exciting event happens, it causes the *milling* and *circular reaction* which "make the individuals more sensitive and responsive to one another, so that they become increasingly preoccupied with one another and decreasingly responsive to ordinary objects of stimulation" (p. 174). Such situation triggers the collective excitement that causes the social contagion of the crowd. Blumer argues that the *social contagion* is "the relatively rapid, unwitting, and nonrational dissemination of a mood, impulse, or form of conduct" (Blumer, 1946, p. 176), and it does not only spread among the interested individuals but also

“attracts and infects individuals, many of whom originally are merely detached and indifferent spectators and bystanders” (Blumer, 1955, p. 176).

A comparable perspective is advanced by American psychologist Floyd Allport, who exhibits a more favorable disposition toward the collective behavior patterns in question than the aforementioned scholars. Allport (1924) opposes the idea that crowds transform individuals into completely irrational and primitive beings, and he argues that “although the behavior of the individual in the crowd is not different in kind from his behavior when alone, it is greater in degree” (p. 296). As a scholar who himself also focuses on the emergence of crowds and the spread of collective action, Allport criticizes the metaphor of *contagion* as describing such a phenomenon. Instead, he uses *social facilitation* to explain the spreading nature of the crowd behavior, arguing that the actions of others surrounding an individual in a social context cause the stimulation of social reactions leading to perform similarly to the other members of the crowd. The “expressive behaviours” including “facial expressions, gestures, shouts, hisses, murmurs” and the feeling of being a part of the crowd consequently facilitate the “emotional reaction” that causes an “attitude of the most complete submission and conformity” (Allport, 1924, p. 298). Allport still highlights that crowds have destructive potential, as “in the crowd the individual becomes more drastic and violent in carrying out his prepotent impulses than under other conditions” (Allport, 1924, p. 310).

This period of proto-social movement research, which I would like to call *Le Bonian paradigm* as various scholars such as Myers (2000), Borch & Knudsen (2013), Leach (1992), Riecher (1996), Lemonik Arthur (2013) do, was built on a pejorative and derogatory understanding of the crowds and collective action, yet it revolves around two significant ontological assumptions that are important to remember to revise the existing theoretical understanding of protest diffusion today. First, the scholars of this period formulated collective action as a phenomenon that is ontologically inseparable from its *contagious* (or rather, *spreading* or even *diffusive*) nature. Collective action is intrinsically diffusive, and understanding it requires a comprehension of the dynamics of its spreading essence. Secondly, the emotional and cognitive processes are explicitly highlighted as the driving forces and central components of the spreading nature of collective action. The prevailing perspective on emotions is to view them as both destructive and integral components of collective action, which also ignites its contagion. In contrast to the assumptions of diffusion theory based on the adoption of innovations, collective action and its components spread through contagious processes in which emotions act as the *vessels* of collective action, both spreading and stimulating emotional and

perceptual elements of collective action. Despite being regarded as pathological and primitive, emotional processes play a central role in theoretical discussions during this period. Such attitude and approach, however, was reactionarily rejected by the succeeding scholars starting from the 1950s. As Goodwin, Jasper and Polletta (2000) highlight:

Yet along with these early theories, some of the topics they had addressed would disappear, including the power of strong emotions to either mobilize or inhibit collective action. Even if they pathologized the emotions accompanying protest (indeed emphasized emotions in order to pathologize protest generally), early theorists had at least paid attention to them. This would not be the case for the next generation of movement scholars. (p. 69)

Goodwin, Jasper, and Polletta's last sentence is crucial because, as will be discussed in the next section, the establishment of the social movement paradigm and the field of social movement studies from the 1950s onward can be seen as a *reactionary intellectual and academic movement* against most of the principles of the Le Bonian paradigm, including its emphasis on the emotional and cognitive dynamics of the spread of collective action. Instead of proposing a nuanced position with respect to these dynamics, the theories that followed the Le Bonian paradigm moved in a direction that formulated the ontological foundations of the new paradigm, which often had a tendency to either neglect the emotional and cognitive mechanisms or underestimate them as pathological remnants of the Le Bonian paradigm. This paradigmatic position significantly shaped how social movement scholars reactionarily adopted the concept of *diffusion* against *contagion*, and this situation directly affected the way of understanding the spread of collective action without exploring its emotional and cognitive dimensions and their role in general.

2.3.2. 1950s and 1960s: The Transition Period

The 1950s and the early 1960s can be considered as a *transition period* when both the normative attitude and ontological approach the collective action and collective behavior began to change visibly. As Jasper (2018) argues in his review, the dominant pathological explanations of the collective action moved towards a less pejorative tone with new questions of why and how people participate in collective action and protests. Goodwin and Jasper (2015) state that especially due to the rise and fall of *mass politics* with strong leader figures in the 1940s and the popularization of Durkheimian sociology, scholars started to focus more on the structural and societal factors as well as the influence of political actors – or demagogues – to explain the mobilization processes of the masses. The crowds, mobs and masses were still framed as emotional phenomena that were prone to the exploitation and manipulation of charismatic

leaders, yet the strict distinction between the rational individuals and irrational masses or the dichotomy between civilized public and primitive crowds was gradually abandoned during these years. The foundations of these new approaches were predominantly shaped by the critiques of the Le Bonian paradigm. As Snow (2013) highlights, the scholars of this period start their works by explicitly indicating “that the classical contagion thesis was seriously misguided” with “various flaws” (p. 1). Three prominent representatives of this period, which are also relevant for the ongoing discussion of this thesis, are *Collective Behavior* published in 1957 by Ralph Turner and Lewis Killian, *Theory of Collective Behaviour* published in 1962 by Neil Smelser, and *The Politics of Mass Society* published in 1959 by William Kornhauser.

In their famous categorization of social movement theories that they further developed in the second and third versions of their book, Killian and Turner (1987) classify most of the previously reviewed works as the studies of “contagion theory”. With their emphasis on “the diffusion of emotions such as fear or anger as the basic factor unifying the crowd”, the studies of contagion theory “implied a simple, direct, nonsymbolic form of imitation more typical of lower animals than of human actors” from Killian and Turner’s perspective (1987, p. 22). As opposed to these approaches, the authors propose the emergent norm theory. In this approach, “collective behavior emerges out of situations in which changes are perceived as occurring in the normative order, the social structure, or the flow of information” (1987, p. 50). Under such situations “shared redefinition of right and wrong (...) supplies the justification and coordinates the action in collective behavior” and consequently people “find social support for the view that what they are doing is the right thing to do in the situation” leading to the emergence of new norms (1987, p.7).

Another critical approach is also proposed by Neil Smelser in his book *Theory of Collective Behaviour* published in 1962. Smelser (1965) criticizes the previous works describing “collective episodes as if they were the work of mysterious forces” and implying “that collective behavior flows from sources beyond empirical explanation” (p. 1). Considering the explanations in these works “unsatisfactory” and “indeterminate”, Smelser (1965) claims that his approach “departs radically from the social psychological tradition of the analysis of crowds and other collective behavior —the tradition of Tarde, Le Bon, Ross, Freud, Martin, F. A. Allport, MacDougall and others” (p. 20). He (1965) proposes the structural strain theory as an alternative and claims that collective action has six major determinants: The structural conduciveness, structural strain, growth and spread of a generalized belief, precipitating factors, mobilization of participants of action, and the operation of social control (p. 15-16). Smelser’s

theoretical contribution focuses more on the structural reasons for the escalation of the collective action episodes. He (1965) mainly argues that the combination of structural conduciveness such as financial crisis and different types of structural strain such as “ambiguities, deprivations, conflicts, and discrepancies” eventually generates the conditions required for the emergence of collective behavior that can be triggered by the precipitating factors such as “specific event which sets the flight in motion” (p. 15-17). Under such conditions, the generalized beliefs which “identifies the source of strain, attributes certain characteristics to this source, and specifies certain responses to the strain as possible or appropriate” ignite the collective action and are accompanied by the mobilization of participants for action to change the conditions (p. 16).

Before proceeding with the review of Kornhauser’s (1959) *The Politics of Mass Society*, it is important to highlight the shared patterns in these two prominent works, which consequently shaped the succeeding scholars’ perspectives. As previously discussed, both works emphasize the important role of structural and societal conditions as the requirements for the emergence of the different forms of collective behavior whereas they position themselves as distant from the explanations regarding the emotional and cognitive processes and their role in the spread of collective action. It would be problematic to claim that they totally ignore the impact of these processes, yet it is clear that their explanatory mechanisms and determinants of collective behavior are shaped by a more structuralist and positivist understanding. The formulation of collective behavior as a spreading phenomenon through emotions is visibly abandoned in these works. Emotions, in fact, became the criterion for classifying types of collective behavior rather than elements pejoratively used to describe collective actions in general. It can be argued that the rational individual versus irrational crowd dichotomy transformed into rational collective action such as “value-oriented movements” versus deviant collective action such as “mobs” and “crazes”. Despite these changes, Jasper (2010) accuses these scholars of “operating within a ‘deviance’ paradigm”, as they still count the collective action as a social phenomenon consisting of “deviations from the traditional norms of society” (p. 63). Instead of deconstructing the role of emotional and cognitive elements and their role in the spread of collective action, the transition period becomes the first front of the paradigmatic battlefield in which these elements are separated from the ontological foundations of this new era.

In light of this dissertation's attempt to explore and revise the ontological foundations of diffusion, William Kornhauser's (1959) *The Politics of Mass Society* deserves special attention. Having a similarly critical attitude towards the Le Bonian era to Smelser, Turner and Killian,

Kornhauser proposes an alternative theoretical framework for the emergence of collective action, and his contribution, the *mass society theory*, later becomes a significant benchmark for the further theorization of social movements. Kornhauser (1959) argues that “major discontinuities in social process” such as “discontinuous modes of democratization of authority,” “rapid rates of urbanization and industrialization” or “sudden breakdowns in social systems, such as occur during severe depressions and military defeats” have a destructive impact “destroying pre-established intermediate relations” and “preventing the formation of new associations aligned with the social order” (pp. 127-128). This “atomized society” is “mass society”, which he (1959) defines “as a situation in which an aggregate of individuals are related to one another only by way of their relation to a common authority, especially the state” (p. 32). The absence (or gradual decrease) of “independent groups” from the state or “intermediate groups” such as local community groups, organizations or associations (such as neighborhood associations or religious groups) “atomize the community” and “people become available for mobilization by elites when they lack or lose an independent group life” (Kornhauser, 1959, p. 33). Kornhauser defines such society “objectively the atomized society, and subjectively the alienated population. Therefore, mass society is a system in which there is high availability of a population for mobilization by elites”. In this society, “alienation heightens responsiveness to the appeal of mass movements because they provide occasions for expressing resentment against what is, as well as promises of a totally different world”, and “in a mass society there is a heightened readiness to form hyper-attachments to symbols and leaders” that can be manipulated, utilized and proposed by elites (Kornhauser, 1959, pp. 32-33). Kornhauser mainly uses mass society theory to explain how fascism, Nazism and communism or other totalitarian regimes became popular.

Although Kornhauser does not follow Le Bonian scholars’ approaches and formulations explicitly, Goodwin, Jasper and Polletta (2000) argue that those “pejorative views of participation were developed into” Kornhauser’s model that mainly approaches mass movements as extreme and destructive ones (p. 67). Explaining how mass movements lead to totalitarianism, Kornhauser (1959) explicitly argues that “political activism tends to be undemocratic”, as it tends to be “unstable and unpredictable” – even claiming “activist responses are likely to alternate with apathetic responses” (p. 46-47). Despite not framing such responses as contagious as the Le Bonian scholars, Kornhauser (1959) highlights that such responses are “widespread in mass society”; and they are “born of social alienation” which may easily evolve into “extremist attacks” on social order “as an expression of resentment against

the social order” (pp. 46-47). Kornhauser (1959) insists on the idea that mass movements including protests, mobs and riots as well as movements leading totalitarian settings “are remote and extreme” and “they mobilize uprooted and atomized sections of the population” (p. 47). He (1959) summarizes his point as follows: “In short, people who are atomized readily become mobilized” (p. 33).

Kornhauser’s mass society theory became a significant and popular approach to social movement theorization and studies in general, and it is significant also for the adoption and ontological formulation of diffusion by social movement scholars. Kornhauser, as explained, proposes the causal inference that mobilization -or social movement- is the consequence of social disintegration, alienation and atomization. The absence of networks, the decrease of communities and the connection of individuals to their communities, the decrease in the relations between individuals are framed as the main source of the mobilization processes – which were exclusively defined by a negative tone. Social movements and mobilizations were the acts of atomized individuals – not integrated groups or individuals. In conjunction with the arguments of other scholars of the period against the Le Bonian contagion theory, Kornhauser’s mass society theory provided the intellectual foundation for the adoption of diffusion in a reactive manner, as will be discussed in the following sections.

2.3.3. 1970s: New Pantheon of Social Movements

As various literature reviews in the social movement studies (Goodwin et al., 2000; Jasper, 2018; van Stekelenburg & Klandermans, 2009; etc.) indicate, studies on collective action underwent a paradigmatic revolution in the late 1960s and early 1970s. With its strong emphasis on rationalism and structuralism, this *revolution* was mainly shaped by antagonism towards what was perceived as the eclectic principles of the Le Bonian paradigm, with a particular focus on the assumptions of contagion theories. As Aslanidis (2015) argues in his critical review of social movement literature, “demoting the enemy is a tested, ancient tactic in war and science, so a straw man had to be erected”, so “in order for the new paradigm to seem more novel”, the previous approaches must be seen “outdated” and “obsolete” (p. 4). Nevertheless, the conflict between the Le Bonian *Titans* and the new *Olympians* cannot be reduced to an academic struggle against the anachronistic understanding of collective action. It can also be counted as an ideological and intellectual counter-movement of activist researchers against the elitist and conservative remnants of the Le Bonian scholars. As van Stekelenburg and Klandermans (2009) argue, during the 1960s and 1970s there was a flourish of protests and social movements

including “the student movement, the civil rights movement, the peace movement, the women’s movement, the environmental movement” with the increasing participation of junior and senior scholars of the collective action (p. 18). The passive and critical observers of the crowds were replaced by the active and sympathetic participants of these new waves of collective action. Jasper (2018) explains this change as follows:

By the early 1970s, many social scientists were writing about protest movements in which they had themselves been active. Civil rights, antiwar, New Left, and feminist activists did not see themselves as atomized individuals, defeated in their personal aspirations, or swept up by charismatic demagogues. In their view, activists campaign outside institutional politics when they are excluded from regular political channels, not because they are personally alienated or overly emotional. Rather than being studied alongside fads, crazes, and panics, social movements were now perceived as “politics by other means.” (p. 187)

As the scholars also became sympathizers or participants of these protests, the imagination and ontology of collective actions drastically changed and the negative framing of the masses as totally irrational, extreme and dangerous was significantly challenged (Jasper & Goodwin, 2015). Such changes were accompanied by what Jasper and Goodwin (2015) called the “economic turn”, which refers to the gradual adoption of the economic rational choice theory that considers individuals as rational beings with the calculation skills to decide what benefits and what costs them (p. 5). “Protestors were no longer dismissed as silly or dangerous” as the social movement organizations started to be considered as firms that calculate how they increase their resources and what they can achieve with them within the political environment they operate (Jasper & Goodwin, 2015, p. 6). Jasper and Goodwin (2015) further argue that this economic turn is also aligned with the “political” one: This new understanding of social movements led the scholars to approach them as calculating and negotiating actors interacting with the state and the elites to create opportunities for their demands through various tactics and strategies. Such developments resulted in the flourishing of structuralist theories such as resource mobilization theory and political process theory, especially during the 1970s and 1980s (Polletta, 2008). Scholars such as Oberschall (1973), Eisinger (1973), Gamson (1975), Tilly (1978), McCarthy & Zald (1977), Jenkins and Perrow (1977), Tilly (1978), McAdam (1982) and Tarrow (1983) started to “investigate how characteristics of social and political context determine the opportunities or constraints for protest” (van Stekelenburg & Klandermans, 2009, p. 23). While the resource mobilization scholars focused more on social movement organizations’ strategic use of material and non-tangible resources to recruit more people and achieve their objectives from an organizational and economic perspective, the

political process theorists analyze the institutional and contextual changes in a political environment and how these changes provide opportunities for social movement actors to mobilize and negotiate to reach their objectives (Goodwin, Jasper, & Polletta, 2000; van Stekelenburg & Klandermans, 2009). These two major approaches became the flagships of the structural paradigm in social movement studies. The structural understanding of social movements with a specific emphasis on the organizations and resources emerged as the fundamental elements of the social movement theorization. As Ulrich, Daphi and Baumgarten (2014) argue, a positivist epistemology with quantitative methods and rationalistic attitudes accompanied these elements in this new paradigmatic understanding.

The contagion theories and their ontological formulations defining the collective action as a spreading phenomenon through emotional and cognitive vessels consequently were exiled from this new paradigmatic field of social movements and collective action. Despite the rightful criticism for their pejorative and reductionist approach, which employed an eclectic epistemology that at times bordered on pseudoscience, these theoretical assumptions acknowledged the role of different emotional processes in collective action. They constructed collective action as a process that could not be separated from emotions. The numerous works of the new paradigm not only isolated these ontological elements from the essence of collective action but also excluded them from the central discourse and primary concerns of the field for decades. Exiling emotions, ridiculing contagion, glorifying rational man and its organizations, and favoring the structuralist and positivist position, the freshly emerging field of social movements was ready for a new explanation and framework for delving into the dynamics of the spread of collective action, and this was the time where *diffusion* came into play.

2.3.4. 1970s and 1980s: Reign of the Four Horsemen of the Protest Diffusion

During the construction of the new paradigm of social movement and collective action research in the 1960s and 1970s, *diffusion* as a concept and explanatory framework was also popularized significantly in various fields of social sciences. As Rogers (1983) explains, from the 1960s to the 1970s diffusion-related publications were quadrupled, and the mechanisms of the spread of cultural items and technological innovations became a central discussion in numerous fields from communication and media studies to agricultural sociology. Yet, in this new era of social movement theorization, the adoption of diffusion by social movement scholars who distanced themselves from questions of *how* and *why* collective action spread was a slow process (Soule, 2009). The words “diffuse” and “diffusion” were already used by the scholars of collective

action (e.g., Park [1921], McDougall [1920], Callaghan [1940], Hopper [1950], etc.) mostly interchangeably with “spread” before the 1970s, however, there had not been an attempt to conceptually define and theoretically introduce diffusion in the studies of collective action. The situation predominantly remained the same in the era of the new paradigm. In 1982, McAdam argued that the social movement scholars mostly failed to notice the relevance of this new concept to social movement-related topics (McAdam, 1982). Supporting this criticism, della Porta and Tarrow (2012) highlight that “political scientists had little to say about the diffusion of collective action” for a long time because of the “single-minded structuralism focused attention on the economic and social preconditions of change, rather than on its processes” and “dominant correlational strategies of analysis” that could not capture the analysis of the diffusion of social movements (p. 123-124). Diffusion started to be adopted by social movements scholars within this context in the 1970s, and it is crucial to emphasize that the initial purpose of using this concept was not to solely discuss the spread of the collective action but to propose an alternative and critical formulation of collective action in alignment with the new paradigm against the previous works. To understand this adoption process which also shaped the ontological formulations of collective action and social movements, the relevant works of four scholars should be critically reviewed: Maurice Pinard (1968), Anthony Oberschall (1973), Charles Tilly (1978) and Doug McAdam (1982).

The pioneering role of the works of Maurice Pinard and Anthony Oberschall in introducing and conceptualizing diffusion in the field of collective action and social movements is briefly mentioned by several scholars reviewing the relevant literature such as McAdam (1982; 1996), Potegal and Knutson (1994). However, I humbly argue that these reviews do not accurately reflect the true value of these works. The contribution of Pinard and Oberschall is *not merely* “explicitly applying the empirical insights of this literature to the study of social movements”, as McAdam (1982) asserts. These scholars, in fact, did not use diffusion-related ideas and the concept itself as a mechanism to explain how collective action spread but introduced them as a criticism and alternative model to the hypotheses of Kornhauser’s mass society theory, which “remains one of the most explicit statements of the alleged links between mass society and social movements” (Buechler, 2013, pp. 1-2). As discussed previously, Kornhauser mainly argues that “mass society emerges when small local groups and networks decline, leaving powerful elites and massive bureaucracies on one side and isolated individuals on the other” (Buechler, 2013, p. 1). The atomized and isolated individuals without social networks with local communities and intermediate groups are consequently prone to mobilization and collective

action – mostly in undemocratic or extreme movements. Both Pinard and Oberschall strongly criticize this approach, and they base their arguments on the hypotheses of diffusion theory, which had already been established in several fields of social sciences.

In his work *Mass Society and Political Movements: A New Formulation* published in 1968, Pinard (1968) argues that the theory of mass society “disregards the accumulated propositions of diffusion studies”, and he states that “mass society theorists overlook the fact that a social movement is basically a new item in a culture and that as such its adoption implies the processes of diffusion” (p. 685). He (1968) defends the idea that such “adoption of new ideas and practices, therefore of new social movements, does not take place in a social vacuum” (p. 685), and he is explicitly critical of the hypotheses that the disintegration, alienation and isolation are the sources of mobilization. In his formulation, the social integration of communities and networked individuals within these communities are prone to engaging in mobilization and “the higher the degree of social integration of potential adopters, the more likely and the sooner they will become actual adopters, and that, on the other hand, near-isolates tend to be the last to adopt an innovation” (Pinard, 1968, p. 685). This “positive association between integration and adoption” of collective action is produced by the mechanism based on the “communicating effects of the intermediate groupings” (Pinard, 1968, p. 685). Pinard (1968) argues that:

“Organization and social networks are excellent channels of communication, transmitting information about new ideas and practices; more generally, they contribute in developing among their members a certain degree of sophistication: They enlarge their members’ field of attention and perception, as well as contributing to the development of leadership and other organizational skills. Thus, participants in various social groupings, particularly in primary groups, should be more likely to learn about a new social movement – its leadership, its goals, its successes in recruiting members – than atomized people. (...) To the extent that this prevails, I would predict that integrated individuals and pluralist societies will be more prone to social and political movements than atomized people and mass societies. This prediction, of course, is just the opposite of that made by mass theorists”. (pp 685-689)

Similar to Pinard, Oberschall (1973) is highly critical of Kornhauser’s mass society theory, and the purpose of his work is to “take a critical look at its explanation of the growth of social movements and to present an alternative and hopefully more valid theory of mobilization” (p. 102). Oberschall (1973) explicitly argues that “although mass society theorists and some writers on modernization stress the social isolation and atomization of participants in mass movements and in violent protests (Kornhauser, 1959:182), this point of view is too simple and is contrary to much available evidence” (p. 135). Using empirical findings to discuss how mass society

theory fails to explain the rise of not only the extremist movements such as Nazism in Germany and McCarthyism in the US but also the progressive and pro-democratic social movements, Oberschall (1973) proposes a “sociological theory of mobilization” inspired by economist Mancur Olson’s collective action theory and other structuralist approaches. In his theory, Oberschall (1973) mainly argues the combination of social networks, organizational and associational ties, continuity of leadership as well as shared objectives and sentiments are significant factors for the emergence and sustainability of social movements (p. 119). Referring to the works of Pinard and discussing empirically, Oberschall (1973) accuses the mass society theory of failing to acknowledge the presence and important role of intermediate groups such as “voluntary, occupational, religious, civic, and other associations” (p. 103), and he states that such networked collectivities play a significant role in the mobilization processes (p. 106). Not the atomized individuals but an integrated and well-networked collectivity is the key condition for the mobilization. He (1973) hypothesizes that:

Participants in popular disturbances and activists in opposition organizations will be recruited primarily from previously active and relatively well-integrated individuals within the collectivity, whereas socially isolated, atomized, and uprooted individuals, will be underrepresented, at least until the movement has become substantial. (p. 135)

Based on this background, Oberschall (1973) further argues that after the emergence of social movements, their spread cannot be explained by “theories based on conspiracy, imitation, or contagion” but by a complex process of diffusion consisting of different social and political factors such as “focal points, the loosening of social control, and the presence of communication networks” (p. 298). In his later work published in 1978, Oberschall (1978) discusses that “diffusion patterns of collective action in physical and social space and over time” remains as “one of the most promising yet little-used ways of studying the dynamics of conflict” despite its potential for “the formulation of fairly precise models subject to empirical testing” (p. 63). He (1978) criticizes the existing approaches based on “atomistic analysis” due to their lack of “explanatory power” (p. 63).

Pinard’s and Oberschall’s works are crucial to understanding that the adoption of the concept of diffusion was a theoretical decision to challenge a model of mobilization framing collective action as the extreme and dangerous consequence of social isolation and disintegration. Both works significantly highlight that the forms of collective action and mobilization should not be limited to extremist movements but also include democratic and progressive ones. They further highlight that the networked and integrated groups as well as organizational and associational

ties are the key elements to understanding the mobilization processes. Criticizing the contagion theories, they also emphasize the role of structural factors such as the presence of intermediate structures enabling the communicating and mobilizing effects of social groupings is important in mobilization processes. These three major and shared assumptions significantly shaped the ontological foundations and main assumptions of diffusion studies in the field of social movements and collective action. As expected, they did not integrate the potential emotional and cognitive mechanisms into their arguments, as they were explicitly critical of the emotional protester image and its contagious collective action patterns.

Despite their impressive success in capturing the potential of diffusion for social movement studies, neither of the scholars pays much attention to the concept of *innovation*, which is a crucial element in Rogers' classical theorization of diffusion. This gap is filled by Charles Tilly (1978) in his famous work *From Mobilization to Revolution*, which is a crucial and well-acknowledged work for the theorization of contentious politics. Tilly (1978) formulates the concept of repertoires of action similar to the innovation in the formulation of diffusion theory. In his conceptualization of the repertoires of action, Tilly (1978) raises the question "to what degree does the group prefer the means it has used before over those which are theoretically available for the same purpose", and he argues that "the means of collective action alter and spread from one group to another" thus the scholars of collective action "can gauge the importance of repertoires by comparing the successive choices of similar groups and by observing innovation and diffusion in the means of action" (p. 153). Tilly further discusses the factors that increase the probability of the adoption of new repertoires, such as the similarity of new repertoires with the previous ones as well as their efficiency and appropriateness. With such an approach, he argues that "the idea of a standard repertoire also provides insight into 'contagion' and 'spontaneity' in collective action" because "it raises the possibility that when a particular form of riot or demonstration spreads rapidly, what diffuses is not the model of the behavior itself, but the information -correct or not- that the costs and benefits associated with the action have suddenly changed" (Tilly, 1978, p. 158).

Similar to Pinard and Oberschall, Tilly also does not utilize diffusion to merely analyze the spread of the collective action but uses it to formulate several critical assumptions of his formulation of contentious politics. Tilly's model based on the repertoires of action significantly resembles Rogers' formulation of diffusion centering around the innovation: Standardization and replicability of repertoires of action and their role in the emergence and the spread of social movements are analogous to the attributes of the innovation and their impact

on diffusion processes. Considering the paradigmatic impact of Tilly's work in social movements studies, his strong emphasis on the repertoires of action in his formulation of contentious politics might influence the foundations of diffusion studies in the field by directing the succeeding scholars' attention to the repertoires as the unit of analysis. Similar to Rogers' impact on the diffusion studies, it can be claimed that Tilly's focus on the repertoires changed the focus from the question of *how the collective action spread* into *how the components of collective action spread*. In light of the aforementioned points raised by three prominent scholars, diffusion started to emerge as a pivotal topic in the discourse surrounding collective action and social movements. This was in line with the mounting criticism directed towards contagion models, which had been increasingly challenged by a more nuanced and multifaceted understanding of the *spread*, encompassing structural, organizational, network-based, and innovation-focused perspectives.

While the works of Pinard, Oberschall and Tilly should be considered as the early works acknowledging the potential of diffusion and adopting this concept in the field of social movements, McAdam's works in 1982 and 1983 became the benchmarks for the theoretical integration and conceptual formulation of the diffusion in the social movement field. In his work published in 1982, McAdam uses the phrase "cultural diffusion" as he discusses diffusion, arguing social movements and collective action in general as cultural products. This attitude is significant to also observe the impact of "cultural turn" in social movements that started in the 1980s with an increasing attention to the cultural dimensions of the collective action (Jasper, 2010), and it was an important step for the expanding the conceptual boundaries of diffusion towards a cultural perspective in the field of social movements. McAdam (1982) starts discussing diffusion by proposing the criticism that social movement scholars had ignored this concept despite its potential for the field, calling diffusion literature "a body of literature that has unfortunately been largely overlooked by movement analysts despite its relevance to the topics" (p. 46). From his perspective, especially exploring the role of communication and organizational networks not only for the spread of protests but for the mobilization processes in general through a theory of diffusion can be a significant step forward for the field. Discussing the works of Pinard and Oberschall, McAdam (1982) argues that the works on diffusion demonstrate "the importance of associational networks in the generation of insurgency" (p. 263). Considering his own empirical findings as well, McAdam (1982) raises the point that "interorganizational linkages characteristic of established groups facilitate movement emergence by providing the means of communication by which the movement, as a

new cultural item, can be disseminated throughout the aggrieved population” (p. 47). Pinard’s and Oberschall’s arguments regarding social integration can be also clearly seen in McAdam’s work. As he argues throughout his work, integration, interaction and communication through interorganizational and intersocietal networks are the key to the emergence and diffusion (or spread) of the ideas, repertoires or strategies of collective action. “Like any other new cultural pattern”, he states, “social movements are expected to emerge first and spread fastest among the most integrated segments of the population under study” (p. 130).

One year later, McAdam (1983) published another piece on the black insurgency movement in the USA, and he focuses on *tactical innovation* -or *tactical adoption* as he calls- and its diffusion among black activists in this work. Using a political process model perspective, McAdam (1983) mainly argues that there are two conditions for a “rapid and extensive diffusion” of tactical innovation: A “conducive political environment and the dense network of organizational ties” (p. 743). Under the conditions of a vulnerable and unstable political environment, “institutionalized powerlessness” can be overcome through the strong internal and external organization of the movements. McAdam (1983) elaborates his previous ideas about organizational networks and emphasizes the significant role of diffusion of “new protest technique” through “established communication networks characteristic of existing organizations” in the growth of a social movement (p. 736). In addition to the organizational networks, he also briefly discusses the role of media in the diffusion of “loosely organized, more diffuse forms of protests” across different cities (McAdam, 1983, p. 737). With its emphasis on the political opportunity structures and organizational networks, McAdam’s work is still a significant reference point and “now-classic article” even today (della Porta & Tarrow, 2012).

Despite the increasing variety of works on the diffusion of collective action and social movements during the 1970s and the 1980s (e.g. Morris [1981], Killian and Turner [1987], etc.), the works of these *four horsemen of the diffusion* can be considered as the pioneering researches that define the ontological assumptions and the conceptual boundaries of the diffusion in social movement research. Considering the patterns in their works, I can specify four major foundations: (1) The emphasis on the role of communication networks and internal and external organizational ties; (2) the role of structural factors and political environment; (3) the focus on the organized movements; and (4) the ontological centrality of the innovation and the adoption-related mechanisms in explaining the process of spread of collective action. The introduction of these foundations, which were also aligned with the principles of the new

paradigms of social movements, can be argued to have dramatically accelerated the theoretical transformation from *contagion* to *diffusion*, as evidenced by the subsequent scholarship in the field. The boundaries and assumptions of the abovementioned works have been challenged or expanded, however, even today their legacy shapes the fundamental hypotheses and approaches of diffusion studies in the field of social movements. It is significant to emphasize that despite their influence, these works can be considered only as the “early adopters” of diffusion in social movements as they do not propose a precise and comprehensive conceptualization and the theorization of diffusion. The concept was still not popular among social movement scholars in the 1980s. Yet, this situation dramatically changed in the 1990s and the 2000s with the *golden age* of the theorization of diffusion.

2.3.5. 1990s and 2000s: The Golden Age of the Theorization of Diffusion

The late 1970s and the 1980s were significant for the introduction of diffusion in social movement studies, however, the 1990s and the early 2000s emerged as the *golden age of the theorization* of diffusion under the social movement literature as a distinct field of study. During this period, prominent social movement scholars such as Marco Giugni (1992; 1998), Doug McAdam (1993; 1995; 1996), Dieter Rucht (1993; 1995), David Strang (1993; 1998), Nancy Whittier (1994), David Meyer (1994), Sidney Tarrow (1993; 1996; 2005), Sarah Soule (1997; 1998) and Donatella della Porta (1995; 1999; 2005) were well aware of the condition that the social movement scholars failed to develop a theoretical framework for the diffusion of collective action despite the rising popularity of the concept in the literature. With their works that enrich and stimulate one another, these scholars filled this gap by drawing conceptual and theoretical boundaries of diffusion of social movements and protests to explain both “diffusion within and between social movements” and “how different social movements affect one another” (McAdam & Rucht, 1993, p. 58; Meyer & Whittier, 1994, p. 278).

The organizational and structural ontological formulation of diffusion with a strong emphasis on the role of communication channels and the modularity of the repertoires remained central in the discussions of theorization yet the scope of research significantly shifted in these new studies. While the earlier studies during the 1970s and the 1980s investigate the diffusion of protests and social movements within a single country, theoretical studies of this new era have a particular interest in the dynamics and mechanisms of transnational activism and the cross-national diffusion of social movements. The reason for this change, which resulted in the flourishing of protest diffusion studies, is the necessity of a theoretical framework to understand

and explain the dramatic changes in contentious politics: Cases such as the 1989 Autumn of Nations, the Zapatistas movement during the 1990s, transnational feminist movement since 1980s, and Global Justice Movement during early 2000s demonstrate that contentious politics significantly *transnationalized* as a result of growing interdependency and globalization of politics in general (della Porta et al., 1999; McAdam et al., 1996). The increasing level of interactions between social movements and protests from different countries because of the formation of transnational activism networks and the introduction of new communication and information technologies have largely shaped the characteristics of contentious politics since that period (della Porta & Diani, 2020).

Another significant change from the previous works can be considered as the impact of the *cultural turn* that accelerated in the 1990s (Goodwin et al., 2000). Leading by constructivist approaches such as feminism and queer theories, the cultural theories' focus on "frames, narratives, collective memory, boundaries, and identities" resulted in the gradual integration of the culture and its elements in the theories of social movements and collective action (Jasper, 2018, p. 13). Especially the influence of these elements in the changing dynamics of the transnationalized collective action episodes raised new questions about the role of culture in the diffusion of social movements and protests. From the perspective of social movement scholars, these empirical and theoretical developments proved that a more systematic and consistent theoretical framework rather than the "misguiding" and "flawed" contagion theory was strictly needed to have a comprehensive understanding of these phenomena (Snow, 2013). McAdam (1995) argues that, unlike the contagion theory, the theory of diffusion does not "depend upon any implicit notion of irrationality of the crowd to account for the spread of collective action"; instead it is based on "normal learning of and influence processes as mediated by the networks structures of everyday social life" (p. 231-232). To explain the significance and relevance of diffusion for social movements studies, McAdam and Rucht (1993) argue that "protest makers do not have to reinvent the wheel at each place and in each conflict", because "they often find inspiration elsewhere in the ideas and tactics espoused and practiced by other activists" thanks to protest diffusion, so it must be developed theoretically under social movement studies (p. 58).

In contrast to the previous section in which I have reviewed the relevant literature chronologically, here it would be better to switch to a more thematic review based on the central questions of this new era of theorization to explore the theoretical and conceptual foundations of diffusion in social movement studies, similar to Kolins Givan, Roberts, and Soule's (2010)

review. Considering this theorization process that has been shaped by these studies, which were generally written in a consistent manner with each other, it will probably be beneficial to start this review with the question of *how diffusion is conceptually and theoretically defined* in these works. This approach also reveals several ambiguities and gaps in the theorization of diffusion. Firstly, despite the cultural turn and its growing impacts in social movement studies, the ontological formulations based on a structural and organizational perspective can be seen as the dominant approach in most of these paradigmatic works. Various scholars emphasize the significance of cultural factors or the role of emotional and cognitive mechanisms, yet most of them suffer from the absence of a detailed explanation of how these factors or mechanisms work empirically. Overwhelmed between organizational, structural and institutional approaches, the debates on the components of culture and the experiences of agency are often overlooked in this literature. Secondly, this review also points out an issue in the diffusion literature that was previously stated by Elkins and Simmons (2005) and reaffirmed by della Porta and Tarrow (2012): There is still not a scholarly consensus on whether diffusion is a *process*, *mechanism* or an *outcome*. Despite the general tendency to describe it as a *process*, its causal claims and conceptual scope are still disputed in social movement studies. “The duality of diffusion as cause and effect”, as Elkins and Simmons describe (2005, p. 5), results in an ontological confusion that also causes the overstretching of the conceptual boundaries and the transformation of diffusion into an “operative, umbrella concept” (Snow, 2013). The alternative concepts, including *contagion*, *imitation*, *emulation*, the *demonstration effect*, *mimicry*, and *mimesis*, are either subsumed or eroded by the vague yet dominant concept of diffusion in social movement studies. With regard to these issues, it can be argued that the overstretching of the concept, accompanied by the aforementioned ontological assumptions, has resulted in a decrease in the explanatory power of the concept for analyzing the recently changing dynamics of contentious politics. However, to discuss this in a more comprehensive manner, it is necessary to review the definitions, content, channels, conditions, and mechanisms of diffusion during the golden age of its theorization.

One of the early definitions was proposed by Marco Giugni in 1992. Describing diffusion as a factor that “contribute to diminish the impact of the national POS upon new social movements” (p. 3), Giugni (1992) defines diffusion of collective action “as a process or, more precisely, a set of processes that, through a transfer of information from a mobilized group to an unmobilized one, extends mobilization and/or its forms from the former to the latter” (p. 5). With his categorization of the diffusion modes of protests consisting of imitation, contagion,

expansion, and globalization, Giugni's definition can be located within the framework of political opportunity structure models. McAdam and Rucht (1993) engage in a more in-depth discussion of the theorization of cross-national diffusion "unlike many diffusion theorists who define diffusion as the spread of innovation" (p. 59). and they define the concept through four fundamental elements:

Diffusion involves the following elements: (1) a person, group, or organization that serves as the emitter or transmitter; (2) a person, group, or organization that is the adopter; (3) the item that is diffused, such as material goods, information, skills, and the like; and (4) a channel of diffusion that may consist of persons or media that link the transmitter and the adopter. (p. 59)

Meanwhile, Kriesi and his colleagues (1995) approach diffusion from a POS-political process perspective. They (1995) argue that diffusion is a process in two major forms: "The adoption of particular features of a challenging group by another group, either within the same country or in another country" and "the spread of collective action itself from one area or sector to another; a challenging group mobilizes or remobilizes because of the example provided by the mobilization of another challenging group" (p. 186). With these two forms, diffusion may occur "across movements or across countries" (p. 186). Having a more institutional and structural perspective, Soule (1997) defines the concept as "the process by which an innovation is adopted by members of a discrete population" in which "the previous adoption of an innovation by a member of the population alters the probability of adoption for the remaining, nonadopting population members" (p. 865). In another work published one year later, Soule and Strang (1998) highlight that diffusion is a "causal process" based on the spread of a "behavior, strategy, belief, technology, or structure" "within a social system" and it can be considered as the "most general and abstract term we have for this sort of process, embracing contagion, mimicry, social learning, organized dissemination, and other family members" (p. 266). Reviewing the literature to introduce and discuss the alternative types of diffusion, Snow and Benford (1999) argue that diffusion can be defined as the "spread of social movement ideas and practices" "given mutual interest on behalf of transmitters and adopters in the object of diffusion, coupled with available or open channels of communication" and with "the principle of homophily" (p. 24).

The growing scholarly attention to transnationalization and globalization, and the popularization of the contentious politics framework also began to shape the definition of diffusion during this period. In their famous work *Dynamics of Contention* published in 2004, McAdam, Tarrow and Tilly (2004) define diffusion as the "transfer of information across

existing lines of communication” which primarily involves the “transfer in the same or similar shape of forms and claims of contention across space or across sectors and ideological divides” (p. 68). A year later, Tarrow (2005) also uses the definition “the transfer of claims or forms of contention from one site to the other” that results in the scale shift of a movement (p. 32). These two works mainly describe diffusion as a *mechanism* that intensifies during the *protest cycles* and causes a *scale shift* of a movement that refers to “a change in the number and level of coordinated contentious actions leading to broader contention involving a wider range of actors and bridging their claims and identities” (Tilly et al., 2004, p. 331). Similarly, Oliver and Myers (2003) also describe diffusion as a *mechanism* “that can account for waves-within-waves and longer-term probability shifts” along with adaptive learning (p. 9). In their well-acknowledged work *Social Movements: An Introduction*, della Porta and Diani (2006) define diffusion as a *process* in which “ideas concerning organizational structure, strategies of action, or definitions of the world ‘travel’ from movement to movement, sector to sector, city to city, center to periphery, and, on occasion, periphery to center” through “either direct or indirect” channels “depending on whether it comes about through unmediated contacts between movement members or is mediated by the mass media” (p. 186).

An important debate regarding the conceptualization of diffusion during these works is the content or object of diffusion of collective action. Since the abovementioned approaches are primarily built upon the innovation-based understanding of diffusion unlike the contagion approaches, defining innovation and its adoption within the theoretical scope of social movement studies has been a central element of the conceptualization and theorization. Social movement scholars refer to various elements of collective action as innovation such as action forms (Giugni, 1992), new cultural items – new cognitive frames, behavioral routines, organizational forms, tactical repertoires (McAdam & Rucht, 1993), repertoires of action (Tarrow, 1993), general moods, perceptions of problems, arguments (della Porta & Rucht, 1995), collective action frames, slogans, ideologies and organizations (Soule, 1997), forms and claims of contention (McAdam et al., 2004), ideas concerning organizational structure, strategies of action, or definitions of the world (della Porta & Diani, 2006). Based on these discussions, Kolins, Roberts and Soule (2010) classify the content, or innovations, of protest diffusion into two major categories: *Behavioral dimension* and *ideational dimension*. In this categorization, the behavioral dimension consists of the practices and repertoires of collective action such as “strikes, riots, protests, sit-ins, boycotts, petition drives, and other forms of contentious action”, and the ideational dimension involves the diffusion of interpretive

schemata based on collective action frames and identities that “define issues, goals, and targets” (p. 4). Based on Tilly’s conceptualization of repertoires of action and their standardization and similar to Rogers’ attributes of innovation, Tarrow (1993) highlights the significance of modularity in the diffusion of repertoires of action and other components of collective action. Having “relatively few and very flexible” forms, the modular and modern repertoires are “distinct from the identity of those who used them and those they were aimed at” and “they could be adopted by different groups in a variety of settings and serve as a common denominator for different groups acting together or in series” (Tarrow, 1993, p. 77). Due to their modularity, the new forms of collective action can be “be broadly adopted, easily learned, and rapidly diffused across space, between social structures, and in the name of congeries of claims and constituencies” (Tarrow, 1993, p. 83).

The object of diffusion and its modular characteristics enabling its diffusion have been discussed extensively in social movement studies, however, even a greater focus has been directed to the channels, conditions and mechanisms of the diffusion of collective action. The channels, in fact, are considered as the *mechanisms* themselves by some scholars such as Kolins, Roberts and Soule (2010) and as the *pathways* by some others such as Tarrow, McAdam and Tilly (2004) and Chabot (2010); thus, there is not a consensus regarding their definitions, yet I would prefer treating them more like the *pathways* than the *mechanisms* following the general trend in the literature. As previously discussed, organizational links and networks were introduced as the significant determinants of the diffusion of collective action in the early works. Yet, these assumptions were challenged by the critical approaches highlighting the role of cultural and structural ties between the adopters and transmitters in enabling the diffusion even in the absence of direct ties between them. After Strang and Meyer’s (1993) emphasis on the facilitating function of cultural linkages between adopters and transmitters that do not have direct ties and communication channels, McAdam and Rucht (1993) classify the channels of diffusion into the categories of *relational* and *non-relational*. In this well-acknowledged typology, the content of collective action can be diffused through either *relational channels*, which involves “established channels of interaction” built upon “networks of trust” such as “interpersonal contacts, organizational linkages, or associational networks” (Tarrow, 2005; Kolins Givan et al., 2010, p. 2) or *non-relational channels* that consist of indirect and communication channels such as mass media (Tarrow, 2005), Internet and social media platforms (Castells, 2012; Gerbaudo, 2017), and published material including “writings of both a scholarly and a radical nature” (McAdam & Rucht, 1993, p. 71). Tarrow (2005) later

introduced a third pathway of diffusion, the *mediated channels/brokerage* in which third actors or organizations facilitate the flow of information and diffusion between adopters and transmitters (della Porta & Diani, 2006; Tarrow & McAdam, 2005).

Discussions on the conditions and mechanisms of diffusion are more diverse than those on channels. A significant pattern in the works related to these discussions is the emphasis on the *adoption-related mechanisms* and the important role of *similarity* and *proximity* factors in enabling and facilitating the diffusion of collective action especially in the absence of direct ties or relational channels between the adopter and transmitter groups. In their work, Strang and Meyer (1993) emphasize the importance of *cultural linkages* providing the “the cultural understanding that social entities belong to a common social category constructs a tie between them” (p. 490). Their social category is mainly shaped by institutional and structural factors enabling identification between adopters and transmitters due to their *equivalence*, yet McAdam and Rucht (1993) further elaborate this emphasis on similarity and introduce the well-acknowledged mechanism of the *attribution of similarity*. In the absence of direct communication channels, McAdam and Rucht (1993) argue that the “adopters must identify at some minimal level with transmitters if diffusion is to occur” (p. 63). Unlike the institutional and structural equivalence emphasized by Strang and Meyer (1993), attribution of similarity is “a product of social construction rather than automatic identification” that “needs not be all that extensive” and “may involve only a shared identification with the role of activist” (McAdam & Rucht, 1993, pp. 63-64).

Though McAdam and Rucht do not provide a precise explanation of how the attribution of similarity and identification works, several researchers introduce different conditions for such processes. Kriesi and his colleagues (1995) emphasize three major conditions, arguing that “organizational, political, and cultural factors may facilitate the diffusion of protest from one country to the other” (p. 188). They argue that the “presence of a movement subculture” or “a strong movement that initiates a protest cycle”, “the social construction of similar cultural categories” as a result of “spatial proximity” and “cultural proximity” between the movements’ “goals or constituencies”, and the “presence of weak political opportunities” function as the facilitating factors for the cross-national diffusion of collective action. With a similar POS perspective, Giugni (1998) emphasizes the significance of the resemblances between the political opportunity structures of the adopter and transmitter groups and highlights the necessity of “institutional isomorphism”, structural affinities” and “the action or strategy’s effectiveness” for the diffusion of collective action (p. 99). Della Porta and Diani (2006) also

emphasize the geographical and cultural proximity as the factors that “facilitate the social construction of that similarity” which is required for the cross-national spread of the collective action. The authors argue that in the cases of collective action in geographically “close countries” with “a history of past interactions”, shared “linguistic knowledge” and “cultural exchanges” and “similarities in social and political structures”, both direct and indirect forms of diffusion is easier to occur (p. 187-188). From a more POS approach, McAdam, Tarrow and Tilly (2004) defines the attribution of similarity as “the mutual identification of actors in different sites as being sufficiently similar to justify common action”, and argue that this attribution can be achieved through the combination of “deliberate attempts of would-be brokers to frame the claims and identities of different actors as sufficiently similar to each other to justify coalition formation”, “the revelation of similar claims that often occurs through the performance of distinct collective actions” and “institutional equivalence” (similar to Strang and Meyer [1993]) (pp. 333-334).

The attribution of similarity can be considered as the most acknowledged mechanism of adoption, yet there are also other theoretical attempts to formulate explanatory mechanisms during the 1990s and 2000s. *Theorization* can be counted as one of these mechanisms. Theorization was first conceptualized by Strang and Meyer (1993), and the authors define it as “the self-conscious development and specification of abstract categories and the formulation of patterned relationships such as chains of cause and effect” as they explain how the diffusion processes proceed through the cultural linkages in the absence of direct ties between adopters and transmitters (p. 492). Giugni (1998) claims that this simplification of complex reasons and ideas into easily understandable ones helps adopters to attribute themselves as similar to the transmitters by rendering the similarities in their profiles, contexts and grievances into simple forms that can be related and empathized easily. This process leads adopters to recontextualize the original practices, identities, ideas and other components of repertoires of action in accordance with their own local conditions and form a collective action in their own context. Considering its resemblance with modularity, Tarrow also (2005) describes the theorization process as “folk theory” that “makes it possible to transport a message to a new venue, but the need to reduce it to a form of ‘folk wisdom’ reduces its complexity and can produce a simplistic version” especially in nonrelational diffusion processes (p. 118). Based on Tarrow’s ideas, Roggeband (2010) states that theorization enables the cognitive process of forming causal relations to engage in collective action by integrating these modular and general causalities into the local contexts. Another mechanism that accompanies diffusion is *emulation*. This

mechanism was introduced and mainly used by McAdam, Tarrow and Tilly (2001), and it refers to the decision to copy and adapt the transmitters' collective action forms in their own context and model their actions based on this decision. In its classical formulation, emulation can be considered as the next step of attribution of similarity which consequently ends up with the scale shift due to the diffusion process.

The rich literature on the diffusion of collective action in the 1990s and 2000s did not only theorize and acknowledge diffusion as the exclusive concept to explain the spread of collective action but also located it in the central debates of the ongoing discussions in social movement studies. It has been utilized as a central mechanism and/or a causal process to explain various phenomena from the emergence and sustainability of protest cycles to transformation of the scale of the collective action episodes in these works. Despite their significant contributions, there are two major issues that should be highlighted in this foundational literature. Firstly, as previously mentioned, the works in question primarily reflect and advance structuralist and institutionalist ontological formulations, which place considerable reliance on factors such as similarity and proximity. However, they demonstrate a limited understanding of the role that cultural dimensions of collective action, including emotional and cognitive processes, may play. This body of literature also provides important answers to the question of *what diffuses*, with an emphasis on the conditions and consequences. However, it fails to provide sufficient answers to the question of *why* and *how diffuses*, as the perceptions, emotions, and experiences of the protesters have been given a secondary focus compared to structural and institutional conditions. As della Porta (2018) argues, "an element to which social movement studies have paid little attention is the role of individuals", and their agency along with emotional and cognitive experiences are mostly ignored as explanatory elements (p. 341). The central and well-acknowledged mechanisms such as attribution of similarity or emulation based on similarity and proximity factors provide significant assumptions and insights regarding the role of identification processes in diffusion processes, yet they largely remain as *black boxes* without explaining how the cultural, emotional and cognitive conditions and the mechanism of such identification works. Despite recent challenges, this foundational formulation degrading the role of such conditions and mechanisms is still visible today in the research about the diffusion of collective action, as it will be discussed in the next section. Adopting diffusion as a counter-concept against the contagion seems to be an important step for the theorization of social movements, yet reducing the spread of collective to the adoption process with exclusionary structural and institutional conceptual boundaries should be approached cautiously.

The second significant drawback is the previously discussed *eclectic* conceptualization of diffusion, which has ended up being more problematic even today to explain the swiftly changing dynamics of the cross-national and transnational dimensions of contentious politics. Considering the patchwork-like conceptual formulation of diffusion with contrasting ontological and causal claims from different scholars, diffusion inevitably causes theoretical confusion that puts its credibility and explanatory power at risk. Gradually eliminating the alternative frameworks and remaining as the peculiar concept for explaining the spread of collective action, diffusion emerges as a central concept of social movement studies that suffers from conceptual ambiguity. To illustrate, examining the formulation of the concept in three significant books written by prominent authors with very close publication dates exemplifies why and how this confusion occurs. In the second edition of *Dynamics of Contention* published in 2004 by McAdam, Tilly and Tarrow, diffusion, along with *brokerage*, is a *mechanism* leading to the scale shift of the contention. In this work, while diffusion and brokerage are defined as two “distinct mechanisms”, attribution of similarity and emulation are described as “additional mechanisms” through which diffusion and brokerage functions (McAdam et al., 2004, p. 334). In this formulation, the authors do not acknowledge the relational and nonrelational forms or channels of diffusion. On the other hand, in *The New Transnational Activism* which was released one year later, Tarrow (2005) describes diffusion as “the transfer of claims or forms of contention” (p. 32), and he also states that it is the diffusion that “travels” through “well-connected trust networks (“relational diffusion”), through the media and the internet (“nonrelational diffusion”), and through movement brokers (“mediated diffusion”)” (pp. 101-102). In his model, diffusion has three main pathways this time: relational, nonrelational, and mediated diffusion. Tarrow assigns three different mechanisms to each of these pathways: For relational diffusion, it is *attribution of similarity*; for nonrelational diffusion, it is *theorization*; and for mediated diffusion, it is *brokerage*. *Emulation* is highlighted as the final copying and adapting stage of the innovation for all of these pathways. Lastly, in *Transnational Protest and Global Activism* which was also published in 2005, Tarrow and McAdam propose another model that resembles the previous one but has significant differences. Here diffusion is again described as a process with three pathways (relational, nonrelational, mediated) leading to scale shift, yet brokerage is the *pathway* while two major mechanisms are *attribution of similarity* and *emulation* this time. *Attribution of similarity* can be considered as the pre-requirement for the *emulation*, but it functions differently for each pathway. As evidenced by the examples presented, even the models in three of the most influential works of social movement studies

may lead to confusion due to the assignment of the same words to different explanations, ontological claims, and definitions. Despite its growing popularity in the field of social movements, diffusion remains a concept with various questions and concerns about its explanatory scope and limitations. Considering these significant issues, the golden age of diffusion theorization, similar to all golden ages, gives the impression of several problems and the necessity for a revision.

2.3.6. 2010s and 2020s: Times of Crisis with New Questions

The rich yet eclectic literature on the diffusion of collective action has faced new challenges following the escalation of new cross-national protest waves during the 2010s and 2020s. The 2007-2008 Financial Crisis became a significant *rupture*, yet the causes and the changes in the dynamics of contentious politics and their transnational dimension are beyond the impact of this particular crisis. In several works, Della Porta and her colleagues (2014; 2017) refer to this period as a *time of crisis*, characterized by a “variety of neoliberal crises” that gave rise to similar social, economic, and political grievances in different contexts. Despite their focus on national politics unlike the Global Justice Movement during the early 2000s, the activists’ “perception of a shared conditions of a global crisis”, together with the popular use of new mobile communication technologies and social media, consequently resulted in the interactive and interconnected escalation of various protests and social movements across the world (della Porta, 2017; della Porta, 2020; della Porta & Mattoni, 2014). Mostly shaped by the interactions between micro-level actors such as individual protesters and unorganized groups, the “movements of crisis” are consequently embedded in a transnational/cross-national characteristic that varies in intensity and leads to the emergence of new collective identities and subjectivities (della Porta, 2017). Anti-austerity movements in Western democracies since the 2008 financial crisis, the Arab uprisings during the 2010s, the 2013 protest wave in the top developing countries including Turkey, Brazil and Russia, “Friday for Future” protests in 2018, or the “Hot Fall of 2019” global protest wave in countries such as Chile, Lebanon, and Hong Kong, Black Lives Matter movement or the anti-COVID 19 contagion measure protests in the 2020s have marked the new era of collective action in which the theory of the cross-national diffusion of the protests and social movements is significant to understand this new period.

Considering the previously discussed situation of the diffusion of collective action literature, it is doubtful to argue that the classical theoretical frameworks and ontological formulation would precisely capture the changing dynamics and new realities of this new era. As della Porta (2017)

argues, social movement studies primarily focus on “stable times” so the field knows “little about movements in exceptional times, i.e., eventful times, when action changes relations” (p. 12). With all changing dynamics leading to the intensification of the cross-national connections and interactions among the protesters, the movements of the crisis of this period require scholars “to update their analytical tools, revise their research questions, and look for alternative answers related to the transnational dimension of protests” (della Porta & Mattoni, 2014, p. 3). Considering “the need to broaden our understanding of what happens when practices and ideas travel from one context to another”, it is significant “to expand and redefine traditional conceptual frameworks about diffusion” (della Porta & Mattoni, 2014, p. 278).

Despite the continued dominance of the classical theories of diffusion as the main paradigmatic perspective in social movement studies, there have been various significant theoretical attempts to refine existing theoretical frameworks. Similar to the previous section, it would be more beneficial to review these works thematically. One of the significant patterns that can be observed in these theoretical contributions is their emphasis on the necessity to frame the movements of the crises as the segments of *global waves of protests* or *international cycles of contention*. While the scholars such as Flesher Fominaya (2014), Castells (2012), Tejerina and Benski (2013), della Porta (2012) and Gerbaudo (2013) highlight that the main focus of these protests is the national sociopolitical crisis in their home country, they emphasize the necessity to acknowledge the transnational/cross-national characteristics of these movements due to the similar causes and consequences of these crises along with the cross-national interactions and connections between the protesters. Della Porta (2017), to illustrate, highlights that the “general trend of proletarianization of the middle class and pauperization of the working class that produced multi-class mobilization”, “a crisis of political responsibility” based on the representation crisis and defunction of democratic institutions, and the “emerging subjectivities” and new collective identities through eventful protests and cross-national interactions shape the interconnected dynamics of the recent global waves of the protests. Though she (2020) differentiates the post-2008 wave of the anti-austerity movements from the wave of Hot Fall of 2019 regarding how mechanisms of diffusion work, both waves share similar grievances and conditions mainly shaped by the failures of neoliberalism consisting of “political crisis with declining legitimacy of representative institutions” and “a specific form of relation between the state and the market that privilege free markets over state intervention to reduce social inequalities” (p. 122). From a similar perspective, Flesher Fominaya (2014) considers a global wave of protest “to be temporally bound (in that related protests are overlapping or sequential within a period of time),

responding to a certain extent to a common macro political-economic context, and with significant levels of transnational diffusion between movements” (p. 182-183), and she (2019) describes the characteristics of the post-2008 global protest wave as follows:

This wave of protests is characterized by a global circulation of information, resources, ideas, practices, tactics, and people, through not only indirect diffusion processes (such as social and mass media) but also direct interpersonal face-to-face interactions of protesters from one site to the other. In addition, these diffusion processes manifest in the many key elements that are shared across contexts: shared master frames—epitomized by common slogans and symbols such as “we are the 99 percent”—inextricably linked the notion of ineffective or deficient democracy and the negative effects of neoliberal global capitalism. Pre-figurative forms of action sought to model alternative alternative forms of collective life through deliberative and participatory democratic practices or the creation of alternative solidarity economies such as bartering and exchange systems. (p. 69-70)

Such trend of framing the recent protests and social movements as the segments of protest waves is also accompanied by another pattern in these studies about the diffusion of collective action, which is the attempts to introduce new mechanisms with an increasing emphasis on the agency of individual protesters and activist groups and the role of their experiences and interactions in diffusion processes. Along with the works introducing the explanatory frameworks on the mobilizing impact of the new information and communication technologies and social media (Castells, 2012; Tüfekçi & Wilson, 2012; Vasi & Suh, 2016; Wood, 2015), these studies aim to provide answers to “how” and “why” questions of the changing dynamics of the protest diffusion through introducing new mechanisms and concepts. Chabot (2010), for example, criticizes Tarrow’s famous models of diffusion and transnationalization due to their inability to “explore in depth how actual people, facing concrete social situations, interact with and learn from each other” (p. 102). Arguing that most of the classical approaches of diffusion “underestimates the role of political and creative agency” and “evades the question of how and what exactly people learn from each other when they communicate”, Chabot (2010) introduces a *dialogical framework* that focuses on the interactive and communicative learning process of collective action through the dialogue among activists (pp. 102-103). The framework is based on four “interrelated and reinforcing forms of communication” consisting of (1) *awareness* of the tactic or repertoires of contention in another country, (2) *translation* through a “meaningful dialogue between potential transmitters and potential receivers about the relevance of the contentious tactic or repertoire outside of its original setting”, (3) *experimentation* to see whether the foreign tactic function in the social context of the adopters, and (4) *movement application* leading to the “expansion of small-scale applications into a sustained and massive

social movement” (Chabot, 2010, p. 107). Through this framework, Chabot explores the cognitive processes of diffusion with an emphasis on the perceptive and communicative dimensions of collective action.

Inspired by Chabot’s approach, Romanos (2016) also uses “dialogical diffusion” model in his work on the cross-national diffusion of *inclusiveness*, which refers to the “promotion of the inclusion of all participants, in all their diversity, in the decision-making processes within this ‘movement of movements’”, from the Indignados movement to the Occupy Wall Street movement (p. 252). His work emphasizes “the interactive, relational and dynamic dimension of the transnational diffusion of social movements”, and highlights “the role of agency, which has been underestimated in other, more structural approaches to diffusion” (Romanos, 2016, p. 258). Romanos’ emphasis on the agency and his approach to refining the content of diffusion based on its impact on the agency of the protesters, which goes beyond the classical understanding of innovation as the content of diffusion, can also be seen in his other significant work *From Tahrir to Puerta del Sol to Wall Street: The Transnational Diffusion of Social Movements in Comparative Perspective* published in 2016. Based on Gamson’s concept of *agency* as a central component of collective action frame referring to “the awareness that it is possible to alter conditions or policies through collective action”, Romanos (2016) argues that the agency component of collective action frames travels mainly through the nonrelational channels (p. 107). Considering his findings, he (2016) states that “ideational elements are diffused easily through indirect channels, whereas behavioral innovations require interpersonal contact to be properly diffused” (p. 115).

Similar to the emphasis on the interaction in Chabot’s model, Tarrow and della Porta (2012) propose the interactive diffusion model. They focus on the role of interaction between the protesters and police, and examine how “coevolution of opposing forces” shapes the diffusion of new social movements (della Porta & Tarrow, 2012, p. 124). With their emphasis on learning as an interactive and causal mechanism in the diffusion of collective action, the authors argue that this “composite mechanism” consists of three other mechanisms: *Promotion*, which is “the proactive intervention by a sender actor aimed at deliberate diffusion of an innovation”, *assessment*, which refers to “the analysis of information on past events and their definition as successes or failures, which leads to adaption of the innovation to new sites and situations”, and *theorization*, which means “the location of technical innovation within broader normative and cognitive framework” (p. 127). Through these mechanisms and the interactions between the

protesters and the police, a “reciprocal adaptation” and the “coevolution of protester and police practices” emerges cross-nationally (della Porta & Tarrow, 2012, p. 125-142).

The works of Paulo Gerbaudo (2013; 2016; 2017) focus more on the cultural and communicative dimensions of diffusion in the changing dynamics of the new protest waves. Gerbaudo (2013) primarily argues that the recent dynamics of cross-national and transnational protest interactions require a “nuanced understanding of the processes of protest diffusion” (p. 91). Based on the empirical findings, he suggests that the possibility of a proper diffusion of collective action components “depends on their ability to achieve cultural resonance in new geographic areas” (p. 90). While Gerbaudo (2013) highlights the facilitating role of previously acknowledged similarity and proximity factors, he further argues that the cultural resonance “between innovative protest frames and repertoires and pre-existing local values and customs” (p. 99). Especially similarities between protest cultures and cultural contexts of the play a significant role in the transmission and translation of the adopted tactics, ideas, or frames. Gerbaudo (2016) also acknowledges the *emotional contagion* in social media during the protests through the resonance of the emotional messages, and this emotional communication in social media leads to *moments of digital enthusiasm*. Gerbaudo (2016) defines these moments as “necessarily transient phases of intense, positive emotional mood emerging in political online conversations in proximity to major protest events” and they energize the movement participation and diffusion consequently (p. 255).

Gerbaudo’s emphasis on resonance can be seen more strongly in the works of Oikonomakis and Roos (2014; 2016). Criticizing the linear and causal conceptualization of diffusion and its assumptions about the unidirectional relationship between the fixed categories of transmitter and adopter groups, the authors argue that the conventional understanding of diffusion cannot explain the endogenous and cross-directional protest interactions that emerge through multiple channels of communication spontaneously. Based on this criticism, they propose resonance as the alternative mechanism to diffusion. The combination of “shared structural conditions” that enable potential protesters to identify themselves with protesters experiencing similar struggles and grievances in a foreign context, and “local horizontal movement experience and pre-formed autonomous activist networks” that ease mobilization processes in the local context cause the resonance of a local protest in another country and activate the dormant potential for mobilization (Oikonomakis & Roos, 2016, pp. 230). Rather than explicitly causing a mobilization through a linear relationship running from a transmitter group to an adopter group, resonance occurs as “the spontaneous activation of latent but pre-existing potential for

mobilization” by the multiple sources of inspiration through wave-like interactions between protesting groups (Roos & Oikonomakis, 2014, p. 119).

While these works successfully challenge the traditional understanding of diffusion by proposing alternative mechanisms and pathways, the advancement of thin/thick diffusion typology by della Porta and her colleagues can be considered as the most influential theoretical attempt to refine the theorization of diffusion in accordance with the changing dynamics of the contentious politics. In their comparative analysis of the Global Justice Movement during the 2000s and the post-2008 protest wave, della Porta and Mattoni (2014) “differentiate between thick and thin processes of diffusion, with the latter being more common today than in the past, partly due to the spread of information and communication technologies” (p. 285). While the Global Justice Movement was shaped by thick diffusion which occurred through the communications and meetings of the global organizational network of social movements and grassroots, the post-2008 era resulted in a new and thin form of diffusion:

Information travelled quickly from individual to individual through social networking sites, frequently in combination with portable mobile devices like smart phones. The ability of individuals to communicate the content of protests was therefore important to spreading imageries in the global wave of protest. More important than social movement organisations and social movement groups were activists who designed and provided web platforms able to function as content aggregators, to navigate the impressive amount of information produced in the framework of protests. The diffusion of information on the protest was therefore characterised by a weak organisational process of transnationalisation. Occasions for face-to-face communication might have improved in time at the individual level – activists travelling cheaply and often – but collective arenas for transnational encounters like the social forum were less central. Indeed, the protest camps like the Spanish *acampadas* quickly achieved world visibility, but were mainly national, if not local in the range of people involved. (Della Porta & Mattoni, 2014, p. 286).

In her later studies, della Porta also utilizes and further develops the concept of thin diffusion to theoretically capture and conceptually define the recent spread of collective action. Describing it as a form of diffusion based on “the almost instantaneous exchange of information and content of protest through the individual use of new social media” (della Porta et al., 2022, p. 3), della Porta and her colleagues use the concept to categorize the diffusion across the recent protests and protest waves such as the hot autumn of 2019 with “massive protests, including millions’ marches and civil disobedience, erupting contemporaneously in Lebanon and Iraq, Chile and Ecuador, Barcelona and London” (della Porta, 2020, p. 117) and the Black Lives Matter protests in Europe during the 2020s (della Porta et al., 2022; della Porta et al., 2023).

Apart from the thin/thick diffusion typology, she also proposes different frameworks or concepts to refine the traditional diffusion theory. To illustrate, the eventful understanding of protests as the critical junctures and the cracking events formulates these protests with transformative capacities on both individuals and structures, and they spread to different sites of protests through the cognitive liberation and emotional intensification that are experienced during the interactions in these events (della Porta, 2008; 2018). Furthermore, della Porta and Mattoni (2014) advise social movement scholars to focus on three major directions to refine the theorization of the diffusion of collective action:

Some uncharted territories of diffusion, including cases in which diffusion processes failed to happen, and the diffusion of social movement actions and frames within supranational institutional actors; the cross-time dimension in the spread of protest practices and ideas across different cycles of protest; and the role of social media platforms in the rapid diffusion of information, and hence again of contentious performances and collective action frames, across different protest contexts. (p. 284)

Considering their emphasis on the cross-time dimension of the diffusion, the authors argue that diffusion happens across time either through the reactivation of veteran activists that bring “their specific visions and experiences” to the struggle or through the memory which “act as lenses able to shape the reception and therefore the diffusion of mobilisations occurring in other countries” (della Porta & Mattoni, 2014, p. 281). The emergence of new waves, which diffuse cross-nationally, is also highly related to the diffusion of tactics, repertoires, ideas or frames from the previous waves through these previously mentioned channels, from this perspective. Similar analyses of cross-temporal diffusion of collective action through moral framing or interaction of past memories with the current conditions by several scholars such as Zamponi and Daphi (2014), or Fominaya and Jiménez (2014).

This review, which spans approximately 140 years and is perhaps excessively long, aims to elucidate some foundational issues regarding the conceptual evolution of diffusion in social movement studies and its current limitations in capturing the dynamics of recent protests and social movements. Prior to the final discussion about these limitations, it is necessary to acknowledge that diffusion continues to be an effective approach for comprehending and analyzing a multitude of cases, and it remains one of the foundational concepts, offering considerable explanatory power. Nevertheless, in light of the altered circumstances of collective action observed over the past 15 years, it becomes evident that this concept requires revision, as della Porta has persistently urged and as I have discussed in this review. Ontologically formulated as a reaction to the fundamental assumptions of the Le Bonian paradigm, diffusion

has usually been conceptualized and defined with a minimal emphasis on the cognitive and cultural dimensions, stripped of the emotions and emotional processes that were long treated as the blasphemous remnants of the past. In this traditional approach, the fixed categories of adopters and transmitters are depicted as rational actors who make strategic decisions, yet their agency is largely overlooked and constrained by structural and institutional conditions. This conceptualization of diffusion is constrained by its reliance on innovation as the fundamental element and on adoption as a central mechanism. Consequently, the increasing fluidity of the recent spread of collective action is confined to a narrow analytical framework that is primarily based on the adoption of an innovation as the principal practice of the activists. The fundamental emphasis on adoption and innovation along with similarity and proximity factors is still important in understanding various forms of diffusion, however, it often falls short of providing comprehensive explanations of how and why such factors function within the changing context of the fluid dynamics of recent contentious politics.

The recent studies including the ones reviewed in this section have significantly challenged these perspectives by proposing new mechanisms and typological explanations because “frames and repertoires often spread in distant and diverse places and are adapted to different situations with varying degrees of mobilizing capacity” (della Porta, 2017, p. 14). However, diffusion still remains as an eclectic umbrella concept that has been preferred by social movement scholars over other concepts which consequently leads to a conceptual path-dependency that finally eliminated the alternative yet undertheorized frameworks. This situation causes a fundamental problem today: Considering its narrowed conceptual boundaries confining eclectic definitions failing to determine whether diffusion is a cause, an effect, a mechanism, a process, or an element of collective action, employing the traditional concept of diffusion poses the risk of producing restricted -even misleading- analyses that may fail to accurately capture the dynamics of social movements that transcend its conceptual assumptions. Furthermore, since diffusion has been transformed into a primary theoretical framework that has been acknowledged for decades as a central concept of social movement studies by various prominent scholars, the alternative frameworks and concepts criticizing these issues have not received similar efforts to theorize or attention in general from neither the social movement scholars nor the audience of this literature. Despite the use of several words such as *influencing*, *inspiring*, *impacting*, *triggering*, *activating*, or *spreading* as discussing the fluid and loose connections between the recent protests and social movements in different parts of the world, none of these concepts have been theorized systematically to be used as explanatory

frameworks. Considering all these issues, the revision of the conceptualization of diffusion is necessary not only for the concept itself but also for the social movement studies in general.

As discussed throughout this review, we already have some signs and directions about where to look to pursue this objective. In recent works, the increasing role and agency of the micro-level actors such as individual protesters and activist groups have been highlighted, and the traditional theorization of diffusion of collective action often neglects exploration and analysis of such issues. Adopting a more agentic approach focusing on the experiences and interactions of the protesters would be an important step to refine and revise the conceptualization of diffusion in social movement studies. This step is also significantly bound to the exploration of the cultural dimensions of the cross-national spread of collective action, particularly the emotional and cognitive experiences and meaning-making processes of the protesters. Integrating the emotional and cognitive components of collective action and their role in the relations between the mobilizations in different countries into the theorization of diffusion is crucial to understanding the influential role of activists in the spread of protests and the micro-mechanisms of diffusion. Le Bonian contagion theory is surely outdated and highly flawed, yet its emphasis on emotions as the driving forces of the spread of collective action should be cautiously taken into consideration again. The literature on the emotional and cognitive processes of collective action is more fruitful than ever: Especially during the 2010s, various scholars such as James Jasper (2010; 2014; 2018), Jeff Goodwin (2015), Tova Benski (2013; 2015), Jacqueliën van Stelekelenburg (2013), and Bert Klandermans (2018) have investigated such processes of protests and their impacts on the recent protests and social movements through mechanisms and frameworks such as *theories of appraisal*, *constellations of emotions*, *emotional maps of participation* or the typologies of the emotions and their influences in the collective action. Yet, empirical analysis of their impact on the cross-national diffusion of protests is still to be developed. With a more cultural and agentic approach, an attempt to bridge the gap between the scholarly literatures on protest diffusion and emotions of collective action can be considered as another step for the refinement of the existing theories. But more important than these steps, it is crucial to revise the main ontological formulations of diffusion in social movement studies and redefine its mechanisms and conceptual boundaries. As this long review demonstrates, the current situation of the concept is not a new issue yet a consequence of a conceptual evolution. High reliance on the similarity and proximity factors with a structural understanding has failed to capture the fluid spread of the spirit of collective action across distant and distinct geographies. The repeated calls from prominent scholars “to expand and

redefine traditional conceptual frameworks about diffusion” and “to broaden our understanding of what happens when practices and ideas travel from one context to another” demonstrate that the situation requires a fundamental change (della Porta & Mattoni, 2014, p. 278).

In light of the aforementioned debates, my research endeavors to be a humble attempt to respond to this call and to investigate how to deal with the issues raised throughout this review. To this end, I have conducted an empirical study based on three cases that are relatively beyond the explanatory scope of the conventional understanding of the diffusion of collective action. Because I have employed Grounded Theory Methodology, I did not propose any hypotheses before the formulation of this research. Instead, I sought to design the study in an exploratory format, employing a cultural and agentic approach that focuses on the perceptions, emotions, and experiences of micro-level actors and their interactions. In consideration of the suggestions and the previously discussed gaps, I believe that seeking answers starting from the investigation of the major actors of the diffusion, namely individual activists, and their emotional and cognitive experiences may prove fruitful in identifying several clues about how to refine and revise the theorization of diffusion. Guided by this review of the existing literature on diffusion, I aim to investigate the recent spread of protests and to propose novel mechanisms that can capture these changes in the dynamics that may provide suggestions for how to proceed in the refinement of the theory.

3. CHAPTER: METHODOLOGICAL NOTES

3.1. Introduction

In this dissertation which seeks to introduce new conceptual frameworks and mechanisms due to the reasons discussed in the previous chapter, I used grounded theory methodology (GTM), particularly its evolved version developed by Corbin and Strauss (1990; 2015). GTM is a systematic and qualitative research methodology concerned with the construction of theoretical explanations grounded in collected data through inductive, abductive and constant comparative analysis (Charmaz, 2006; Charmaz, Thornberg, & Keane, 2018; Corbin & Strauss, 1990; Glaser & Strauss, 1967). This methodology seeks to “the discovery of theory from data, which is systematically obtained and analyzed in social research” (Glaser & Strauss, 1967, p. 1), thus it is particularly useful to analyze theoretically unlikely or novel phenomena that require a new theoretical perspective. As a methodology that epistemologically relies on social interactionism and pragmatism, GTM helps the researcher understand micro-level actors’ actions and interactions within a meso and macro social context by exploring “how logic and emotion combine to influence how persons respond to events or handle problems through action and interaction” (Corbin & Strauss, 2015, p. 33). It, consequently, “allows for identification of general concepts, the development of theoretical explanations that reach beyond the known and offers new insights into a variety of experiences and phenomena” (Corbin & Strauss, 2015, p. 28). Considering the theoretically unlikely nature of the three cases and the need for a revision of collective action diffusion theory, GTM appeared to be suitable for this research. In the next sections, I discuss the fundamental principles and methodological procedures of GTM, its potential for social movement research, the justification and application of using GTM in this research along with some epistemological questions.

3.2. Grounded Theory: Fundamental Principles

GTM is a vastly used yet *contested* qualitative methodology in social sciences (Bryant & Charmaz, 2007). The methodology was first introduced in 1967 by Barney Glaser and Anselm Strauss, two American sociologists concentrating on medical sociology, with a positivist, pragmatist and inductive epistemological approach to address the criticisms of the qualitative methodology as an eclectic and subjective research tradition. In their book *Discovery of Grounded Theory: Strategies for Qualitative Research* (1967), GTM was designed as a systematic methodology “to codify and systematize implicit methodological strategies for

analyzing qualitative data and moving the analysis into explicit theoretical statements” (Wertz, et al., 2011, p. 57). Glaser’s strong emphasis on the positivist objectivity in knowledge production and neutrality of the researcher was later challenged by Strauss and his student Juliet Corbin, adopting a symbolic interactionist approach combined with pragmatism (1990; 2015). Apart from their distinct coding methods focusing on social interactions and their consequences within a context, Corbin and Strauss (1990; 2015) further stress the importance of recognizing the impact of the researcher’s subjectivity (Bryant et al., 2007). This symbolic interactionist approach was further developed and evolved into a separate constructivist branch by Kathy Charmaz, an American sociologist trained by Glaser and Strauss. With her emphasis on flexibility in the methodological procedures, the researcher’s reflexivity, and the interpretivist approach in data analysis, Charmaz refuses the linear analysis process with fixed procedures and “treat grounded theory methods as constituting a craft that researchers practice” (Charmaz, 2006, p. 10). These three approaches, which can be categorized as the traditional Glaserian School, the interactionist Strauss and Corbin School and the constructivist Charmaz School, constitute the three main doctrines of GTM yet there are even more approaches that differ ontologically and epistemologically (Bryant et al., 2007).

Despite the variety in the approaches to GTM, there are several widely agreed principles and procedures that define this methodology. First and foremost, GTM is a *qualitative* methodology that consists of a “family of methods” and methodological procedures to analyze data from various types of sources (Charmaz & Bryant, 2007). This analysis epistemologically relies on *induction*, which Charmaz (2006) defines as “a type of reasoning that begins with study of a range of individual cases and extrapolates patterns from them to form a conceptual category” (p. 188). GTM was initiated as opposed to “position with theory generated by logical deduction from a priori assumptions” and “arriving at theory suited to its supposed uses” through inductive analysis remains a fundamental principle of different GTM approaches (Glaser & Strauss, 1967, p. 3). This does not mean that GTM completely ignores the deductive analysis as various researchers benefit from deductive and abductive methods in their GTM-based research (Bryant, Charmaz, Ugruhart, 2007). Still, induction is the epistemological heart of GTM even if it is supported by abductive and deductive elements. The inductive construction of a theoretical framework through the abstraction of empirical data is the main premise of GTM. This construction process is also motivated by the willingness to introduce novel explanatory - and exploratory- frameworks “for new areas, as well as better theories for areas where previous ones do not work” (Glaser & Strauss, 1967, p. 11). As Glaser and Strauss (1967) argue, some

of the existing theories “do not fit, or do not work, or are not sufficiently understandable to be used and are therefore useless in research, theoretical advance and practical application”, therefore, the inductive introduction of novel theories grounded in empirical data is required (p. 11).

Induction and qualitative analysis are fundamentals of GTM, yet they are not the unique features of this methodology. Acknowledging this situation, Jane Hood (2007) argues that what differs GTM from *Generic Inductive Qualitative Model* methodologies is the combination of three distinct principles: “(1) theoretical sampling, (2) constant comparison of data to theoretical categories, and (3) focus on the development of theory via theoretical saturation of categories rather than substantive verifiable findings” (p. 163). Hood (2007) refers to these principles as “Troublesome Trinity” and she argues that “all three brands of GT (Glaserian, Straussian, and Charmazian) rest upon these three principles even though they vary somewhat in how each is implemented” (p. 163). Among these principles, theoretical sampling is “the process of data collection for generating theory whereby the analyst jointly collects, codes, and analyzes his data and decides what data to collect next and where to find them, in order to develop his theory as it emerges” (Glaser & Strauss, 1967). Considering the exploratory nature of GTM, theoretical sampling enables the researchers to “to develop the properties of his or her developing categories or theory, not to sample randomly selected populations or to sample representative distributions of a particular population” (Charmaz, 2006, p. 189). The sample group is both determined and expanded based on the simultaneous analysis of the data collected. As Corbin and Strauss (2015) argue, in GTM the data analysis is not a consecutive step after the data collection but instead, these two steps happen simultaneously in a circular way:

Unlike conventional methods of sampling, researchers do not go out and collect all the data before beginning the analysis. Analysis begins after the first data are collected. Data collection is followed by analysis. Analysis leads to concepts. Concepts generate questions. Questions lead to more data collection so that the researcher can learn more about those concepts. This circular process continues until the research reaches the point of saturation—that is, the point in the research when all major categories are fully developed, show variation, and are integrated. (p. 147)

This feature of theoretical sampling is also associated with the constant comparative method. In GTM, the data is processed through a coding procedure that aims at labeling the pieces of empirical data as abstract codes and analyzing their relations to construct further conceptual categories that end up with the formulation of an explanatory theoretical framework (Corbin and Straus, 2015). As Charmaz (2006) mentions, the codes are “emergent” as they are

constructed inductively through their comparative analysis unlike the “preconceived categories or codes” that are applied by the quantitative methods (pp. 186-187). This comparative construction process relies on the constant comparative method, which is “a method of analysis that generates successively more abstract concepts and theories through inductive processes of comparing data with data, data with category, category with category, and category with concept” (Charmaz, 2007, p. 197). The process continues constantly as the new data is added through theoretical sampling and new concepts are constructed. This “act of taking one piece of datum and examining it against another piece of datum” does not only enable the researchers “to reduce data to concepts, to develop concepts in terms of their properties and dimensions, and to differentiate one concept from another” (Corbin & Strauss, 2015, p. 111) but also “assists the researcher to guard against bias” and “help to achieve greater precision (the grouping of like and only like phenomena), plus consistency (always grouping like with like)” (Corbin & Strauss, 1990, p. 421).

A crucial procedure to accomplish this form of analysis is memo writing. Lempert (2007) defines memos as “the narrated records of a theorist’s analytical conversations with him/herself about the research data” and they function as “adaptable narrative tools for developing ideas and elaborating the social worlds of research sites” (p. 247). The memo writing process consists of the researcher’s interaction with the data and “provide particular ways of knowing” (Lempert, 2007, p. 247). It is an essential procedure in GTM as it enables the researchers to “stop and analyze their ideas about their codes and emerging categories in whatever way that occurs to them” (Charmaz, 2007, p. 188). Lempert (2007) highlights that memo writing is important not only for analytical reasons, but it also allows the researchers to “find their own voice” through this interactive and creative mental process (p. 247). The analytical triangle consisting of theoretical sampling, constant comparative method and memo writing continues in a circular way until reaching the theoretical saturation point, which means that “each category is well defined and developed in terms of its properties and dimensions and includes sufficient variation to show the range to which the categories apply” (Corbin & Strauss, 2015, p. 203). Corbin and Strauss (2015) particularly highlight that theoretical sampling is “not determined by how many interviews or observations are done” but the explanatory power of the conceptual categories for different dimensions of the phenomena under investigation (p. 203). Reaching theoretical saturation also demonstrates that the researcher is ready to construct and introduce a novel theoretical explanation based on this complex analysis process.

I followed these fundamental principles and procedures in this dissertation, yet, my approach is particularly closer to the Corbin and Strauss School, with a Charmazian constructivist touch regarding the issues of positionality and reflexivity. The main reason for this is the Corbin and Strauss school's symbolic interactionist approach that captures the connection between the actions of the micro-level actors and their interactions with/ within macro-level conditions and processes. This approach aims to grasp the "complexity of the relationships between conditions, actions–interactions, and consequences" within social and political contexts of the phenomena under investigation (Corbin & Straus, 2015, p. 170). Such interactive analysis of the *micro* and *macro* uncovers the linkages between the actions/interactions of microscopic agents and broader social processes or contextual conditions that "include economic conditions, cultural values, political trends, social movements" (Corbin & Strauss, 1990, p. 422). Diffusion of collective action seems a suitable phenomenon to be explained by this approach: It consists of the activities of micro-level actors, interactions of meso-level social and political groups, and macrolevel sociopolitical and cultural conditions. Analysis of the actions and interactions of micro-level actors including individual protesters and activist groups to explain a cross-national social process such as diffusion through this analytical framework can be theoretically fruitful to achieve the objectives of this research.

Corbin and Strauss School's primary focus on the microscopic actors and their *actions* was also another significant reason for me to use this approach. As the central concept of this approach, *actions* are actors' activities including cognitive, emotional and relational ones that "are embedded in interactions", "carry meanings and are locatable within systems of meanings" and "may generate further meanings" (p. 44). As for conceptualizing actions, Corbin and Strauss (2015) refuse dualism between action and emotion, stating that "one can't separate emotion from action; they flow together one leading into the other" (p. 45). They argue that "emotions enter meanings that are assigned to events and are part of the contextual factors that influence response to problems and events through action and interaction" (p. 49). Considering this position regarding the cognitive and emotional processes, the procedures of this GTM school are designed to "be culturally sensitive and applicable to individuals as well as to larger organizations and societies" (p. 33) and to uncover beliefs, meanings, decisions, behaviors, logic, emotions and feelings that can explain individuals' responses to specific incidents or problems (p. 33). As my research questions are formulated around the investigation of the emotional, cognitive, cultural and relational processes of the diffusion processes from an

agentic and cultural perspective, the analytical and methodological toolbox of this GTM approach seems to be a perfect fit.

Apart from the specific features of the Corbin and Strauss School that can be useful for this research, GTM in general functions efficiently for the social movement research adopting a cultural approach. GTM has only recently been discovered by social movement scholars despite its “opportunity to combine in a consistent research design different methods of data gathering that scholars are familiar with in social movement studies” (Mattoni, 2014, p. 23). Pointing out this condition, Alice Mattoni (2014) argues that Grounded Theory has a significant potential for social movement studies that concentrate on cognitive and emotional processes as a consistent methodology that provides a systematic research procedure with specific methodological tools and practices (p. 38). She adds that:

Due to the importance that grounded theory assigns to the perceptions, meanings, and emotions of the subjects under study, this research strategy seems particularly suitable for investigations about cultural processes in social movements, in which the researcher focuses on the meanings and interpretations linked to contentious collective actions. (Mattoni, 2014, p. 38)

As a methodology that enables the researcher to explain the micro and macro conditions by revealing “specific linkages between conditions, actions, and consequences” (Corbin & Strauss, 2015, p. 171), GTM is an effective methodological alternative to deal with the “methodological and measurement problems with regard to identity, emotions and culture” in social movement research (Klandermans & Staggenborg, 2002, p. xii). Considering this research’s focus on the emotional, cognitive and cultural processes of collective action, I believe that GTM appears particularly suited to its scope and design. As the purposes of the use of GTM and its Strauss-Corbin version in this study are explained in this section, the next one focuses on the introduction to the procedures of operationalization in this methodological approach.

3.3. Procedures of GTM and Its Implementation in This Study

GTM is a methodology that starts with the formulation of research questions. The research topic that is addressed in the question can be a new phenomenon or a novel problem, it can be derived from the researchers’ personal experiences or the relevant literature. The review of the relevant kinds of literature can reveal “a relatively unexplored area”, “a topic in need of further development”, “contradictions or ambiguities among the accumulated published studies and writings”, or the need for a new theoretical approach “to solve an old problem even though it has been well studied in the past” (Corbin & Strauss, 2015, p. 54). Once the research topic is

detected, Corbin and Strauss (2015) advise the researchers to formulate their research questions “broad and open-ended”, “leading the researcher in directions often unanticipated at the beginning of the research” (Corbin & Strauss, 2015, p. 70). In this research, I endeavored to adhere to the aforementioned counsel and formulate a comprehensive yet concise research question. I took great care to ensure that, despite its straightforward language, the question encapsulates both the empirical and theoretical puzzle. The question that has emerged from these efforts is as follows:

RQ: *Why and how does a protest have an inspirational influence on individuals in a distant country?*

A significant issue that should be addressed during and after the formulation of the research question is how to approach the relevant literature while keeping an explorative and open mind. Considering the potential stimulating impact of literature on detecting a research puzzle, Corbin and Strauss (2015) advise the researchers to have a “familiarity with the relevant literature” (p. 69). While this may seem a standard procedure in qualitative methods, the knowledge of literature is indeed a very controversial issue in GTM. Since its introduction by Glaser and Strauss, GTM requires an *open mind* to formulate a new explanation that should not be biased by a priori knowledge, hypotheses and theoretical frameworks in the literature. To achieve this, the Glaserian school defends a very limited interaction with existing literature. From this perspective, *theoretical sensitivity*, which refers to the researcher’s ability and training to formulate a new theory through methodology, can be lost when the researcher is “preoccupied” with “testing, modifying and seeing everything from this one angle” relying on the extensive theoretical knowledge of relevant theories (Glaser & Strauss, 1967, p. 46). The researcher, consequently, “can no longer ‘see around’” and the new theory emerges not from data but from the preconceived theoretical frameworks. While Corbin and Strauss similarly defend that the researcher “should have an open mind and be open to contradictions to assumptions” (p. 56), they argue that having “some degree of knowledge of the literature related to their professional specialty and interests” does not necessarily “block discovery of new concepts” with an open and creative approach. The existing literature and theoretical framework can “provide insight, direction, and an initial set of concepts to use as a starting point for developing new concepts and expanding old ones” (p. 71). The significant point is to know “when and how to use the literature so that it enhances rather than detracts from analysis” and to not allow it to dominate the formulation of new ideas (p. 73). Keeping journals of research processes through memo

writing and acknowledging the existence of potential biases/assumptions before the analysis can be good strategies to avoid this problem.

Starting from the initial research formulation and taking these recommendations into account, I approached the phenomenon under investigation with an open-minded position without proposing any hypothesis before data analysis. Before starting the data collection, I began keeping a research diary and taking notes, including diagrams, to track and visualize my ideas as well as any a priori assumptions about the research (see *Appendix D* for an example page of the research diary). This allowed me to monitor these assumptions before data collection and to limit their potential impact on the analysis by acknowledging them. Following Corbin and Strauss' suggestion of having "a familiarity with the relevant literature", I delved into the theoretical discussions and scholarly debates on *diffusion* to increase my theoretical sensitivity which guided both theoretical sampling and data collection processes (Corbin & Strauss, 2015, p. 68). My interactions with literature also helped me with detecting the gaps and ambiguities that I can focus more on such as the absence of emotional and cognitive dimensions of the collective action that can be fruitful in diffusion-related discussions. Exploring the perceptions, emotions and motivations of the protesters rather than testing a theoretical hypothesis about them remained the central objective both before and during data collection.

The data collection starts after the formulation of the research questions in GTM. The data can be gathered from various types of data sources which "include but are not limited to interviews, observations, videos, documents, drawings, diaries, group meetings, memoirs, newspapers, historical documents, and biographies" (Corbin & Strauss, 2015, p. 57). While the analysis can be grounded in one type of data source, different types of data sources can be combined for the analysis. Among all types of data sources, Corbin and Strauss particularly highlight the richness of the interviews and observations for theory building. Considering the purpose of deriving theoretical explanations from the actions of microscopic actors, these data sources "allow participants the opportunity to discuss the issues and problems that are most important to them and to go into topics in considerable depth" (Corbin & Strauss, 2015, p. 72). Once the initial data sources are determined, the data collection, which is accompanied by theoretical sampling and constant comparative method, starts simultaneously with the data analysis through a coding procedure. Corbin and Strauss (2015) summarize this process in general as follows:

Regardless of the type of data used, they are analyzed by means of a process termed constant comparisons. In doing constant comparisons, data are broken down into manageable pieces with each piece compared for similarities and differences. Data that

are similar in nature (referring to something conceptually similar but not necessarily a repeat of the same action or incident) are grouped together under the same conceptual heading. Through further analysis, concepts are grouped together by the researcher to form categories (sometimes referred to as themes). Each category is developed in terms of its properties and dimensions, and eventually the different categories are integrated around a core category. The core category describes in a few words what the researcher identifies as the major theme of the study. Taken together, the core category and other categories provide the structure of the theory. (p. 29)

The coding procedure has a variation among the different schools of GTM and the Corbin-Strauss approach uses a three-stage procedure consisting of open, axial and selective coding. Open coding is an exploratory and interpretive procedure where the raw data “are broken down analytically” and then “conceptually labeled” (Corbin & Strauss, 1990, p. 423). Once the data is fractured into units, which can be words, sentences, lines, paragraphs, passages, visuals, etc., these fractions of data are then assigned codes that are abstract and conceptual labels. They can be “either words informed by the language use of actors in the field (so called ‘in vivo codes’) or notions drawn from sociological terminology” (Kelle, 2007, p. 199). The constant comparison among the codes in this procedure also shapes the abstraction and labeling process. Open coding is followed by axial coding, in which the initial codes are compared with each other to be grouped under broader conceptual categories. Corbin and Strauss (2015) describe axial coding as “coding around a category” and these categories are constructed based on the relationship between the codes by also considering the actions and interactions of the participants and their consequences in relation to the phenomena under investigation (p. 166). The last stage is selective coding, which is “the process by which all categories are unified around a central ‘core’ category and categories that need further explication are filled-in with descriptive detail” (Corbin & Strauss, 1990, p. 424). The core category is “a concept that is abstract and broad enough to be representative of all participants in the study” and it is constructed through the integration of previously introduced conceptual categories (p. 194). As it functions as the final product of the analysis, it has the “greatest explanatory power and the ability to link the other categories to it and each other” (p. 194). Once the core category is constructed, the novel theoretical and conceptual contribution is built upon this theoretical base grounded in the empirical data. During this whole process, the constant comparison method, memo writing, and theoretical sampling accompany the analysis.

In this research, the primary data source is textual data gathered from 61 semi-structured in-depth interviews (see *Appendix A* and *Appendix B* for the detailed list of interviews). Following Corbin and Strauss’ recommendations, I started data collection by conducting interviews with

the protesters who participated in 1) the 2013 protests in Brazil for the analysis of *Summer Case*, 2) the 2019 protests in Spain for the analysis of *Autumn Case*, and 3) the 2019/2020 protests in Turkey for the analysis of *Winter Case*. Since the focus of this research is to understand how people are inspired by foreign and distant protests, the interviewee sample only covers protesters from the adopter country in each case. The interviewees were identified through a combination of snowball and theoretical sampling. For each case, I started from my academic and personal contacts and expanded the sample group based on the findings. While I followed the principles of theoretical sampling, I also paid attention to including protesters from different gender groups, cities, sectors and ages. Interviewees' personal experiences and activism histories, their perception of protests and protesters in transmitter countries, their emotional responses to these protests and their interpretation of the references to transmitter countries were investigated based on the sensitizing concepts such as *diffusion*, *resonance*, and *motivation*. While I conducted 50 interviews personally through both online and offline methods in total, I also received 11 interview transcripts conducted by two other researchers for the *Summer Case*. These secondary data sources were included in the study after consultation with the researchers who conducted the interviews, after obtaining their consent, and after determining their suitability for this study methodologically and ethically. For the *Autumn* and *Summer* cases, most of the interviews were conducted in English yet I benefitted from the local translators and translation software for a few participants who preferred speaking in Spanish, Portuguese and/or Catalan. Each interview lasted an average of one hour and was conducted after written and verbal informed consent was obtained from the participants. All interviews were transcribed and categorized in order to be used in coding procedures.

During the data collection and analysis processes, I conducted two fieldwork activities to both increase my familiarity with the contexts of the cases and to collect further data through interviews and observations. The first fieldwork was undertaken in Barcelona, Spain in November 2021 for the analysis of the *Autumn Case* while the second fieldwork was in Istanbul, Turkey in January 2023 for the analysis of the *Winter Case*. Apart from conducting interviews, these field works provided rich data through the observations. I kept fieldwork journals to be analyzed and used in memo writing; visited symbolic locations, academic institutions, activist headquarters and think tanks; had several informal conversations with activists, journalists, academics; and observed and participated in public campaigns and demonstrations related to the cases under investigation. The fieldwork journals including observations were integrated into the data analysis. Furthermore, the memos I kept during data collection, visual materials

including video footage from the protests, and the secondary visual and textual sources involving the interviews with or documents/posters/brochures/flyers released by from the protesters, organizations and activist groups were also used as complementary data sources for the analysis.

Each case was analyzed separately, and distinct theoretical frameworks were developed for each of them. The data was processed through the three-stage coding procedure consisting of open, axial and selective coding stages. In the open coding, I started the data analysis by line-by-line coding, in which the researcher assigns a conceptual and abstract code to each line in textual data, yet I then moved to passage-by-passage coding by grouping a couple of lines that present a more meaningful and connected data fractions and coding them. Once the initials codes were created, I reviewed and reclassified those that were semantically or linguistically similar under the same codes. For example, I combined codes such as “police brutality”, “police violence”, “violent actions of police against protesters” under the code “police violence”. In the axial coding, I introduced conceptual categories with higher abstraction and explanatory power by combining these codes based on their frequency and relations with each other. As I repeated this procedure for a couple of rounds to formulate major conceptual categories for each case, I integrated the action-reaction-consequences analytical triangle into this concept construction process. In the final stage, which is the selective coding, I introduced the core categories to which all conceptual categories are connected. Consequently, the original theoretical frameworks and mechanisms were presented based on these core categories for each case. While all these frameworks/mechanisms function to explain their own cases, I also comparatively analyzed them along with the cases in the conclusion chapter to further discuss how the findings can be used to refine and revise the theory of collective action diffusion.

In the analysis process, I also benefitted from Charmaz’s ideas on reflexivity and positionality. I was already aware of the role of my reflexivity as a researcher in data analysis, yet the *Winter Case*, which specifically includes the analysis of the feminist struggles in Turkey and Chile, challenged me to engage more in these discussions and to face the potential impact of my identities and social positions in the knowledge production process starting from the research formulation to writing style, to methodological choices to the presentation of the findings. As a cis, heterosexual, Sunni, Turkish male from a secular middle-class background with agrarian roots, the feminist methodological readings along with the constructivist grounded theory discussions help me realize that my “positionality may limit his/her ability to adequately understand the respondent’s value system, indigenous perspective worldview, or experiences”

(Green et al., 2007, p. 482). This realization enabled me to explore and acknowledge my identities and their inevitable limitations, to track their impact on the research process and to invest more time and effort in empathizing more with the research participants and learning more about their contexts. Although I cannot overcome the impact of my identities and social position completely, at least the process helps me with the realization of how limited I can be by acknowledging this fact while presenting the findings. Throughout the whole research process, I tried to be transparent and self-reflexive regarding this issue. The next section describes each case in general and justifies the case selection.

3.4. Case Selection and Rationale

As previously mentioned in the *Introduction* chapter, I analyzed three cases that cover the relationship between protests in two countries that are distant from each other linguistically, geographically, historically, culturally and also in terms of strong organizational ties among the protesting groups. This relationship can refer to the diffusion of various behavioral and ideational components of the collective action from one country to the other or the visible inspirational and motivational influence of one protest in a country to other individuals and/or activist groups/organizations/social movements in another country (or both of them). Considering this condition, the cases can be classified as the “least likely cases” because of the emergence of cross-national relationships resembling the patterns of diffusion in the absence or limited presence of the theoretically acknowledged proximity and similarity factors or strong organizational networks among the activists. To capture the changing dynamics of the spread of collective action that has consequently required a revision of the theory of protest diffusion and to contribute to these theoretical discussions, I selected them from the period, particularly after the 2007-2008 Global Financial Crisis. Regarding the case number, I thought that three would be a sufficient number to observe some patterns through a comparative analysis to offer theoretical suggestions for the revision of diffusion theory with the time and resources I had during my 4-year PhD program. I also decided to select cases mostly from the non-European and non-North American contexts to extend the contextual and geographical scope of the theoretical discussions regarding the diffusion of collective action and contentious politics in general.

These three cases are 1) the relationship between the 2013 Protests in Turkey and Brazil (*Summer Case*), 2) the relationship between the 2019 Protests in Hong Kong, China and Catalonia, Spain (*Autumn Case*), and 3) the relationship between the 2019-2020 Protests in

Chile and Turkey (*Winter Case*). All cases fulfill the abovementioned case selection criteria: (1) They consist of a cross-national protest relation between a *foreign country* (Turkey, China [Hong Kong], Chile) and a *host country* (Brazil, Spain[Catalonia], Turkey) that happened during the post-2008 Global Financial Crisis era; (2) in all these cases, the individuals in the host country either adopted the ideational and behavioral collective action elements including some tactics, strategies and frames from the protests in a foreign country or referred them as an inspirational and motivational benchmark in the repertoires of action they used during the protests; and (3) the host country and the foreign country did not share geographical, historical, linguistic and cultural proximities or well-established organizational networks between activists prior to the protests investigated in these cases. In the next sections, I describe the historical and contextual background of the protests in both host and foreign countries as well as the emergence processes of the protests themselves that are investigated in each six countries from the three cases. While these descriptions are further elaborated in a more analytical way in the designated case chapters, they are intended to help the reader understand the contexts of the cases and have a general overview of each country.

3.4.1. Summer Case: 2013 Protests in Turkey and Brazil

3.4.1.1. Foreign Country: Turkey

The *Summer Case* involves the analysis of the connection between the 2013 Protests in Turkey and Brazil. The protests in the foreign country Turkey also known as the *Gezi protests* escalated quickly at the end of May 2013 as one of the largest pro-democracy protests in the history of Turkey, yet they can be regarded as the culmination of a period that had become increasingly contentious under the AKP rule (Anisin, 2016; Damar, 2016). AKP became the government under Recep Tayyip Erdoğan's leadership in 2002 after the 2001 Economic crisis and years of failed coalitions, and the party projected a liberal, pluralist and democratic image despite its roots in the pro-Islamist political legacy in Turkey (Öniş, 2015; Yörük & Yüksel, 2014). This image, however, faded into a conservative, authoritarian and corporatist government in the following years. Restrictions on media and freedom of expression, marginalization and criminalization of the opposition parties and movements, increasing promotion of Islamic and conservative values in political discourse and government policies, corruption allegations against the members of AKP, corporatist policies in urban transformation and state-led construction projects and politicization of judicial system caused a growing dissent among various social and political groups in the late 2000s and early 2010s (Gençoğlu Onbaşı, 2016; Gürcan & Peker, 2015; Över & Taraktaş, 2017; Tuğal, 2013; Yörük & Yüksel, 2014). The

number of protests and demonstrations organized by these groups including “environmentalists, sports fans, animal activists, students, artists, academics, feminists, LGBTTQ [lesbian gay bisexual transvestite transgender queer], Kurds, Armenians, Kemalists, Turkish nationalists, Muslim socialists, street children, investment bankers and all kinds of blue as well as white-collar workers” had already increased significantly this period before the 2013 Gezi protests (Örs & Turan, 2015, p. 455).

The Gezi protests started as a peaceful sit-in protest to protest the government’s urban regeneration plan to demolish a central urban park, Gezi Park, in Taksim, Istanbul, on 27 May 2013. The initial sit-in was organized by the environmentalist solidarity group called Taksim Dayanışması (Taksim Solidarity), which was initiated by more than a hundred unions, NGOs and chambers to resist this urban project since February 2012 (Elicin, 2017). Defending the right to the city principle in urban planning, the horizontal and leaderless group already engaged in various activities including petition campaigns, public meetings, demonstrations and releasing public statements for months to cancel the project. Despite these efforts which were also supported by the opposition parties, the demolition of the park began while the group was organizing a sit-in event on May 27 (Elicin, 2017; Yörük & Yüksel, 2014). As the number of protesters was growing due to the call of the group, the government’s explicit refusal to compromise with the protesters and the violent police intervention in the peaceful protests on May 28 and 29 triggered an immediate massive public outrage. Following the spread of the scenes of police violence on social media platforms, the protests began rapidly diffusing to other cities in the following days. The dramatic increase in the detentions of peaceful protesters and the casualties of police brutality including severe injuries and deaths caused the protests to transform into a nationwide anti-governmental and pro-democratic protest wave in June 2019 (Amnesty International, 2013; Saka, 2016). In the first three weeks of the protests, over 2.5 million people participated in the protests across 79 out of 81 cities in Turkey.

The protests lasted throughout 2013 summer with a gradual decrease in intensity after June. The remaining demonstrations in the streets and squares evolved into deliberative and localized forms of action through neighborhood assemblies, forums or cooperatives (Karakaş, 2018). According to the Ministry of Interior’s official reports, more than 3.6 million citizens participated in the protests in 80 cities (except Bayburt) between May 28 and the early days of September, which was considered as the end of protests (Şardan, 2013). The Gezi protests became one of the most crowded pro-democratic protest waves in the history of the country, yet its cultural, social and political impact was beyond its numeric magnitude. Remained as

peaceful and leaderless series of protests without affiliation to any political parties or groups, the protests managed to be deliberative sites of contention habited by the pluralist and inclusive alliances of various social and political groups (Sarfati, 2015; Yüksel & Yörük, 2014). In addition to its pluralistic features that gathered groups that had never been together before, these protests also became a tactical reference point due to the protesters' innovative gears/methods to protect themselves from police violence (e.g. praying diluted talcum powder into eyes affected by pepper spray, making protective masks out of plastic bottles, etc.) and the active use of social media platforms for spreading information and tracking police attacks. The popular use of humor and the aesthetic richness of protests through various art forms such as graffiti, poetry, performance art, etc. also marked the Gezi protests as a significant cultural event with a transformative impact on both participants and supporters (Derman, 2017; Göle, 2013; Jenzen et al., 2021; Öztürkmen, 2014; Yalçıntaş, 2015; Zık, 2015).

3.4.1.2. Host Country: Brazil

Similar to the Gezi Protests, the 2013 June Protests in Brazil can be considered as the consequence of an already-contentious period in the country. While the protests were initially started by the urban right advocacy group MPL in São Paulo in June 2013, they have a legacy of decades-long urban struggles with growing satisfaction and dissent in the current Brazilian politics. Since the late 1980s, the movements demanding the improvement of urban rights, such as direct citizen participation in urban decision-making processes, advanced quality and accessibility of public services and infrastructures, and price regulation in public transportation, have been important actors in Brazilian contentious politics (Friendly, 2017; Purdy, 2019). After the introduction of the democratic constitution in 1988, these movements played a significant role in the adoption of the Statute of City that reformed the urban laws to recognize Lefebvrian “right to the city” legally and increase citizen participation to achieve social equality and justice through urban planning (Friendly, 2017). Despite the general success of the Statute of City and social policies of the newly elected PT government in 2002, urban rights groups continued their struggles such as the 2003 *Revolta do Buzú* [Bus Rebellion] in Salvador to target the remaining structural urban problems by organizing local, national and transnational level during the 2000s (Omena de Melo, 2019). As one of these groups, MPL was initiated in 2005 at the World Social Forum in Porto Alegre officially and began its operations to advocate the right to have free and high-quality public transportation (Larrabure, 2016). As MPL's activities along with other urban movements continued in various Brazilian cities, there was a growing public dissatisfaction particularly towards the policies of Dilma Rousseff's PT government since

2010. The corporatist and clientelist practices in urban planning, failures in the implementation of the Statue of City, corruption allegations against party members, mismanagement of public services and infrastructures, excessive use of public funds for mega-events and construction projects such as 2014 FIFA World Cup stadiums significantly decreased PT's popularity built by previous president Lula da Silva since 2002 (Friendly, 2013; Mendes, 2017; Reid, 2014; Saad-Filho & Morais, 2014).

The protests in 2013 were started on June 6 by MPL to protest the public transportation fee increase from R\$ 3.00 to R\$ 3.20 on June 2 in Sao Paulo (Purdy, 2019; Saad-Filho & Morais, 2014). MPL members organized demonstrations and road blockades to protest the decision and they encountered harsh police intervention in these initial protests. This intervention caused a backlash that resulted in the organization of demonstrations in Sao Paulo and other big cities with a growing number of participants in the following days. Especially the police violence including the use of rubber bullets or tear gas on June 13 in São Paulo sparked public outrage and the scope of the protests evolved into a nationwide level with an anti-governmental character demanding social, political and economic changes beyond the transportation fee (Mendes, 2017). As the protests diffused to all 27 states and more than 100 cities in Brazil with the participation of more than 2 million people in the following weeks, the Sao Paulo governor withdrew the proposed fee increase and President Rousseff promised new policies to improve the public services (Purdy, 2019). After these decisions, the protests continued at a reduced pace and ended in August 2013. June 2013 protests became the largest pro-democratic and anti-governmental protest wave since the 1992 protests against the Fernando Collor de Mello government. The active use of social media to spread information and organization, the leaderless and horizontal character of the protests and the pluralist stance against police violence remarked the 2013 June Protests as a transformative incident for the country's history of social movements and protests (Cardoso et al., 2016).

During the June 2013 protests, the Gezi protests were referred to on several occasions as an inspirational benchmark by some protesters in Brazil. Chants and slogans such as "Love is over, this is going to be Turkey" were popular, especially in the days with intensified police violence in cities such as São Paulo, Rio de Janeiro, Porto Alegre, Juiz de Fora or Belo Horizonte (Grellet et al., 2013; de Oliveira, 2013; Oliveira et al., 2013; Waisbich, 2013). The placards referring to the Gezi protesters' resistance to police brutality and the Turkish flags were used in the streets while the tactics and strategies of the Turkish protesters against police violence were also shared on various social media platforms (Larrabure, 2016; Oskay, 2014). Along with the coverage of

the protests in both mainstream and independent media sources, the Gezi protests and the ongoing political crisis in Turkey were also discussed on online platforms and various memes, artworks and visual materials were created to demonstrate solidarity with the Gezi Protesters (Nunes de Sousa, 2018; von Bülow, 2019). With its emphasis on urban rights, democratic demands and resistance to police violence, the Gezi protests seem to resonate with many Brazilian protesters in 2013.

3.4.2. Autumn Case: 2019 Protests in China (Hong Kong) and Spain (Catalonia)

3.4.2.1. Foreign Country: Hong Kong, China

The *Autumn Case* consists of the connection between the 2019 Protests in Hong Kong, China and Catalonia, Spain. Being a special administrative region of the People's Republic of China with a high level of autonomy, Hong Kong had already been a disputed place with a legacy of pro-democratic and autonomy-seeking social movements and protests before the 2019 Protests. After being a British colony for 156 years from 1841 to 1997, Hong Kong was declared a special administrative region with a high level of political and judicial autonomy following the Sino-British Joint Declaration, a treaty between China and Great Britain (da Silva & Rogenhofer, 2023). According to the treaty which was also framed as the *one country two systems plan*, Hong Kong was guaranteed to be ruled as a special law in China by its constitutional *Basic Law* that secures the region's political and judicial autonomy, civil liberties and rights, and capitalist economic system for the following 50 years (Maguire, 2021).

Despite the guarantee of autonomy under the treaty, Chinese governments' interventions in Hong Kong politics and the regional governments' failure to enhance democratic rights consequently caused the escalation of various protests and social movements especially during the 2000s and 2010s. Massive marches against Beijing-supported Tung government's national security bill of Article 23 that was criticized for enabling surveillance and restricting freedom of speech in 2003, the pro-democracy protests demanding universal suffrage to elect the chief executive of the Hong Kong Special Administrative Region by public instead of an election committee in 2005, the annual *1 July Protests* that gradually transformed into a significant cycle of protests with growing number of participants demanding universal suffrage and defying China's assimilation policies can be considered as phases of an ongoing pro-democratic struggle in Hong Kong (Hui, 2015; Lee & Chan, 2010). 2014 protests known as the *Umbrella Revolution* became a benchmark as the most contentious pro-democratic protest series in the history of Hong Kong with the use of innovative forms of civil disobedience tactics, horizontal and leaderless organization and technological tools (Cheng & Chan, 2017; Lin, 2017). Started

as a public reaction to China's decision to permit elections in which only candidates approved by China could participate, the protests quickly gained momentum due to violent police interventions. Despite its transformative impact on the protest culture and localist/pro-democratic movements, the protests could not force Chinese authorities to change their policies. Considering the increased repression, detentions and arrests of oppositional actors in the years following the protests, it can be claimed that "the 2019 protests picked up where the Umbrella Movement left off" (Holbig, 2020).

In this contentious context, the 2019 protests started as a reaction to the new extradition law amendment bill by the Hong Kong government in February 2019 (Roantree & Pompfret, 2019). The proposed bill named as *Fugitive Offenders and Mutual Legal Assistance in Criminal Matters Legislation (Amendment) Bill* aimed at the extradition of criminal suspects to other countries including mainland China, which had been previously excluded from the list of permitted countries. The proposal was immediately criticized by many social, economic and political groups including businesspeople, journalists, academics and pro-democratic and localist organizations as China's political move to enhance its political impact in Hong Kong (Holbig, 2020). Stating the strong distrust to the Chinese judicial system and the bill's implications to target political figures, these groups were mainly concerned about the potential restrictions on Hong Kong's political and judicial autonomy, along with the democratic and civil liberties in the autonomous region (Ward, 2019; Chan, 2019). The initial protests against the bill were organized as a small sit-in event on March 15 by the activist group Demosisto, chanting "Withdraw the extradition law! Oppose legalised kidnapping", at the Central Government Complex in Hong Kong (Chan, 2019). This event was followed by the first massive protests that were organized by the Civil Human Rights Front (CHRF), which is an umbrella organization consisting of tens of pro-democracy groups, on 31 March. The protests continued with a growing number of participants during April and May as the government started to reconsider its proposal. Although the Hong Kong government decided to suspend the bill on June 15 due to the demonstrations and public reaction, the protests even grew larger on June 16 with the participation of approximately two million people against the extreme use of force by police against protesters during previous protests (Amighini, 2020). Following the intensification of the protests again during the summer and autumn of 2019, the government officially withdrew the proposal of the bill on 23 October 2019. Despite the withdrawal, the protests with various demands including the universal suffrage, investigation of police violence,

release of political prisoners and the resignation of government lasted more than a year and became the largest protest cycle in the history of Hong Kong.

One of the most crucial dimensions of the 2019 Hong Kong Protests can be considered as the use of innovative and disruptive repertoires of action with the help of new communication platforms and technological tools. With their leaderless, fluid and horizontal organizations, various activist groups engaged in “ad hoc and networked forms of pop-up protest” and civil disobedience strategies using online communication tools HKmap.live or websites such as LIHKG to share information, track the police activities and quickly organize/reorganize. Inspired by Bruce Lee’s motto “be water”, the protests “emerged from the bottom up among activist networks in a non-hierarchical, diversified fashion dependent more on the spontaneous initiatives of individual participants than on protest leaders’ top-down organization” (Holbig, 2020, p. 332). Using various gears including umbrellas, face masks, hard hats and not hesitating to confront the police after the scenes of police brutality, the protesters “organized wildcat protests, paralyzed traffic, staged airport sit-ins, broke into the legislature, turned university campuses into fiery battlegrounds, and boycotted pro-government businesses” (Cheng & Yuen, 2023, p. 4). Combined with the rich artistic and aesthetic repertoires as well as more conventional forms of action such as strikes and petitions, the contentious forms of collective action in the 2019 Protests became an inspirational benchmark for various activists and protesting groups around the world.

3.4.2.2. Host Country: Catalonia, Spain

Similar to Hong Kong, Catalonia has also a long legacy of pro-democratic and autonomy-seeking movements, and the 2019 Protests are the consequence of an increasingly contentious process. Established as an autonomous administrative region with its historic nationality following the Spanish transition to democracy in 1979, Catalonia’s political landscape was primarily shaped by the policies of the center-right party CiU or conventional forms of collective action demanding the increase of autonomous rights “within the extant constitutional framework” of Spain in the next 25 years (della Porta et al., 2019, p. 4). The electoral victories of the pro-independentist bloc Catalonia in the 2003 Catalan regional elections and PSOE in the 2004 Spanish general elections, however, amplified the vocal demands for the expansion of the autonomy and right to self-determination through the constitutional changes. The most significant consequence of this political change was the new statute draft of Catalonia’s autonomy proposed in 2006. With its various articles including enhancing the regional governments’ institutional power and autonomy, defining Catalans as a nation instead of a

nationality, institutional expansion and protection of the Catalan language, the new statute started a political dispute in Spain which resulted in the decision of the Supreme Court of Spain on the unconstitutionality of the new statute of autonomy in 2010 (Khalitov, 2008). Enraged by the court's decision, more than a million people including pro-independentist organizations and activist groups took to the streets in Catalonia in 2010 (della Porta et al., 2019).

Starting from this massive protest, the organization of a self-determination referendum became a significant goal that was cooperatively achieved by various political parties including center-right CiU and pro-independentist ERC, cultural organizations and NGOs and activist groups (Cramer, 2015; della Porta et al., 2019). Unofficial and local referendums in various towns and neighborhoods of Catalonia during the early 2010s and the non-binding self-determination referendum in 2014 were examples of these attempts despite the low-level turnout, their non-binding statutes and unconstitutionality (Agustín & Raftopoulos, 2021). As the demands for the right to self-determination became more vocal during this process, the 2017 Catalan Independence Referendum, which was similarly declared illegal yet organized by the governing pro-independentist *Junts pel Sí* [Together for Yes] bloc with the support of various NGOs and activist groups, transformed into a contentious event following the coercive police interventions to prevent voting on referendum day. The excessive use of force by police against the referendum organizers sparked various protests and strikes against the violent intervention of the police in a democratic vote in the following months (della Porta et al., 2019). The violent scenes, charges against the Catalan leaders and the temporal suspension of the regional economy through the direct rule of the Spanish state in the aftermath of the referendum consequently created the conditions that led to the escalation of the 2019 protests.

The initial protests started on October 14 after the release of the Supreme Court of Spain's decision sentencing the Catalan political leaders to prison ranging from 9 to 13 years due to their active role in the organization of the 2017 referendum (Bourne, 2021). Expecting such a decision and enraged by it, the thousands of protesters immediately occupied El-Prat Airport in Barcelona as well as public squares in Catalan cities to protest the decision. While the airport occupation was orchestrated by an anonymous activist network called Tsunami Democràtic, several NGOs, activist groups and social movement organizations such as Òmnium Cultural and ANC also actively participated in the organization of the protests since the first day (della Porta et al., 2021). The violent protest policing interventions to these early protests caused public outrage and resulted in the escalation of many protests in the upcoming weeks with the participation of hundreds of thousands of protesters. While the protests were predominantly

peaceful despite the police intervention, the disruptive tactics and confrontations with the police were also used by several groups during the protests.

The influence of the 2019 Hong Kong protest was visible in the tactics, strategies and slogans of the Catalan protesters. The protests started with the tactic of airport occupation that was recently used by Hong Konger protesters a couple of weeks ago in September 2019. The anonymous and secretive leading group of the protests, Tsunami Democratic, utilized similar rhetoric of nonviolent civil disobedience or frames including Bruce Lee's motto "being water" to emphasize the dynamic and fluid nature of the campaign that significantly resembled the Hong Kong protests (Lau, 2019; Hui, 2019). Comparing the magnitude of the protests with the ones in Hong Kong on its communication channels similar to Hong Kong protesters' communication strategies, Tsunami Democratic seemed to integrate the inspiration from Hong Kong to the legacy of the 2014 protests in Catalonia (Lomas, 2019). Apart from Tsunami's activities, Catalan political and intellectual figures' statements praising and endorsing the actions in Hong Kong, the spread of online and offline documents about Hong Kongers' tactics by various Catalan activist groups and the solidarity events that was organized with activist groups in Hong Kong before and during the protests demonstrates Hong Kong's inspirational influence for the Catalan struggle (Martí, 2019; Tercero & Alejandro, 2019; "Pícnic per la República: "Calia capgirar la dinàmica ciutadana d'esperar i esperar"", 2019). With slogans such as "We are going to do a Hong Kong!", Hong Kong flags and various protesters' interviews claiming that Hong Kong "resonates with us a lot" during the protests, Hong Kong remained a reference point with a motivational and inspirational impact in the streets during the 2019 Catalan Protests (Hui, 2019; Lau, 2019).

3.4.3. Winter Case: 2019-2020 Protests in Chile and Turkey

3.4.3.1. Foreign Country: Chile

The *Winter Case* involves the relationship between the 2019-2020 Protests in Chile and Turkey, in which Chile is the foreign country. The protests started in the context of the 2019 protests in Chile, yet they can be considered as the part of feminist struggle against gendered violence in Chile. The authoritarian Pinochet period between 1973-1990 was infamous for the use of gender-based state violence and the reaffirmation of patriarchal gender roles in Chilean society (Sitkin et al., 2017). Despite the oppression, a strong feminist struggle was cultivated under these conditions to fight for achieving gender equality, enhancing democratic rights and challenging violent practices of the state institutions including sexual assaults and rapes. The foundation of feminist NGOs such as *Centro de Estudios de la Mujer* [Center for Women's

Studies] in 1979 and the women's movements such as *Mujeres por la vida* [Women for Life] in 1983, the works of prominent feminists such as Julieta Kirkwood and Sonia Montecino with a focus on the experiences of indigenous and working-class women, or the escalation of feminist demonstrations as well as the anti-governmental protests in general since 1983 became significant challengers of the regime (Frohman & Valdés, 2018; Silvia-Tapia & Fernández Ossandón, 2022). Following the democratic transition in 1990 and the state-led policies on the improvement of women's rights, the feminist struggle evolved into a pluralist and decolonial phase focusing with the emphasis on the intersectionality and gender-related structural problems for various groups including indigenous and LGBT+ populations since the 1990s (Hiner, 2019; Silvia-Tapia & Fernández Ossandón, 2022). Despite the successes of the struggle to improve gender inequality during the 2000s, gendered violence and femicides remained a significant problem with a growing rate in the 2010s. Sometimes accompanied by transnational or regional movements, this historical and reemerging problem sparked various protests such as the *Ni una menos* [Not one less] protests in 2016 and the demonstrations against the sexual assaults and abuses in universities in 2018 throughout the 2010s (Silvia-Tapia & Fernández Ossandón, 2022; Vergara-Saavedra & Muñoz-Rojas, 2021). During the October 2019 anti-governmental protests that started to protest transportation fee increases yet escalated rapidly following the police violence including sexual assaults, the feminist movement also engaged in these historical protests against President Piñera who was infamous for his misogynistic jokes and anti-abortion stance (Pinzauti, 2024).

The Las Tesis protests were started by the Chilean feminist collective Las Tesis on 20 November 2019 to protest both structural gendered violence in Chile and the recent police brutality towards the protesters in the 2019 Protests. The performance *Un violador en tu camino* was initially intended to be staged during the anti-governmental protests in October 2019 yet the collective decided to perform it on 20 November 2019 in Plaza Aníbal Pinto in Valparaíso to criticize the historical legacy of sexual violence performed by the security forces (Liianson, 2023; Pinzauti, 2024). The performance primarily consisted of a simple and short choreography in which the participants danced and sang a song accusing the political actors, security forces and state institutions of being the perpetrators of the structural gendered violence and femicides. The use of body moves and gestures such as a finger to target the institution buildings, wearing clothes that highlighted the violence and performing the choreography in the politically symbolic spaces were the significant characteristics of the performance (Liianson, 2023; Serafini, 2020). Following the positive reception of the initial performance, the group staged

the performance in front of the Courts of Justice Palace in the capital Santiago with over two thousand participants on November 25, the International Day for the Elimination of Violence against Women. The performance spread across Chile and various demonstrations were organized in symbolic places such as the Ministry of Women and Gender Equality on November 28 or campuses of the University of Chile on December 19, the national day against femicide (“El colectivo chileno LasTesis sobre el feminicidio”, 2019). As the demonstrations continued in Chile during December 2019, they also became popular on social media platforms and rapidly diffused to many countries. Due to its highly modular structure that could be easily localized, the performance was adopted by various in different activist groups and became a global phenomenon to protest the gendered violence and femicides (Serafini, 2020).

3.4.3.2. Host Country: Turkey

The Las Tesis protests in Turkey can be considered as an intensified period of the feminist struggle against gender-based violence and femicides in Turkey. The struggle dates back to the late 1970s and early 1980s as various groups and organizations began organizing against gender-based violence (Tekeli, 2006). Especially after the 1980 coup d’etat resulting in the formation of an authoritarian rule in Turkey without any tolerance to the existing social movements and political organizations, an independent feminist movement around journals and associations flourished in this new political context during the 1980s (Ozcurumez & Sayan Cengiz, 2011; Tütüncü & Ayata, 2008). As gendered violence became a crucial agenda for this movement, the first demonstrations, which were also the first massive, permitted protests after the coup, were organized in 1987 to protest a judge’s decision rejecting domestic violence as a cause of divorce (Tekeli, 2006). The struggle succeeded in establishing various organizations such as *Mor Çatı Kadın Sığınağı Vakfı* [Purple Roof Women’s Shelter Foundation] and *Kadın Dayanışma Vakfı* [Women’s Solidarity Foundation] and reaching a broader audience with several campaigns such as *Mor İğne* [Purple Needle] campaign, workshops and demonstrations during the 1990s (Telseren Ömeroğlu & İngün Karkış, 2023). Amplified by Turkey’s EU candidacy in 1999 and the support from the National Program for the Enhancement of Women’s Integration in Development during the 2000s, significant changes in civil and penal codes were achieved to eliminate gendered violence and femicides during the early years of the newly elected AKP government since 2002 (Gözdasoğlu Küçükalioglu, 2018). However, AKP’s religio-conservative political agenda that reinforced patriarchal gender norms and values consequently gave rise to incidents of gendered violence and various protests were organized to protest government policies unable to prevent and punish the gendered violence as in the

case of femicide of 18-year-old woman Münevver Karabulut by her wealthy boyfriend in 2009 (Korkman, 2016; Gözdasoglu Küçükalioglu, 2018; Telseren, 2020). Despite actions such as the introduction of the Istanbul Convention in 2011, AKP's increasingly conservative discourses on gender-related issues and the widespread legal practices such as impunity, non-prosecution and good conduct times in the case of femicides were accompanied by the dramatic increase in the number of femicides during the 2010s. Enraged by these growing problems, new feminist organizations and horizontal activist groups such as *Kadın Cinayetlerini Durduracağız* [We Will Stop Femicide Platform; KCDP] and *Kadınlar Birlikte Güçlü Platformu* [Women Are Strong Together Platform; KBGP] were founded to challenge the government policies and structural problem of violence through both institutional and extra-institutional channels (Çağatay, 2018; Eslen-Ziya & Erhart, 2023; Eyrek, 2023). AKP's intention to withdraw from the Istanbul Convention and the record-high number of femicides in 2019 consequently caused a public outrage leading to various demonstrations throughout the year.

The Las Tesis Protests were initiated in this context by several members of the *Sosyalist Kadınlar Meclisi* [Socialist Women's Assembly; SKM] on in Istanbul 30 November 2019 ("Las Tesis Activists", 2020). Following this small-scale demonstration in which participants performed the Las Tesis choreography, another performance with the participation of hundreds of women following the call of the KCDP and Kadın Meclisleri [Women Assemblies; KM] in Kadıköy on 8 December 2019. The police intervention in these protests and the detentions of peaceful activists and leading feminist figures sparked a public reaction and various demonstrations performing choreography were organized in different cities in the following days. Criticizing the harsh police interventions to the protests, the MPs of the oppositional parties staged the performance also in the parliament on December 14 ("Turkey's women lawmakers stage 'rapist is you' protest", 2019). After the massive demonstration organized in Istanbul by KBGP on December 15, the performance continued to be used in various protests across Turkey. Being also popular on social media platforms, the Las Tesis protests lasted in Turkey until 8 March 2020 (ANKA Haber Ajansı, 2020).

Turkey can be considered as the second center of the global wave of the Las Tesis protests after Chile considering its intensity and longevity. From the initial protests on November 30, the activists from various feminist groups in Turkey adopted the original Chilean performance, translated the lyrics and localized some expressions to resonate with a broader audience. The performance was not restricted to a location or a group but instead staged in varied localized forms by different groups and organizations in many cities. Unlike most of the other countries

where the Las Tesis protests were organized with a limited time span, the protests in Turkey lasted for more than three months with the participation of thousands of people. The popularity of the protests in Turkey was also visible online. One week after the first Las Tesis Protests in Turkey on December 30, the Turkish language surpassed the original Spanish in terms of the quantity of content created and shared related to the Las Tesis Protests on various social media platforms (Rodriguez et al., 2020). Considering these points, it can be argued that the case of Turkey's Las Tesis protests was beyond being just another country where the performance was staged.

4. CHAPTER: SUMMER CASE

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4.1. Introduction

This chapter focuses on the analysis of the connection between the 2013 Protests in Turkey and Brazil. According to the conventional theorization of protest diffusion, it would be unlikely for the two mobilizations to be related due to the absence of proximity and similarity factors as well as the strong activist networks between the countries. Turkey and Brazil are not only geographically distant from each other, but they also do not share any apparent cultural, historical, organizational and linguistic ties or well-developed activist networks. Still, the 2013 Gezi protests in Turkey were referred to on several occasions both on streets and online platforms during the 2013 June Journey Protests in Brazil as some Brazilian protesters identified with the Gezi protesters and those demonstrating more broadly in Turkey. Aiming at contributing to the recent debates in diffusion literature discussed in the *Theoretical Framework* chapter, I analyzed this least-likely case and addressed two major research questions of this dissertation: Why and how does a protest have an inspirational influence on individuals in a distant country? Which mechanisms can explain this unexpected phenomenon?

The chapter begins with a discussion of the methodological notes and continues with the presentation of the overview of the 2013 Protests in Brazil. Then, applying it to the analysis of the interviews with Brazilian protesters and qualitative secondary data, I introduce the mechanism of cathartic resonance. According to my approach of cathartic resonance, the moral shocks triggered by a foreign but relatable struggle may have a motivating influence on sympathizers' decisions to engage in a similar struggle in their own context. Instead of explaining the spread of collective action solely through the adoption of its ideational and behavioral components, this approach intends to add another layer to the conceptualization of diffusion by exploring the inspirational and emotional influence of protests on each other cross-nationally. After introducing this novel mechanism, its conceptualization and causal claims are discussed before the conclusion.

Applying a relatively innovative method, this case study contributes to understanding protest diffusion in various ways. It adopts a more cultural and agentic approach and introduces a novel

mechanism of cross-national diffusion based on the individuals' cognitive and emotional responses to a foreign protest, which have been mostly neglected in social movement studies. By integrating these responses into the mechanisms of diffusion, this case study proposes a new perspective to the recent discussions about the cross-national connections between protests and social movements across the globe. The concept of cathartic resonance differs from the existing theoretical frameworks with its strong emphasis on the emotional and cognitive dimensions of collective action including moral shocks and cathartic expressions, and it aims to explain the diffusion phenomenon in which emotional and motivational stimulation of a foreign protest on individuals is more visible than the adoption of ideational and behavioral elements of collective action. Considering this point, the findings provide some insights into not only the mechanisms of diffusion but also the ontological redefinition of what diffusion is in social movement studies.

4.2. Methodological Notes

In this case study, I followed the GTM procedures proposed by Corbin and Strauss (2015) as I explained in the *Methodology* chapter. Data was mainly collected from the interviews with Brazilian protesters who participated in the 2013 June protests. I conducted 13 semi-structured in-depth interviews with protesters (including former activists and spokespeople of MPL) from different cities, sexes and activism experiences. The interviewees were identified through a combination of snowball and theoretical sampling. Interviewees' personal experiences with protesting in Brazil, their perception of protests and protesters in Turkey, their emotional responses to these protests and their interpretation of the references to Turkey were investigated based on the sensitizing concepts such as diffusion, resonance, and motivation. Furthermore, transcripts of 11 more interviews were retrieved from the works of Mert Kaya (2017), who was a documentary director, and Mahmut Hamsici (2013), who was a journalist at BBC, after having in-depth conversations with them. These two secondary sources, which contain a relatively limited amount of data yet focus on the same phenomenon as this research, were selected because of their compatibility with the interview questions and format I used. The memos I kept during data collection, the textual materials published in the official online channels of MPL including its website, the visual materials including video footage from the protests in Brazil, and articles covering the phenomenon from local and national Brazilian newspapers such as *Folha de São Paulo* and *Globo* were also analyzed as complementary sources.

The data was divided into discrete units of a few sentences and analyzed using the three-stage coding procedure and the constant comparative method, which enables the construction of

abstract categories and concepts based on the relations between the codes grounded in empirical data (Corbin & Strauss, 2015). The first stage (Open coding) involved labeling every sentence or passage containing 2-3 meaningful sentences in the transcribed data with an abstract code that consisted of a word or a phrase. In this process, more than a thousand codes were assigned to the sentences in textual data. In the second stage (Axial coding), by combining these codes based on their frequency and relations with each other, 12 major conceptual categories with explanatory power were constructed through further abstraction (see *Table 1*). Consequently, in the third and final stage (Selective coding), the core category, which was later named cathartic resonance, emerged as the explanatory mechanism that connects these major conceptual categories. The next sections further elaborate on the conceptualization of cathartic resonance as a mechanism that helps explain the inspiring influence of a distant foreign protest on the motivation to participate in local mobilizations.

First Round of the Axial Coding	Final Round of the Axial Coding
Conceptual Categories	Explanatory Conceptual Categories
•Demands for a more democratic and inclusive governance •Urban struggle for the right to the city •Crisis of representation •Sense of similarity	Contextual and motivational similarities
•Relatability of struggle against police violence •Feeling of sympathy •Inspirational influence •Superficial and limited knowledge	Sympathetic identification
•Indignation at police violence •Stimulating and accelerating impact on negative emotions •Motivation for collective action •Release of emotions through collective action	Cathartic reaction

Table 1: Results of Axial Coding (Summer Case)

4.3. Overview of the Brazilian Urban Struggles and Movimento Passe Livre

4.3.1. Urban Struggles in Brazil Until the 2010s

One of the common trends regarding the analysis of the June 2013 Protests in Brazil is to contextualize them within the cycle of urban protests in the country. Despite their eventful

characteristics leading to the escalation of one of the largest protests in the history of Brazil, especially the emergence of the 2013 Protests reflects the contentious characteristics and demands of the previous urban struggles in Brazil. As Maia and Rocha (2014) argue, urban struggles regarding infrastructure, housing and public services had been highly embedded in the contentious politics in Brazil, especially during the authoritarian rule between 1964 and 1985. Friendly (2017) highlights that one of the crucial reasons for this issue is the clientelist practices that had been institutionalized even before the 1960s. “Political culture in Brazil has been dominated by clientelism, the exchange of favors between elected officials and their supporters, organized around a hierarchical vision of society” which consequently resulted in the emergence of social movements, nongovernmental organizations, unions and neighborhood associations demanding the improvement of urban rights and quality of public services (Friendly, 2017, p. 133). Although the urban movements in Brazil can be traced back to the 19th century as Purdy (2019) argues, especially 1980s were an intense period with the introduction and intervention of significant movements such as *Movimento Nacional de Reforma Urbana* [National Movement for Urban Reform] and political parties such as PT. These groups and movements call for urban reform demanding “the autonomy of municipal government; the democratic management of cities, the social right to housing, the social function of urban property, the right to the regularization of consolidated informal settlements, and the need to combat land and property speculation in cities” remained the central debate in the Brazilian politics both during the 1980s and the 1990s after the introduction of the democratic constitution in 1988 (Friendly, 2017, 135-136).

One of the most crucial consequences of the urban struggles in Brazil is the introduction of the Statute of the City in 2001 following this long struggle for urban reform. Based on Lefebvre’s ideas about the “right to the city”, the new statute reformed the existing urban policies and “mandates participation in planning processes and aims to promote social justice by alleviating the problems faced by Brazilian cities” (Friendly, 2017, p. 132). The statute was “unprecedented and unique” as it introduces participatory means for the residents in urban planning processes and guarantees “the well-being of all city residents and the democratic access to goods and services produced in cities” (Friendly, 2013, p. 158). One year after the introduction of the statute, PT’s candidate and veteran activist Luiz Inácio “Lula” da Silva was elected as the President of Brazil in 2002. With its focus on combatting inequality and poverty through the redistributive social reforms and assistance programs, Lula’s PT government had a positive approach towards the urban movements and the ongoing reforms that were initiated following

the Statue of City. While the abilities of the urban and “housing movements to engage with the federal government increased considerably, the urban social policies such as *Minha Casa Minha Vida* [My House My Life] aimed at reducing inequality in Brazilian cities by increasing the accessibility to housing and urban services (Earle, 2017, p. 191).

The introduction of this statute and Lula’s successful welfare policies reducing poverty and inequality in Brazil seemed to start a new chapter in the urban struggles, however, “Brazil’s municipal governments were unable to provide the infrastructure and services necessary to keep up with needs of growing and still highly unequal cities” (Vicino & Fahlberg, 2017, p. 4). As Rolnik (2013) highlighted, the federal governments often failed to integrate a wider segment of residents into the urban management processes and “strategic plans were also experimented with and were designed to reposition those cities within the context of global competition for international investment and the neoliberal urban policy platform” (p. 60). Such failures in the expansion of participation in different cities consequently caused a critical reaction from the various social movements and collectivities demanding a higher level of inclusion in the urban decision-making processes. Urban struggle components such as the *União de Movimentos de Moradia* [Federation of Housing Movements] gradually became more critical of the failures of the promised participatory and deliberative practices in urban planning especially after the first term of Lula (Earle, 2017).

Combined with the urge to deal with these existing problems, the global the impact of Global Justice Movement and the experience of Global Days of Action during the early 2000s both energized and transformed the urban movements and urban struggle in general in Brazil. New horizontal, autonomous and non-hegemonic movements began to emerge as “new exchanges between old and new activists, propelling several other local and national initiatives” were experienced due to the interconnected changes in the national and transnational dimensions of the contentious politics in the early 2000s (Omena de Melo, 2020, p. 111). As de Melo (2020) states, “two groups stood out due to their strength and longevity: the Centro de Mídia Independente (hereafter CMI) and the Movimento Passe Livre (hereafter MPL)” (p. 111). MPL was officially initiated in 2005 to demand “the expropriation of public transportation, removing it from the private sector, without compensation, and placing it under the control of workers and the population” (“Movimento Passe Livre”, n.d.), yet it can be traced back to the student-led movements for better and cheaper/free public transportation in 1999, 2004 and 2005 in the city of Florianópolis, and in Salvador in 2003. Especially the 2003 *Revolta do Buzú* [Bus Rebellion] in Salvador initiated by the student movements and diffused to other sectors and the

cities was a critical benchmark for the emergence of MPL in 2005 (de Melo, 2020). The success of these movements in forcing the local governments to withdraw these fee increases became inspirational for the young activists to organize a similar horizontal movement regarding the improvement of urban transportation services and rights. With the experience of these urban struggles, MPL was introduced in 2005 at the World Social Forum in Porto Alegre officially and began its operations to resist the bus fee increases and to advocate the right to have free and high-quality public transportation in various Brazilian cities since then. (Larrabure, 2016). MPL can be considered as a form of social movement rather than an NGO or social organization since it aims at remaining as an autonomous and horizontal movement that employs direct democracy practices and disruptive repertoires of actions such as occupation, blockades, public meetings and demonstrations to achieve their goals without any political party affiliation (Purdy, 2019). The objectives of the movement have been predominantly based on defending the right to the city against the neoliberal and capitalist transformation of public transportation which affected the everyday lives of disadvantaged groups since its foundation. Despite its active resistance against the fee increases and low-quality public transportation services for years, the movement did not receive large-scale public attention until its call for mobilization in June 2013 (Mendes, 2017). The movement was especially active between 2005-2013 and was involved in various protests in different cities including the ones in São Paulo for three months, yet it could not organize massive protests until 2013.

4.3.2. June 2013 Protests

The June 2013 Protests, or *Jornadas de Junho* [June Journeys] Protests started on June 13, 2013, in the city of São Paulo as a small-scale protest movement following the announcement of the increase in the public transportation fees from R\$ 3.00 to R\$ 3.20 on June 2 by São Paulo Governor Fernando Haddad (Purdy, 2019; Saad-Filho & Morais, 2014). The initial protests against this fee increase were organized by the MPL. As Purdy (2019) as well as the representative of the MPL who I interviewed argues, the movement's activities on informing and mobilizing young people about the controversial policies of local and national governments on public transportation had a positive impact on finding a wider audience especially in 2013 compared to the previous years. At this point, it should be mentioned that different protests had already been organized against the fee increases in different cities such as Natal since 2012; however, it was the protests led by MPL on June 6 that transformed into a nationwide protests wave (Cavalcante, 2012). Following the announcement of fee increases on June 2, MPL organized a protest with the participation of 2000-3000 young activists from high schools and

universities by employing tactics such as blockading roads and stopping traffic. Criticized as vandals by the mainstream media, the activists were attacked by police harshly, and the protests were repressed on this day. The police violence and the local government's reluctance to withdraw the fee increase resulted in growing public frustration and protests in both São Paulo and other big cities were organized with a gradually increasing but limited number of participants such as around 2000 protesters on June 6, around 5000 protesters on June 7, around 12.000 protesters on 11th June (Mendes, 2017). 13th June can be marked as the first breaking point of the protests: On June 13, approximately 20.000 peaceful protesters participated in the protests in São Paulo, and the police used brutal tactics and equipment such as tear gas, concussion bombs and rubber bullets to repress the protests harshly. The spread of footage demonstrating the violent incidents in social media, increasing numbers of detentions and injury incidents including the journalists, and the changing attitude of mainstream media channels from pro-government to pro-protesters caused public outrage and the scale of the protest rapidly increased following the diffusion of protests to other big cities such as Rio de Janeiro, Belo Horizonte, Natal, and Porto Alegre (Mendes, 2017; Saad-Filho, 2013). While June 17 can be labelled as the day when the protests got a massive and nationwide characteristic with an antigovernmental character demanding a general social, political and economic change beyond the regulations on public transportation fees, June 19 and 20 can be marked as the "peak" of the protests when massive protests were sparked in all 27 states and more than 100 cities with approximately 2.000.000 participants across Brazil (Purdy, 2019). On 19th June, Governor Haddad declared that his government withdrew the public transportation increases in São Paulo. Following the escalation of protests as an antigovernmental nationwide wave, President Dilma also announced social pacts on improving public services such as education, transportation, and health (Purdy, 2019). The protests lasted a few weeks more and diminished gradually in August 2013.

As discussed above, the initial objective of MPL was reducing the public transportation fees and demanding a more qualified public transportation service; however, the escalation of the protests and their transformation from a local protest series into a nationwide protest wave were motivated by a set of antigovernmental social, political and economic demands and grievances. The common pattern in these motivations is the general criticism of the PT government's neoliberal development policies that had a limiting impact on the representative democracy practices in Brazil. Especially the excessive spending for the mega-construction projects that were held for international events such as the 2014 FIFA World Cup and the 2016 Rio de

Janeiro Olympic Games and the low quality of public services such as education, health and transportation can be labeled as the major reasons behind the public indignation about the government policies (Mendes, 2017). The mismanagement of public spending and the corruption scandals related to this issue also motivated a significant number of Brazilians to participate in the ongoing protests across the country (Saad-Filho & Morais, 2014). According to the survey conducted by IBOPE where the interviewees select three domestic reasons for the protests, protesters participated in the protests because of the fee increases and poor quality of the public transportation service (53.6%), the political environment including corruption and a general dissatisfaction with the governors and politicians (65.0%), poor condition of health services (36.7%) and education system (29.8%) and the excessive World Cup and Confederation Cup spending (“Veja pesquisa completa do Ibope sobre os manifestantes”, 2013). In addition to these reasons, conservative policies such as restrictive regulations on women’s bodily autonomy and anti-LGBTQ+ policies were highlighted by the protesters during the protests (Saad-Filho & Morais, 2014).

Using excessive force by police against the protesters also ignited a massive public outrage which facilitated the shift in the scale of protests into a nationwide protest wave. Especially the disproportionate use of violence by police, the injury incidents including shoot of a journalist in her eye by a rubber bullet and the spread of footage demonstrating this incident on 13th June changed the direction of the protests by provoking thousands of Brazilians into taking to the streets against the police brutality on the following days (Mendes, 2017). It is reported that 10 protesters were killed by the brutal protest policing tactics while hundreds of protesters were severely injured by the same practices (Vicente, 2018). As mentioned in the *Introduction* section, this is also the period where the Brazilian protesters widely referred to the Gezi Park Protests and Turkish protesters by using placards, flags and slogans such as “Acabou o amor, isso aqui vai virar Turquia” in several big cities such as São Paulo, Rio de Janeiro, Porto Alegre, Juiz de Fora or Belo Horizonte. As the police violence diffused from São Paulo to other cities between 13th June and 20th June, the slogan “Acabou o amor, isso aqui vai virar Turquia” also spread to these cities as one of the most popular slogans in the protests (de Oliveira, 2013; Grellet et al., 2013; Oliveira et al., 2013; Penelas et al., 2013). Oskay (Oskay, 2014) and Larrabure (2016) even reported that there were several Brazilian protesters wearing t-shirts with Turkish flag motives and waving Turkish flags during the protests in big cities such as São Paulo. As mainstream Brazilian media including news agencies *Folha*, *Globo* and *Estadão*, along with the popular alternative news agencies such as *Vice Brasil*, *A Nova Democracia* and

Brasil de Fato, reported, the Gezi Park Protests and the Turkish protesters were marked as a reference point in the slogans and chants of the Brazilian protesters as the violence in the protests intensified and protests transformed into one of the largest protest waves in Brazilian history.

4.4. A New Mechanism: Cathartic Resonance

4.4.1. Conceptualization of Cathartic Resonance

Cathartic resonance is conceptualized as a reflection on the recent debate on the conceptual limits of diffusion and the proposal of resonance as an alternative mechanism to analyze the spread of protests and social movements after the 2007-2008 Global Financial Crisis. As already discussed in the *Theoretical Framework* chapter, the concept of diffusion has recently failed to capture the dynamics of contentious politics despite being a central and popular concept. Resonance, on the other hand, was introduced as an alternative mechanism for the spread of protests to diffusion by Oikonomakis and Roos (2014). Even before their introduction, resonance was used as a concept to discuss the patterns of the spread of collective action during the 2010s in a way that is different from the classical conceptualization of the frame resonance concept by Snow and Benford (2000). As previously discussed, social movement scholars such as Gerbaudo highlighted the role of cultural resonance in the spread of diffusion, while other scholars such as anthropologist Gastón Gordillo describe resonance as “rhizomic, non-linear, vibrating patterns of dispersion resembling sound waves” that “connect and affect distant and seemingly disconnected geographies”, especially after 2007-2008 Global Financial Crisis (Gordillo, 2011). Despite the use of the concept, it is Oikonomakis and Roos’ research that introduces a conceptual definition for resonance. Criticizing the linear conceptualization of diffusion, Oikonomakis and Roos (2014) define resonance as “the spontaneous activation of latent but pre-existing potential for mobilization” by the multiple sources of inspiration through wave-like interactions between protesting groups (p. 119). The authors argue that recent movements such as the Real Democracy Movement in 2011 do not spread through the adoption of collective action by an adopter group from a transmitter one, but rather ‘latent potentialities for mobilization are activated through the inspiration provided by movements elsewhere’ (Roos & Oikonomakis, 2014, p. 118). “Shared structural conditions”, along with the existence of “local horizontal movement experience and pre-formed autonomous activist networks”, stimulate local mobilizations by “harnessing the ‘shock wave’ emitted by movements elsewhere” (Oikonomakis & Roos, 2016, p. 246). In the resonance mechanism, collective action

is not *linearly* adopted but *rhizomatically* activated through reciprocal and cross-directional interactions of multiple contentious zones and groups.

Cathartic resonance can be described as the product of this scholarly discussion, and it is conceptualized as a mechanism by drawing inspiration from both *diffusion* and *resonance*. Despite this inspiration, the development of the concept of cathartic resonance relies on the analysis of the empirical data, and it emerged as a novel mechanism to explain the puzzling phenomenon under investigation. Unlike the structural formulation of these two concepts, cathartic resonance particularly focuses on the emotional and cognitive processes and their role in the cross-national influence of a protest on another one. Based on the analysis of data through grounded theory, I introduce cathartic resonance as the acceleration of motivation for engaging in a local struggle by the relatable tragic experience of a foreign but identifiable protester group. According to my approach of cathartic resonance, observing such experiences of the foreign group, which is sympathetically identified due to contextual and motivational similarities, triggers a moral shock. Consequently, this shock stimulates an extra emotional and motivational strength for individuals to engage in collective action. The subjects of this process are the *sympathizers* of a local struggle rather than its *initiators*, and their relations with the foreign group can be compared to the *audience* and the *protagonist* in the Aristotelian drama: when the *protagonist*, who can be sympathetically identified by the audience as a result of their shared experiences, encounters a relatable tragic or catastrophic incident, the *audience* experiences catharsis, which is an “intense emotional effect” through the purgation of emotions such as fear, anger or pity (“What is Catharsis? Definition, Examples of Catharsis in Literature?”, 2018). Tragedy in the stage itself is “an imitation of reality” and the catharsis is achieved not only through the release of emotions but also through *cognitive pleasure* due to the *learning* from the tragedy itself (Lear, 1988; Schaper, 1968). Catharsis emerges as a combination of these processes and manifests itself *emotionally*, *cognitively* and *actionally* (Kellerman, 1984). The above-mentioned emotional impact of the moral shock stimulates a similar cathartic influence that accelerates the release of emotions such as rage and indignation through collective action, which may also lead to references to the identified foreign group. In the following sections, the components of this novel mechanism are discussed in detail.

4.4.2. Components of Cathartic Resonance

4.4.2.1. Contextual and motivational similarities

Cathartic resonance is primarily based on *identification*, which is also emphasized as a crucial condition for diffusion in its conventional theorization (McAdam & Rucht, 1993; Strang &

Meyer, 1993). As van Stekelenburg and Klandermans (2013) argue, identification functions as an integrative mechanism of collective agency that is “accompanied by an awareness of similarity and shared fate with those who belong to the same category” (pp. 891-892). Such sense of belonging in a similar social category due to shared experiences and grievances provides a motivational strength to engage in collective action (van Stekelenburg & van Dijk, 2011). In social movements literature, identification is mostly used to explain the formation of in-group membership through a shared collective identity within a social movement; still, it is also a common pattern that a social group can loosely identify itself with a distinct group or a struggle through perceived or actual similarities despite the absence of strong connections between them (della Porta & Diani, 2020). The interviews demonstrate that some Brazilian protesters experienced a similar pattern of identification with Turkish protesters, and this occurred based on two interconnected dimensions: a cognitive dimension consisting of the recognition of contextual and motivational similarities, and an emotional dimension activated by a growing sympathy for the foreign protesters facing tragic experiences.

The cognitive dimension refers to the realization and recognition of the parallels between the economic, social and political contexts of the two protests by the sympathizers of a local struggle. In the case of Turkey and Brazil, these similarities were mostly shaped by the economic reform agendas pursued by the governing parties AKP in Turkey and PT in Brazil since 2002. Despite their ideological differences, both governments aimed at achieving economic growth and stability by combining redistributive social reforms with the gradual adoption of neoliberal development policies in their later years. In Brazil, the new president Lula da Silva’s two terms after his election in 2002 were marked as a period of “structural changes” and “some of the most important social reforms in the history of Brazil” (Roett, 2010, p. 112). These changes, later called *Lulism*, sought a transition in fiscal and social policies to “achieve positive outcomes in terms of GDP growth, the expansion of state and private enterprises, redistribution, and poverty reduction” (Saad-Filho, 2020, p. 18). Particularly revising the social security system and tax code, reducing poverty and income inequality through redistributive social assistance programs such as *Bolsa Familia* [Family Allowance], and expanding access to public services such as health and education became the central strategies during this transition period (Mendes, 2017; Roett, 2010; Saad-Filho, 2020). These strategies were also followed by the gradual expansion of private investment and promotion of large Brazilian corporations at both national and transnational levels, especially after the re-election of Lula in 2006 (Saad-Filho, 2020). Such policies not only caused rapid economic

growth and stability but also boosted public support for Lula's PT, particularly from both poorer classes and corporate elites. Consequently, Brazil emerged as an international power as a member of BRICS with a growing local and global influence (Roett, 2010).

In Turkey, on the other hand, AKP came to power under the presidency of Erdoğan after years of political instability due to failed coalitions and the devastating impact of the 2001 Economic Crisis on the economy. Despite its pro-Islamist roots and center-right position, AKP cultivated a liberal, democratic and inclusive image that attracted popular support from different social and political groups that were critical of the Kemalist state ideology (Öniş, 2015; Yörük & Yüksel, 2014). This political image was accompanied by a regulatory economic reform program, which primarily relied on privatization, state-led investments in infrastructure and construction sectors, and redistributive policies that increased public support for the party (Öniş, 2012; Öniş, 2019). Achieving consecutive electoral successes and economic growth during this transition period, AKP expanded its soft power and regional influence in the Middle East as a mediator state with political and economic stability, as well as improving relations with the European Union (Öniş, 2015).

As two emerging powers with sustained economic growth thanks to "a more social, regulatory, and pragmatic neoliberalism", Turkey and Brazil were considered as the "winners" of the neoliberal globalization project by the dawn of the 2010s (della Porta, 2017; Öniş, 2012; Öniş & Güven, 2011, p. 473). They were distinguished from the countries that were hit by the economic 2007-2008 Global Financial Crisis with their success in dealing with its devastating economic impact. However, such success came at a price for both countries: pursuing a neoliberal development agenda that was characterized by "an emphasis on economic and political stability with a minimalist understanding of democracy" during the post-crisis period caused similar social and political challenges in both countries such as the erosion of democratic institutions, commodification and mismanagement of public spaces and services, and the crisis of representation (Gokay & Shain, 2015; Öniş & Kutlay, 2013, p. 1420; Yörük, 2013). In Brazil, Lulism gradually transformed into "PT's attachment to corporatism" and privatization policies during Dilma Rousseff's presidency since 2010, and the party's "rapprochement with the corporate state had rendered it incapable of providing the improved public services and better infrastructure that Brazilians were demanding" (Reid, 2014, s. 284). Such problems regarding the mismanagement of the public budget were also accompanied by scandalous corruption allegations towards the members of PT and the excessive use of public spending for construction projects and mega-events such as the upcoming 2014 FIFA World Cup that the

vast majority of lower and middle-class people could not participate in (Mendes, 2017). Improper implementation of laws based on the promotion of the right to the city such as the *Statue of City*, which aims at increasing the social function and democratic management of cities, and the exclusionary clientelism in policies caused urban problems such as the reduction of quality in public services and spaces (Friendly, 2013). The new middle class in Brazil, which neither benefitted from the public services and infrastructure properly nor felt represented in a patrimonial and corporatist political environment, had a growing dissatisfaction with PT's agenda (Saad-Filho & Morais, 2014).

In Turkey, the change was more political as AKP's democratization project transformed into a hegemonic and authoritarian government "leaving little opportunity for opposition forces to contest its power and hegemony in a genuinely open political order" (Öniş, 2015, p. 25). Following the decline of economic growth and regional impact in the aftermath of the crisis, AKP's attempts to consolidate power resulted in issues such as "showing a deep intolerance for any kind of active opposition", "decline in freedom of expression and media freedoms" and the politicization of judicial system (Öniş, 2015, p. 25). This authoritarian tendency was also doubled by the corporatist practices, particularly in urban transformation and state-led construction projects, some of which resulted in allegations of corruption against the members of AKP (Çavuşoğlu & Strutz, 2014; Öniş, 2019). Similar to Brazil, the accumulation of these problems caused a growing public outrage particularly led by the well-educated members of the middle class. Consequently, although protests in these two countries were initiated as urban uprisings demanding more inclusive access to public services and spaces, they transformed into pro-democratic and anti-governmental protest waves provoked by these similar challenges (Tuğal, 2013).

These parallels are the *contextual and motivational similarities* that were also acknowledged by the interviewees. According to an interviewee from São Paulo, the major commonality between the motivations of both movements was the general "dissatisfaction" as a "result of failed politics in developing but full of potential countries" (Int. 1B). Another one from Rio de Janeiro emphasized that Brazilian protesters "respected, or even used the Turkish protests as a benchmark" because both protests demanded "more democracy and freedom" (Int. 11B). From a similar point, an interviewee from Porto Alegre argued that the two protests shared important similarities in their motivations such as "the denial of traditional political representation and a strong questioning of institutions traditionally regarded as democratic" (Int. 8B). "We are witnessing the rebirth of direct democracy," said an interviewee without much activism

experience at the time of the protests, and he added, “it is certain that the protests in Turkey have a significant impact on the protests in Brazil as an example and source of inspiration” (Int. 17B). The urban motivations of the protests and a similar demand for “the right to the city” were also emphasized by various interviewees (Int.s 3B, 7B, 9B). The spokesperson of the MPL argued that both protests “met in the struggle for spaces in the city that denied us daily, spaces that could gain life and sense by the presence of those who were excluded from the city, and not by absence”. Sharing similar ideas, interviewee 11B emphasized that both movements “were linked to the right to the city and they were led by young people”, while interviewee 16B argued that “repression of the right to the city in public spaces were experienced similarly in both of the countries”. The protests “started with an urbanistic issue that arose a profound discontentment in many different areas”, said interviewee 12B, and added that “the system was not able to give an effective response to it and people were no more willing to accept breadcrumbs anymore”.

Although the similarities discussed above were largely acknowledged by most of the interviews, the findings revealed that their impact on the identification process was not particularly significant. The interviewees showed only a superficial level of knowledge of the contextual and motivational similarities, which still enabled them to draw parallels and make connections between the two protests. One of the experienced interviewees in terms of activism argued that despite their references to the Gezi protests, most of the Brazilian protesters “had a superficial view of what was happening in Turkey” (Int. 1B). Similarly, a veteran interviewee with a militant activism history also stated that “most of the people in Brazil didn’t have the details of what’s happening in Turkey” so there was an “unconscious identification” based on the idea of “changing things in the world” together in a similar way (Int. 5B). Considering these arguments, along with the other interview results, it can be argued that despite the limited knowledge of them, the contextual and motivational similarities between the two movements created a cognitive dimension where the identification could be further constructed. Although these similarities were required for the construction of the sense of similarity, they did not have a pivotal role in the identification process.

4.4.2.2. *Sympathetic identification*

The sense of similarity is strengthened by a *sympathetic identification* which is triggered by the tragic experience of a cognitively identified group. This identification is different from the *attribution of similarity* in diffusion, which is “the mutual identification of actors (adopters and innovators) in different sites as being sufficiently similar to justify common action” (McAdam

et al., 2004, s. 334). Rather, it refers to a more emotional and unilateral identification based on the feeling of *sympathy*. Building upon the empathy leading to envision another one's perceptions and responses, sympathy primarily refers to the sentiment that is "an experience of emotions similar to another's or on behalf of the other" which also results in the display of these emotions through attitudes or behavior (Schmitt & Clark, 2006, p. 469). The sympathy for the tragic experiences or the grievances is significant for the collective action as it is effective in "spurring individuals to consider acts of activism", "expanding the mobilization potential as well as tapping into the benefits of public attitudinal support" (Bergstrand, 2014, pp. 126-129). In terms of presentational aesthetics including Aristotelian tragedies, sympathetic identification also refers to "an aesthetic disposition (...) which can create solidarity leading to action and emulation" (Jauss et al., 1974, p. 307). Integrating this concept into the social movements, as the *audience* of a tragedy in which the *protagonist* faces tragic but relatable incidents, the sympathizers in the local context develop a sympathy for the identified foreign group who deals with tragic experiences during the protests such as police violence or political marginalization.

The findings revealed that the tragic experience, in this case, was the police violence during the protests in both countries. As almost all interviewees agreed, as well as the studies on police practices in Brazil demonstrate, police brutality had already been a common and institutionalized problem (Ahnen, 2008; Caldeira, 2002; Costa & Thompson, 2011). An interviewee from São Paulo highlighted that the police exist as an institution to "defend the rights of higher classes against the classes of people; the rich against the poor" and "the police here in Brazil is very brutal" (Int. 1B). Similarly, an interviewee with a long personal activism history also argued that the violent police intervention in the June 2013 Protests was not an "exception", but a "common practice" (Int. 5B). Describing her experience in Rio de Janeiro, another interviewee stated that "the police repression was quite violent and disproportional, with people being attacked in neighbourhoods located kilometres away from where the march took place, including inside restaurants and hospitals" (Int. 12B). "This kind of police violence again and again and its absence in the media coverage" resulted in a "breaking point" for many individuals (Int. 3B), and it "made lots of people want to go to the streets" (Int. 1B). From the perspective of various interviewees, "abusive police force" became a central reason for "more and more people to join the protests" (Int. 4B).

Observing a similar pattern in the Gezi protests led some Brazilian protesters to sympathetically identify themselves with Turkish protesters, who were also facing violent protest policing practices. Interviewee 8B was "shocked by the violence of the government against the

participants in the protests, without imagining that a few days later, here in Brazil would happen the same”. Referring to the impact of this issue on the Brazilian activists, she argued that “there was an identification with what happened at the same time in Brazil” and the major reason behind this identification was “a strong police repression and violence”. An interviewee who personally experienced police violence during the protests claimed that protesters started to “see themselves in what was happening in Turkey” after observing “the governments responding in a violent way” to the protesters in both countries (Int. 1B). Similarly, another experienced interviewee stated that after the escalation of police violence in both countries, Brazilian protesters started to think that “we could see that we had the same people there” in Turkey (Int. 4B). As Interviewee 6B argued, “all things were escalated very badly in Turkey at that time when things were getting worse in Brazil” and this situation caused a growing “sympathy” for the protesters in Turkey. The answer of Interviewee 12B from Rio de Janeiro elaborated on this identification based on the shared experience of violence:

When the protests started here, we used to sing: Love is over, Brazil will become Turkey. For us, it was very touchable because the police violence was super normal for us as well. We could see the same police strategies here. We mirrored ourselves in the protests in Gezi Park. I do think that there were many similarities. [...] The most striking to me, with no doubt, was the police violence and how we managed to be alive; to resist it.

As a significant problem that has already been institutionalized previously and escalated again since the early days of protests in 2013, police violence towards protesters emerged as the major incident that enabled a sympathetic identification with Turkish protesters. The above-mentioned contextual and motivational similarities were conceivably important in creating a sense of similarity; still, the identification that had a motivating impact on collective action was further constructed based on this shared tragedy.

4.4.2.3. Cathartic action

The sympathetic identification accompanied by the contextual and motivational similarities triggers a *moral shock* for the sympathizers of a similar struggle in the local context. Such shock can be defined as a combination of emotional experiences caused by an unexpected incident that challenges a person’s perception of the world and leads to the revaluation of moral principles (Jasper, 2014). As Jasper (2014) argues, moral shocks are triggered by the sudden occurrences of perceptively immoral and unjust incidents such as “violent repression of peaceful protest”, and they contain an emotional response to these incidents through outrage and indignation (p. 348). Along with triggering an urge to react to those specific incidents,

moral shocks also have a stimulating impact on the hidden or suppressed emotions that have not been or could not be expressed explicitly such as grief or rage towards an institutionalized problem (Jasper, 2014). Consequently, this emotional process usually leads individuals to engage in collective action to “set things right again” (Jasper, 2018, p. 87).

The findings revealed that a similar pattern to a moral shock can be observed in this case: observing the struggle of sympathetically identified Turkish protesters and experiencing similar tragedies such as police brutality in their local context caused a *moral shock* for some sympathizers of the ongoing struggle in Brazil. Most interviewees said that their primary motivation to participate in the protest was shaped by various social, political and economic problems in Brazil; still, it can be argued that this moral shock, accompanied by negative emotions such as rage and indignation, had an accelerating impact on the translation of “motives to enter a social movement” “into action faster” (van Stekelenburg & Klandermans, 2017, p. 121). The perception of struggling Turkish protesters, whose protests were presented in both mass media and social media as an active resistance to police violence, also stimulated a motivational and inspirational influence along with this emotional acceleration. The Gezi protests then became a benchmark for some Brazilians to participate in the protests following the above-mentioned identification process. It was a reference point that signals the need for change through collective action.

The pattern of the motivational impact of the Gezi protests can be seen in various interview results. An experienced activist interviewee, whose friends were taken into custody during the protests after clashes with police in São Paulo, expressed that “what was happening in Turkey led me to go to the streets in Brazil” because they “experienced similar things these days” when both governments “acted as dictatorships” (Int. 24B). From a similar perspective, Interviewee 21B stated that “what happened in Turkey had an enormous impact on the people here in the streets” because Brazilians “saw that we are not fighting alone” and “must continue to fight for our rights”. Interviewee 12B also argued the inspirational impact of the Gezi protests by stating that “we were seeing us in Turkey” and “Turkish protests were our school; we learned how to protect ourselves, how to use some radical strategies” to deal with police violence. When discussing the connection between the protests in two countries with Mert Kaya, a veteran activist’s answer also confirmed the motivating impact of moral shock derived from the shared experience of being exposed to police violence on mobilization:

We knew about Taksim; we knew about it very well. It was a great identification process for us. There was that epic photo of the woman wearing a super pretty dress. And a cop

was spraying pepper gas in her face. They used that photo in the movement here. We were suffering the same thing here. We identified ourselves a lot with them as people demanding something and being repressed harshly by the government. It was the representation of the same people. Similar things were happening, we were identical... It provides strength. We say 'Well, if they did it, we can do it, right?'. (Int. 15B)

The references to the Gezi protests in slogans and marches during the protests in Brazil can also be considered as a collective expression of this whole process. Considering the famous slogan "Love is over, this is going to be Turkey", the Gezi protests were referred to not only as an inspirational benchmark but also as a symbolic threshold that demonstrates the emotional impact of the above-mentioned moral shock. *Turkey*, which was *hell* in the original slogan and then replaced with Turkey as interviewee 6B explained, was depicted as an alternative to the status quo, which was described as *love*, and it indicated a change through collective action with an intimidating tone. It contained a *cathartic action* indicating the release of feelings such as indignation and rage towards the police violence that had been tolerated in times of *love*. Another interviewee explained that this slogan started to be used after 13 June, which was "the most violent day of the protests" that "transformed the protests" (Int. 1B). He added that this slogan was "some kind of alert to the government" declaring "this is going to be like Turkey, we're going to protest it in a violent way" as a reaction to police violence. Several interviewees emphasized that the protesters started to use such slogan to declare that they "were out of patience" and "the patience that we had since the beginning of events, the tolerance we had, it was over" (Int. 17B). As the spokesperson of MPL also explained, such "chants mentioning Turkey in 2013 boosted people's morale in their actions, their willingness to face repression and reminded them that demonstrations could be victorious, that we had strength".

It should also be noted that the simultaneous timing of the protests also had a facilitating impact on this influence and the references to the Gezi protests. As interviewee 12B stated, "there was some synchronization between the movements in Brazil and Turkey and that helped to motivate people to take action and to foster the feelings". Still, it would be questionable to argue that the simultaneous escalation of two protests without the above-mentioned emotional and cognitive processes would have triggered such a stimulating influence. As the spokesperson of MPL explained, previous foreign protests such as Occupy Wall Street or Arab Uprisings "were not present in the struggle carried out by people in the streets", while the Gezi protests became an inspirational benchmark in both individual and collective levels in protests and social media platforms. It would be claimed that the timing was surely an important factor, but the sources of the inspirational influence were the moral shocks that were accompanied by the

acknowledged contextual and motivational similarities and the sympathetic identification with Turkish protesters (see *Figure 2*).

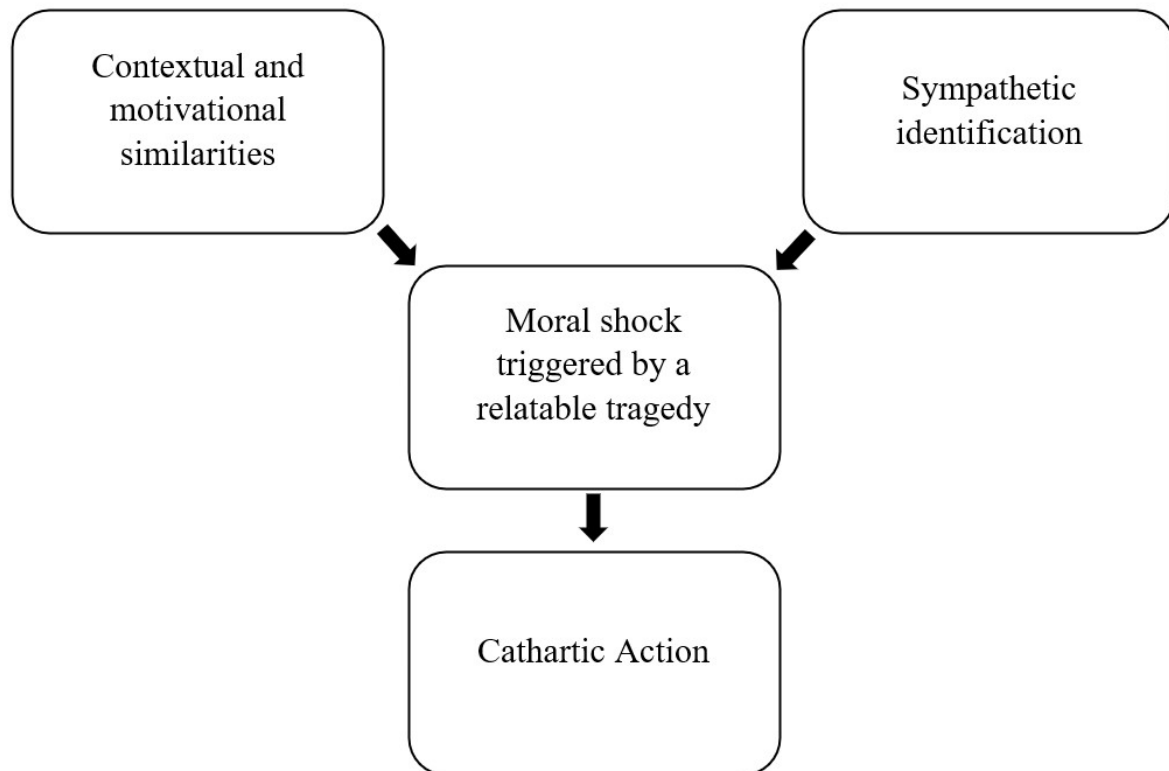


Figure 2: Mechanism of Cathartic Resonance

4.5. Concluding Remarks

This chapter explores the reasons why and how some Brazilian protesters felt inspired by the June 2013 Protests in Turkey. The findings demonstrate that a combination of emotional and cognitive responses can be considered as the source of this cross-national protest connection that emerged in the absence of proximity and similarity factors. In this direction, this case study introduces the concept of cathartic resonance as a new mechanism of cross-national diffusion of protests. By focusing on the experiences, perceptions and emotions of individuals, this concept aims to present a new perspective on this matter from a more cultural and agentic approach. According to the cathartic resonance argument, the emotional impact of shared tragedies and similar struggles may still connect people from distant and distinct countries and stimulate motivation for collective action through cathartic resonance.

One of the issues that should be addressed before concluding this chapter is the discussion about the differences between diffusion and cathartic resonance in terms of causal claims. Unlike diffusion, cathartic resonance does not imply *causality* for the emergence of a new mobilization through adoption: in the case under investigation, the protests in Turkey did not *diffuse* to Brazil in conventional terms; they instead escalated simultaneously as two distinct protests. As the spokesperson of MPL explained, their “movement had already been well matured and completely immersed” before the escalation of protests in Turkey, and the initial protests in Brazil were initiated independently from the Gezi protests. In its classical theorization, diffusion is also proposed as a *cause* for the upward scale shift in local mobilizations (Tarrow & McAdam, 2005); however, different studies demonstrate that the police violence, accompanied by the national social, economic and political grievances, was the major reason that prompted an upward scale shift from local demonstrations towards a nationwide protest wave in Brazil (Aytaç et al., 2017; Mendes, 2017). Thus, it would be again problematic to claim that cathartic resonance was the sole or major reason for a change in the scope of protests in Brazil.

Considering these points, cathartic resonance then surely cannot be described as a conventional form of cross-national diffusion through *adoption*. It instead emerges as an alternative pathway that cross-nationally provides emotional requirements or motivational accelerators of the collective action to some individuals in another context. Similar to van Stekelenburg’s and Klandermans’ (2017) arguments on the role of emotions in protests, this mechanism relies on the *accelerating* impact of emotions on the motivation for collective action and argues that such impact may also be stimulated by a foreign but relatable protest. A linear relationship flowing from the *protagonist* foreign protester group to the *audience* local sympathizers still consists of the central dynamics of cathartic resonance similar to diffusion, yet this mechanism rather explores the influence of a foreign protest on individuals’ motivations for collective action without making the causal claim that the foreign protest prompts mobilization in the host country. Considering these characteristics, cathartic resonance can be considered similar to Romanos’ (2016) emphasis on the diffusion of agency component of collective action, which leads to the “awareness that it is possible to alter conditions or policies through collective action” (p. 107). Still, the major focus of cathartic resonance is the emotional and cognitive influence of a protest on individual protesters. Considering these issues, the approach of cathartic resonance proposes a more microfoundational approach to diffusion by integrating the emotional and cognitive responses of individuals to a foreign protest and their actions due to these responses.

In the light of these findings, this case study can contribute to the debates on how to refine the theory of diffusion by integrating the emotional and cognitive components of collective action and their role in the relations between the mobilizations in different countries. The mechanism of cathartic resonance demonstrates that the emotional and cognitive dimensions of collective action and shared experiences may result in the formation of bridges between cases that are distant and distinct from each other. Especially the similar shocking experiences and their visible presence in the new communication channels such as social media platforms facilitate the construction of these bridges. Based on these findings, it can be claimed that integrating concepts such as moral shocks and catharsis from the field of the emotions of collective action into the theoretical discussions about the diffusion of social movements and protests can have fruitful results in understanding the changing dynamics of contentious politics. Social movement studies in general surely benefit from the further integration and exchanges between these two important theoretical fields.

Apart from this issue, the emphasis on the influence and emotional stimulation rather than the adoption as a response to another foreign protest as it happens in the cathartic resonance may also help us to understand the microdynamics of the cross-national spread of collective action. As discussed in the theoretical chapter, the traditional understanding of diffusion has been centered around the concept of adoption as the dominant consequence -also sometimes mechanism- of the spread of collective action. However, this case demonstrates that the stimulation of the emotional and motivational components of the collective action by another protest can also result in the spread of collective action cross-nationally – even if there is not a strong pattern of adoption of behavioral and ideational components of collective action. Thus, the findings can contribute to the discussion regarding how to expand the conceptual formulation of diffusion by integrating its emotional consequences other than adoption into its conceptualization. The findings, furthermore, provide insights for other scholarly debates such as the emergence of similar subjectivities shaped by the failure of neoliberal premises in different countries (della Porta, 2017) and the consequences of the global trend of the militarization of police, as well as the popularization of coercive protest policing strategies (Atak, 2017).

Despite these potential contributions, the study has limitations. First and foremost, it primarily relies on twenty-four interviews and secondary qualitative sources, which do not constitute a large database. Besides, although most of the interviewees discussed the inspirational influence of the Gezi protests at either individual or collective levels, a few of them neither followed nor

felt inspired by those protests. The purpose of this study, however, is not to argue if the Gezi protests diffused to Brazil or caused an upward-scale shift during ongoing protests in June 2013. Such causal claims or the generalizability of the results are not the research objectives. Instead, this study started with the observation of a puzzling phenomenon, which was the references to the Gezi protests, and it aims to explore the reasons for such phenomenon by investigating individuals' perceptions, experiences and interpretations. Despite its limited amount, the data has still revealed a pattern that can be analyzed for this investigation. Considering these limitations, the mechanism of cathartic resonance is referred to not as a well-developed theoretical explanation but as a grounded approach that can be further elaborated by future research. Still, even in this form, I hope that this study may provide a new perspective on the recent escalation of protests in different parts of the world and pave the way for new discussions about the theorization of new forms of diffusion.

5. CHAPTER: AUTUMN CASE

5.1. Introduction

This chapter presents the analysis of the connection between the 2019 Protests in China (Hong Kong) and Spain (Catalonia). Similar to several protest connections between distant locations in the aftermath of the 2007-2008 Global Financial Crisis, the inspirational influence of Hong Kong Protests on Catalan protesters can be considered as an unlikely phenomenon according to the traditional theory of diffusion: As two autonomous regions recognized after different national and international processes in two geographically and contextually distinct countries, Hong Kong and Catalonia do not share geographical proximities, linguistic, cultural, historical or structural ties or strong and pre-established organizational networks among activists. Still, the Hong Kong Protests were a benchmark for some Catalan activists and groups to learn and emulate new tactics against repression and police violence. Similar to the other cases in this dissertation project, the protest connections between Hong Kong and Catalonia in 2019, which I call *Autumn Case*, raises the question of why and how a protest may inspire another one in a distant and distinct country even in the absence of obvious proximity and similarity factors that facilitate protest diffusion.

This case study addresses this question to further explore the changing dynamics of protest diffusion and the interconnection between the national and transnational dimensions of contentious politics. Moreover, it aims to reveal some emotional, cognitive and relational mechanisms that facilitate such an unlikely spread of protests and social movements by using the GTM. Autumn Case can be considered as an ideal case for such an objective: despite the absence of most of the theoretically acknowledged facilitating factors for cross-national diffusion, there are patterns of both emotional resonance and diffusional adoption of ideational and behavioral components of collective action in this case. Thus, it can be considered as a “least-likely” case study aiming at contributing to the social movement literature by refining the current understanding of diffusion from a more cultural and agential perspective. Furthermore, this case differs from the *Summer Case* due to the role of activist groups and networks that were involved in the adoption of collective action. Apart from the emotional and motivational dynamics of the diffusion processes, this case also reveals the tactical and cognitive processes along with the role of agency of the micro-level actors in the cross-national

diffusion of protests and social movements. The analysis of the recent changes in the dynamics of the Catalan struggle for independence may also provide some insights for the scholarly discussion about the current situation of political context and the pro-independence movement in Catalonia. The discussions regarding the role of the new actors such as Tsunami Democratic or Picnic x República in this process may shed light on the pathways of the adoption of more disruptive repertoires of action in the Catalan Struggle.

As the end product, this case study introduces the concept of *admirative diffusion* as a novel emotional and cognitive mechanism of the cross-national diffusion of collective action. Grounded in the empirical data and inspired by the concept of admiration, this new mechanism primarily explains that the collective admiration for a foreign but identifiable protesting group's tactical success, moral position and resilience to shared traumatic incidents may result in the adoption of similar forms of collective action and the stimulation of extra emotional energy to engage in local mobilizations. Despite its similarities with the mechanism of cathartic resonance, the mechanism of admirative diffusion aims at expanding the conceptual limits of diffusion by integrating the emotional and cognitive processes into the framework of *adoption*. While explaining this mechanism and its component, this chapter also presents the notes on methodological approaches used for this case, the overview and contextualization of the case itself and a concluding discussion on how to refine the theorization of diffusion in future research.

5.2. Methodological Notes

Using the Evolved Grounded Theory model proposed by Corbin and Strauss (2015), I started the data collection procedure by 1) conducting twenty-three semi-structured in-depth interviews with both activists who participated in the 2019 Protests in Catalonia and key figures from different political parties such as CUP and ERC, NGOs including Òmnium Cultural and ANC, newspapers, think tanks and activist groups, 2) analyzing ten flyers/brochures that were spread during the protests with the title "Pont Aeri: Hong Kong – BCN" which describes the strategies and tactics to be adopted from Hong Kong Protests, 3) retrieving textual data from online and offline documents published by activist groups such as Tsunami Democratic, Picnic x República and CDR and 4) analyzing the secondary sources that involve interviews with or releases from the organizers/spokespersons of these groups. I used both online and offline methods for the data collection. In addition to collecting data through online accessible sources and online interviews, I undertook a fieldwork activity in Barcelona, Spain in November 2021

to gain a deeper understanding of the context of the case and to enhance the data collection process through conducting additional interviews. Apart from the interviews, I also kept a fieldwork journal to be used in the memo writing, visited symbolic locations of the 2019 Protests such as Barcelona el-Prat Airport and Plaça d'Urquinaona, and observed public campaigns and demonstrations. The collected data is processed by a three-stage and sentence-by-sentence coding procedure (open, axial and selective coding). The interviewees were selected through a combination of snowball sampling and theoretical sampling, which is a practice of data collection that requires the research to start simultaneously with the data analysis in order to use initial concepts to determine the new data sources and sample criteria. While collecting the data, I started the open and axial coding processes, which primarily aim at achieving gradual abstractization by assigning codes to every sentence and analyzing their relations with each other constantly and comparatively. The “Pont Aeri” brochures/flyers were also added to the transcribed interview data to be analyzed textually and visually.

During the open coding, more than 600 codes were assigned to each unit of analysis. Then, in the first round of the axial coding which aims at constructing conceptual categories based on these codes, 22 conceptual categories were introduced. In the second round, these categories were combined to formulate 4 major conceptual categories, which function as the components of a core category (see *Table 2*). As a consequence of this coding procedure, which resulted in the construction of a conceptual framework with explanatory power for the case under investigation, the mechanism of the *admirative diffusion* is introduced. In order to understand its empirical ground and how this new mechanism works, I also tried to descriptively and qualitatively analyze the political context in Catalonia to further reveal the external factors along with the internal ones in this case. The next section starts with a general overview of the Catalan cycle of contention for self-determination and an initial analysis of the emergence of new actors such as Tsunami Democratic in order to pave the way for achieving these objectives in the next stages of this study. This section is followed by the conceptualization of admirative diffusion is discussed in the following section.

First Round of the Axial Coding	Final Round of the Axial Coding
Conceptual Categories	Explanatory Conceptual Categories
• Pro-democratic struggle • Emphasis on the right of self-determination • Non-violent movement of people demanding democratic rights • Change in the image of the state towards a more repressive direction • Gradual increase in the use of coercive protest policing strategies	The collective sense of equivalence in descriptive terms of similarity with a foreign protesting group
• Emphasis on the need for a change in the repertoires of action • Willingness to adopt more contentious and direct forms of action • Peaceful contention as a source of inspiration • Effective use of mobile communication technologies • Success in mobilizing a large number of people for contentious events • Successful use of anonymous/secure action strategies • Efficient strategy of using non-violent forms of mobilization	Perceived competence of the group in a similar struggle
• Acknowledging peaceful civil disobedience as a legitimate form of action • Admiration for using the principle of non-violence for collective action • Willingness to move towards a more contentious phase with peaceful means • Admiration for the bottom-up model of mobilization	Moral resemblance between the righteous-self image and the image of the group
• Transformation of anger into indignation • Shared tragedies of state repression • Cultural/Collective trauma of police violence • Motivation through an emotional connection with another group • Sense of solidarity • Promotion of emotional energy through cross-national interactions	Emotional resonance due to shared traumas and admiration for the group's resilience towards similar tragic incidents

Table 2: Results of Axial Coding (Autumn Case)

5.3. Overview of the Catalan Cycle of Contention for Independence

Similar to previous studies using a social movement perspective (della Porta et al., 2019; della Porta & Portos, 2020; della Porta et al., 2021; Azagra & Gunzelmann, 2019), the Catalan struggle for independence is also described as *a cycle of contention* in this study. In his seminal work, Tarrow (1993) defines cycles of contention (or cycle of protest) as “an increasing and

then decreasing wave of inter-related collective actions and reactions to them whose aggregate frequency, intensity, and forms increase and then decline in rough chronological proximity” (p. 284). The previous empirical studies (Crameri, 2015; García, 2016; della Porta et al., 2019; della Porta et al., 2021) and the initial findings of this study demonstrate that the 2019 Protests can be considered as a new phase in the pro-independentist Catalan cycle of contention with the introduction of new types of actors and repertoires of action. As della Porta, Portos and O'Connor argue (2019), despite the gradual radicalization of ideational and discursive elements of the pro-independence movement since the early 2000s in Catalonia, the use of disruptive and violent forms of action was mostly avoided by the pro-independentist actors and organizations. The protests in 2019 also remained peaceful in general; however, there was also a pattern of embracing more disruptive and direct repertoires of actions such as the occupation of critical spaces such as airports or violent confrontation with police by certain militant groups or activist organizations during the protests. Since this change towards the adoption of more disruptive tactics and repertoires is also connected with the cross-national interactions between Hong Kong and Catalonia, a brief overview of the pro-independentist Catalan cycle of contention should be presented to explore the reasons behind the changes in the dynamics of contention.

5.3.1. Catalan Struggle between 1978-2019

Following the Spanish transition to democracy and promulgation of the Statute of Autonomy of Catalonia of 1979, the first twenty-five years of Catalan politics were primarily dominated by the autonomist policies of center-right and nationalist party CiU and its president Jordi Pujol (Vargas, 2018). Despite the pro-independentist demands from parties such as ERC, this period between 1980 and 2003 was generally shaped by the institutional forms of action “to increase Catalan autonomy within the extant constitutional framework of the Spanish state” (della Porta et al., 2019, p. 4). However, this condition has changed towards a more contentious phase following the electoral victories of the pro-independentist bloc composed of the ERC, PSC and ICV-EUiA in the 2003 Catalan regional elections and the PSOE in the 2004 Spanish general elections. As della Porta, Portos and Garcia (2019) argue, this political change opened up the political structures for both institutional and extra-institutional actors to demand an expansion for autonomy towards a more pro-independentist direction.

The level of contention, however, has dramatically increased since 2010 following the decision of the Supreme Court of Spain on the unconstitutionality of the new statute draft of Catalonia’s autonomy proposed in 2006. The decision triggered broader public support for independence, and this new phase was mostly shaped by the pro-independence activities and direct actions of

grassroots movements and civil society organizations such as Òmnium Cultural and ANC (Cramerí, 2015). Organizing annual pro-independence demonstrations with the participation of millions of people on the *Diada Nacional de Catalunya* [National Days of Catalonia], forming human chains to support independence, and organizing non-binding and symbolic referendums in hundreds of towns were some of the major events and strategies that were used during this period between 2010 and 2017 (Agustín & Raftopoulos, 2021). While this period demonstrates the growing public support for the independence and mobilizing capacity of civil society organizations through embracing more direct and disruptive actions, the activities remained peaceful during this phase of the cycle of contention.

The pro-independence sentiment expressed by the civil society organizations and grassroots movements was also explicitly embraced by the political parties in this period. After CiU's victory in the 2010 regional elections, ERC and CiU agreed on a declaration of sovereignty in 2013 to create the legal and political base for a self-determination referendum of Catalonia (Colomer et al., 2015). Starting from this point, the self-determination referendums in Catalonia became "instances of heightened contention" as contentious events rather than institutional ways of demanding a political change (della Porta et al., 2019). The decision on sovereignty was followed by the organization of a non-binding referendum with the collaboration of political parties, extra-parliamentary actors and civil society organizations in 2014 despite the Spanish Supreme Court's decision on suspension of voting and legal charges to the political leaders.

The growing demand for independence and tension between the Catalan and Spanish governments led to the formation of the pro-independentist Junts pel Sí bloc in 2015. The bloc was composed of political parties such as ERC and CDC and it announced another declaration of sovereignty for a new and binding independence referendum following their victory in the 2015 regional elections (Ubasart-González, 2021). As the conventional and institutional actors including the political parties and civil society organizations such as Òmnium Cultural and ANC initiated their operations cooperatively for the organization of the referendum, the pathway to the referendum also led to the emergence of new grassroots mobilizations and horizontal movements using more disruptive and direct actions in Catalonia. Since April 2017, pro-independentist activist groups in various towns and villages started to gather in the form of neighborhood committees to locally organize and secure the necessary infrastructure for the upcoming referendum including ballot boxes and voting stations. During September 2017, these committees, which had been autonomous, operated in cooperation under the name of CDRs

aiming at “mobilizing as many people as possible in defense of the exercise of the right to self-determination” (“Crean un Comité de Defensa del Referéndum dispuesto a “desobedecer y resistir””, 2017). Despite the decision of the Spanish Supreme Court on its unconstitutionality and illegality, the independence referendum was organized on 1 October 2017 with the collaboration of both traditional and new political actors and groups.

The referendum day can be considered as a peak in the Catalan cycle of contention: Institutional efforts to prevent voting and excessive use of force by police against the referendum organizers sparked a massive public outrage on referendum day and various protests escalated against the violent intervention of the police to a democratic vote (della Porta et al., 2019). As more than 800 people were injured due to police violence on that day, the political leaders including President Carles Puigdemont were charged with crimes such as rebellion and disobedience (Dearden, 2017). For the first time in the democratic history of Spain, article 155 of the Spanish Constitution was triggered and direct rule was imposed on Catalonia in the following months.

Such an increase in the level of repression caused the use of more disruptive tactics and strategies by grassroots movements as the Catalan struggle for independence moved towards a more contentious period in the aftermath of the referendum. In a context in which the actions of political parties and traditional civil society organizations were restricted, CDRs emerged as an alternative type of actor and gained social support (della Porta et al., 2019). The committees, which were originally named the “Committees for the Defense of the Referendum”, changed their names to “Committees for the Defense of the Republic” and called for non-violent protests and civil disobedience actions to achieve the independence of the Catalan Republic (della Porta et al., 2021). Tactics such as organizing general strikes, blockading roads and railways, occupying public and private spaces across Catalonia, and confronting police in the neighborhoods were widely used by CDRs and similar grassroots movements. As a consequence of the gradual closure of institutional ways of demanding independence, the Catalan struggle experienced a downward scale shift towards a more local level of contention during the two years after the referendum (della Porta et al., 2019).

5.3.2. 2019 October Protests

The trial of Catalan leaders lasted around two years and most of them were sentenced to prison ranging from 9 to 13 years by the Supreme Court of Spain on 14 October 2019 (Bourne, 2021). The decision started a new and more contentious phase in the Catalan cycle of contention: Following the announcement of the decision, the protests started with the occupation of

Barcelona-El Prat Airport by the thousands of protesters led by Tsunami Democratic, an anonymously orchestrated activist campaign that was publicly initiated on 2 September 2019. Mobilizing protesters through Telegram and its own instant messaging application, Tsunami Democratic was largely inspired by the 2019 Hong Kong protests and the tactical repertoires used during those protests (Hui, 2019). The police reacted violently to these initial protests in El-Prat airport by using batons and rubber bullets, and this triggered the escalation of demonstrations in various locations in Barcelona in the following days with the participation of Òmnium Cultural, ANC, CDRs and other similar pro-independentist activist groups (della Porta et al., 2021).

Despite the endorsement of non-violent civil disobedience by Tsunami Democratic and civil society organizations such as Òmnium Cultural and ANC, many protests got contentious rapidly as various clashes between protesters and the riot police erupted. As a reaction to the extreme use of force by police, some protesters also used more disruptive and direct actions such as road blockades, occupation of public spaces, building barricades and setting them on fire, or throwing stones and objects at the police (Burgen & Jones, 2019). These relatively more contentious protests were also accompanied by massive and peaceful demonstrations such as the general strike organized by various trade unions and civil society organizations with the participation of approximately 525.000 people on 18 October. The strike was followed by a contentious event called “the Battle of Urquinaona”, where police confronted hundreds of protesters violently in the Plaça Urquinaona on the same night (Espí, 2019). Following this peak of the cycle of contention in 2019, this type of more contentious protests, along with the peaceful demonstrations, continued for a couple of weeks and then gradually declined as the activists associated with the leading groups such as Tsunami Democratic the criminalized by the Spanish state due to their actions (Minder, 2021).

5.3.3. Anatomy of a New Actor: Tsunami Democratic

The preliminary research demonstrates that in order to understand the interactions between Hong Kong and Catalonia in 2019, as well as the changes in the local dynamics of the Catalan cycle of contention, it is crucial to further investigate Tsunami Democratic (or Tsunami, shortly), which sparked the fire of the protests in 2019 by occupying El-Prat Airport with thousands of protesters on 14 October. It is widely discussed that the organizers of Tsunami had followed closely the Hong Kong protests since May 2019 (Irago, 2019), and they adopted the model of Hong Kong protests: Tsunami used similar disruptive tactics and repertoires of action such as the occupation of strategic infrastructures such as an airport or interruption of

important events such as football matches (Calvo & Portos, 2019; Puente & Pareja, 2019); it utilizes similar rhetoric of nonviolent civil disobedience or frames such as “being water” to emphasize the dynamic and fluid nature of the campaign (Lau, 2019; Hui, 2019); it introduced similar anonymous and confidential communication applications or crowdsourced navigation technologies to mobilize its members (Lomas, 2019). In its Telegram channel, Tsunami even explicitly referred to Hong Kong protests as a benchmark for numerical and tactical comparison of mobilizations¹. Considering these points, along with its significant role in the change of dynamics in the Catalan cycle of contention, I firmly believe that Tsunami should be analyzed in detail to explore its internal dynamics and role in both the local and cross-national spread of contention.

While Tsunami Democratic has been described in various forms including “a shadow online platform” (Calvo & Portos, 2019), “a fluent network” (Agustín, 2021), “an online activist group” (Lomas, 2019), “an organization” (Beatriz, 2020), “a web-based platform” (Hunt, 2020), or “a protest group” (Ververis, et al., 2021), it defined itself as “not a new organization” but “a constant, continuous and inexhaustible campaign” (Burgen & Jones, 2019). The campaign was officially initiated on 2 September 2019 on Twitter by declaring that “a new wave begins” that “uses nonviolent struggle and civil disobedience as transformative strategies” and Catalan people are the “protagonists” of this new wave (“Tsunami Democràtic”, 2019). This first manifesto was released anonymously under the name of Tsunami Democratic, and it received immediate support from important pro-independentist actors such as Catalonia’s current President Quim Torra and former President Carles Puigdemont, Vice President Oriol Junqueras, leaders of pro-independentist parties such as CUP and ERC, and important figures from ANC and Òmnium Cultural (Redacció, 2019). Although it is widely speculated that the campaign has always had connections with pro-independentist parties, activist groups and NGOs such as Òmnium Cultural (Hunt, 2020; Agustín, 2021; Bielsa, 2021), Tsunami Democratic operated anonymously since its first appearance in order to orchestrate its activities without the risk of being legally accused or tracked by any authority (Agustín, 2021). Anonymity was also a significant component of Tsunami’s discourse on being a horizontal, independent and equal network that relies on the “power of people” (“Tsunami Democràtic”, 2019).

¹ The conversation regarding this issue can be seen in the official Telegram channels of Tsunami Democratic in the following link: <https://t.me/s/tsunamid?before=338>

The campaign initially emphasized that defending “fundamental rights”, “social transformation” and “social justice” in Catalonia by using any strategy and tool that “promotes a collective and horizontal movement” through “peaceful” action were the principles of the campaign. Following its initiation, Tsunami articulated its three main objectives, as can be seen in its interview with Gemma Liñán (2019): “The exercise and recognition of the right to self-determination; freedom for the prisoners, exiles and those suffering reprisals by the state; and full exercise of fundamental rights”. While it was repeatedly emphasized that the campaign is not affiliated with any organizations, parties or groups, Tsunami embraced the heritage of the Catalan Struggle and explicitly acknowledged itself as a part of this struggle. In its own words, the campaign is “a network that is not invented but already existed” that proudly praises the “commitment of men and women who for generations have exercised and won their rights in so many struggles encourages us” (“Tsunami Democràtic”, 2019; Burgen & Jones, 2019).

Since its first public appearance, Tsunami strongly emphasized its reliance on nonviolent civil disobedience and disruptive collective action as “the winning strategy” (Burgen & Jones, 2019). “Be a water”, which is the famous quote by Bruce Lee that was introduced by Hong Konger protesters to describe their adaptive and fluid form of non-violent collective action, was embraced as the primary idea behind this peaceful form of direct action (Hui, 2019). While the principle of nonviolence has been publicly praised as the main principle that “recognizes the value of each person” and refuses “to fight back violently if they attack us” (“no violència”, 2019), popular use of disruption and direct action was emphasized as the legitimate and effective way to deal with the current crisis. By embodying the “power of people” through disruptive but nonviolent activities in various spaces from stadiums to the streets of Catalonia, Tsunami aims at “creating a situation of generalized crisis in the Spanish state” to force the Spanish state to “sit and talk” (“Tsunami Democràtic”, 2019; Agustín, 2021).

To achieve this objective, the campaign engaged in actions such as occupying transportation infrastructures such as train stations and airports (Calvo & Portos, 2019), railway, highway and border blockades (Lomas, 2019), occupying the buildings of banks (NacióDigital, 2019) and multinational companies (ACN, 2019), interrupting public events such as the El Classico, the famous football match between Barcelona and Real Madrid (Colasanti, 2019), and organizing street protest and demonstrations in various cities and towns across Catalonia (ACN, 2019). As Agustín (2021) argues, from campaigners’ perspective, Tsunami’s rejection of ruler sovereignty due to the illegitimate attacks on people’s sovereignty justifies civil disobedience and disruptive actions as the legitimate way of achieving its objectives. Bielsa (2021) argues

that radicalizing grassroots components of the Catalan struggle to use such disruptive tactics by creating a *crowd imagery* revolving around the *unstoppable* and *destructive* notion of a *tsunami* is the campaign's significant feature that distinguishes it from the other actors and previous campaigns in the Catalan struggle. From a similar perspective, Hunt (2020) and Hansen (2019) claim that Tsunami's aim of making Catalonia ungovernable with a political agenda beyond solely demanding independence also distanced the campaign from the conventional "liberal moderates" and "bourgeois leadership" within the struggle and marked it as a new actor despite alleged connections.

From an organizational perspective, Tsunami defines itself as a "horizontal and variable network" without "leaders because it is not structured in this way due to inefficacy" (Liñán, 2019). As an anonymous source from Tsunami states in an interview (Liñán, 2019), "behind the Tsunami there are the same people who are in front of it" in the protests, and asking for who is behind such a campaign reflects "a mental framework that implies a certain criminalization of people joining in association". On every occasion, Tsunami embraces a similar attitude to deny any hierarchical structure and describes itself as a horizontal network based on trust in which the members are the "protagonists" ("Tsunami Democràtic", 2019). The communication application that they introduced, which is named again *Tsunami Democratic*, also relies on the principle of reciprocal trust to join this horizontal network and participate in the actions organized by the campaign. Inspired by the Hong Konger activists, Tsunami defines this app as "a platform for coordinating peaceful actions of civil disobedience", and its gatekeepers are the equal members of the campaign rather than the moderators: it is only possible to access the platform by scanning a QR code that is provided by a trusted member from the platform ("Descarrega't L'app Del Tsunami Democràtic", 2019). Once inside, each member receives information about only a particular part of the action plan rather than all details about it, then the action is activated once every member follows their own instructions.

From Tsunami's perspective, this strategy both provides further horizontality, equality and trust among members and increases the level of confidentiality by reducing the risk of the detection of the whole plan in case of any infiltration into the group (Agustín, 2021; Liñán, 2019). This strategy, along with the principle of anonymity, also raised some questions about to what degree *democratic* the Tsunami Democratic is. Agustín (2021) argues that rather than being a horizontal network, Tsunami is organized in a "vertical from top-down, visualized like a tree" in which "the leading coordinating group makes the decisions which are transmitted as ramifications until they reach the local coordinators" (p. 246). He also states that the anonymity

that aims at providing an equal platform should not be directly interpreted as “a non-led horizontal movement”, particularly considering Tsunami’s opaque and vertically organized action plans (Agustín, 2021, p. 246). Another scholar, Enric Luján, claims that this organizational structure which is primarily led by a technical elite planning and directing the actions without a bottom-up control mechanism in a non-transparent way creates a “paradox of democracy” for such a pro-democracy campaign (Lomas, 2019). Still, despite such criticisms, Tsunami reached around 350.000 subscribers on Telegram within a month, and the app was downloaded by around 20.000 people within three weeks after its first appearance on online platforms, which demonstrates the popular support for the campaign (Burgen & Jones, 2019).

5.4. A New Mechanism: Admirative Diffusion

Grounded in the empirical data, I introduced *admirative diffusion* as an emotional and cognitive mechanism of the cross-national diffusion of collective action in this study. The mechanism primarily aims at explaining how admiration for the tactical success and moral principles of a competent and identifiable foreign protesting group (*admirable*), combined with the emotional resonance of shared traumas with this group and admiration for the group’s resilience to relatable traumatic conditions, may facilitate the diffusion of the frames, ideas and repertoires of collective action from this group to the local activists (*admirer*). While the adoption of the ideational and behavioral components of collective action by the admirers is the main consequence of the admirative diffusion, it also stimulates extra emotional energy and motivation for them to engage in similar collective action in their own context. Similar to the relationship between *adopters* and *transmitters* in the classical theorization of diffusion, admirative diffusion also proposes a mainly linear flow of the components of collective action from the *admirable* groups to the *admirer* groups; still, this flow can be facilitated through the interactions between these two groups which may eventually provide motivation and confidence for the admirable group as well. Considering the thin-thick diffusion dichotomy, admirative diffusion can be considered as a form of *thin diffusion*.

Despite being grounded in data, this new mechanism is broadly inspired by the conceptualization of admiration in social and moral psychology as a positive and adaptive emotion from the “other-praising family of emotions” that “arises from others’ exemplary actions” (Algoe & Haidt, 2009, p. 1). As an other-focused emotion elicited by individuals of competence or objects exceeding standards, admiration is widely acknowledged as an emotional source for the “desire to emulate” the admired person or object (Sarapin et al., 2015;

Zagzebski, 2015). The strong feelings of approval and positive appraisal of the object or individual, which is also perceived as similar and morally identifiable, motivates individuals to improve themselves to perform similar skills, talents or virtues with the admired one (Archer, 2019; Onu et al., 2016). Admiration, eventually, “facilitates emulation or learning” of specific actions and behaviors (Sarapin et al., 2015, s. 96). In the social movement literature, admiration is also described as an important emotional motivator for engaging in collective action. In his typology of emotions, Jasper (2018) categorizes admiration as a form of affective commitment, which is a set of emotions based on short-term assessments that “provide basic collective identities and goals of action” through the “cognitive appraisals of others” (p. 5). From Jasper’s (2014) perspective, “positive feelings toward a group or individual – such as trust or admiration – lead us to embrace tactics that we associate with them” (p. 69), and, combined with identification, admiration accelerates the influence of one group on another through “emotional inspiration” (p. 261). Admiration for other protesting groups or mobilizations “influence our choices, as we follow their examples” (Jasper, 2018, p. 405).

The findings of this study reveal that there was a similar cognitive and emotional process that facilitated the diffusion of tactics, repertoires, and frames from Hong Kong to Catalonia in 2019. Such process, which is now called *admirative diffusion*, was not only limited to the adoption of the specific forms of collective action: it also had a *transformative* impact -or, at least, accelerating impact on the transformation that had already been going on- on the collective action dynamics of the Catalan struggle by providing further emotional energy and motivation to engage in collective action. The analysis of empirical material from this case, along with the investigation of the sensitizing concepts such as *admiration*, *diffusion* and *motivation*, reveals that this new mechanism has four major components: 1) The collective sense of equivalence in descriptive terms of similarity with a foreign protesting group (*admirable* group), 2) perceived competence of the admirable group in a similar struggle, 3) moral resemblance between the admirer group’s righteous self-image and the image of the admirable group, and 4) emotional resonance due to shared traumas and admiration for the admirable group’s resilience to similar tragic incidents (see *Figure 3*).

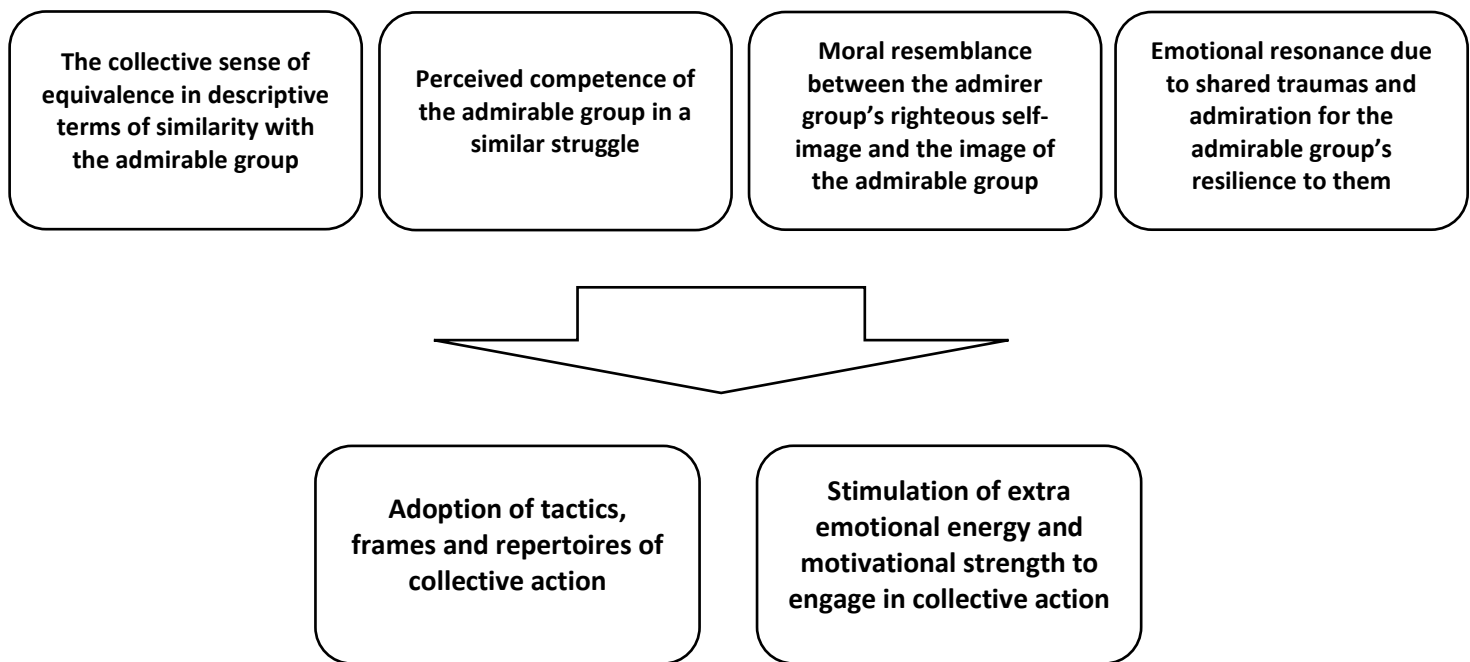


Figure 3: Mechanism of admirative diffusion

5.4.1. The collective sense of equivalence in descriptive terms of similarity with a foreign protesting group (admirable group)

Similar to the previously introduced mechanisms of diffusion such as the *attribution of similarity* (McAdam & Rucht, 1993), admirative diffusion requires the local activists and sympathizers of a struggle to have a sense of similarity with the admirable foreign group in order to identify themselves with that group and adopt several components of collective action from it. Being an *adaptive emotion*, admiration itself is highly “related to similarity and identification” (Basil, 2012). As Bandura (2009) argues, perceiving a person (or a group) as similar and identifiable increases the possibility of having admiration for that person and leads to the emulation of skills, actions or behaviors that are performed by that admired person by the admirer one. As previously discussed in the *Theoretical Framework* chapter, the sense of similarity between the adopters and transmitters is also a key condition in the conventional theorization of diffusion. Rogers (1983) argues that a sense of similarity between the adopters and transmitters enables the adoption of a specific innovation from the latter by the former. *Homophily*, which is defined as “the degree to which pairs of individuals who interact are similar in certain attributes, such as beliefs, education, social status, and the like”, is an important facilitator of this process (Rogers, 1983, p. 18).

In the same vein, the sense of similarity is also acknowledged as a requirement for the diffusion of collective action by social movement scholars. McAdam and Rucht (1993) argue that a degree of *attribution of similarity* is required for diffusion as “adopters must identify at some minimal level with transmitters if diffusion to occur” (p. 63). While this attribution is important for the identification with a group, it “needs not be all that extensive” (McAdam & Rucht, 1993, p. 63). Similarly, Chabot (2010) claims that reaching a “monological and stereotypical rather than dialogical” sense of *awareness* that “overstate similarities” between “transmitters and their (adopters) social context” is crucial for the adoption of tactics, frames or ideas from the transmitters (p. 107). Resembling the identifying impact of contextual and motivational similarities in the mechanism of *cathartic resonance*, the mechanism of admirative diffusion also relies on reaching a collective sense of *equivalence* with a foreign protesting group and their struggle, even if this feeling of similarity and equivalence is descriptive and superficial. This sense of equivalence is followed by further identification and gradual adoption of the ideational and behavioral components of collective action, as it also functions as the *ground zero* where the admiration and its emotionally and cognitively transformative influence start to stimulate the admirer group.

Considering the case under investigation, it can be argued that the recent changes in the dynamics of the Catalan struggle led some Catalan activists to gradually reach this sense of equivalence with Hong Kong protesters, and this process had a transformative impact on the dynamics of the struggle as it also eventually resulted in the adoption of the components of collective action by Catalan activists. As established in the relevant literature, there has been a significant transformation of organizational structures, repertoires of action, and collective framing of events and actors in the Catalan cycle of contention particularly since 2017 (della Porta et al., 2021). Due to the collective outrage mostly triggered by the violent police interventions and gradual increase in repression, the Catalan struggle for independence has moved towards a more contentious phase with the adoption of more direct and disruptive tactics, as well as new frames revolving around the narratives of victimhood and state repression, by both conventional actors and new grassroots movements (Azagra & Gunzelmann, 2019; della Porta et al., 2019; della Porta et al., 2021).

The findings demonstrate that the perceptual and emotional experiences of the individuals have also changed dramatically since the 2017 independence referendum and reached a *peak* during the events in 2019, which emerged as an eventful moment in the Catalan struggle. A pattern that can be traced in the interviews is the change in the perception of the political context from

a *flawed democracy* to a *repressive state*. While the intervention in the 2017 independence referendum was mostly described as “shocking” in the interviews, the following two years under the direct rule of the Spanish government were framed as a period of state repression. As one of the interviewees affiliated to ANC described, “since the referendum on October the 1st 2017 and the police charges that day, many people finally realized what kind of state is the Spanish one” in which “not many things have changed since the death of Franco” (Int. 21C). Another one also stated that the Catalan society “normalized the fact that the Spanish powers can use all the tools they have to repress the pro-independence or pro-referendum movement” after the 2017 referendum (Int. 14C). The post-referendum period was a period of “unfair vengeance” with increasing levels of repression towards any pro-independentist movement, actor or sector of society (Int. 18C). As this narrative of state repression since the referendum became popular for both individual and organizational framing of the current situation in Catalonia (Azagra & Gunzelmann, 2019), the Supreme Court’s decision on the Catalan leaders was “the last shock, last drop” (Int. 11C) that immediately and dramatically strengthening the repressive image of the Spanish state for the most of the interviewees. As an interviewee from Òmnium Cultural argues, the Spanish state decided to “teach a lesson” to Catalan society” by “reacting with harsher repression” in order to “prevent in the future that the Catalan society would do it again” (Int. 14C).

The findings show that such change in the perception of the political context facilitated reaching a sense of awareness regarding the similarities between the struggles in Hong Kong and Catalonia and led some Catalan activists to consider Hong Kong struggle as equivalent to their own struggle. While the differences between the political contexts of Spain and China and the levels of repression were largely and particularly acknowledged during the interviews, similarities such as the autonomous conditions of both regions, the pro-democratic demands for the right of self-determination with a secessionist legacy, the recent state interventions to their autonomy and the violent policing strategies in both cases enabled the creation of a descriptive sense of similarity for some Catalan activists. Despite the significant contextual differences between China and Spain in general, the recent “authoritarian track” and “repression from the state” towards both movements were highlighted as the “common frames” in the interviews (Int. 18C). Repression is a repeatedly highlighted word in these interviews: “Repression of the states”, “repressive action of the governments”, “repressing policies” and “repressive attitude towards Catalans and Hong Kongers” emerged as the significant contextual similarities in both cases. Several interviewees such as interviewee 21C argue that policies such as “putting people

in prison for calling for peaceful demonstrations” reflect a “very authoritarian” and “Francoist” approach of the Spanish state towards the Catalan struggle, which resonates significantly with China’s policies towards the Hong Kong struggle. “Institutionalized police violence” (Int. 3C) and “exposure to the violent police intervention” (Int. 16C) as a state reaction towards both movements can be considered as a significant similarity from the perspective of the activists.

While these similarities in the repressive attitude are highlighted in the interviews, it is also often argued that the political contexts of China and Spain “cannot be compared” as identical (Int. 15C). As several interviewees argue, Spain is still an “electoral democracy” in the “middle of Europe” and should not be considered same with the “most totalitarian state of the world” despite their similar repressive policies (Int. 9C, Int.18C, Int. 2C, Int. 3C). What more important than the political contexts is the perception that “the struggle itself was still pretty much same” with their motivations, strategies and principles from the perspective of the interviewees. Both being considered as “nations without states” (Int. 6C) and “non-violent and mainly independentist (...) decolonization” (Int. 21C) movements seeking “self-determination and autonomy” (Int. 9C) with the “pro-democracy content of protests” (Int. 22C), the struggles were framed similarly in the imagination of different Catalan activists. The horizontal and democratic structure of the Hong Kong movement “with no names and leaders but the people, all the people behind” is another “idea that we’ve tried to do” in Catalonia (Int. 16C). An experienced interviewee summarized the perceived equivalence between two movements as follows:

What we wanted to relate to Hong Kong is that our fight, our struggle is a pro-democratic struggle. It's not just, as you see that sometimes, a separatist movement but what we are fighting for is for the right to vote in a referendum. (...) We are fighting for human rights. We are fighting for freedom of expression, freedom for the right to peaceful protests. (Int. 14C)

Furthermore, it can be argued that the popular framing of Hong Kong in the Western media - and also social media- as a pro-democratic movement of self-determination against totalitarian China facilitated the construction of this sense of equivalence and identification with Hong Kongers. While some interviewees state that they were informed about the Hong Kong Protests through social media platforms such as Facebook or mobile applications such as Telegram, several of them stated that they followed them on TV because “they were on the news every day” (Int. 12C). An interviewee who had been affiliated to the international office of Òmnium Cultural explained this popularity in media as follows:

What was going on in Hong Kong matters a lot in the Western world. Because actually, the conflict in Hong Kong and Hong Kong itself is one of the battlegrounds

of democracy in the world. And it was getting a lot of media attention, above all, in the Anglo-Saxon world. You could read many reports and new stories on the BBC, the Guardian, the CNN. (Int. 14C)

Considering these points, it can be argued that the recent change in the perception of the political context in Catalonia enabled the emergence of the collective feeling of equivalence with Hong Kong. Despite all the differences between the contexts of Spain and China, the perceived repression and the similarities between the principles and objectives of the two struggles facilitated the flourishing of this feeling, which is required for the diffusion in general.

5.4.2. *Perceived competence of the admirable group in a similar struggle*

Another significant component of admirative diffusion is to perceive the equivalent foreign group as *competent* in a similar struggle. Competence is a key concept to understanding admiration, which is mainly “elicited by those of competence exceeding standards” (Onu, Kessler, & Smith, 2016). “Excellence in achievements, actions and skills” emerges as a source of admiration for a specific group or individual (Sarapin et al., 2015), and it leads to cognitively marking this group or individual as a *prototype* of admirable features, behaviors or actions (Onu et al., 2016). Consequently, the competence of the admirable one provides the admirer with extra motivation to emulate similar skills and talents that are perceived as excellent (Algoe & Haidt, 2009). In the mechanism of admirative diffusion, the competence of a foreign but equivalent group in a similar struggle also facilitates the adoption of specific tactics, ideas and frames of collective action that are used and *proven* to be efficient and successful by the competent group. As the admirable one starts to be perceived as a competent *prototype* of a specific form of collective action with perceived success in achieving goals or challenging authorities, similar activist groups tend to adopt that form and emulate the admirable one in their strategies.

Regarding the case under investigation, it can be argued that the Hong Kong Protests emerged as an inspirational benchmark that demonstrated tactical competence in a similar struggle. As the Catalan struggle became more open to gradually embrace the new frames and repertoires of action to deal with the current political crisis, the Hong Kong protests started to be perceived as a collective action model with efficient means and tactical success in resisting a regime that was visibly more oppressive and harsher than Spain. Even before the escalation of protests, the Hong Kong Protests were explicitly referred to as an inspirational incident for the Catalan pro-independence movement by several political actors especially on social media platforms such as Twitter. During the summer of 2019, influential names such as the former ERC MEP and pro-independentist philosopher Josep-Maria Terricabras, the vice president of the Catalan

Parliament Josep Costa and the chief of staff of the former Catalan President Puigdemont argued that “Hong Kong shows that you can do anything” as it demonstrated that “rich societies can also rise up” against undemocratic practices (Tercero & Alejandro, 2019; Martí, 2019). Following the withdrawal of the extradition law on September 4, the president of the Catalan government Quim Torra appreciated “the tenacity, perseverance and determination of the people of Hong Kong” and declared the Hong Kong protests as “an example for all peoples” (“Entusiasmo independentista al máximo nivel, en Twitter, por la revuelta de Hong Kong”, 2019).

The activist groups and networks such as CDRs and Picnic x Republic also “paid close attention to Hong Kong” prior to the protests as an example of a successful non-violent democratic struggle (“Pícnic per la República: “Calia capgirar la dinàmica ciutadana d'esperar i esperar””, 2019). After using more traditional and disruptive tactics such as road blockades during the summer of 2019, these groups considered “moving to the second level” which involves paralyzing the metro operations and airports inspired by Hong Kongers’ success (Lamelas, 2019). Similarly, in August and September 2019, several ANC-related groups introduced the Cascos Grocs or Cascos Amarillos (Yellow Helmets in English) movement to “rebuild the Catalan republic” in the streets and squares, stating “as Hongkongers say, we would rather be ashes than dust” during the protests (“Cascos amarillos nueva iniciativa independentista”, 2019; Ruiz, 2019). Following the initiation of protests by Tsunami Democratic and its organized use of non-violent civil disobedience tactics inspired by the Hong Kong Protests, several pamphlets, booklets and brochures that introduced the Hong Kong protesters’ tactics were distributed by these activist groups and various social media accounts such as the Twitter account *Pont Aeri BNC HK* (see *Figure 4*; also see *Appendix E.4.* for all flyers) (LaSexta, 2019). As ANC organized an event called “The use of new technologies in non-violent struggle: the example of Hong Kong” to discuss the strategies of Hong Kongers ([@assemblea], 2019), the tactical success of the Hong Kongers even in a harsher political context such as China and how Tsunami Democratic was aiming a similar success was also praised by various public figures (AFP, 2019).

EN LEGÍTIMA AUTODEFENSA

#BEWATERMYFRIEND "FLUID, FLEXIBLE, AND FAST-MOVING"



@wanderlust_ · 13 d'oct.

Recordau el 30 minuts de Hong Kong. Hem ser com aigua, tornar boja a la policia i a l'Estat. Si som molts més que ells imagineu-vos el caos que crearem amb moltíssimes convocatòries movent-se de lloc constantment



CNI Catalunya @CNIcatalunya · 15 d'oct.

Venen? Te'n vas. Se'n van? Hi tornes. O ho repeteixes 1km més lluny. I així fins que s'esgotin

PONT AERI

HONG KONG - BCN Nº2

"El puny amunt per qui no pot estar a casa"

Ara que tot comença

Set anys de procés cívic i pacífic han donat cent anys de presó i una enorme sensació d'impotència. França, l'Equador, Xile i Hong Kong ens han ensenyat que **dues setmanes de bloqueig, barricades i foc poden fer recular l'èlit, governs i FMI**. A tot arreu el jovent prenem la revolta en les nostres mans. Perquè nosaltres ens prenem seriosament la merda de vida que ens voleu deixar en herència. És el món sencer el que és irrespirable.

No volem més promeses electorals, estem farts. El govern català i el govern espanyol tenen un problema. Ja no esperem res de vosaltres. Pensàveu que se'ns podia humiliar, que se'ns podia pegar i que ens quedàrem a casa? **Ara estem tornant els cops que van rebre les nostres àvies**. Com hem dit al carrer: "Ens superen més les ganes de canviar la societat que la por que tenim al cos".

No és que no tinguem objectius. En tenim tants que no caben dins dels vostres programes de paper mullat. És la revolta la que obre el camí i més lluny ens porta, la que ens lliga a les amigues i als amics i ressona al món sencer. El que està clar, és que **no volem viure el vostre feixisme**. Ni aquí, ni a Madrid, ni enlloc.

És el més bonic que hem viscut mai. Milers i milers de persones que no deixàvem d'arribar a l'aeroport, els somriures, les abraçades, els ulls plens de llum. **Ja no podem tornar a ser els d'abans**, és tota una vida la que hem descobert darrera la barricada i el que estem fent és explorar-la.

No tenim por del futur, és el vostre futur el que té por de nosaltres. Ara ja hem començat.



MÒBILS & SMARTPHONES

CANALS A SEGUIR:

- Mòbil carregat 100% abans de sortir de casa, bateria externa.
- Mode avió quan no es faci servir. Un mòbil actiu per grup.
- Instal·la Telegram i informa't per canals >>>

-L'Applicació que ens cal és la de Hong Kong: decidir entre totes on i quan és l'acció. NO volem ser teledirigits per #TsunamiDemocràtic.

@HKmaplive >



- <https://t.me/tsunamiid>
- <https://t.me/berluthinho>
- https://t.me/CDR_Catalunya
- <https://t.me/alertasolidaria>
- <https://t.me/laforja>
- <https://t.me/sepcnacional>
- <https://t.me/elPoble>
- <https://t.me/catorplimieu>
- <https://t.me/alerta>
- <https://t.me/assemblea>
- <https://t.me/picnicxrepública>
- <https://t.me/anoncatalonia>

#STOPBALESDEGOMA



FUCKING CAMERAS MAN



Figure 4: Three pages from the "Pont Aeri" flyers that were distributed both on social media platforms and in the streets during the 2019 Catalonia Protests. The pages mainly describe the tactics that were used during the Hong Kong Protests (Source: Pont Aeri BCN HK [@HkPont], 2019)

The dramatic shift in the political context of Spain and the perceived need for change towards the adoption of more disruptive tactics or civil disobedience methods were also highlighted by the activists. Similar to the case of the violent police intervention in the 2017 independence referendum, 2019 was a moment of collective realization that “you have to go beyond this naive civil resistance and you have to have to fight the state with more direct methods” as “if you are peaceful and you do everything as you're meant to do it and according to the law, you won't achieve anything” (Int. 9C). “Civic tradition of contention through more conventional, institutional and organizational ways of protesting” was considered as a failed strategy that should be changed (Int. 2C). In the collective imagination of Catalan activists, challenging one of the most totalitarian states in the streets with civil disobedience means of collective action was the sign of *excellence* that triggered the collective admiration and desire to follow a similar pathway.

Several interviews indicate that the Hong Kong Protests were mainly perceived as a tactical success of a similar democratic struggle from the activists' perspective. As an “interesting, massive, very organized and effective and a successful movement of democracy” (Int. 7C), the Hong Kong protests were *inspirational* because of being “efficient” (Int. 5C), “optimal” (Int. 16C), “successful” (Int. 9C), “highly organized” (Int. 13C) and “massive use of nonviolent civil disobedience techniques” (Int. 21C). The tactics used in Hong Kong such as airport occupations, use of umbrellas or laser tags, or communicating through confidential mobile apps were used in Catalonia because “they were working” (Int. 10C; Int. 20C) for a similar struggle in a harsher and “more difficult” political context such as China. One of the interviewees who had actively participated in the activities of pro-independence horizontal activist groups explained this tactical influence as follows:

Hong Kong protests were on the news every day. So we were watching them and actually, as they were like kind of important on time for the protests here. Well, I think we were putting the attention of knowing how they were strategically working in small groups, with small actions everyday, not getting tired because they were like turning making shifts among themselves doing one option. If it doesn't work, they just hide. It was super fast, and sometimes they were including some material that we were not thinking, and that was also helpful. I remember that they were either using the cameras of the phones to make lights or umbrellas, or small items, that made you think “Oh, that's a good strategy. Maybe we should implement this when things happen”. (Int. 10C)

Similarly, another interviewee from a similar activism trajectory stated that “street tactics were one of the most direct connections with Hong Kong, with what was happening in Hong Kong on those days” and he argues that tactical inspiration was quite visible in the streets of Catalonia these days:

If we're talking about self-protection means and street strategy for the situations of clashes and everything, a lot of the Hong Kong strategies such as the widespread use of the umbrellas and the traffic cones, turning off the canisters, the same use of laser tags; they were all publicized through so many self-organized publications that were running around those days like booklets. It was like, “Let's stay in the streets like they do in Hong Kong”. And the same the same liquid strategy of moving from one roadblock to the other who's taken from there as well. (Int. 20C)

Being considered a *prototype* that demonstrated a perceived excellence in unconventional collective action tactics and strategies, Hong Kong protesters' success had a facilitating influence on the emergence of new activist groups such as Tsunami Democratic referring to similar frames with Hong Kongers, sudden public support for the movements using civil disobedience tactics, introduction of new and secure communication tools and mobile apps and use of new materials in protests such as umbrellas, yellow helmets or gas masks.

Supporting the adoption of these new tools and strategies, most of the interviewees highlighted the pioneering role of Tsunami Democratic in this process. By proposing a non-violent strategy through civil disobedience, Tsunami was considered “something new, something innovative” that “shows the strength of pro-independentist movement” and instantly became a “proactive” alternative to other political actors and organizations in Catalonia (Int. 21C). Angry with the current situation and “upset with the political parties”, a considerable number of pro-independence supporters engaged in the activities orchestrated by the Tsunami and they “got a consciousness of the importance of the civil disobedience” (Int. 23C). Despite the later criticisms of the campaign, its activities based on civil disobedience were considered as “effective” (Int. 5C, Int. 20C; Int. 21C) and “successful” (Int. 7C; Int. 16C) by almost all of the interviewees. As Interviewee_21C emphasizes, “Tsunami and Urquinaona were something that the pro-independence movement has never experienced in terms of massive use of nonviolent and civil disobedience techniques”, and the tactical success of the Hong Kong protests set an “inspirational example”. Consequently, the change in the internal dynamics of the Catalan struggle was accompanied by this process of diffusion of tactics and strategies that had been emulated and learned due to their *excellency* in a similar struggle despite the absence of proximities or organizational ties.

5.4.3. *Moral resemblance between the admirer group's righteous self-image and the image of the admirable group*

Moral appraisal and approval of specific ideas, frames or repertoires of action that are used by the equivalent foreign protesting group by the local protesters is another significant condition of the admirative diffusion. Admiration itself is based on the “feeling of delighted approval over accomplishments” and the values of another individual or group. As Archer (2019) argues, “approval seems to be a core feature of prototypical cases of admiration” and, combined with positive appraisal, it leads to promoting and emulating the values and individuals that are identifiable due to similar moral stances (p. 145). Admirative diffusion also functions in a similar way: The moral approval of the forms of collective action, which resembles the righteous self-image of the admirers, facilitates the adoption of these forms that are both morally approvable and tactically efficient. While the tactical success of the admirable group is significant for the adoption of the components of collective action, morally approving the admirable group's action principles and repertoires themselves is also a requirement for self-legitimization of the use of these new ideas and repertoires. Such approval sustains the righteous self-image of the admirer even after this change in tactics and repertoires of action.

Considering the case under investigation, the admiration for the use of non-violent tactics by Hong Kongers and the perceived resemblance of the righteous self-image of the Catalan struggle with the Hong Kong protests caused several Catalan activists to feel connected with the Hong Kongers. As it was argued by nearly all of the interviewees as well as in previous studies, the non-violent characteristic of the Catalan struggle has been established as the moral principle that is collectively approved and praised by most of the actors and sectors of the Catalan society. Although there was a tendency to move towards the adoption of more contentious and disruptive tactics, the principle of non-violence remains as the central principle that defines the struggle. As one of the interviewees argued, “nonviolence is the only way to preserve the public and political support” for the activist groups in Catalonia due the “historical heritage of the movement” (Int. 2C). Such a condition can be described as an example of *moral pride*, which is the collective pride in “doing the right thing in and of itself” that is also important to “persist in a course of action despite enormous adversity or risk” (Jasper J. M., 2018, pp. 132-135). As Jasper (2018) argues, such sense of sharing this pride with others and having the feelings of solidarity “bolsters our strength” in collective action (p. 135). Consequently, such moral resemblance and the resonance of principles that are associated with feelings of self-righteousness have an accelerating impact on the construction of identification with another group in a distant context.

Having a moral pride in their peaceful struggle for a dignified cause, Catalan activists had an image of Hong Kongers' democratic and non-violent self-determination struggle resembling their own cause. The success of Hong Kongers with similar and morally approvable tactics not only caused a growing sympathy towards Hong Kongers but also strengthened the self-approval of Catalans' similar moral principles that are the source of their moral pride, as well as motivated them to use this morally admirable and efficient form of action. Significant pro-independentist actors from civil society such as the former spokesperson of Òmnium Cultural Marcel Mauri praised the "example of dignity and commitment" of Hong Konger activists and argued that "civil disobedience and nonviolent struggle for rights and freedoms are not only necessary but are increasingly essential" (Entusiasmo independentista al máximo nivel, en Twitter, por la revuelta de Hong Kong, 2019). Similarly in the interviews, one of the important patterns was the emphasis on the non-violent characteristics of the Hong Kong protests and how these characteristics align with the principles of the Catalan struggle. Due to their success in both preserving these principles and challenging China, there was a popular "respect and appreciation" for the Hong Kongers from the perspective of several Catalan activists (Int. 24C). The Hong Kong Protests were acknowledged as "field of the non-violent struggle" and various Catalan activists were "sharing similar feelings" about the legitimate use of peaceful means of collective action "that they used a few months ago in Hong Kong" (Int. 7C). As the "battle ground of democracy", Hong Kong protests were vocally approved by various sectors of Catalan struggle who "trying to generate solidarity with" (Int. 14C). Another interviewee described the Hong Kong protests as "our memento", and emphasized that Hong Kong protests "inspired some Catalonians to get ideas on the nonviolent direct action" and similar to the Hong Kongers, "the Catalans have to improve our fight being conscious of the importance of civil disobedience" (Int. 23C).

While observing how peaceful tactics of "self-defense and civil disobedience" worked efficiently in Hong Kong led various activists to adopt similar tactics, it had an emotionally facilitating impact on "many people without an experience on street conflict" to participate "similar practices of urban struggle" due to their non-violent characteristics (Int. 20C). As Interviewee 3C argued, there was the "Hong Kong idea" among several Catalan activists, who were committed to the peaceful formulation of Catalan struggle and easily "felt sympathy" for the rightful and "similar struggle" of "non-violent movement" of Hong Kongers. "The fight for the right to peaceful protest" enabled some Catalan activists to "relate to" the Hong Kongers' struggle of civil disobedience (Int.14C) Highlighting the popular support for Tsunami's

activities, especially in the first days of the protests, Interviewee 4C stated that the adopted “non-violent tactics” and fundamental principles of “self-defense” that Tsunami vocalized “were politically in line with the *Proces*”. As can be seen, moral resemblance and approval play an enabling and facilitating role not only in the adoption of new tactics and strategies but also in the increase in the public support for the novel actors who function as the *early adopters*.

5.4.4. *Emotional resonance due to shared struggles and admiration for the admirable group’s resilience towards similar tragic incidents*

The last component of the admirative diffusion is the emotional resonance of the shared struggles and the admiration for the admired groups’ perceived ability and resilience to deal with similar tragic incidents. As previously discussed in the mechanism of cathartic resonance, such collective tragic incident like “violent repression of peaceful protest” or criminalization generally stimulates a *moral shock* for individuals in a social group (Jasper, 2011, p. 292). Being a combination of intense emotional experiences caused by an unexpected incident that triggers a revaluation of moral principles, such shocks not only motivate individuals to participate in collective action but also strengthen the sense of belonging to the social group that experiences a similar shock (Goodwin & Jasper, 2015). Similarly, experiencing similar tragic incidents or traumatic experiences to another protesting group *emotionally resonates* with the local protesters and “creates sympathy and admiration for protesters” who deal with a relatable trauma in another context (Jasper, 2014, p. 208).

The findings indicate that such shocks and similar experiences have a facilitating impact on the process of sympathetic identification with another group that has been perceived as the *victim* of a similar tragic incident in another country. While such identification is accompanied by feelings such as security, solidarity and belonging, the identified group’s proactive reaction to the shocking incident and ability to resist the *antagonist* of these traumatic incidents also has a stimulating impact on the motivation to engage in collective action in the local context. As Algoe and Haidt (2009) also argue, witnessing an identifiable and admirable individual or group who “successfully overcome an obstacle or handicap” has an “energizing” influence on individuals’ motivations to engage in similar activities and achieve their objectives (p. 10).

In this case, Catalan activists’ emotional resonance with Hong Kongers is highly related to the recent dramatic change in the *emotional schema* of the Catalan struggle. From an eventful understanding of temporality, it can be argued that such change was associated with the sequential escalation of several *emotional critical events*, which can be defined as “a ramified sequence of emotional occurrences that result in the transformation of the dynamics of

collective action” (Yang, 2005, p. 79). Considering their emotional and cognitive influence on individuals, incidents such as violent police intervention in the 2017 independence referendum, charges against the Catalan leaders and their exile afterward, arrests of activists, and the invocation of Article 155 can be considered as emotional critical events for Catalan society. The findings indicate that a cluster of such emotional critical events within a short period of time had a transformative impact on the *emotional schema* of the Catalan struggle. Such schemas can be described as the “emotional meanings, memories, and recipes for social action” and they also “resemble the collective memory of emotions” which are “culturally specific” (Yang, 2005, p. 81). Considering the interviewees’ responses, it can be argued that more *reflex emotions* such as anger, outrage and instant disappointment after emotional critical incidents have been transformed into morally justified, constantly reproduced and sustainable *moral emotions* such as indignation and humiliation, especially since 2017 (Jasper, 2018). Even though nearly all of the interviewees emphasized that the juridical decision in 2019 was “expected” (Int.s 3C, 22C, 21C, 1C, 7C), it still triggered negative emotions such as “anger” (Int.s 12C, 2C, 9C), “disappointment” (Int.s 13C, 14C), “frustration” (Int.s 3C, 15C, 16C), “rage” (Int.s 20C, 1C, 14C) and “humiliated” (Int. 2C). Response of one of the interviewees with years-long organization experience in Catalan struggle can be considered as a complete illustration of these emotional and perceptual changes:

In Catalonia, we all expected a very bad decision from the court. But once we knew the decision, we felt as if we were living in a non-democratic country, like the worst. There was no freedom. There was no democracy. I mean, we couldn't speak, debate or even vote. The basic thing that democracy has; we lacked at those things. And there was a very shared feeling of rage, and of not being heard, and the feeling that there was nothing to do with the Spanish state. (Int. 1C)

Observing and experiencing such violence from police had an accelerating impact on the stimulation of negative emotions such as rage and frustration. As interviewee 12C described, “there had been anger and joy together before in the pro-independentist movement, but there was only pure anger and outrage in 2019”. “*The revolution of happiness*” turned into a struggle in which “no one was not happy anymore” and “all you can see is the angry people surrounding you in the streets” (Int. 11C). For most of the interviewees, the violent police intervention in the initial protests in 2019 after what happened in 2017 was surprising and unexpected. Combined with the sentences, “the amount of police violence in the streets” was “shocking” (Int. 5C) as it “shows that anticipated repression became the reality” in the 2019 Protests (Int. 3C). Several interviewees emphasized that they “had been in similar situations [police intervention] but never to the extent that we witnessed on these days” (Int. 10C). The “cultural

trauma” triggered by “absolutely illegal and no proportionate” violence from police was “a shock for that mobilized population” whose “political culture is so linked to a very civic understanding of the *Procés*” and “they started to think to change their own repertoire of action” (Int. 2C). Combined with the recent change in emotional schema, this “shock” of violence had a mobilizing impact, as “there are a lot of people that were not politically mobilized before during the pro-independence process, and they became mobilized in these protests” (Int. 3C). The public reaction was massive because it was largely considered as “an attack against the whole country; an attack against each and every one of us of the Catalan people” (Int. 21C).

Hong Kongers’ relatable experience of the police violence and their resilience to the state repression had a similar emotional impact on some Catalan protesters and activist groups. Combined with the increasing levels of repression in Catalonia, such traumatic and shocking incidents of police violence that were also experienced in Hong Kong facilitated the Catalan activists’ emotional resonance with the Hong Kongers. Several interviewees argue that “the police violence and how Hong Kongers acted after this violence” had an impact on some Catalan activists (Int. 2C). As this emotional connection enabled the identification which provides positive feelings and extra emotional energy for collective action, emotionally sympathized Hong Kongers’ resilience to China’s repression resulted in the promotion of further motivation to achieve similar success as it is also discussed in the *Perceived Competence* section. The perception of similarity and equivalence is then accompanied by an emotional resonance providing further emotional requirements of collective action. As Interviewee 2C describes, there was a “growing sympathy” and an “emotional attachment” to the struggle in Hong Kong in 2019 by many Catalan activists. Similarly, another interviewee emphasized that “there are a lot of Catalans who feel sympathy to these movements because they feel emotionally attached to these struggles”, which they find similar as a struggle of “minority against the majority” (Int. 3C). Interviewee 1C explained this emotional experience as follows:

The influence was very direct. We also used their slogan, “Be water”. I think because there was like a kind of reflection in the demonstrations; it was something like magic. It was like a like a falling in love with the other protesters, like “They’re like us!”. And it was, like, we mirrored each other. It's Something that I can't explain how it happened. You know, you suddenly see a protest in another country, and they speak a language that we don't understand. But, then, we feel like exactly the same, and we see their protests as if we were in Hong Kong. (...) It's like we adopt their struggle because we feel the same. It's like a connection of feelings, I don't know! It's something like magic. It's magic! Like, suddenly, poof! We see these protests and we feel exactly the same. So we connect with these people and we were like in the same place, with same power.

Furthermore, the absence of expected support from the international community also strengthens this connection and the feeling of solidarity, which is a source of affective emotions that strengthens the motivation for collective action (Jasper, 2018). Feeling “abandoned” and “left alone” internationally in their democratic struggle (Int. 23C), several Catalan protesters enjoyed feelings “of friendship, of interest, of solidarity” with Hong Kong protesters (Int. 21C). Organizational actors also took part in this process: while NGOs such as Òmnium and ANC organized simultaneous demonstrations with their Hong Kong counterparts through video calls in the squares to “share the messages of support and solidarity” (Int. 21C), “Tsunami Democratic helped to build this feeling” by adopting similar frames and symbols during the protests (Int. 1C). An interviewee who had organizational experience in the international office of ANC explained how this emotional dimension had a role in the interactions between Hong Kong and Catalonia in 2019:

It's clear that activists took inspiration and some procedures that were used to in protests in Hong Kong. (...) And not only because they were doing interesting things in Hong Kong but they did it to create, also, like a friendship with to the pro-democratic movement in Hong Kong. (...) I think the movement of Catalonia was trying to generate these solidarity with Hong Kong, but also wanted to communicate to the world that the fight for independence wasn't just an identity matter. It was a democratic matter. (Int. 21C)

Similar to Stekelenburg and Klandermans' (2017) claims on approaching emotions as the *accelerators* and *amplifiers* of collective action, the findings show that such emotional connection with Hong Kongers, which stimulated positive emotions such as “hope”, “joy” and “solidarity”, also had an accelerating impact on some Catalan protesters' motivation to participate in the collective action. As one of the interviews who was active in the Catalan struggle and also conducted research about it explained, the connection was “more than concrete tactics and strategies” and Hong Kongers struggle itself “gave me strength” for further participation in the protests in Catalonia (Int. 6C). Interviewee 1C also argued how this feeling of connection provided a motivational strength to engage in ongoing protests:

Actually this feeling encourages you to participate more. You identify yourselves with them, and feel the connection, and then it's like “I'll participate more!”. Because you feel you are not alone.

Consequently, it can be argued that even in the absence of physical proximity, structural equivalence or cultural similarity, the emotional consequences of moral shocks and shared

struggles may construct shared imaginary and temporary identities that facilitate the spread of the collective action as well as the motivation to engage in similar activities.

5.5. Concluding Remarks

This chapter investigates why and how the 2019 Hong Kong Protests became an inspirational incident for some activists and organizations during the 2019 Protests in Catalonia and it aims at explaining this phenomenon by focusing on the experiences, perceptions and emotions of micro-level actors such as the protesters. The investigation of the puzzling occurrence of this case even in the absence of previously acknowledged proximity and similarity factors shed some light on the role of emotional and cognitive processes that facilitate the cross-national spread of collective action. The findings demonstrate that the moral resemblance of righteous self-image with another protesting group and emotional resonance with this group due to the shared experiences of similar moral shocks may enable individuals to sympathetically identify themselves with that group. Combined with factors, the perceived competence of methods utilized by the group to deal with a similar political crisis and that group's resilience during this crisis results in the adoption of tactics, frames and repertoires of action from that group. Furthermore, the findings indicate that, along with the pattern of adoption, such connection also provides extra emotional energy and motivational strength for several individuals to engage in collective action in their own context. This set of factors and consequences is conceptualized as the mechanism of *admirative diffusion*, and it demonstrates the facilitating role of specific emotional and cognitive processes in the spread of collective action across divergent places. The case is also ideal for exploring how the national and transnational dimensions of contentious politics are intertwined with each other.

Considering these findings, this study may contribute to the debates on how to refine the theory of diffusion by integrating the emotional and cognitive components of collective action and their role in the relations between the mobilizations in different countries. Exploring these components is important not only to understand the mechanisms during the diffusion processes but also to reveal the emotional and cognitive conditions of diffusion. In this case, to illustrate, the changes in the political context of Catalonia and its impact on the cognitive framing and emotional schema of the Catalan struggle before the escalation of the 2019 protests are highly related to the need for the use of new tactics and repertoires that resulted in the adoption of some from Hong Kong. Similarly, it can be argued that Hong Kong as a tactically successful, morally approvable and emotionally relatable example facilitated this transformation of the

Catalan struggle towards a more contentious phase through new tactics and perspectives. Furthermore, this study aims to expand the conceptual scopes of the central mechanisms of diffusion processes, which are primarily based on acknowledging *adoption* as a response to a foreign protest, by revealing the stimulating and motivating influence of one protest on another. Considering the findings, it can be argued extra emotional energy that is required for collective action may also be provided cross-nationally by a distinct mobilization in another country. By exploring such emotional and cognitive dimensions of collective action and how they influence the spread of protests and social movements, I believe that it is possible to understand the increasingly -and inevitably- interconnected dynamics of local and transnational politics in a more comprehensive way.

While the abovementioned findings may contribute to the various debates in the literature on social movements, there are also several issues to be further investigated. While admirative diffusion is introduced as a mechanism of cross-national diffusion, it is still unclear through which communication channels this mechanism functions. Even though there is no empirical evidence or investigation regarding this matter, the patterns in the data demonstrate that the 2019 Protests in Hong Kong and Catalonia were connected by various types of communication platforms. In addition to non-relational channels of communication such as TV news or social media platforms, there was also relational and direct communication between the activists during the protests. As explained earlier, leading pro-independence organizations such as ANC and Òmnium organized solidarity events with Hong Kongers where the activists had a chance to interact with each other virtually. Even if these events took place after the escalation of protests in September, it may still be speculated that there is a possibility that Catalan and Hong Konger activists may have direct channels that facilitate the influence of Hong Kongers on Catalan activists. Considering these points, it can be argued that admirative diffusion can be a mechanism of diffusion that functions through a *multimedia channel of communication* that consists of relational, non-relational and mediated channels. Still, it should be noted that this is just a speculation that is not grounded in any empirical data, and it should be further investigated to understand how different channels of communication enable and facilitate the spread of collective action across distant and distinct countries.

Another issue that should be explored in future research may be how admirative diffusion affects the *admirable* group and its actions. It is argued that the feeling of being admired stimulates positive feelings and “admiration of others is a powerful motivator that may increase the desire to do admirable things” (Sarapin et al., 2015, s. 99; Sylvan & Immordino-Yang,

2010). Although no data has been collected from the Hong Kong protesters in this study, some interview results hint that the interactions between Hong Kong and Catalonia might have such a motivating influence on some Hong Kong activists and groups. Interviewee 21C, who was active in the international office of ANC that organized interactive virtual events with Hong Kongers during the protests, explained this potential influence as follows:

When the Hong Kongers saw that they were a model also for other struggles, we started to receive a lot of messages of support and solidarity from Hong Kong because they felt themselves very represented and identified by what's going on here. (...) From Hong Kong we received this interest; this new interest from their side as a consequence of the fact that they were feeling these bonds of solidarity with us. Because they shared these bonds, they better understood our struggle by seeing how we're using tactics very similar to those that they used a few months before. They were like, "So, okay, we have to support these guys. They are in our struggle for better world".

Considering this point, it may be fruitful to investigate if the abovementioned emotional and cognitive influence may actually shape the actions, frames or ideas of the groups that function as the source of inspiration for the other protesters -and if the answer is yes, how this motivation has affected the recent dynamics of the international cycles of contentions and protest waves. Hong Kong Protests' inspirational impact is not limited to their interactions with Catalan activists; recently they have been framed as an inspiration hub for new tactics, repertoires and frames of collective action for various protesting groups in different countries such as Thailand, Taiwan and Belarus (Frosina, 2020; Yushih, 2022). Although there are not many empirical studies regarding this matter, investigating the potential transformation of a specific region or protesting group into a pivotal exporter of collective action and how this transformation changed the transnational dynamics of contentious politics may contribute to the literature on social movements.

6. CHAPTER: WINTER CASE

6.1. Introduction

This chapter presents the analysis of the connection between the 2019/2020 Un violador en tu camino protests between Chile and Turkey. Similar to the connection between the countries in the previous case studies in this dissertation, Turkey and Chile do not have geographical proximity, historical and institutional connections, cultural and linguistic similarities, or pre-established and strong activist networks. Due to the transnational character of the feminist movement, Un violador en tu camino protests, or *Las Tesis performance* or *Las Tesis protests* as they are referred to in the rest of this chapter, diffused to several countries including Turkey as expected, however, protests in most of these countries were limited to a few performances with a relatively small number of participants, in contrast to the situation in Turkey. Turkey became the second epicenter of the Las Tesis protests in the world after Chile as the Turkish activists continuously used and adopted repertoires, frames and performances from their counterparts in Chile. Considering this situation, the protest connection between the Las Tesis protests in Turkey and Chile in 2019 and 2020, which are called the *Winter Case* in this dissertation, raises the question of why and how a protest may inspire another one in a distant and distinct country even in the absence of obvious proximity and similarity factors that facilitate protest diffusion. The *Winter Case* resembles significantly the *Autumn* and *Summer* Cases, yet it also adds new layers to the theoretical discussion about the spread of collective action: How does transnationalization of a movement shape the mechanisms of cross-national protest diffusion? In the absence of direct channels of diffusion based on strong organizational ties, activist networks or interpersonal connections, how can a transnational identity play a role in the spread of collective action? How should a thin form of protest diffusion for movements with transnational characteristics such as the feminist movement be theorized? Why are some adopters of a transnationalized form of collective action more resilient in terms of keeping the adopted practice than others?

Using grounded theory through analyzing fourteen semi-structured in-depth interviews with the protesters and the documents published/released by the activist groups and organizations, this case study aims to investigate these questions and explore the reasons and motivations of some Turkish protesters for adopting tactics and frames from the Chilean protesters. As the final

product of the analysis, I introduce the concept of *affinitive diffusion* as a new mechanism of the cross-national diffusion of collective action. Inspired by the concept of affinity consisting of the combination of similarity, familiarity and attraction, affinitive diffusion approach argues that the combination of (1) perceived contextual and motivational similarities between adopters and transmitters, (2) adopters' attachment to a transnational identity that is shared with the transmitters and providing familiarity with transmitters' activities, and (3) cathartic admiration for transmitters' culturally, emotionally and tactically resonating practice may consequently cause the adoption of the practices of the transmitters and the stimulation of extra emotional energy for the adopters to engage in collective action. Apart from its potential contributions to the revision of diffusion through the integration of the cognitive and emotional mechanism into its theoretical framework, the concept of affinitive diffusion can also provide some insight into theoretical debates about the distinction (and also connection) between *diffusion* and *transnationalization*. This chapter elaborates on this concept, and it starts with a short presentation of the methodological notes. That section is followed by an overview of the recent phase of the feminist protest cycle against gender-based violence and femicides in Turkey including the Las Tesis Protests starting in November 2019. Finally, it introduces the mechanism of affinitive diffusion and its components, and ends with a general discussion about how this mechanism contributes to the theoretical discussions of cross-national diffusion and the transnationalization of social movements.

6.2. Methodological Notes

Similar to the other cases, I started the data collection procedure by (1) conducting fourteen semi-structured in-depth interviews with the activists who organized and/or participated in the 2019-2020 Las Tesis Protests in Turkey from different activist groups, feminist networks and women's right organizations such as KCDP, KBGP, Campus Witches [Kampüs Cadıları; KC], Mor Dayanışma [Purple Solidarity; MD] and Kadın Savunma Ağı [Women Defence Network; KS], (2) retrieving textual data from online and offline documents published by these groups, organizations and networks, and (3) analyzing the secondary sources that involve interviews with or releases from the organizers/spokespersons of the protests in Turkey. The interviewee group, which consists of people who define themselves as either women or LGBTQA+ individuals, involves activists who organized the Las Tesis protests in different cities including Istanbul, Ankara and Izmir. The interviewees were selected through a combination of snowball sampling and theoretical sampling, with a variety in their ages, job sectors, and experience in terms of activism. Both online and offline methods of data collection are used during these

procedures data collection. Apart from data collection through online interviews and sources, I also conducted a fieldwork activity in Istanbul, Turkey in January 2023 to contextualize the case more precisely and to interview more activists. During this fieldwork, I participated in the protests and demonstrations organized by feminist groups and women's rights organizations, visited symbolic places, community centers and public squares, met feminist researchers working on similar cases, and kept a fieldwork journal to be used in the memo writing procedure. I also tried to educate and train myself in feminist epistemologies in social and political sciences, with a specific focus on the methodological practices for the male researchers who aims at doing feminist research. The processes started with the effort to discover my positionality and reflexivity and how these would shape my knowledge production about a feminist struggle that I can never be able to comprehend and experience in the same way a feminist or queer activist can do (Giri, 2022). With this increasing awareness, I made a conscious effort to adopt the language and framing used by feminist activists and integrate it into my writing style. The *Comparison and Conclusion* chapter provides a more detailed discussion of how men can employ feminist methods and benefit from them not only as researchers but as human beings in general.

Data is processed by a three-stage coding procedure (open, axial and selective coding). More than 500 codes were constructed during the open coding and these codes were then grouped into 16 conceptual categories in the first round of the axial coding. Following the second and final round of axial coding, three major conceptual categories were formed based on the combinations of these 16 conceptual categories (see *Table 3*). Finally, the concept of affinitive diffusion was introduced as the core category in which these three conceptual categories function as interconnected explanatory dimensions in the selective coding procedure. The next sections first describe the recent phase in the feminist protest cycle in Turkey and how Las Tesis protests became a benchmark for this phase, and then explain how this new mechanism of affinitive diffusion functions theoretically and empirically.

First Round of the Axial Coding	Final Round of the Axial Coding
Conceptual Categories	Explanatory Conceptual Categories
•Parallels in the formation of patriarchal gender regimes •Structural reasons of the shared problems •Similar institutionalization of gendered violence	The Perceived Motivational and Contextual Similarities between Adopters and Transmitters
•Feeling of belonging to a transnational feminist struggle •Shared history and culture of feminist struggle •Awareness of and empathy with other feminist struggles in other countries	The attachment to a transnational identity (constructed and) shared by adopters and transmitters
•Feelings of admiration and enthusiasm •Easy identification due to cultural resonance •Urge to emulate a successful repertoire •Cathartic feelings	Cathartic admiration for the culturally and tactically resonating practices of the transmitters

Table 3: Results of Axial Coding (Winter Case)

6.3. Overview of the Las Tesis Protests and the Protest Cycle of the Feminist Movement Against Gender-Based Violence and Femicides in Turkey

This overview aims to contextualize the Las Tesis protests in Turkey from a perspective of social movement studies and describes it as an intensified period of collective action in the *protest cycle of the feminist movement against gender-based violence and femicides in Turkey*. There are various important and recent studies focusing on the tactics and strategies of the feminist movement against gender-based violence in Turkey such as the works of Telseneren Ömeroğlu & İngün Karkış (2023), Caltekin (2022), Öztürk (2023), Gülel (2019), Sarıtaş (2015), Demiralp (2019), however, using the framework of the *cycles of protests* and the social movement perspective in general is not the dominant approach in these studies. Similar to the *Summer* and *Autumn* cases, this overview presents a historical and contextual background starting from the 1980s to understand the diffusion of Las Tesis protests in Turkey more comprehensively without delving into either the historical overview of the feminist movement in Turkey or the feminist cycle of protest in Turkey, which is significantly broader compared to the protest cycle of the feminist movement against the gender-based violence and femicides. Before starting the overview, it is also significant to emphasize that I prefer using the term “feminist movement” specifically instead of “women’s movement” or “women’s rights movement”, considering the interviewees’ self-identification as feminists. I also would like to highlight that this framing of the struggle against gender-based violence by using the cycles of the protests is a proposal and is based on the review of secondary sources. So, it is not definitive but rather an observational attempt that can be further elaborated in future research.

6.3.1. From the late 20th century to 2019

As it is widely discussed in the relevant literature on feminism in Turkey, from the early years of the newly founded republic in the 1920s until the 1970s, there was a state-led feminism that had evolved into a regime that “would not tolerate the legitimate existence of any civil-society organization” despite its early success in providing significant legal and civic rights to women (Tekeli, 2010, pg. 120). This dominant approach was gradually replaced by a more grassroots feminist movement affiliated with left-wing organizations such as the İlerici Kadınlar Derneği [Progressive Women’s Organisation] founded in 1975, especially after the diffusion of “second wave feminism” transnationally with both intellectual and organizational initiatives including the adoption of The Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW) by the UN General Assembly 1979 (Tekeli, 2010). While the emphasis on violence against women started to become apparent in the demands of this new phase of the feminist movement, the 1980 coup d’état and the foundation of the authoritarian military regime dissolving and repressing political parties and movements significantly changed the political environment and opportunity structures in Turkey.

Despite the extreme repression in the post-coup context, the 1980s can be marked as a surprising opening period in terms of political opportunities for the organization of the feminist movement in general as well as the feminist movement against gender-based violence and femicides. As Ozcurumez and Sayan Cengiz (2011) argue, “in the post-1980 era, we observe that ‘political opportunity structures’ have shifted such that the TCP (Turkish Communist Party) lost the possibility of pursuing its political activities, leaving the women's movement ‘scene’ open to new alignments, as Tarrow would suggest” (P. 25). Similarly, Tütüncü and Ayata (2008) highlight that “when the military regime harshly suppressed left-wing movements, women found a niche to express their feminist concerns” (pp. 367–368). Under these circumstances, “an independent feminist movement around journals and associations” such as “Feminist, *Kadın Çevresi* (Circle of Women), *Kaktüs* (Cactus) and *Pazartesi* (Monday)” emerged and various workshops, festivals and demonstrations were organized to both expand women’s rights and improve their conditions while challenging patriarchal state and society (Eyrek, 2023, p. 66). In this new context with novel attempts, defining gender-based violence as a structural and institutional problem and demanding an end to it became significantly visible, and the base for a new protest cycle about these issues was created by the independent feminist groups. Tütüncü and Ayata (2008) highlight that “the feminist women in the 1980s focused primarily, but not exclusively, on the private sphere issues, including domestic violence, sexual harassment,

control over women's bodies, and the like” (p. 368). Şirin Tekeli (2010), one of the most prominent feminist figures and researchers in Turkey, explains this change in the 1980s as follows:

After the coup, a feminist women’s movement developed on the basis of a completely revised analysis. A new generation of middle-class, left-wing, intellectual women, who were in touch with the ideas of the new wave of feminism in Western countries, proposed that the “paternalist Turkish state” was in fact a “patriarchal state”, defending the interests of men. (...) In the same period, feminist women discovered that the female body was a target of male aggression and assault. The so called “virginity tests” required from single female job seekers in the public sector and widespread sexual harassment cases in the public space were some of the flagrant signs of male domination of women’s bodies. Yet, the most dramatic issue of violence against women was wife-beating, which we discovered to be quite widespread, even among educated middle-class wives. (pp. 120-121)

As the consequence of the combination of this change in the scope and organization of the newly emerged feminist movement and the transformation of the political opportunity structures, the protest cycle of the feminist movement against gender-based violence and femicides in Turkey reached its first peak in 1987 with the organization of *Dayağa Karşı Dayanışma Yürüyüşü* [March for the Solidarity Against Battering]. The march was organized after a judge rejected the divorce petition of a pregnant woman, who was being battered regularly by her husband, and stated that “You should never leave a woman’s back without a stick and her womb without a colt” (Tekeli, 2010, p. 121). The decision triggered a collective outrage and thousands of women from different organizations and backgrounds took to the streets in Istanbul in the March for the Solidarity Against Battering. The march has a historical significance for both the feminist movement and social movements in general in Turkey: It was the first permitted public protest in the country since the 1980 coup d’état. Furthermore, it was the first massive protest that was organized and attended mostly by women, and it was again the initial protest against gender-based violence in Turkey (Güneş Öztürk, 2018, p. 243; Telseren Ömeroğlu & İngün Karkış, 2023).

The march started a new phase for the feminist movement in Turkey. Various public campaigns, workshops, exhibitions, protest series and solidarity networks against gender-based violence were organized in the aftermath of the march during the 1990s. Especially demands for changes in the civil and penal codes failing to prevent domestic violence and the establishment of new institutions to deal with this structural problem were the prioritized issues in the agenda of the feminist movement. Public campaigns and protests such as Mor İğne [Purple Needle] campaign

in the 1990s, *Bedenimiz Bizimdir; Cinsel Tacize Hayır* [Our Bodies are Ours, Say No to Sexual Harassment] protests in 1989, protests against virginity tests and *Bütün Kadınlar 438'e Karşı* [All Women against Article 438] campaign during the early 1990s to abolish the constitutional law making a distinction between “chaste” and “unchaste” women were organized to raise these demands (Gözdasoglu Küçükalioglu, 2018). The foundation of NGOs and associations such as *Mor Çatı Kadın Sığınağı Vakfı* [Purple Roof Women’s Shelter Foundation] in 1990, *Kadının Statüsü ve Sorunları Başkanlığı* [The General Directorate on the Status and Problems of Women] in 1990, *Kadın Dayanışma Vakfı* [Women’s Solidarity Foundation] in 1991, Women for Women's Human Rights in 1993 and *Uçan Süpürge* [Flying Broom] in 1996 significantly strengthened the struggle and increased the public visibility of gender-based violence in Turkey (Gözdasoglu Küçükalioglu, 2018; Telseren Ömeroğlu & İngün Karkış, 2023). Furthermore, intersectionality and diversity became more significant concerns of the movement during this period, especially following the Kurdish feminists, Muslim feminists and queer activists participating in the existing organizations or initiating new campaigns (Telseren Ömeroğlu & İngün Karkış, 2023).

The end of the 1990s and the early 2000s can be considered as a period of new opening in the political opportunity structures due to Turkey’s participation in the Fourth World Conference on Women in Beijing in 1995 and Turkey’s EU candidacy in 1999. Gözdasoglu Küçükalioglu (2018) argues that “international organisations, particularly the United Nations, and international involvement” played a crucial role in “the institutionalisation of the fight against violence against women” in Turkey (p. 10). Especially the National Program for the Enhancement of Women’s Integration in Development financed by international donors such as UNDP and the World Bank enabled NGOs and feminist civil society groups to actively engage in the policy decision-making procedures regarding the struggle against gender-based violence (Gözdasoglu Küçükalioglu, 2018; Örnek Büken & Sahinoglu, 2006). Similarly, the EU accession and candidacy process requiring the government to “harmonize Turkish law with EU regulations” strengthened the feminist movement’s hand to express their demands more assertively (Gülel, 2021, pp. 4-5). As Gülel (2021) highlights:

EU conditionality gave the feminist movement an important lever to pressure the government to adopt reforms. Much of the progress in gender equality after the turn of the century, in fact, was the result of the expansion of the feminist movement and its decision to bring its agenda in line with Turkey’s EU accession. Through ‘sustained pressure’ on the state, the movement protested until their demands were acknowledged. Although it met formidable opposition from conservative and nationalist

parliamentarians, the movement helped to bring about both a new civil and penal code. (p. 5)

The most important consequences of these changes in the civil and penal code can be considered as the adoption of the Protection of Family Act in 1998, the Civil Law reform in 2001 and the Penal Code reform in 2004. These legal changes did not only expand the definition and penalties for violence against women but also aimed at eliminating the husband's legal advantages over the wife in various social and economic issues such as unequal economic rights in the case of divorce or being the head of the household legally (Tekeli, 2010). Changes in the Law on Municipalities in 2005 requiring municipalities to provide “women’s shelters” for women experiencing domestic violence, the introduction of the Parliamentary Commission for the Equality of Opportunity for Women and Men in 2009, and the active governmental support for the adoption of Council of Europe Convention on Preventing and Combating Violence against Women and Domestic Violence (Istanbul Convention), which is described as “the most far-reaching legal instrument to prevent and combat violence against women and domestic violence” by Council of Europe, in 2011 can be considered as the significant steps taken to prevent gender-based violence and femicides during the 2000s (Gözdasoglu Küçükalioglu, 2018; “The Council of Europe Convention on Preventing and Combating Violence against Women and Domestic Violence (Istanbul Convention): Questions and answers”, 2019).

Despite these positive developments under the conservative AKP government coming to power in 2002 and having roots in the Islamist political movement, AKP’s policies have significantly failed in preventing gender-based violence and femicides. As Acar and Altunok (2013) highlight, “violence against women is also not treated as a serious ‘violation of women's human rights’ on the entire spectrum of rights”, and various types of gender-based violence such as sexual and psychological violence that are “associated with ‘culture’ and ‘tradition’ in the collective psyche” are often excluded from the public policy agenda (p. 19). Furthermore, various feminist researchers including Gözdasoglu Küçükalioglu (2018), Telseren (2020), Güneş-Ayata and Doğangün (2017) emphasize, Erdoğan and his governing party AKP’s religio-conservative discourses built a “patriarchal gender regime” leading “the rise of an assertive position in reinforcing conservative gender norms and values” that are associated with the causes of the femicides and gender-based violence (Gözdasoglu Küçükalioglu, 2018, p.143). Korkman (2016) explains this process as follows:

During the over a decade long rule of AKP, a seemingly promising if mainstreaming inclusion of gender and even feminist perspectives into state discourse and policy in

early 2000s has transformed or perhaps matured into a state-sponsored familialism in 2010s, illustrated by the replacement of the ministry “Women and Family Affairs” with the ministry of “Family and Social Policies” in 2011. The most vocal and powerful mouthpiece of this increasingly anti-feminist gender discourse has been Erdoğan, who first introduced his pronatalist agenda in 2008, 8th of March, the international women’s day, when he recommended women to have at least three children. Ever since, Erdoğan continued to prescribe women’s reproductive decisions incessantly and in increasing detail, recommending early marriage and having multiple children while condemning abortion, caesarian birth, and birth control at venues ranging from wedding celebrations to an international population conference. (p. 112)

Despite the absence of official reports regarding the certain number of femicides during the early 2000s, a parliamentary question document used by Ministry of Justice in 2009, which is not officially available anymore, revealed that the number of murders of women, which was 66 in 2002 when the AKP was in government, had increased over the years and reached 83 in 2003, 128 in 2004, 317 in 2005, 663 in 2006, 1011 in 2007 and 806 in 2008 (Satıl, 2021). According to a report released by the Ministry of Family and Social Policies in 2013, the number of women killed by femicides was 171 in 2009, 177 in 2010, 163 in 2011, and 128 in the first 9 months of 2012 (Satıl, 2021). In the *Kadın Cinayetlerini Durduracağız* [We Will Stop Femicide Platform, KCDP] report (2013), the number of femicides was reported as 80 in 2008, 109 in 2009, 180 in 2010, 121 in 2011, and 210 in 2012 (“2008-2012 kadın cinayeti gerçekleri”, 2013).

In this political and social context with an already heated public debate regarding the failures to prevent the increase in femicides or gender-based violence cases, the femicide of Münevver Karabulut in 2009 and the public reaction afterward can be considered as the new period of intensification in the protest cycle of the feminist movement against gender-based violence and femicides in Turkey. Following the monstrous femicide of 18-year-old woman Münevver Karabulut by her boyfriend Cem Garipoğlu and authorities’ inability to arrest the fugitive perpetrator who was coming from a wealthy family, various protests were organized to call on the authorities to take necessary legal actions immediately in this case and to adopt new policies in order to prevent the increased number of femicides and gender-based violence (Güneş Öztürk, 2023). One of the most significant consequences of this series of protests and campaigns was the foundation of KCDP in 2010. As it is described on the platform’s official website, “the platform strives for stopping femicide and ensuring their protection from violence” (“For English”, n.d.). Apart from organizing public campaigns and protests against femicides and gender-based violence, the platform also “provides legal assistance to women

who want to be safe from violence and join their fight for their lives”, “joins court cases via its representatives and lawyers”, “keeps records to elucidate femicide facts in Turkey, collects data on femicide and shares it with public on a monthly basis, monitors femicide cases in the country and alerts the authorities about the relevant developments” and “raises social awareness and creates public opinion” regarding the femicides, gender-based violence and gender inequality (“For English”, n.d.). Led by the actions of KCDP and other feminist groups, the early 2010s became increasingly a contentious period.

AKP’s proactive policy in the initiation of the Istanbul Convention in 2011 can be considered as a significant step to deal with the problem of femicides and gender-based violence. Turkey was the host country where the Istanbul Convention opened for signature on 11 May 2011 in Istanbul, and it became the first country that signed the convention on 14 March 2011. Especially the implementation of Law No. 6284, which aims to prevent gender-based and domestic violence with protection measures and strict legal and penal codes after the signature of the convention, became an important agenda for the feminist movements in Turkey. However, despite the signing of the Istanbul Convention and some steps taken in this direction, the failure to implement necessary policies, the widespread legal practices such as impunity, non-prosecution and good conduct times in the case of femicides, and the adoption of a more conservative discourse and policy agenda on gender-related issues by the AKP government during the authoritarianisation process in the 2010s could not prevent the increase in femicides. As it is monitored by the KCDP, with a rare yet expected decrease in 2011 following the signature of the Istanbul Convention, the annual number of femicides significantly increased throughout the 2010s. According to the platform's report (2019), a total of 2996 women were murdered due to gender-based violence between 2010 and 2019: 180 in 2010, 121 in 2011, 210 in 2012, 237 in 2013, 294 in 2014, 303 in 2015, 328 in 2016, 409 in 2017, 440 in 2018 and 474 in 2019 (see *Figure 5*). Considering this issue, femicides and gender-based violence remained as a significant yet resolved issue to be dealt with for the feminist movement in Turkey during the 2010s.

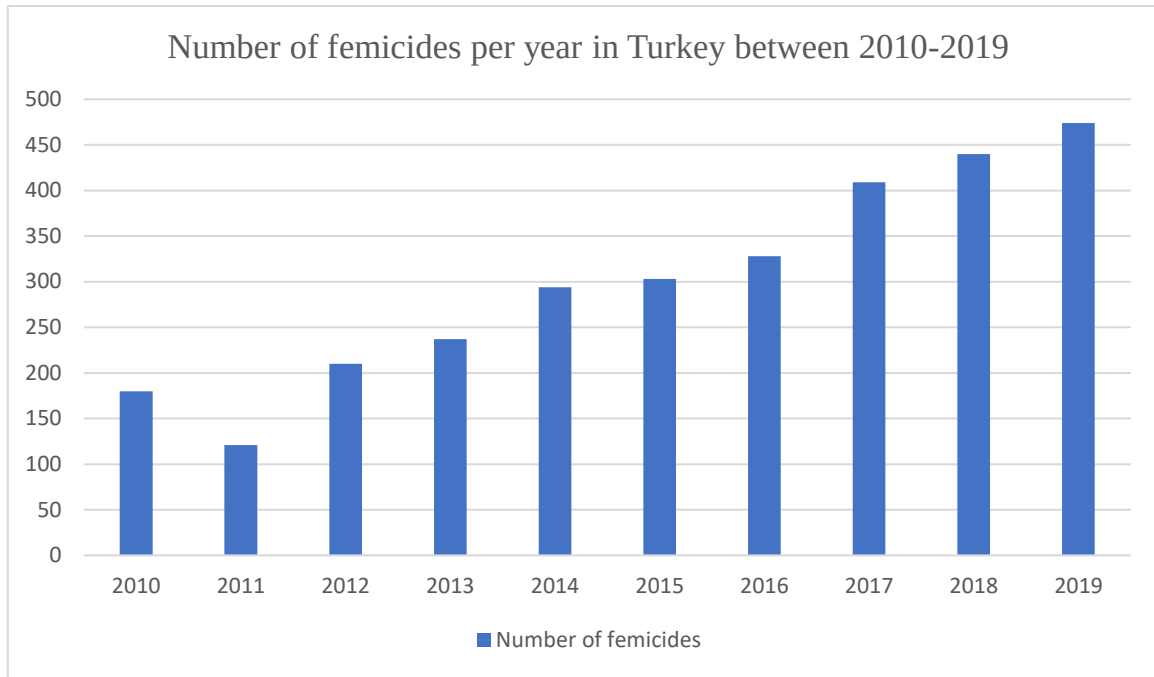


Figure 5: Number of femicides in Turkey (*Kadın Cinayetlerini Durduracağız Platformu 2019 Raporu*, 2019)

The feminist groups against femicides and gender-based violence actively engaged in various forms of collective action from street protests to public campaigns in this context of authoritarianization and the religio-conservative patriarchal gender regime of the 2010s. The 2013 Gezi protests, one of the largest pro-democratic protest waves in the history of Turkey, also brought a new experience and perspective to the feminist movement in terms of grassroots mobilizations and the organization of public forums and assemblies. As Eslen-Ziya and Erhart (2023) argue, the feminist and queer presence in the diverse population of the Gezi protesters not only challenged the government’s conservative policies but also “reclaimed the public sphere, which is mostly populated by men” and “challenged the patriarchal norms” that were visible in the protest sites by organizing workshops and forums regarding patriarchy and gender-related discussions (p. 162). Such practices of the grassroots organization of assemblies and forums such as the *Kadın Meclisleri* [Women Assemblies], *Yoğurtçu Kadın Forumu* [Yoğurtçu Women Forum], *Abbasaga Kadın* [Abbasaga Women] continued in the aftermath of the Gezi protests (Eslen-Ziya and Erhart, 2023; Telseren Ömeroğlu & İngün Karkış, 2023). In addition to the previously active organizations and groups, various horizontal and grassroots activist groups, umbrella organizations and public campaigns such as KBGP, *Şiddete Son Platformu* [End Violence Platform], *Kadın Koalisyonu* [Women Coalition] and *Eşitlik İçin Kadın Platformu* [The Women’s Platform for Equality] were initiated to demand the prevention

of violence against women and queer groups and the femicides in the post-Gezi protests context (Eslen-Ziya and Erhart, 2023; Çağatay, 2018; Eyrek, 2023). Annual demonstrations on significant dates such as the 25 November International Day for the Elimination of Violence Against Women protests, the 8 March International Women's Day march, or the Pride Marches also became important massive events to raise these issues collectively.

While the femicides of many women such as Özgecan Aslan in 2015 and Şule Çet in 2018 caused public outrages and protests both on online platforms and streets throughout these years, the year 2019 can be considered as the third intensification period in the protest cycle of the feminist movement against gender-based violence and femicides in Turkey (Ogan & Baş, 2020). 2019 was the year with the highest number of femicides in the 2010s and this was already the main concern for the feminist movement, but it was also the year when the discussions about the withdrawal from the Istanbul Convention heated following the anti-convention statements from the president Erdoğan, other governmental figures and conservative civil society actors (Güneş & Ezikoğlu, 2022). In this contentious context, the Las Tesis protests started in November 2019 as a small demonstration in this context and immediately transformed into a series of protests in various cities for weeks.

6.3.2. 2019 Las Tesis Protests

The Las Tesis protests were initiated in Chile on 20 November 2019 by the Chilean feminist theatre group Las Tesis, which is “an interdisciplinary, intersectional and trans-inclusive feminist collective” (Martin & Shaw, 2021). As Lianson (2023) highlights, the preparations for the protests date back to April 2019 when the collective aimed to choreograph a performance raising the message that gender-based violence “is not only a social or moral problem but also a political issue” inspired by Silvia Federicci’s (2004) book *Caliban and the Witch* and Rita Segato’s (2003) book *Las estructuras elementales de la violencia* (p. 2). The performance was originally intended to be in October 2019 during the anti-governmental and nation-wide protests against conservative President Sebastián Piñera’s neoliberal and antidemocratic political agenda following a raise in public transportation fees (Martin & Shaw, 2021). As Pinzauti (2024) argues, Piñera had already been criticized as a “patriarchal and oppressive leader” whose actions and discourses such as anti-abortion attitude or publicly sexist jokes “makes it clear how gender violence is a normalized attitude within the neoliberal and capitalist state structure of Chile” (p. 2). Opposition to his rule further intensified following the violent police intervention in the protests and the accusations of sexual and physical violence towards women and queer groups during these interventions (Pinzauti, 2024). In this contentious context, Las Tesis

collective staged their performance *Un violador en tu camino* first in Valparaíso on 20 November 2019, and later in Santiago de Chile, the country's capital, with a larger participation on November 25, the International Day for the Elimination of Violence against Women (Pinzauti, 2024). The performance was quickly staged by various feminist groups in the other cities of Chile in the following days and diffused transnationally to other countries from the US to India, from Argentina to Turkey (Serafini, 2020).

In Serafini's (2020) words, the performance is "an open, collective performance involving lyrics sung in unison to a catchy beat, and a simple choreography performed synchronously by a group of women in a public space" (p. 291). As Pinzauti (2024) highlights, it was created following "a research period" based on "reading texts and collecting ideas, before extrapolating the main points of the feminist theories and structuring them in performative acts or *intervenciones callejeras* (street interventions)", which "use theatrical tools, such as basic moves and steps, music, and, of course, chant" and "are rather short" (p. 4). The major purpose is "to transform feminist books into catchy lyrics that everyone can understand and memorize" (ibid. p. 4). The performance is in the flashmob format and primarily "utilize bodily capabilities to convey their message by dancing and chanting" in "politically significant locations" such as symbolic squares or in front of institutional buildings (Liianson, 2023, p. 9). Protesters' clothes such as eye-patches, black dresses or party attire aim at highlighting the "female body as a resource for political resistance" against political and sexual violence accusing the way of clothing of being a reason for the violence while the dance choreography consists of moves or gestures such as pointing fingers or crossing arms that both "emotions of shame, fear, anger, and rage" and expose the gender-based violence publicly (Liianson, 2023, p. 9). The lyrics also explicitly accuse the state institutions and political actors of being the perpetrators of gender-based violence, as follows:

The patriarchy is a judge/that judges us for being born/and our punishment/is the violence you don't see /The patriarchy is a judge/that judges us for being born/and our punishment/is the violence you now see/It's femicide/Impunity for my killer/It's disappearance/It's rape/And it wasn't my fault not where I was nor what I wore (x4)/The rapist was you/the rapist is you/the police/the judges/the State/the president/The oppressive state is a macho rapist (x2). (Martin & Shaw, 2021)

Following the initial protests in Chile, the first stage of the performance in Turkey was held in Kadıköy, Istanbul after the call by the members of SKM on 30 November 2019 ("Las Tesis Activists", 2020). This relatively small protest, which was attended by tens of women and translated the lyrics into Turkish for the first time, was followed by the first massive protest

organized by the KCDP and KM in Kadıköy on 8 December 2019 with the participation of hundreds of women. Accusing the protesters of “strong suspicion of illegally meeting and demonstrating” and “degrading the president of the republic and the judiciary organs of the state” with the lyrics, the police intervened in these protests with coercive tactics and arrested six women involving the leading figures of the platform (“Las Tesis Activists”, 2020). The police intervention caused a public reaction, and various Las Tesis protests were organized in different cities in the following days. KBGP organized another massive protest in Beşiktaş, Istanbul while different feminist groups started to stage the performance in various cities such as Ankara, Antalya, Hatay, Mersin, Izmir and Konya despite the police interventions. To protest the police interventions in these peaceful protests, the MPs of the oppositional parties CHP and HDP staged the performance in the parliament. This protest was led by CHP Istanbul MP Sera Kadıgil, stating that “Thanks to you, Turkey is the only country in which you must have (parliamentary) immunity to participate in this protest” (“Turkey's women lawmakers stage 'rapist is you' protest”, 2019). The protests also became popular on social media platforms: The content created in the Turkish language related to the protests surpassed similar content created in Spanish on Twitter after 8 December 2019 and Turkish remained the primary language of the Las Tesis protests globally on social media platform (Rodriguez et al., 2020). The protests in Turkey lasted until 8 March 2020 with the performance staged in Ankara and Adana by different feminist groups, and similar to the other collective action forms, it ended due to the COVID-19 pandemic and the governmental restrictions to prevent contagion (“Las Tesis protestolarına katılan”, 2020; ANKA Haber Ajansı, 2020).

6.4. A New Mechanism: Affinitive Diffusion

Grounded in empirical data, the concept of *affinitive diffusion* is introduced to explain the diffusion of the Las Tesis protests from Chile to Turkey and its resilience in Turkey compared to its short-term existence in other countries. Affinitive diffusion is highly inspired by the concept of *affinity*, which has already been used in different fields of the social sciences and humanities from philosophy to social psychology. The concept has been defined in various ways by different dictionaries and encyclopedias. According to the Britannica dictionary, it refers to “a feeling of closeness and understanding that someone has for another person because of their similar qualities, ideas, or interests”, and “a liking for or an attraction to something” (“Affinity”, n.d.). In the Cambridge dictionary, affinity is defined as “a liking or sympathy for someone or something, especially because of shared characteristics”, and “a close similarity between two things, or an attraction or sympathy for someone or something, especially because

of shared characteristics” (“Affinity”, n.d.). Similarly, the Google’s English dictionary provided by Oxford Languages uses the definitions of “a natural liking for and understanding of someone or something” and “a similarity of characteristics suggesting a relationship, especially a resemblance in structure between animals, plants, or languages” for affinity (“Affinity”, n.d.). Despite the nuances between them, the emphasis on the feelings of closeness and sympathy for someone due to the similarities remains central in these definitions.

Apart from these definitions, the main sources of inspiration for the concept of affinitive diffusion are the works of social psychologist Richard Moreland and his colleagues on the social phenomenon of affinity. One of the most popular research projects about the concept of affinity is a social psychology study published by Richard Moreland and Robert Zajonc in 1982. This study defines affinity as a social experience involving “the feelings of ‘closeness’ to others” as a result of the “apparent confluence of perceived familiarity, perceived similarity, and attraction” (1982, p. 412). As Moreland and Zajonc (1982) emphasize, the perceived similarities and familiarities instead of the actual ones strengthen the feeling of attraction which reciprocally expands these perceptions and triggers the feeling of affinity. In a revised version of this research that was published in 1992 by Richard Moreland and Scott Beach, the authors describe affinity as “a complex blend of familiarity, attraction, and similarity that strengthens social relations by fostering a sense of closeness among people” (1992, p. 255). In this work, *similarity* mostly refers to the shared social backgrounds, personality traits and future expectations between two people/groups while *familiarity* is to know and remember the other person/group, and attraction is the eagerness to form social relationships, to collaborate and to enjoy shared activities (p. 268). As the authors highlight, these dimensions are highly interactive with each other, and their interaction consequently forms the feeling of affinity:

Familiarity, attraction, and similarity are strongly related to one another, combining to produce a sense of ‘affinity’ that brings people together psychologically. Attraction appears to be a key factor in the development of affinity. As we become familiar with someone, we begin to feel attracted to him or her, and that attraction makes the person seem more similar to ourselves. When we discover that someone is similar to ourselves, we begin to feel attracted to him or her, and that attraction makes the person seem more familiar to us. (Moreland & Beach, 1992, p. 257).

Moreland and Beach (1992) end their study with a note highlighting that “the role of affinity in the behavior of crowds might be worth investigating” (p. 274). Referring to the previous studies about the “circular reaction” and the “milling” of the crowds collectively, they argue that the “strong feelings of camaraderie” in the crowds can be related to the feeling of affinity. Despite

not delving into detail or proposing an empirical analysis, the authors emphasize the possibility that if “crowd’s members view one another as more familiar, attractive, and similar, then feelings of camaraderie may indeed arise, making collective action more likely to occur” (p. 274).

Based on these discussions, I introduced the concept of *affinitive diffusion* as a mechanism of *thin cross-national diffusion of collective action*. Affinitive diffusion can be simply described as the adoption and stimulation of various components of collective action in a local context due to the combination of familiarity with, similarity to and attraction for a collective action in another country. As can be seen, affinitive diffusion has three major components that are inspired by/based on the elements of the feeling of affinity: *Familiarity* which is shaped by the attachment to a transnational identity shared by the adopters and the transmitters; *similarity* based on the perceived motivational and contextual similarities between adopters and the transmitters; and *attraction* based on a cathartic admiration for the culturally, emotionally and tactically resonating practices of the transmitters. The combination of these three factors consequently results in both the adoption of the specific practice of the transmitters by the adopters and the stimulation of the extra emotional energy for collective action. The next section explains how affinitive diffusion functions theoretically and empirically by analyzing the *Winter Case*.

6.4.1. The Components of Affinitive Diffusion

6.4.1.1. Similarity: The perceived motivational and contextual similarities between adopters and transmitters

One of the main components of affinitive diffusion is the feeling of equivalence between adopters and transmitters due to the perceived motivational and contextual similarities. In the formulation of affinity, “the assumption of similarity” or the “perceived similarity” based on shared “attitudes, values and beliefs” has a “mediating effect” on the feelings of attraction and familiarity (Moreland & Beach, 1992; Moreland & Zajonc, 1982). The increasing levels of similarity and affinity consequently strengthen the feelings of *reliability* and *empathy* along with attraction to the similarly perceived person or group (Moreland & Beach, 1992; Siganos & Tabner, 2020). As previously discussed, the impact of similarity is also significant in terms of cross-national diffusion of the protests and social movements. *Attribution of similarity* (McAdam & Rucht, 1993), feeling of *equivalence* (Strang & Meyer, 1993) or *awareness* of the similarities (Chabot, 2010) are acknowledged as the facilitating conditions of the cross-national

diffusion by enabling the feelings of sympathy and empathy. Instead of the actual similarities, the perception of similarity in domains that are significant for the adopters to feel connected to the transmitters is effective in this process. Especially the perceived similarities regarding the motivations and the context of the adopters along with the resemblances of the moral and emotional schemas accelerate the emergence of these feelings as it is shown in the previous cases. Consequently, the adopters' perception of various similarities between themselves and the transmitters causes the feelings of identification process leading to the adoption of some repertoires or the simulation of emotional energy required for the collective action.

In the *Winter Case*, these perceived contextual and motivational similarities are centered around two major issues: Firstly, parallels in the patriarchal gender regimes that are embedded similarly in the state institutions, political actors and social structures in both contexts, and secondly, the similar institutionalized problem of the gender-based violence and femicides due to these resembling regimes. Although a couple of interviewees were knowledgeable about the Chilean feminist movement and Chilean political context, most of the interview did not have a detailed knowledge of these issues; however, the similarities that were explicitly emphasized in the lyrics of the *Las Tesis* about how gender inequality, discrimination and gender-based violence are political and institutional problems in both countries are highly acknowledged by the interviewees. "The gender injustice is similarly embedded in the institutions in both countries", from the perspective of the interviewee 10T, and consequently, "the problems and grievances described by Chileans are the ones we have experienced here; in other words, the performance itself with its lyrics reflects our experience here in Turkey directly". Similarly, an interviewee from the KS also highlights the "existence of similar patriarchal state and structural violence on women in both countries" that is facilitated by "the state apparatus, ministries, police, and media" (Int. 5T). "The foundation of the states, the development of capitalism, and the strict relationship between patriarchy, capitalism and statehood in general" results in the emergence of "similar gender regimes in both countries", says one of the organizers of the protests in Ankara, and she adds similar institutional and structural foundations of these regimes caused "anti-LGBT and misogyny being organized so strongly" in both countries (Int. 4T). Arguing that "the moves of these regimes are not coinciding, but rather intersecting", she highlights that:

This is why we can take what happened in Chile directly. Because the state regime is very similar; for example, in the performance, you directly target the state, the judiciary, the police as the rapist; and if there was no equivalent situation in Turkey, the performance would not be embraced so much. (Int. 4T)

Similarly, another active figure in the adoption process of Las Tesis performance also points out the existence of “very common grievances in both states” due to the “same system and gender regimes that have existed for centuries, and the devastation, destruction, and violence they have created” (Int. 2T). These “heteropatriarchal regimes” consequently resulted in the “emergence of feelings that people meet even though they are exposed to different forms of violence in different geographies”. She explains how the Las Tesis performance became a tool for the expression of these shared feelings forged by the same regime practices:

This is a very common experience in Turkey and Chile, and that performance was a tool for us. Those in Chile created a tool for us. There are so many things in it, in that package. There is anger. There's revenge in that package. There's mourning in that package. There's a loss in that package. There's a lot of things in that package. There's a history, and Las Tesis gave us a vehicle to express it. It was a symbolically powerful tool; it was a tool with people wagging their fingers and holding hands and saying "everywhere is a crime scene" and pointing to it, making it clear. I think we embraced this tool very quickly because we needed to express it too. (...) They gave us a performance tool and we expressed our common feelings here, in this way, with their tool. (Int. 2T)

The emphasis on the similarities in the gender regimes and their embedment in the state institutions and political culture in both countries is accompanied by the feeling of connection due to the high rates of gender-based violence and femicides that is considered as a political and structural consequence of the heteropatriarchal gender regimes. The perceived similarity regarding this matter significantly strengthened the sympathy towards the Chilean case from the perspective of the interviewees. An interviewee who participated in the protests in Izmir argues that although “Chile and Turkey are distant countries”, they are very similar in terms of the experiences of women due to the similar “institutional use of social violence on them” that “even tries to punish women who experience the violence instead of the perpetrator” (Int. 3T). From the perspective of an interviewee who took an active role in the organization of the protests in Beşiktaş, the conjuncture in both countries are same in a way that “too many women are being killed and there is a great injustice as the state does not take responsibility in any way”, and as a result of this similarity, “with the lyrics of Las Tesis, you actually internalize the similarity of the problem and see it in your own land; you think about yourself; feel same and adopt the performance” (Int. 1T). Similarly, another interviewee highlights the lyrics “points to the responsibilities and agency of the state, and attributes to the state a political and structural subject that paved the way for violence, even if it did not commit violence itself” and this is a significant similarity between the two countries (Int. 8T). From a parallel perspective,

Interviewee 8T emphasizes that “the patriarchal state and violence against women and LGBTI+ groups were already the main agenda of the feminist struggle in Turkey those days” therefore “the emotions and feelings were strongly similar with the Chileans and the connection was inevitable”. Emphasizing that “living in a process for a very long time in which an open war is declared against women and queers, in which there are attacks against them, and violence is rewarded with impunity”, an interviewee from Izmir argues that Las Tesis’ emphasis on the violence in Chile was the major reason for the sudden resonance with the feminist struggle in Turkey (Int. 6T). Interviewee 9T, an active figure in the adoption of the performance in Turkey, explains how the emphasis on the violence in the Las Tesis performance resonated with them significantly and strengthened the feeling of similarity:

Firstly, the main reason for their influence on us was their starting point: they take a political stance against femicide, rape and sexual offenses. And it was one of the most striking issues for us; in fact, at that time we were almost only talking about femicide. Saying "You are the culprit"; there is something very powerful about that, and I think it had an effect on this performance finding such a response here. And I think that one of the major reason for its resonance with us is the emotions. That anger, that sadness, that enthusiasm are all together; they are all together and common in both countries. We felt it deeply as women who had the same problems; we have really experienced and felt those problems here. When I watched those videos, it was not like it was happening in Chile. It really felt like women in this country were doing this. Such a resemblance. We had a commonality of feeling. No matter how different the geographies are, we share the same values and experience the same things. The same situations of womanhood, it is. (Int. 9T)

As can be seen in these quotes, the perceived contextual and motivational similarities cause significant emotional and cognitive impacts on the potential adopters to have connective feelings such as sympathy and empathy with the foreign protester group in another country. These feelings based on perceived similarities facilitate the identification process for the adopters which is the base for affinitive diffusion to start.

6.4.1.2. Familiarity: The attachment to a transnational identity (constructed and) shared by adopters and transmitters

Another important dimension of affinitive diffusion is familiarity, which is constructed by the attachment to a transnational identity shared and interactively constructed by both adopters and transmitters. As Moreland and his colleagues (1982; 1992) argue, feeling familiar with a person or a group has a positive impact on the emergence and strengthening of feelings of similarity with and attraction to that person or the group. As people “became objectively more familiar with the people” in other contexts, “they began to regard those individuals as more likeable”

and this condition results in a “growing belief” that those individuals “were more similar” to themselves as well (Moreland, 1982, p. 403). Following “meaningful social interactions”, the feeling of familiarity and consequently the perception of similarity significantly increases. In terms of affinitive diffusion, familiarity refers to the emotional attachment to an interactively constructed and shared collective identity or a movement culture by transmitters and adopters. As Jasper and McGarry (2015) argue, collective identity is an “act of imagination” that is a result of both the “need for attachment to others” and “‘identity work’ that creates, sustains, and transforms identities” based on various shared and perceived similarities (p. 1-2). Despite the absence of direct ties or organizational networks or affiliations, the sense of sharing an identity enables the individuals to feel similar and familiar with other individuals sharing the same identity and facilitates sympathizing with them. In affinitive diffusion, it is this attachment to a transnational identity or a movement culture that establishes the channels of diffusion even in the absence of direct ties between the adopters and the transmitters.

In the *Winter Case*, the attachment to the transnational identity of the feminist struggle constructs the emotional and cognitive base for this feeling of attachment and familiarity enabling the establishment of the channels of diffusion. The interviewees often highlighted the transnational character of the feminist struggle, both in terms of its objectives and methods, as well as the structural and globally experienced problems caused by patriarchy that extend beyond national state borders. They generally emphasized that even in the absence of organic ties or connections, feminism itself has transnational movement culture due to these characteristics thus they naturally have familiarity with the feminist struggles in other countries to both show solidarity and learn from them. As an interview with an organizational experience from the KS platform explained, there has been “a global revolt against increasing violence and impunity and a growing rage everywhere recently” and the feminist activists also feel attached to this struggle while following similar movements (Int. 5T). Another interviewee with the experience of prefigurative and performative feminist protests in Turkey argued that the geographical distance between Chile and Turkey is not very significant because as the feminist activists in Turkey, they were already following “the methods and tactics introduced and used by movements in different parts of the world and their achievements” (Int. 12T). Similarly, an interviewee with an organizational experience in KBGP also highlighted that she “always had eyes on the outside and there were others like me; so, it is not a coincidence that we saw Chile as it was also impossible not to see it anyway”. Another interviewee who was active in KBGP and actively participated in the organization of the Beşiktaş Las Tesis protests further elaborated

on this “constant seek for something new” as a characteristic of the feminist struggle with a note on Latin America as follows:

We don't have organic ties, but our eyes are there. Looking for an inspiration is always there; the feeling of seeking is always there and I think that Latin America is a great source. I think there is a dialogue between the countries, even if it is not direct; "They are doing something, it is very interesting and beautiful, let's do it for us right away!" and we try to find different ways and methods. (Int. 1T)

This emphasis on Latin America as a relatable and inspirational region can be also seen in other interviews. To illustrate, an organizational figure from the KCDP mentioned that “Latin America is a geography that specifically resembles us in terms of shared experiences and strategies of the feminist struggle” (Int. 10T). As another interviewee affiliated with the KS platform explained, the feminists in Turkey “keep a close eye on Latin America and its strong feminist movements” (Int. 4T). She added that the feminist movements such as the feminist strikes or struggle for abortion rights in various Latin American countries during the 2010s were already on the “radar of feminists in Turkey”, and despite the absence of “consciously established contact”, “the fact that we are experiencing very similar things strengthens the urge to look at "What are other organizations doing?". A prominent figure from the KCDP also highlighted that despite not following daily or not having strong ties with the region, especially in the last 10 years there has been an increase in interest in Latin America movements as the feminists “inevitably start to see how similar the conditions and struggles are” (Int. 8T). As previously discussed in the *Similarity* subsection, the perceived similarities between the Turkish and Chilean contexts facilitated the feeling of resemblance with Latin America in general due to the similar state institutions and gender regimes.

From the perspective of the interviewees, the performance of Las Tesis with its lyrics and choreography was able to capture the transnational character of the feminist struggle due to its emphasis on the familiar grievances and global problems for the feminist activists from different parts of the world. Despite acknowledging the contextual motivations and reasons for the initiation of this performance in Chile, most of the interviewees also highlight that the performance was significantly successful in reflecting the reality of the structural patriarchy and its destructive impact beyond the nation-states. Las Tesis’ success in reflecting this transnational spirit based on the indignation against the “increasing violence and impunity” was the reason why it “has found so much meaning for women” (Int. 5T). “Sometimes we can ignore that the problem the problem is more systemic and global, that it is the result of processes jointly formed by patriarchal and fascist regimes”, said an interviewee from the KC platform, and

added that “Las Tesis showed the importance of the international women's struggle in these conditions” and “help us realize that we are experiencing the same thing, that women's problems transcend national borders and countries” (Int. 3T). Similarly, another experienced activist with organizational experience in the MD platform discussed that the performance ignites awareness regarding the problems that have been experienced by many women around the world in different countries as follows:

Through Las Tesis, we have once again seen the fact that the problems and struggles are all over the world. If we were to categorise the reasons for the growth of the Las Tesis movement under one heading, it would be the international identity of the movement. When we think from the point of view of unorganised women who are not affiliated with any groups or organizations, they think, "Women in Chile have made an action against good conduct time, violence, harassment, rape and murder". Then she comes back here and naturally realises that the same problems are also happening here. (Int. 13)

From a similar perspective, interviewee 8T explained how the Las Tesis performance resonates with this feeling of familiarity as it emerged as a reaction carrying global impact to the globally experienced grievances as follows:

When we look at the words of the Las Tesis protests, they pointed to the responsibilities and agency of the state. It was actually creating a subject; this meant a symbolic, political and structural subject. In other words, we can say that even though she did not commit the crime herself, she was paving the way for the murder or sexual assault with her policies. Now, in this respect, she has established a direct link between what is happening in Turkey and what is happening in many countries of the world. In fact, in terms of their words and courage, such movements have an effect that transcends borders. In other words, just as the negativities experienced are not only experienced in the territory of a country, the events we call social today also have a kind of universality. Just as those problems have a historicity, we see that the struggle, its solution, its courage, its hope and its spread also have a universal and international aspect. Although we have unique and distinctive aspects, what we have experienced in terms of the practice of struggle, in terms of the levels of the problems we experience, and in terms of their sameness, is very similar.

Before moving to the next component of affinitive diffusion, it is significant to emphasize that some interviewees highlighted how various performances originated in European countries failed to have a similar resonating impact despite the geographical proximity between the countries. To illustrate, an interviewee from the KC platform argues that in 2021 her feminist group organized the performance of *The Handmaid's Tale* that was introduced in Poland recently, yet it could not receive a similar public response as it happened in the Las Tesis performance (Int. 7). Another interviewee from Ankara, who argued that the structural

difference between the core capitalist countries and the periphery countries may cause a disconnection between the experiences of the women from these countries sometimes, explained this phenomenon as follows:

In Turkey, there have been slogans against the patriarchal state; for example, there is a slogan "Men will be held accountable!" and it has existed for years. In a country in Europe, that is to say in the movements of the core capitalist countries, such slogans against the state are not clearly visible or are not so historically rooted. But in Turkey they are very deep-rooted, and this is actually due to the state structure, which is deeply misogynist. (...) I think this is why there are similarities between movements that has developed outside the core capitalist countries. These common regimes also give rise to common problems and grievances, and I think these bind people together a little bit more. (Int. 4T).

These findings demonstrate that similar to the component of similarity, the feeling of familiarity through the attachment to a shared and constructed identity plays a facilitating role in both adoption of the forms of collective action and stimulation of the extra emotional and motivational strength to engage in collective action.

6.4.1.3. Attraction: Cathartic admiration for the culturally and tactically resonating practices of the transmitters

The final component of affinitive diffusion is the component of attraction, which refers to the cathartic admiration for the culturally and tactically resonating practices of the transmitters. As previously mentioned, attraction is the central component of the feeling of affinity, and it generally refers to not only liking someone but also the willingness to form social interactions with that person (Moreland, 1992). Considering this dimension, Linda Zagzebski (2010) argues that "the feeling of admiration is a kind of attraction that carries with it the impetus to imitate" (p. 54). From Zagzebski's (2012) perspective, "to admire someone is to see the person as attractive in the sense of a model or an exemplar, and to feel a desire to imitate the person" (p. 89). As Archer (2018) highlights, Zagzebski's model emphasizes the strong relationship between the feeling of admiration based on attraction and the urge to emulate the attractive object. In the previously discussed *Autumn Case*, this kind of role of admiration and its impact on the diffusion of collective action is already introduced and discussed.

In affinitive diffusion, we observe a similar feeling of admiration that is embedded in the attraction and leads to a feeling of cathartic reaction. As Rubidge (1998) argues, admiration is often considered as a source of catharsis especially in Cornelian and post-Renaissance drama. As a moral emotion, admiration for a relatable yet heroic protagonist provokes emotions of encouragement and emulation along with enthusiasm and esteem "to imitate and even surpass

the heroic characters” (Rubidge, 1998, p. 322). Admiring the protagonist and her virtuous acts in relatable tragic situations, the audience consequently feels stimulated to act in a similar manner with the “adjustment of emotions” leading to a feeling of comfort and relief due to acceptance of emulating the virtuous act (Rubidge, 1998). In the affinitive diffusion, the source of this cathartic admiration is the *attractive act*, which is the culturally, emotionally and tactically resonating practices (ideational and behavioral components of the collective action) of the transmitter. As previously stated, affinity is an interconnected combination of the feelings of similarity, familiarity and attraction, and such combination establishes the basis for the emotional connection and cognitive identification with the transmitters. The culturally, emotionally and tactically resonating practice of the transmitter, similar to the acts of the protagonists in Cornelian drama, brings the impact of catharsis on the potential adopters by stimulating the release of a complex set of emotions accompanied by the urge to emulate the similar practices. Considering this emotional and cathartic dimension, it is also important to highlight that affinitive diffusion is also strongly associated with *moral shocks*: The event leading to the tragedy, the protagonist’s morally admirable attitude and the relatability of this situation may result in a moral shock “consisting of a visceral unease in reaction to information and events which signal that the world is not as it seemed, thereby demanding attention and revaluation” and consequently engaging in the collective action (Jasper, 2014, p. 210). The “adjustment of emotions” in cathartic admiration functions similarly to “rethinking or reasserting our basic moral commitments” that leads to “action to set things right” following the moral shocks (Jasper, 2018, p. 87).

As can be seen in the definition of affinitive diffusion, the resonance of the transmitters’ practice has three main dimensions: A *cultural* one, which in general refers to the practices’ “compatibility with pre-existing values and customs” (Gerbaudo, 2013, p. 90); an *emotional* one, which is based on the “emotional harmony” between the targeted emotions of the transmitters’ practice and “the emotional lives” of the adopters (Schrock, Holden & Reid, 2004, p. 62); and a *tactical* one, which is the moral and strategic acceptance of the practice and its benefits for the adopters. Combined with the sympathetic identification constructed and strengthened by the factors of similarity and familiarity, this complex process of resonance consequently causes the adoption of the practices of transmitters by the adopters and stimulation of emotional energy for them to engage in action.

The cathartic impact of the Las Tesis performance and the immediate urge to emulate the performance in Turkey can be seen in the answers of approximately all of the interviewees. The

most visible pattern in the interviewees is the common reaction of asking the question of whether it would be possible to do the same performance in Turkey after seeing the video of the original Las Tesis performance on social media platforms. The emotional and cathartic impact became visible in the first encounter with the performance. Describing her first time seeing the video of Las Tesis as “emotionally striking”, one of the important figures from KBGP during the translation and adoption of the Las Tesis protests stated that the performance immediately achieved “to resonate with the emotional legacy of the feminist struggle” and caused “an explosion of emotions that led us to think ‘Let’s do something similar here in Turkey’” (Int. 2T). “When I first saw them on the Internet”, said interviewee 13T, “I had goosebumps and I felt a complex set of emotions; enthusiasm, excitement, joy, rage, shock”. Interviewee 8T, describing her feelings as “encouraged and empowered” when she saw the performance first time, stated that “it was a personal and collective reflex to immediately consider the adoption of the performance”. Similarly, another interviewee from Izmir said that she felt “inspired and excited” in her first encounter with the “glorious and empowering” performance and immediately “thought that ‘If they experience the same problems and could do this performance there, why can’t we organize it here?’” (Int. 3T). Interviewee 5T also described the feelings of “enthusiasm and relief but also rage” accompanied by the urge to “do it here in Turkey with the same audacity”. Similarly, interviewee 6T also highlighted that she felt “really good and relieved” and wanted to perform in the same way.

Delving into the basis of these initial feelings and emotions, the interview findings demonstrate that there was a strong emotional and cultural resonance of the Las Tesis performance, as previously stated. Based on the findings, it can be argued that there are two major reasons for this resonance: Firstly, the performance itself was built on the expression of emotions which are shaped by the contextual and motivational similarities that are discussed in the *Similarity* subsection. And secondly, the practice of pointing fingers at and exposing the perpetrator was culturally and contextually relevant for the interviewees. Several interviews such as 1T and 2T highlight that accusing a perpetrator by pointing a finger at him is already a common social gesture in Turkey. Using this gesture politically to expose and accuse the institutional actors of being the responsible ones for the gender-based violence and femicides in public spaces was a strongly stimulating practice. From the perspective of one of the organizers of the first massive Las Tesis protests in Turkey in Kadıköy square, “during a period when we could not talk about anything but femicides and were full of rage”, it was “incredibly impressive and empowering” to see that “they were directly exposing and pointing fingers at the actors that they considered

perpetrators in very meaningful public spaces” (Int. 8T). Interviewee 5T similarly argued that seeing Las Tesis “using not only your voice but also your body, pointing your finger at the perpetrator and exposing it; it gives a different sense of power”. She added that it was a “feminist exposé” that “exposes the judiciary, the ministries, the police who enables the structural gender-based violence” and “expresses the rage and indignation”. The “combination of pointing fingers with crowds and the striking lyrics of the performance” was “really impressive” and “reflecting our own experiences here in Turkey”, from the perspective of interviewee 10T, who was another organizer of the Kadıköy Square Las Tesis protests from KCDP. Emphasizing the common emotions and how they are reflected well in the performance, interviewee 2T argued that:

Going out on the streets in crowds, pointing fingers at the perpetrators, exposing them publicly have already captured a feeling in us. Because we also know the accomplice of that crime. We also know who that perpetrator is. We also know the historical background of this, even if we are in different geographies. (...) Las Tesis's taking people out on the streets and actually exposing the situation to everyone, pointing the finger, was a very powerful performance and captured everyone's emotions. Because there is a very common emotional heritage; it has turned into something that creates very similar emotions and that people who already come from similar emotional experiences come out and shout.

It is also significant to highlight that the violent police intervention in the first massive protest in Kadıköy, Istanbul on 8 December 2023 can be considered as a moral shock that accelerated this emotional impact. Several interviews emphasize that “it was very encouraging to point fingers at the police and to accuse the police institution of being an accomplice in the crime of gender-based violence, especially in the presence of the police in the protest” (Int. 3T). Following the first police intervention, this encouraging impact transformed into a collective indignation that motivated further participation in the organization and participation of the next performances. It can be claimed that this moral shock was strongly associated with the initial shock that had been triggered by the explicit accusation of state institutions including the police by the lyrics of the Las Tesis performance. From the perspective of the protesters, it was the frustrating reaffirmation of the statements that were expressed in the lyrics. One of the activists from the MD platform emphasized that the presence and intervention of the police in the protests “showed that we were right to organize these protests” and ignited a “collective stubbornness and resistance” that motivated the organization of the new Las Tesis protests in Turkey (Int. 13T). Interviewee 10T, one of the organizers of the protest in Kadıköy, highlighted that the police intervention motivated them to think that “we owe it to ourselves to make this

protest everywhere in Turkey”. Interviewee 8T, one of the leading activist figures and organizers of the protest in Kadıköy, argues that the intervention stimulated a “strong reaction” consisting of “motivation and power due to the feeling of rightfulness” because of experiencing the violence that was highlighted in the lyrics. The interviewee added that:

Women already struggle against men who try to silence them and tell them "Sit down!" in their private lives; they struggle against this repression every day. And we wage a political campaign against this repression through this protest, however, this protest performance, which can be organized anywhere in the world without any problems, was tried to be repressed by the police in Turkey, accusing us of opposing the state. This is not possible. Consequently, as we predicted, society embraced this performance and struggle itself. (Int. 8T)

These cultural and emotional resonances were also accompanied by a tactical one. From the perspective of the interviewees who actively engaged in the organization of the Las Tesis protests in Turkey, the performance was “clear and simple” (Int. 8T), “easy to translate” (Int. 9T), “not hard to learn and perform” (Int. 3T), and “new and innovative” (Int. 13T). Interviewee 4T, who was an organizer of the Las Tesis protests in Ankara, highlighted that the performance itself and its lyrics had a high level of “modularity and adaptability”, and due to the institutional equivalence between Turkey and Chile, it was also easy to translate and perform it without losing the meaning. “Because of the similarities in the regime types, we could also refer to president or judiciary in the same way”, she explains. Interviewee 13T also emphasized that especially considering the restrictions on the traditional forms of collective action in the authoritarian context of Turkey, “the creative and innovative repertoires such as Las Tesis play a significant role for the feminist movement”. Another interviewee, who actively engaged in the adoption of the performance and its organization in Beşiktaş following the call of KBGP in December, explained how the performance fulfilled their criteria of novelty as follows:

We attach great importance to this: "We talk about this policy or problem, but how can we do it differently? How can we express it differently?" Because that difference can help us reach more people. We try to think a lot about these. Feminists think a lot about these different methods. "What can we do more creatively?" We are after the answers to these questions and Las Tesis was a very creative and striking action in our eyes. (Int. 9T)

Another activist, who was highly active in the organization of other crowded demonstrations in Istanbul with the call of KCDP, also highlighted the importance of novelty and clarity:

The fact that the sentences used in this performance and the bodily movements made were clear and precise ensured a quick reception from people. Applying a new method other than the methods we are used to definitely has an effect. There are always methods

we know and can do, but we need to try different methods like this; we need to explore. (Int. 10T)

One of the interviewees who took part in the translation of the lyrics emphasized that the “joyful” aspect of performing a choreographed dance as a political protest repertoire was an important factor in both the adoption and mobilization of the performance in Turkey (Int. 1T). From the interviewee’s perspective, “claiming right to have fun and joy, and defending women’s right to have them” accompanies to “search for novel and creative tactics” in the feminist struggle, and with its “catchy lyrics, rhyming choruses, dance moves and of course finger pointing”, Las Tesis was a performance “that attracts people easily”. These answers demonstrate the variety and complexity in the emotional dimension of affinitive diffusion, in which both positive and negative emotions play a significant role in the stimulation of an extra emotional energy or cathartic impact on the protesters. Combined with the cultural and tactical reasons, this emotional dimension facilitates the adoption of a new collective action practice.

6.5. Discussion and Concluding Remarks

This chapter investigates how and why the 2019 Las Tesis protests in Chile diffused to Turkey and continued for weeks in various cities unlike most of the countries having only a few Las Tesis protest events. Similar to the previous cases, this case study also aims to explain this phenomenon by analyzing the emotional, cognitive and social experiences of the micro-level actors including the organizers and the participants of the adopted protests. Based on the analysis of the empirical data, the mechanism of *affinitive diffusion* is introduced as the end product of this study. The affinitive diffusion mechanism demonstrates that the perceived similarities between the adopter and transmitter groups, the attachment to the shared and interactively constructed transnational identities by these groups, and the multi-layered resonance of the transmitters’ collective action practices with the conditions of the adopters results in not only the adoption of the collective action but also the stimulation of the extra motivational and emotional energy to engage in collective action.

The *Winter Case* aims to contribute to the theoretical discussions regarding how to refine the theory of protest diffusion in order to capture the recent change in the dynamics of contentious politics. Similar to the *Summer* and *Autumn Cases*, this case also shows that an agentic and cultural approach focusing on the emotional and cognitive dimensions of collective action can be fruitful in order to understand the processes and mechanisms of the spread of collective action. Especially the findings revealing the cathartic impact of the moral shocks accompanied

by the cultural and emotional resonance of the collective action practices may shed some light on the discussions about the integration of emotional and cognitive dimensions of collective action into the theorization of protest diffusion. Furthermore, this case also demonstrates that the national and transnational dimensions of contentious politics are significantly interconnected and this interconnection facilitates the cross-national diffusion of collective action. Similar to the *Autumn Case*, the political context in Turkey was already contentious before the beginning of the Las Tesis protests and this contention was highly related to the social and political problems such as the increase in gender-based violence that was also highlighted by the Las Tesis performance. As discussed previously in the *Overview* section, 2019 was already an intensification period in the protest cycle of the feminist movement against gender-based violence and femicides, and the Las Tesis protests emerged in this intensified period as a benchmark to be adopted. Considering this issue, it can be argued that temporal interconnections between the intensification of a local struggle and the emergence of a relatable movement in a foreign context can be considered as *diffusion opportunity conditions* that facilitate the spread of collective action cross-nationally. This research focuses on more agentic and cultural dimensions of diffusion, yet the contextual and structural conditions of the diffusion can be further analyzed in future research through relevant methodological approaches.

Apart from its potential contributions to the debates about the spread of collective action, this case may contribute to several discussions in social movement studies. One of these debates is centered around the question of under which conditions an adopted practice can be *resilient* in a non-democratic setting. The Las Tesis protests in Turkey should not be considered similar to most of the other Las Tesis cases in other countries as Turkey became the epicenter of these protests in terms of their intensity and longevity as well as dominance in social media platforms globally over other cases. Considering that this research is not a comparative case study, this case alone cannot propose a precise answer to why this happened. However, based on the findings, it can be speculated that the intense “re-experience” of the grievance or the problem, which was a reason for the adoption of the collective action practice, in the aftermath of the adoption process may have an emotionally stimulating impact on the protesters to keep repeating the adopted practice. Fueled by the feelings of the re-experience of a traumatic incident and the reaffirmation of moral rightfulness, the adopted practice may be repeated and gradually embedded in the protest culture as well as the emotional schema of the activist group. In the *Winter Case*, it can be argued that the police intervention in the initial protests and the

continuous police presence in the protest sites in Turkey significantly motivated feminist activists to organize more protests in different cities for nearly three months. Still, it is not certain whether this speculation or the accelerating impact of police violence on collective identity formation and protest participation (Fominaya, 2018) causes this phenomenon. Furthermore, the Las Tesis experience is referred to as a creative and inspirational benchmark in the collective memory of the feminist struggle in Turkey by all of the interviewees, however, it is also often emphasized that the COVID-19 global pandemic and the governmental anti-contagion restrictions might prevent the protest to transform into a localized and domesticized action despite its mobilizing potential. Some interviewees argue that it could have been the first stage of the new performative protest series if the pandemic-related changes in the political opportunity structures had not happened. Thus, despite its further potential from the perspective of the activists, it is not certain if such adopted collective action practices could pave the way for new forms of performative and prefigurative action. Considering these ambiguities regarding the resilience of the adopted repertoires or practices, it can be fruitful to focus on these issues by employing a comparative approach in future research.

Another theoretical debate that this case study can contribute to is how to redefine the conceptual boundaries of diffusion and transnationalization, which have become increasingly blurred and intertwined recently. Las Tesis protests present a case that is hard to be conceptually categorized within the conventional ontological boundaries of both concepts. In the literature on the Las Tesis protests, the performance is often referred to as *transnational feminist action* (Serafini, 2020; Lianson, 2023; Martin & Shaw, 2021; Borba et al., 2020). Considering Desai's (2007) definition of transnational activism below, this conceptual categorization seems valid:

Transnational feminism both to the practices of women's movements around the world and to a theoretical perspective in which women theorize and strategize for women's rights and gender justice across national boundaries, work in collaboration with women from other countries, and frame their activism in terms that are both local and global. Thus, transnational feminism refers to the flow of ideas, issues, strategies, organizations, and activists across national boundaries. (p. 1)

However, it can be argued that conceptual confusion arises when it comes to identifying mechanisms for the spread or flow of the Las Tesis protests. Considering Tarrow and della Porta's (2005) classical approach defining transnationalization as the "coordinated international campaigns on the part of networks of activists against international actors, other states, or

international institutions”, the Las Tesis case in Turkey cannot be considered as a transnational action due to the lack of strong activist ties and communication channels between the activists. As discussed previously, the activists in Turkey did not use organizational ties to be informed about the performance as they mostly heard it from the social media platforms indirectly. Furthermore, despite their previous interactions with feminists in Latin American countries, they do not have strong or well-established organizational ties. Yet, as della Porta (2020) recently argues, the dynamics of transnationalization have changed as “the apparent lack of direct connection but also frequent expression of reciprocal solidarity is triggering a new reflection on transnationalization through learning and emulation at the distance” (p. 119). From this perspective, the Las Tesis protest can be considered as a process of *transnationalization* that emerged through the mechanism of affinitive diffusion, however, it is still important to further discuss if staging a performance in a country in the absence of direct ties or organizational networks -despite the shared transnational identities- *can* and *should* be defined as *transnationalization* of collective or only a form of *thin diffusion* conceptually. Here, the theoretical issue that I have already discussed in the theory chapter about whether we should treat diffusion as the *mechanism*, the *process* or the *outcome* becomes concerning, again.

The case study, despite its potential to contribute to the debates regarding the revision of the theory of protest diffusion, has important limitations. Firstly, the number of interviewees is relatively limited. The participants consist of organizers of the Las Tesis protests and the leading figures of feminist organizations and platforms in Turkey, and the saturation point has been reached following the repeated and visible patterns in the data; so it can be claimed that the data analysis fulfills the criteria of the research design using grounded theory methodology. Still, in future research strengthening the analysis by increasing the number of participants would be a fruitful strategy to increase the validity of the findings. Furthermore, working on a case study about femicides and gender-based violence in my own country was an emotionally and mentally exhausting experience that often disrupted my research activities. I needed to take breaks from the research especially when I was working on the *Overview* section because it was suffocating to recall the details of the femicide cases such as the femicides of Münevver Karabulut or Şule Çet leading to the public outrage or the protests. Similarly, despite being the most inspirational experience of my PhD journey that changed me as a person, interviewing feminist activists consecutively about the femicides for long hours, and repeatedly reviewing the data for transcription and analysis was emotionally draining. Another issue is, as discussed partially in the *Methodological Notes* section, my limited perspective as a heterosexual cis

Turkish and Muslim middle-class male to comprehend and reflect the experiences of the feminist activists, women and queer groups, and the people who have experienced the patriarchal oppression, sexism and gender-based forms of violence in ways that I have never been experienced. Publicly defining myself as a *pro-feminist* or an *ally* to feminist and queer movements, I endeavor to educate and train myself in understanding and employing the feminist research methodologies, however, increasing one's awareness regarding positionality and reflexivity causes not only the transformation of the researcher agency but a long personal journey to realize and challenge internalized patriarchy, its advantageous implications, and asymmetrical benefits as a male researcher and a person. My ethical concerns about using and expressing the language and the framing of the feminist researchers and activists have gradually transformed into my personal preferences to use them not as a researcher but as a person; and this transformation also made me realize more about the possibility that I might have thoughts and arguments that reflected the internalized patriarchy and masculinity contradicting the feminist epistemologies and principles I am willing to embrace both in this research and in my life in general. Thus, considering this personal journey that is not close to ending, I believe that this case study still has flaws that I hope to realize and overcome in future research.

7. CHAPTER: COMPARISON AND CONCLUSION

The journey of this dissertation commenced with a simple question that I personally wondered about: Why and how does a protest inspire individuals in a distant country to engage in a similar action in their own country? This question has piqued my academic and intellectual curiosity since the final years of my undergraduate education. But more than that, I believed that it held normative and political significance as the answers to this question could aid progressive and peaceful democratic movements in realizing their ability to inspire people worldwide and that they are not alone in their struggles. The awareness that would come with this knowledge, I thought, could be useful both in motivating them to continue their activities and in strengthening the cross-national activist connections. In this intellectual and academic journey to answer this question, the theory of collective action diffusion has provided me with fruitful theoretical frameworks and assumptions that have helped me to understand numerous dimensions of this phenomenon. However, in the same journey, I have simultaneously recognized that certain ontological foundations of this theory constrained me from discovering the answer I truly sought, just as they had constrained my predecessors who have recently called for the revision of this fundamental theory embedded in the paradigmatic understanding of social movement studies. To revise this well-acknowledged theory and provide novel theoretical explanations for current cases of contentious politics, I have analyzed three cases that cannot be precisely explained by the conventional assumptions of the theory of protest diffusion and consequently introduced novel mechanisms grounded in the empirical data for each of them. The findings have already provided some insight for the theoretical debates on the spread of collective action, however, I believe that a comprehensive and comparative analysis of the findings is essential to discuss how to refine the theory of diffusion of collective action. In the next paragraphs, I aim to achieve this final objective as concluding this journey.

A proper start for this final discussion would be a comparative overview of the three cases and their particular mechanisms. As previously discussed in the *Methodological Notes* chapter, all cases were selected because of a common feature that would identify them as “least-likely” cases according to the conventional theory of the diffusion of collective action: They present the connection between two protests that resembles the diffusion of collective action from one country to another in the absence of theoretically acknowledged proximity and similarity factors as well as the strong organizational ties or activist networks. Despite this essential similarity, which constitutes the research puzzle and the case selection criteria, each case has its own

pathways and mechanisms of diffusion due to the nuances between them. In the *Summer Case*, which focuses on the analysis of the connection between the 2013 Protests in Turkey and Brazil, the mechanism of *cathartic resonance* explains the spread of collective action through the emotional and inspirational impact of a relatable struggle in one country on the individuals in another country due to the perceived contextual and motivational similarities along with the sympathetic identification built upon the shared traumas. According to this concept, the moral shocks triggered by a foreign but relatable struggle may have a motivating influence on sympathizers' decisions to engage in a similar struggle in their own context – even in the absence of active organizational channels, previously established networks or involvement of activist groups as brokers. This mechanism is also different from the conventional diffusion models as it leads to emotional and motivational stimulation for engaging in collective action rather than a visible adoption pattern. The *Autumn Case*, which consists of the investigation of the connection between the 2019 Protests in Hong Kong and Catalonia, differs from the *Summer Case* in that activist groups were directly involved in the diffusion process and played an active role in adopting the behavioral and ideational components of collective action. In this case, the mechanism of *admirative diffusion* explains that the local protesters' collective admiration for a foreign but identifiable protesting group's tactical success, moral position and resilience to shared traumatic incidents may result in the adoption of similar forms of collective action and the stimulation of extra emotional energy to engage in local mobilizations. In contrast to the cathartic resonance, admirative diffusion still involves the adoption of collective action similar to the more conventional models of diffusion. The *Winter Case*, which investigates the connection between the 2019-2020 Protests in Chile and Turkey, resembles the *Autumn Case* in this regard yet it also has a significant difference: The presence of a transnational movement legacy connecting the adopters and transmitters even if they do not have strong organizational ties. Mostly due to this difference and its emotional, relational and cognitive consequences, the mechanism of *affinitive diffusion*, which explains the *Winter Case*, evolved distinctly from the mechanism of admirative diffusion. Affinitive diffusion demonstrates that the attachment to the shared and interactively constructed transnational identities by the adopters and transmitters, along with the perceived similarities between them and the multi-layered resonance of the transmitters' collective action practices with the conditions of the adopters results in not only the adoption of the collective action but also the stimulation of the extra motivational and emotional energy to engage in collective action. Despite having similar consequences, the pathways of the admirative and affinitive diffusion mechanisms are distinguished due to the

impact of transnationalization – even if it does not involve strong ties or well-established organizational networks. As can be seen, all three mechanisms are introduced to theoretically and empirically explain the unconventional cases of protest diffusion. They can be considered as reconstructed mechanisms of *thin diffusion* to explain such cases. Their differences and similarities shed some light on the emotional, cognitive and relational dynamics of the recent diffusion of collective action in the last fifteen years.

In the light of this overview along with a discussion regarding the patterns and differences in three mechanisms, I hope to propose several ideas to conceptually and theoretically revise the diffusion in social movement studies. There are already discussions on how the findings of each case study can help with revising diffusion theory in the concluding sections of every empirical chapter, yet revealing the patterns and differences in three mechanisms can reveal the uncharted yet fundamental dimensions and dynamics of the recent diffusion of protests and social movements. The first and foremost contribution of this research would be an ontological revision proposal regarding the *central mechanisms* of diffusion and their *effects*. As discussed in the *Theoretical Framework* chapter, the concept of diffusion in social movement studies lacks ontological consensus regarding whether it is a *mechanism*, *cause*, *effect*, or *process*. In the light of these discussions and the findings of this research, my approach is to define diffusion as a *process* that can emerge through different mechanisms and their differentiated effects. This research has already defined *cathartic resonance*, *admirative diffusion*, and *affinitive diffusion* as distinct mechanisms, and these mechanisms suggest that the central components of these mechanisms and their effects require definitions that extend beyond the classical consequence of adoption.

Considering the findings, the central mechanisms of diffusion and their effects on individuals can be grouped under two major categories in this research: *The adoption of the ideational and behavioral components of the collective action*, and *the stimulation of extra motivational and emotional energy to engage in a similar collective action*. While the former refers to the conventional and theoretically acknowledged component of diffusion in general, the latter has been usually neglected within the conceptual definition of diffusion. In this formulation, I propose that *stimulation* can be regarded as a fundamental component of various diffusion mechanisms that can be observed in conjunction with *adoption* but also on its own. I draw this conclusion by considering that, given the emotional and cognitive conditions of the diffusion explored throughout this dissertation, individuals who observe a similar struggle in a foreign country are not only likely to adopt ideational and behavioral components of collective action

from that struggle but also become motivated and emotionally stimulated to engage in a similar struggle in their own context. Thus, diffusion should not be limited to the mechanisms of adoption but also include the mechanisms of stimulation and their effects. My proposal can be objected to by arguing that such stimulating impact should not be considered as a form of diffusion but an alternative pathway for the spread of collective action. In fact, when I introduced the mechanism of cathartic resonance, my primary concern was also whether to define it as a *mechanism* of diffusion or an *alternative* to diffusion. My initial intention was to conceptualize it as an alternative, similar to Roos and Oikonomakis' (2016) approach in their *resonance* article. However, two main reasons caused me to abandon this idea: Firstly, in the cases of *Autumn* and *Winter*, which can be conventionally categorized as cross-national diffusion because of the visible adoption of ideational and behavioral components of collective action, the findings demonstrated that the stimulation of extra motivational and emotional energy was also empirically present. The activating and/or accelerating impact of transmitter groups' experiences and activities on adopter groups' motivational and emotional conditions to engage in a collective action emerged as one of the most apparent patterns in the interview data for all three cases. In this research that focuses on the emotional and cognitive experiences of the individual level actors, observing the occurrence of this result in all three cases, regardless of the *adoption* of collective action, raised my concerns about whether emotional stimulation is an essential yet neglected feature of the diffusion processes.

These doubts were further strengthened by the theoretical debate that I delved into in the theory chapter. Despite being ignored paradigmatically yet rediscovered in the last decades, the emotions and emotional processes intertwined with the cognitive ones have been acknowledged as the inherent components of collective action and they have been receiving further scholarly attention recently in social movement studies. The structural and causal formulation of diffusion, however, cannot fully convey this essential dimension of collective action and its impact in shaping the pathways of the spread of protests and social movements. Ideational and behavioral components of collective action have been integrated into the conceptualization of diffusion while the emotional components and their spread have been widely neglected in the theoretical debates. As the theoretical discussions have recently advised the exploration and integration of the cultural and emotional dimensions of collective action into the theories of social movement, it is significant to revise our understanding of the fundamentals of diffusion as well. The findings show that collective action spreads not only through transmitting its ideational and behavioral components but also by motivating or emotionally stimulating

individuals to engage in a similar form of action that resonates with them in various ways. Instead of treating diffusion as a static concept and proposing alternatives to it, I suggest redrawing its conceptual boundaries by integrating the emotional and cognitive processes of collective action into its ontological formulation. Considering the findings of this dissertation, the emotional components of collective action such as motivation or cathartic feelings can also be activated and spread through various mechanisms of diffusion based on emotional stimulation. Recognizing the role and effects of emotional stimulation along with adoption and acknowledging the emotional components together with the ideational and behavioral components of collective action as the objects of diffusion can be a promising initial step towards the expansion of the ontological boundaries of diffusion. This type of new formulation for diffusion not only recognizes the essential presence of the emotional dimensions in the processes of the spread of collective action but also enables the categorization of concepts such as *cathartic resonance* as different forms and mechanisms of diffusion within its conceptual and theoretical limits.

This change requires a shift away from the conventional depiction of the *subjects* of diffusion, which are *adopters* and *transmitters*. Although these concepts can convey the relationship in certain cases, this research observes that diffusion has relational dynamics that exceed these narrow dynamics. Emotionally resembling the relationship between *protagonist* and *audience*, the relationships during the diffusion processes may take unilateral, interactive or parasocial forms. Either unintentionally or intentionally like in an experimental theatre, the protagonist stimulates the audience emotionally and in various cases motivates the audience to take action. Under these circumstances, the terms *adopter* and *transmitter*, although revised, still present an innovation-based dichotomy that oversimplifies diffusion as a pragmatic adoption process. Considering the proposal of the integration of emotional and cognitive stimulation into the conceptual formulation of diffusion, this conventional dichotomy fails to reflect these complex relationship dynamics and would be ontologically inadequate. Since the common feature of the relationships in all three cases is based on one group *stimulating* another in various ways regardless of the type of consequences, I suggest using the *stimulant-receptive* dichotomy instead of the adopter-transmitter dichotomy. A stimulant group/individual/organization can be considered similar to the *transmitter* or the *protagonist* as it is the source of the diffusion by stimulating to urge to act and/or emulate. The receptive group/individual/organization, on the other hand, resembles audiences and is activated/stimulated by the activities, experiences or ideas of the stimulant group to engage in individual or collective action. Although this

dichotomous proposal still has room for improvement, I believe it is an alternative that more accurately captures the recent dynamics of the diffusion of collective action.

This theoretical proposal for a revision of diffusion should be accompanied by a theorization of the emotional and cognitive processes in its different mechanisms. All three mechanisms in this study share two common components: *The perceived contextual and motivational similarities between the adopters and transmitters from the perspective of the adopters*, and *the emotional resonance due to the shared traumas and moral shocks*. Considering the former, the perception of sharing contextual conditions or motivational reasons for engaging in similar forms of collective action plays a consistent role in the mechanisms, especially by preparing the cognitive ground to facilitate identification between the adopters and transmitters. These *perceived* similarities do not necessarily reflect the *actual* similarities despite being based on them – in fact, they may even lead to a perception of equivalence disregarding significant differences, such as the regime differences between Chile and Turkey or Spain and China. The perception of similarity is indeed based on a *selective* rather than an *objective* criterion: The cultural, historical, linguistic, and geographical similarities or the structural equivalence are important in diffusion processes yet the micro-level analysis in this research demonstrates that the individuals can still perceive themselves, their motivations or their contexts similar to the conditions of the foreign protesters even in the absence or limited presence of the objective proximity and similarity factors. Especially in the cases of growing sympathy towards the stimulant groups due to the shared traumas and moral shocks, the perceived similarities function not only to enable but also to justify the collective identification with the stimulant group and engaging in action. Under such conditions with a strong emotional resonance with the stimulant group, the perceived similarities can even cause the receptive groups to overlook the objective differences. This interaction between perception and emotions reminds me of Jasper's (2014; 2018) *feeling-thinking processes*, which frame cognition and emotion not as two separate and contrasting but as the mutual and interconnected bodily and mental processes that are embedded in the culture and context. The perception of similarity based on the evaluation of the actual motivations and contexts can be described as a cognitive process yet it becomes influential in the spread of collective action when it is accompanied by the emotional resonance of the shared traumas and moral shocks. In the literature of protest diffusion, the feeling of similarity has already been acknowledged as a significant factor since the concepts of *attribution of similarity* or the *structural equivalence*, yet I hope that this research further sheds light on under which conditions and through which mechanisms it emerges and functions in the diffusion processes.

The second fundamental component of all three mechanisms, as I mentioned, is the *emotional resonance of shared traumas and/or moral shocks*. This resonance can be described as a multi-layered and cross-temporal process: The stimulant groups' experiences should resonate with the receptive group's emotional schema which has been shaped by its collective memory and cultural context. While discussing emotional resonance, I particularly use the concepts of *trauma* and *moral shocks* in this formulation as I believe these concepts complement each other, especially in terms of capturing the relational and emotional dimension of the diffusion of collective action. In psychology, traumas, in general, refer to the lasting and intense emotional responses to a distressing and shocking incident; they are hard to overcome emotionally and mentally with long-lasting influences and their re-experience can trigger mood and anxiety disorders (Tull, 2023). In terms of collective action, as can be also seen in the three cases, traumatic incidents such as police violence or femicides significantly shape the emotional schema of the activists, their perceptions about the world and their strategies to deal with both traumatic incidents and their mental and emotional impacts. Reexperiencing a traumatic incident that was already embedded in the emotional schema of the activists leads to activating emotions such as collective rage or indignation. Similarly, observing a foreign group experiencing a traumatic incident that resonates with the emotional schema of the receptive group causes a strong emotional resonance leading to the stimulation of feelings such as sympathy, admiration or indignation which expand the emotional channels of diffusion.

As the findings demonstrate, both these experiences in the local context and observing a foreign group experiencing a similar incident can function as interconnected sources of *moral shocks*. As previously discussed, moral shocks, similar to traumas, refer to the emotional experiences triggered by surprising and morally unacceptable incidents leading to the reevaluation of the perceived reality and acting to "set things right again" (Jasper, 2014; 2018). Incidents such as violent protest policing tactics, prosecution of activists and political figures on serious charges, or the prevention/regression of democratic rights and activities trigger these experiences that consequently motivate individuals to engage in collective action. Combined with the impact of these incidents, the stimulant group's traumatic experience that both resonates with the emotional schema and current experiences of the receptive group significantly facilitates the formation of the emotional and sympathetic connection with the stimulant group. In all cases, the receptive group's experience of traumatic incidents that cause moral shocks and the observation of the stimulant group going through similar experiences simultaneously or recently is a phenomenon that accelerates diffusion and amplifies the impact of moral shock.

This emotional and motivational impact of the stimulant group's experience can be explained by the *cathartic feelings*. Similar to the stimulating emotional impact of a protagonist's dramatic experience on an audience, the stimulant group's relatable struggle triggers cathartic feelings through indignation and/or admiration for the receptive group to engage in a similar action. Considering the findings, I believe that cathartic feelings, in fact, can be considered as one of the central emotional sources for the diffusion processes. Moral shocks motivate individuals to act to change the distressing situation in their own context yet the cathartic feelings through indignation and/or admiration both trigger the urges to emulate the stimulant group and intensify the motivational impact of the moral shocks. Through these feelings, the emotional impact of the stimulant group's tragic and relatable experiences on the receptive group intertwines with the moral shock that is mainly a consequence of the receptive group's own experiences. Considering this issue, catharsis can be considered as one of the important emotional and cognitive thresholds that transform the local protesters into the receptive group of a cross-national diffusion of collective action. Such impact of the cathartic feelings which especially triggers the further motivation and emotional energy to engage in similar collective action to the stimulant group can be traced in all three cases. In the revision of the concept of diffusion, I believe that the integration of cathartic feelings into theorization can be a fruitful step toward understanding the dynamics of cross-national diffusion more precisely. Before moving to the next proposal for revision, I would like to stress that despite its potential, the concept of *catharsis* still needs a proper conceptualization based on empirical research in social sciences. It is defined in various ways from literature studies to social psychology and I use catharsis as an inspirational base for introducing different cognitive and emotional mechanisms based on the patterns in this variety of definitions. Still, it is an eclectic and stretched concept and I would recommend working empirically on this concept to integrate it properly into the conceptual dictionary of the social movement studies.

Apart from these patterns in the mechanisms centered around *stimulation*, the findings also reveal several common conditions of *adoption*-related mechanisms and their effects. In the forms of diffusion that involve the adoption of the ideational and behavioral components of collective action, the tactical, cultural and moral resonance of the adoptable practice with the receptive group's values and objectives is a crucial criterion of this diffusion type. By referring to tactical resonance, I mean the combination of the adoptable practices' *compatibility* with the tactical legacy of the receptive group, its *feasibility* with the receptive group's resources and opportunities within their context, and the *perceived success* of the adoptable practice that

complies with the past and current objectives of the receptive group. Both in *Autumn* and *Winter* Cases, the findings show that the Catalan and Turkish adopters cautiously evaluated these different dimensions of the adoptable practices. Regarding this point, it is significant to highlight that *tactical resonance* relies on an intentional calculation of the adoptability of the stimulant group's practice, unlike the visceral characteristics of *emotional resonance*. Yet, both forms of resonances are strongly embedded in the culture and context of the receptive group as they are also interconnected with each other. Again, similar to Jasper's feeling-thinking model, there is an interconnection between these two forms of resonance: They emerge from the same cultural sources and they are not only co-essential to each other but also mutually amplifying. Their cultural roots are also intertwined with the sources of the *cultural resonance* of the adoptable practice. As Gerbaudo (2013) states and previously discussed in the theoretical discussion chapter, compatibility and resonance "between innovative protest frames and repertoires and pre-existing local values and customs" is an important facilitator for the diffusion (p. 99). Both in *Winter* and *Summer* Cases, the compatibility of the adoptable practices with the cultural context of the adopters not only enables the diffusion of collective action but also facilitates the mobilization in general by attracting bystanders and sympathizers.

The findings furthermore demonstrate that one of the significant factors in this cultural resonance process is the moral approval of the stimulant group's struggle and their adoptable practice. Similar to the role of moral resonance in the mobilization processes of social movements, the stimulant group's struggle and practices should comply with the moral principles and legacy of the receptive group and their sympathizers. This condition requires a balance between the adoptable practice's novelty and morality: Perceived novelty and/or creativity is a fundamental feature of the adoptable practice and it constitutes an essential motivation for the adoption of that practice as previously discussed. The adoptable practice requires to be novel or creative to challenge the existing ideational, emotional and behavioral practices of the receptive group as well as the status quo of the opponents yet still be morally acceptable by both the receptive group and its potential supporters. As happened in the *Autumn Case*, the adoptable practices may have an impact on the transition of the struggle into a new stage, yet even in these cases, the moral compatibility in the fundamental values and principles are precondition of this adoption process that consequently shapes the adopters' activism culture. Based on the findings, it can be claimed that moral resonance as a dimension of cultural resonance remains an important feature of the diffusion forms involving adoption. In future

research, I believe that exploring the morality dimension of the diffusion empirically would be a fruitful step in the theoretical discussions.

One of the relatively unexplored aspects of this research, which can even be considered as a limitation, is the *channels* through which these diffusion mechanisms operate. While the interviewees were asked about their ideas and practices regarding the communication channels they used during the diffusion processes, this research is not designed to empirically identify and analyze these channels and networks among the protesters. Thus, the channels of diffusion require further investigation and the findings below should only be considered empirically grounded *hypotheses* or patterned *observations*. The most visible pattern in these findings is that the social media-based indirect channels of diffusion seem to be the primary channel of diffusion, even in the cases where relational channels based on previously established activist ties or transnational connections are weak yet present. Considering that all three cases consist of mechanisms that resemble the mechanisms of *thin diffusion* introduced and elaborated on by della Porta and her colleagues (2014; 2022; 2023), these findings confirm that “instantaneous exchange of information and content of protest through the individual use of new social media” has significantly shaped the diffusion processes recently (2022, p. 3). The differentiation between the adoption and stimulation is also helpful in further understanding this change in the dynamics of diffusion processes. In all three cases, the social media platforms and other nonrelational channels of diffusion became prominent sources for the stimulation of emotional and motivational energy along with the individual urge to act and emulate regardless of the collective and organizational adoption process. As della Porta and her colleagues (2022) argue, “in a moment of high media attention, the widespread protests (...) functioned as a powerful catalyst for the diffusion of a moral shock which triggered high emotional responses” (p. 18). While the adoption of behavioral and ideational components of collective action mostly requires a more hierarchical and organizational form of action, this type of emotional and motivational stimulation emerges as a simultaneous and rhizomic pattern through the individual use of social media. Even in the cases of adoption through the activities of social movement organizations and activist groups, both collective and individual level emotional stimulation through social media and mass media happens without the need for adoptive interventions of such groups and organizations. The *Winter Case* presents a vivid example of this phenomenon: While the Las Tesis protests in Turkey were organized by several feminist platforms and activist groups, all of the interviewees including the organizers describe an individual emotional response accompanied by the urge to act when they first saw the Chilean performance on social media

platforms or communication groups. This first encounter had already triggered the motivation that preceded the tactical decision of the adoption. In this case as well as in the *Autumn case*, the previously established activist networks or preceding interactions among the adopters and transmitters were also highlighted as the channels that facilitated the adoption of tactics and strategies, yet their contribution was not emphasized as often as the energizing impact of social media related content and interactions. Similarly, while mass media still have a similar impact as the Brazilian protesters highlighted in the *Summer Case*, social media platforms and the dramatically increased visibility of the collective action scenes on these platforms were emphasized as the main factors that amplified the volume of the nonrelational channels of diffusion. Considering these findings, this research demonstrates the facilitating role of social media-based nonrelational channels especially in the cases without visible proximity and similarity factors or strong activist ties, however, a further empirical investigation utilizing relevant methodologies should be conducted to test these arguments.

Based on the discussions and findings presented, this study so far proposes the following recommendations for the ontological and theoretical revision of diffusion in social movement studies (see *Table 4*): Diffusion of collective action can be defined as the spread of the ideational, behavioral and emotional components of collective action from one location or social group to another one. In a broader ontological sense, diffusion is a social process that can be manifested through various channels, mechanisms and their effects. It consists of a social relationship consisting of multilayered resonance and identification processes between a *stimulant* group and the *receptive* group which is stimulated to act and/or emulate. This relationship can be interactive, parasocial or unidirectional and it often resembles the relationship between the protagonist and the audience. The construction of the feelings of similarity due to the perceived contextual and motivational parallels between the adopter and transmitter groups as well as the several cognitive and emotional resonance processes between these groups constitute the fundamental dynamics of this relationship. Embedded in this relationship, diffusion processes can emerge through the various mechanisms of the *adoption* of the behavioral and ideational components of collective action such as the tactics, strategies, slogans, frames, ideas, etc., and/or the *stimulation* of the motivational and emotional energy for the receptive group to act in a similar way to the stimulant group. Both *adoption* and *stimulation* consist of several types of resonance processes: For the adoption of an ideational and behavioral component of the collective action, that adoptable practice of collective action should culturally, morally and tactically resonate with the cultural context, values and objective of the receptive

group. The stimulation, on the other hand, requires a powerful emotional resonance caused by the combination of the emotional responses to the shared traumatic incidents, moral shocks and cathartic experiences. In both central mechanisms, the cathartic feelings through indignation and/or admiration are particularly significant in stimulating the emotional requirements and urges to engage in collective action and emulate the stimulant groups' practices. Combined with the growing sympathetic feelings due to the perceived contextual and motivational similarities, these cathartic feelings ignite the extra emotional energy that also stimulates the collective agency for engaging in action. These processes emerge through relational, nonrelational and mediated channels of diffusion. Particularly the nonrelational channels significantly amplify the impact of emotionally stimulating feelings both in individual and collective terms. While the proximity and similarity factors as well as the strong activist ties are important in diffusion processes, these mechanisms and channels still enable the spread of collective action across distant countries. Based on all these theoretical discussions about the revised conceptualization of diffusion, a simple typological table of diffusion mechanisms introduced in this research can also be seen in the table below (see *Table 4* and *Table 5*).

Cross-National Diffusion of Collective Action		
Subjects		
The stimulant group (Transmitters; protagonist)	The receptive group (Adopters; audience)	
Channels		
Relational	Nonrelational	Mediated
Central Mechanisms and Effects		
Stimulation of emotional and motivational energy to engage in action	Adoption of the ideational and behavioral components of collective action	
Conditions		
Perceived contextual and motivational similarities	Emotional resonance of shared traumas and/or moral shocks through cathartic experiences	(In case of adoption only) Tactical, cultural, and moral resonance of the adoptable practice

Table 4: A summary of the revised theorization of diffusion of collective action

Mechanisms	Conditions	Central Mechanisms and Effects
Cathartic resonance	Perceived contextual and motivational similarities	Stimulation of emotional and motivational energy to engage in action
	Emotional resonance of shared traumas and/or moral shocks through cathartic experiences	
Admirative Diffusion	Perceived contextual and motivational similarities	Stimulation of emotional and motivational energy to engage in action and adoption of the ideational and behavioral components of collective action
	Emotional resonance of shared traumas and/or moral shocks through cathartic experiences	
	Tactical, cultural, and moral resonance of the adoptable practice	
Affinitive Diffusion	Perceived contextual and motivational similarities	Stimulation of emotional and motivational energy to engage in action and adoption of the ideational and behavioral components of collective action
	Emotional resonance of shared traumas and/or moral shocks through cathartic experiences	
	Tactical, cultural, and moral resonance of the adoptable practice	

Table 5: Typology of Diffusion Mechanisms

These proposals aim to contribute to the discussions regarding the refinement and revision of the theory of the diffusion of collective action, and they primarily seek to reveal the emotional and cognitive dimensions of the diffusion processes across distinct contexts. The findings demonstrate that the theoretical integration of the literatures on the sociology of emotions and the diffusion of collective action can be fruitful to explore the uncharted dynamics of the recent spread of social movements and protests. Doing this, I hope to present the potentials of adopting a more agentic and cultural approach while investigating the diffusion of collective action. Such an approach can shed some light on the intensified interconnection between the local, national and transnational dimensions of the recent contentious politics. Beyond all these discussions, in a broader sense, I would like to call the theoretical implications of my efforts in this study as a humble call for the *renaissance* of diffusion studies in the field of social movements and collective action. My approach in this study is highly inspired by the early works of the pre-structuralist paradigm of social movement studies: Despite being methodologically flawed, theoretically eclectic and ideologically conservative, the works of Le Bonian paradigm or Tarde's scholarly heritage are able to grasp the fundamental interconnection between the collective action, emotions and diffusion. As already discussed in the *Theoretical Framework* chapter, collective action is framed as an inherently emotional and spreading social phenomenon. Despite being called in various forms such as *contagion*, *mimicry*, or *emulation*, the diffusion-related aspects of the collective action with an emphasis on their emotional dimensions remain a central position in the theoretical and intellectual discussions in these works. Although this thesis should just be considered as a junior researcher's early attempt with various gaps and limitations, I still humbly believe that it demonstrates the potential benefits of readdressing these ontological assumptions with cultural perspectives and empirical research utilizing proper methodologies.

It is certain that my humble attempt is the consequence of *standing on the shoulders of Giants* who have already revolutionized social movement studies in the last decades. The cultural and constructivist turn in social movement studies has successfully initiated the reunification of collective action and emotions by "bringing emotions back into the study of social movements" (Goodwin et al., 2000). As discussed in the theoretical chapter, their contributions have paved the way for understanding the micro and meso-level cultural mechanisms of the mobilization processes. Despite this turn, the diffusion corner of *the collective action-diffusion-emotion triangle* still requires more scholarly attention to achieve the ontological and theoretical integration of these three fields. The theory of diffusion of collective action has already been

well-developed with a rich methodological and theoretical toolbox, and the recent works of prominent scholars such as della Porta, Romanos or Chabot successfully prove the significant relevance and explanatory power of diffusion in social movement studies by adopting cultural approaches. These studies have not only explored the uncharted territories and changing dynamics of diffusion through their cultural lenses but have also demonstrated that diffusion is an essential dimension of recent social movements and protests. Still, I believe that the theorization of diffusion should be further studied by the social movement scholars to enable this field to accompany to accelerated “rise of emotions” in social movements and to be mutually mainstreamed in the social movement studies. I hope that the three cases in this study among many others demonstrate that diffusion should not be treated as a side topic in social movement studies but as a central phenomenon that sheds light on various processes of collective action and mobilization. Considering all these points, my main purpose in this thesis is to not only contribute to the refinition of the theory of diffusion but also to pave the way for future discussions *to bring diffusion back* into the heart of the study of social movements along with emotions.

These attempts, however, should be treated cautiously due to various limitations in this research. Firstly, the data primarily consists of 61 semi-structured in-depth interviews with the individuals and the visual/textual materials released by the activists, and this condition limits the scope of the analysis. While the main purpose of this research is to present an agentic and cultural approach that investigates the emotional, cognitive and relational mechanisms of diffusion, this methodological approach has prevented the drawing of empirical inferences regarding the structural conditions and their effects. I might criticize several assumptions of the structural understanding of diffusion, however, it would be arrogant to neglect their fundamental theoretical and methodological contributions to the theorization of diffusion. Yet, this research is unable to delve into the structural and organizational dimensions of the diffusion of collective action. The number of interviewees, which is 61 for three cases, can also be criticized as a limited amount of data to make generalizable theoretical assumptions, though the purpose of the research is exploration rather than generalization. Despite my efforts including benefiting from translators and translation software, the inadequate level of my language skills in Catalan, Spanish and Portuguese can be considered as restrictive in terms of sampling and data collection. Another important limitation, as I have discussed earlier in the *Winter Case*, is the issues of reflexivity and positionality. Although I have endeavoured to educate and train myself on feminist research methods and their possible applications by a male researcher, I

acknowledge that my self-education in this regard still continues. Therefore, there may be issues that I am not yet aware of or have not given sufficient attention to. This increased awareness regarding positionality and reflexivity has also made me concerned about the possibility of similar problems arising in the two other cases. Although I have trained myself about the contexts of these cases and made emotional and cognitive efforts to empathize with the struggles, I am not a pro-democratic Catalan activist who has experienced years of struggle, nor am I Brazilian protester who was beaten by police. No matter how hard I try, the knowledge I produce will be limited by the identities and experiences that I have never had and will never have. Acknowledging this issue, my only hope is to produce what feminist researcher Donna Haraway (1988) calls “situated knowledge”, a partial knowledge that is embedded in my social identity yet can still be helpful to understand the social world when it is combined with knowledge created by the researchers with other social identities and visions.

Being more of a methodological reflection than a limitation, the use of grounded theory for the analysis of three least-likely cases with similar characteristics has some drawbacks to be dealt with. As previously discussed in *Methodological Notes* chapter, grounded theory primarily aims at the construction of a novel theoretical framework grounded in empirical data, and one of the critical fundamentals of this methodological approach is to keep an open mind not blurred by the researcher’s hypotheses and/or arguments based on the relevant literature. Although I made a conscious effort to address the issue, I encountered an unexpected challenge after analyzing the first case. This challenge was due to the fact that the analysis of the first case might inadvertently influence the analysis of the next two cases. The mental pathways and logical inferences that I used during the analysis of the first case as well as its findings were difficult to avoid in the second and third cases due to their similarities. Several times I was unconsciously tempted to use the previous conceptual categories or frameworks that I created for the *Summer Case* in the *Winter* and *Autumn Cases*. Considering the similar conditions of all three cases, this may not be considered as a significant problem however it should also be noted that it has the potential to contradict the fundamental principles of grounded theory. Unless the analysis of several cases is conducted simultaneously, I believe that such a consequence of the consecutive analysis of more than one case should be acknowledged and treated cautiously in the comparative research designs utilizing the grounded theory approach. My solution to limit the impact of this challenge was to adopt a “constant comparative method” among the memo-writing texts to track my way of thinking and to constantly check if the new idea was original or based on the findings of the previous case. In the case of the detection of the influence of

previous findings on the analysis of the new case, I also referred to the original idea in the case chapters to increase the transparency for the reader. In future research, I hope to contribute to the methodological discussions regarding these challenges.

Although this research has limitations, I hope that it will contribute to various debates in social movement studies, especially to the revision of diffusion theory. In future research, I plan to address the limitations mentioned and build upon the theoretical initiative presented in this thesis. Additionally, based on the thesis findings, some suggestions beyond the revision of diffusion theory can be offered for future research. One suggestion would be to focus on the cross-national diffusion of protest policing strategies. Militarization of police, standardization of less-lethal arms and the popularization of coercive strategies against protesters have been characterized as the common trends of protest policing especially since the early 2000s (Atak, 2017; della Porta & Reiter, 2013). Both in democratic and undemocratic settings, the similar trends of protest policing and the escalation of violence due to these policing strategies consequently have caused parallels in the emergence and spread of the recent protests in the last fifteen years, as can also be seen in all three cases. Especially understanding the emotional and cognitive impact of similar protesting strategies on distinct groups in different contexts can be fruitful in exploring the formation of transnational and cross-national connections among them. Della Porta and Tarrow (2012) have already discussed the *interactive* and *transnational* diffusion of protest policing strategies and the new forms of protest behavior, and their approach can be further elaborated through a more cultural approach in future research.

As another suggestion, elaborating on the role of social media platforms in shaping the emotional, cognitive and relational processes of the cross-national diffusion of collective action can be useful in further revision of the diffusion theory and mobilization processes in general. There is already a rich literature on social media and social movement as discussed previously, yet the emotional and cognitive impact of these platforms in the spread of collective action still requires more empirical research considering the introduction of new communication channels such as Telegram and TikTok. The media aspect of these discussions can also be related to another debate regarding the conditions of diffusion. Especially following the easy access to visual and artistic content of the collective action and the increasing visibility of the emotionally striking scenes on social media platforms, it can be claimed that the emotional sources of diffusion have dramatically expanded in recent years. The significant expansion of the cultural dimension of the collective action with new items, artifacts and mediums requires a further analysis of their role and impact on the diffusion processes.

The relationship between diffusion and *temporality* can also be considered as another fruitful debate that should be further explored. Though it has not been elaborated on in the case analyses, all three cases consist of protests that share several characteristics of eventful protests. Della Porta (2018), one of the most prominent theorists of the concept of eventfulness in social movement studies, argues that “while routinized protests proliferate in normal times, some protests – or moments of protest – act as exogenous shocks, catalyzing intense and massive waves of protest” (p. 4). These moments of protests – or eventful protests – are transformative events due to their “highly relevant cognitive, relational and emotional impact on participants and beyond participants” (della Porta, 2008, p. 48). Discussing the significance of emotional, cognitive and relational experiences in these moments of contention, della Porta (2018) highlights that “with cognitive opening and emotional intensification spreading through a multiplication of the sites of protest, new norms and identities thus emerge” (p. 10). The concept of eventfulness does not only explain several dimensions of the protests in three cases in this study but also its emphasis on the *emotional intensification spreading through a multiplication of the sites of protest* is in substantial alignment with arguments regarding the emotional stimulation and its role in diffusion of collective action throughout this dissertation. In the light of this similarity, integrating eventfulness into the theoretical debates around diffusion and exploring the cross-national influence of the eventful protests can be a fruitful discussion to expand the scope of the temporality dimension of diffusion studies. Particularly analyzing how eventful characteristics of a protest shape the mechanisms and effects of diffusion can lead to the introduction of new conceptual and theoretical frameworks such as *eventful diffusion*.

With its findings, limitations, and suggestions, I hope that this thesis will contribute to social movement studies. Even if it can raise only a few novel questions about how to approach the phenomenon of the spread of collective action, I will consider it a significant achievement. Beyond its potential theoretical contributions, I sincerely hope that this work will help us realize that our emotions, thoughts and actions as ordinary people are not isolated and that there are others sharing them with us in distant parts of the world. The shared experiences that result in common emotions enable us to understand each other, even with people we have never met and may never meet. Even if we do not speak the same language and we live in different geographies, we are interconnected through the righteousness in our democratic struggles, the same pain and joy we experience, and our determination in the narrow streets or large squares in different countries. This thesis aims to increase awareness of these emotional and cognitive bonds as I believe that being aware of these bonds is the first step towards nourishing them. By

understanding the conditions under which these bonds are formed, social movement organizations and activist groups can use their resources more efficiently to invest in strengthening them. In this way, I hope that a stronger and wider network can be established, paving the way for joint action for common social, economic and political problems in different parts of the world. *The protests far, far away from each other, then, change the world altogether with their thinking and connected hearts.*

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9. APPENDICES

Appendix A: List of Interviews

A.1. Summer Case

1. Interviewee 1B, Male, online interview, São Paulo, 25.03.2019
2. Interviewee 2B, Female, online interview, São Paulo, 27.03.2019
3. Interviewee 3B, Female, online interview, São Paulo, 27.03.2019
4. Interviewee 4B, Male, online interview, São Paulo, 31.03.2019,
5. Interviewee 5B, Male, online interview, São Paulo, 01.04.2019
6. Interviewee 6B, Male, online interview, São Paulo, 02.04.2019
7. Interviewee 7B, Male, online interview, Brasília, 07.04.2019
8. Interviewee 8B, Female, online interview, Porto Alegre, 21.05.2019
9. Interviewee 9B, Spokesperson of MPL, online interview, São Paulo, 04.06.2019
10. Interviewee 10B, Male, online interview, São Paulo, 12.06.2019
11. Interviewee 11B, Female, online interview, Rio de Janeiro, 14.06.2019
12. Interviewee 12B, Female, online interview, Rio de Janeiro, 24.06.2019
13. Interviewee 13B, Male, online interview, Belo Horizonte, 30.06.2019

Note: The above-mentioned interviews were conducted following the approval of the submitted IRB3 form describing the research procedures concerning human participants by the Koç University Committee on Human Research.

A.1.1. Interviews conducted by Mert Kaya in June 2014

14. Interviewee 14B, Male, face-to-face interview, São Paulo
15. Interviewee 15B, Male, face-to-face interview, São Paulo
16. Interviewee 16B, Female, face-to-face interview, São Paulo

A.1.2. Interviews conducted by Mahmut Hamsici in June 2013

17. Interviewee 17B, Male, face-to-face interview, Rio de Janeiro
18. Interviewee 18B, Male, face-to-face interview, Belo Horizonte
19. Interviewee 19B, Male, face-to-face interview, São Paulo
20. Interviewee 20B, Female, face-to-face interview, Porto Allegre
21. Interviewee 21B, Female, face-to-face interview, São Paulo

- 22. Interviewee 22B, Female, face-to-face interview, Rio de Janeiro
- 23. Interviewee 23B, Male, face-to-face interview, São Paulo
- 24. Interviewee 24B, Male, face-to-face interview, São Paulo

A.2. Autumn Case

- 25. Interviewee 1C, Female, online interview, Barcelona, 12.03.2021
- 26. Interviewee 2C, Male, online interview, Barcelona, 30.01.2021
- 27. Interviewee 3C, Male, online interview, Barcelona, 26.02.2021
- 28. Interviewee 4C, Male, online interview, Barcelona, 08.03.2021
- 29. Interviewee 5C, Male, online interview, Barcelona, 25.02.2021
- 30. Interviewee 6C, Male, online interview, Barcelona, 23.03.2021
- 31. Interviewee 7C, Male, online interview, Milano, 10.04.2021
- 32. Interviewee 8C, Female, online interview, Girona, 15.04.2021
- 33. Interviewee 9C, Male, online interview, Barcelona, 16.04.2021
- 34. Interviewee 10C, Female, online interview, Barcelona, 18.04.2021
- 35. Interviewee 11C, Female, online interview, Barcelona, 19.04.2021
- 36. Interviewee 12C, Female, online interview, Barcelona, 21.04.2021
- 37. Interviewee 13C, Male, face-to-face interview, Barcelona, 23.11.2021
- 38. Interviewee 14C, Male, face-to-face interview, Barcelona, 24.11.2021
- 39. Interviewee 15C, Female, face-to-face interview, Barcelona, 24.11.2021
- 40. Interviewee 16C, Male, face-to-face interview, Barcelona, 24.11.2021
- 41. Interviewee 17C, Male, online interview, Barcelona, 25.11.2021
- 42. Interviewee 18C, Male, face-to-face interview, Barcelona, 25.11.2021
- 43. Interviewee 19C, Male, online interview, Barcelona, 25.11.2021
- 44. Interviewee 20C, Male, face-to-face interview, Barcelona, 25.11.2021
- 45. Interviewee 21C, Male, face-to-face interview, Barcelona, 26.11.2021
- 46. Interviewee 22C, Male, online interview, Barcelona, 07.12.2021
- 47. Interviewee 23C, Male, online interview, Barcelona, 07.12.2021

A.3. Winter Case

- 48. Interviewee 1T, Female, online interview, Istanbul, 18.10.2022
- 49. Interviewee 2T, Female, online interview, Istanbul, 20.10.2022

50. Interviewee 3T, Female, online interview, Izmir, 29.10.2022
51. Interviewee 4T, Female, online interview, Ankara, 04.11.2022
52. Interviewee 5T, Female, online interview, Istanbul, 04.11.2022
53. Interviewee 6T, Female, online interview, Izmir, 22.11.2022
54. Interviewee 7T, Female, online interview, Istanbul, 30.11.2022
55. Interviewee 8T, Female, face-to-face interview, Istanbul, 13.01.2023
56. Interviewee 9T, Female, face-to-face interview, Istanbul, 15.01.2023
57. Interviewee 10T, Female, online interview, Istanbul, 17.01.2023
58. Interviewee 11T, Female, online interview, Istanbul, 24.01.2023
59. Interviewee 12T, Female, online interview, Istanbul, 31.01.2023
60. Interviewee 13T, Female, online interview, Izmir, 29.08.2023
61. Interviewee 14T, Female, face-to-face interview, Istanbul, 10.01.2023

Appendix B: List of Activist Networks/Platforms/Organizations/Associations/ Political parties

The list below contains the NGOs, associations, political parties, activist networks or platforms that some interviewees describe themselves as affiliated or aligned with during the interviews. Yet, it must be emphasized that the interview findings cover the individual experience of the interviewees and do not reflect the official position of the organizations, networks or platforms below.

Name	Country
Movimento Passe Livre	Brazil
Assemblea Nacional Catalana	Spain
Esquerra Republicana de Catalunya	Spain
Fundació Josep Irla	Spain
La Candidatura di Unità Popolare	Spain
Òmnium Cultural	Spain
Kadınlar Birlikte Güçlü Platformu	Turkey
Kampüs Cadıları	Turkey
Kadın Cinayetlerini Durduracağız Platformu	Turkey
Kadın Meclisleri	Turkey
Kadın Savunması	Turkey
Mor Dayanışma	Turkey

Appendix C: Interview Guide

The list of questions below indicates the interview script that can be adapted to each case. While the list contains various questions, it should be noted that the interviews were designed in a semi-structured and in-depth format, which means that new questions were added, or existing ones were altered according to the interviewees' responses and the researcher's interests.

C.1. List of Questions

1. Can you first introduce yourself, please? What is your name, your job, and your age?
2. Can you please describe your political activities before the [year of the case] Protests? Did you actively participate in political movements, protests, or organizations before these protests? What was your political activism history before [year of the case]?
3. Can you please share your own experience of the [year of the case] Protests? When did you decide to participate in protests? What motivated you to participate in them? How did you feel when you decided to participate in protests?
4. Do you consider any differences between your previous protest experiences and the [year of the case] Protests? If so, what was new and different about these protests, from your perspective? Was it emotionally a new experience compared to your previous political experiences?
5. From your perspective, why did so many people participate in these protests? Do you think that police violence against protesters had a facilitating or demobilizing impact on mobilizations?
6. What do you think about the [Transmitter country of the case] in general? Did you follow the politics of the country?
7. What was your perception about the protests in [Transmitter country of the case]? If so, when and from where did you first hear about the protests in [Transmitter country of the case]? What did you feel and think about these protests when you heard about these protests first? Did you follow them closely?
8. Can you please how did you feel about these protests in [Transmitter country of the case]? Did you find them somehow relatable or inspirational? Did they emotionally influence you? Do you see any parallels and similarities between the protests in your country and the protests in [Transmitter country of the case]?
9. Why do you think that similar slogans and tactics or references to the protests in [Transmitter country of the case] during the protests in your country?

C.2. Additional Questions

C.2.1. Organizational questions

1. Can you also describe the escalation of protests in your country from a more organizational perspective? How did the organization react? What was the major strategy or attitude in general?

2. From an organizational perspective, what were the differences between protests [year of the case] and previous protests? How did the attitude of the organization change in 2019?
3. When your organization heard about the protests in [Transmitter country of the case], how did it react? What was the attitude towards the protests in [Transmitter country of the case]?
4. Did you use social media platforms or channels to follow or interact with the activists in [Transmitter country of the case]? If so, which platforms and channels did you use?

C.2.2. Case-specific Questions

C.2.2.1. Summer Case

1. [To MPL representative] After 2007-2008 Global Financial Crisis, many protest movements have escalated in different countries, such as Occupy Wall Street Movement, Arab Spring protests, anti-austerity protests in Europe, etc. We can say that there has been a global wave of protest since 2008. What do you think about the position of Jornadas de Junho in this protest wave, and how was it connected with the previous movements in different countries? What are the similarities between protests in different countries and Jornadas de Junho?

C.2.2.1.1. Questions asked by Mahmut Hamsici

1. Have you ever participated in any protests before?
2. Why do you participate in the current protests?
3. Is the problem only about transportation fare increases?
4. What kind of differences are there between current demonstrations and the previous public demonstrations?
5. What do you think about protests in Turkey? What is your perception of them?

C.2.2.1.2. Questions asked by Mert Kaya

The transcription of three interviews conducted by Mert Kaya is retrieved from the unpublished and extended version of the documentary *Acabou o Amor* (2017), which focuses on exploring the protesters' motivations for participating in the June 2013 protests in Brazil and the similarities and differences between these protests and Gezi protests in Turkey. Although the transcription of the documentary does not contain every question asked to the protesters in a listed format and the interviews were conducted in a more unstructured style, Kaya particularly asked protesters' perceptions and opinions about the Gezi protests by using quite similar questions to the above-mentioned ones.

C.2.2.2. Autumn Case

1. What is your perception of using more disruptive tactics in protests in the 2019 Protests? Why were they preferred?
2. What was your perception of "Tsunami Democratic"? Do you think that they had a positive or negative impact on the protests?

C.2.2.3. Winter Case

1. What did you think about the dancing during the protests? Do you think the dancing and music being so prominent had an impact on the protests?
2. What did you think about the protests being performed in parliament?

Appendix D: Fieldwork Diary and Research Journal Sample

The sample text below is taken from the fieldwork diary and research notebook that I used during the research process. The fieldwork diary is a Word document in which I provide a detailed account of my observations, experiences, feelings, and ideas pertaining to my research during the fieldwork phase. On the other hand, the research notebook is a physical notebook containing memo writing notes, diagrams, mind maps, and schematics that I took while collecting and analyzing data and being in the field. As previously mentioned in the “Methodological Notes” chapter, such textual materials were used in the analysis as complementary data sources.

D.1. Journal Diary: 08.01.2023

Today was one of the most striking and transformative experiences of my PhD journey.

Today was the first crowded feminist protest of the new year, where the aim was to gather and raise the demands/wishes for 2023. The emphasis on femicide and gender-based violence was already in the list of demands, so I was hoping to capture the same spirit in the streets in 2019 and 2020. The protest took place in Kadıköy Rıhtım, Istanbul, at 15:00 and lasted until 16:30. I attended this event in order to observe and better understand the dynamics of the feminist movement in Turkey, but also to understand my position in this contentious struggle that shapes and affects us all. When I arrived there, I was quite shocked by the number of police and, more importantly, by the borders or the wall that surrounded (or "invaded") the protest site and the protesters. The first feeling I dramatically felt was fear: I was afraid of the police intervention, I was afraid that as a male I could easily be an object of violent intervention, I was afraid of being detained, I was afraid of being exposed to police violence, I was afraid of being contained within the borders of a protest that I could not fully feel a part of. I was afraid and intimidated to go inside, so I first decided to stay outside with my smiling and calm face, deliberately unthreatening to the police. The last time I participated in a protest in Turkey was two years ago, if I am not mistaken; but it was in a small town without the fear; it was a "safe" zone. It was not like this one where you could feel the oppression in a suffocating way. I was afraid to be there, but I was also happy to be there and to experience this. A faint feeling of happiness; it was the first thing I felt positive about.

I was outside the border, but I decided to use the physical border of the protest site to put down my notebook, make some observations, and take notes (I checked the surroundings outside the border first). I realized that this was the symbol of my presence there: Feminist and LGBTQ+ activists were inside, I was outside, but I wasn't an outsider like the man watching what was going on behind me: I was on the border. Not an insider, but not an outsider either. And I realized that inside there were not only activists but also police. The state, the hegemony, the police and also the press were inside these contentious borders. And the insiders were chanting

"Come father, come husband, come state, come baton!" with a rhythm very similar to the Las Tesis protests. And yet the activists were there, within the borders, with the police, with the antagonists of the contention; the contention itself constructed the inside, it was part of the inside, the conflict and the antagonists, the other was there - metaphorically but also physically - to shape what the insider meant. And as a male academic settling on the border, watching and taking notes, I felt alienated, I felt that I could not and perhaps should not be part of what was going on inside. I felt desperate, sad. My happiness was still tenuous.

But I also realized that my decision to be physically close to the inside and to be on the border was a choice that reflected my desire to be part of this struggle. Seeing women and LGBT people chanting and, more importantly for me, laughing, smiling and hugging each other, I think I felt that this was one of those times in my life where I had to make a decision and challenge my concerns. I also felt - first as an excuse, then intentionally - that as a male it might not be appropriate to go in; I might not feel welcome. I was nervous, yet I decided to pass the police check, and I was inside. At that moment I still felt like an outsider, but I also realized that I was an outsider to the outside as well, even though I was not completely an insider. I was happy to be inside, to be physically there, singing in Turkish - and Kurdish for the first time! It was one of those moments where I felt relieved, I felt safe, I felt happy, I felt liberated there, inside.

When I took the first pictures, my hand was shaking. I was physically nervous. But throughout the protest, my body also adopted the environment of the protest; the fear and anxiety were gone; there was only joy and energy. I felt that. I went out when I first saw that there was a movement of the police, so the fear struck again and I did not want to be there inside the "walls". So I left and came back to my previous position outside the border.

Maybe it is a privilege of being a male to have the chance to go outside so easily - not "maybe", but "surely".

But even though I went out mostly out of fear, I felt different. I was not so afraid or worried anymore, I sang silently and felt energized when I was at the border. Then I decided to go back in again, with the idea that it might be dangerous because of possible police intervention. But this time I was not afraid, I was totally happy and energized to be there, chanting again, taking pictures. I felt liberated, I felt a little bit more part of it, maybe not part of it, but emotionally more of it. I liked that feeling very much. I embraced it. I hope to keep it alive.

Apart from these personal experiences, my participation in the protest demonstrated that gender-based violence and femicide still remain as a central topic in the feminist struggle, and it consists of the backbone of the demands. Similar to the Las Tesis protests, explicit and verbal accusations of political actors and state institutions by pointing the institutional and systematic problem of gender-based violence through rhythmic chants and songs is an important repertoire in the protests. Even if it is not inherited from Las Tesis, I think that it is important to see how popular this repertoire is and how its popularity can be an important factor for the adoption and popularization of Las Tesis performance in Turkey.

D.2.1. Research Notebook: 08.01.2023 (Pages from the fieldwork in Turkey, 2023)

15:08 - 08.01.23

Zylen dan gals le senet
Kernde zyde dle

'In Zyd kedi' - spile

- Zylen dende eht zt jhr:
Gret nyan
↳ Kehr?
↳ Geracke hgen!!
↳ Erhst dnd ~~dehnen~~
Gehnen?

* Sonel →

Gich dKzuri dle

'Isch 123.7 sckusck vnganz

AUGUST

'In Zyd kedi' - spile

Monday 1

Pedonne
P-hell
nede

Tuesday 2

P-hell
Hollenn
Hydenn

Wednesday 3

"Bunde nunde p-hellenn?"

Peliste kellen. Kedi-le jnen ude

Thursday 4

7.11.11
7.11.11

(Dure)

Friday 5

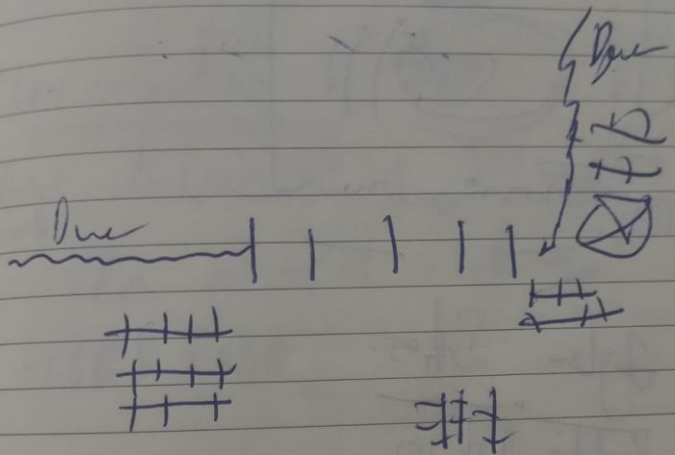
11.07

Saturday 6

Sunday 7

Gesck eckge

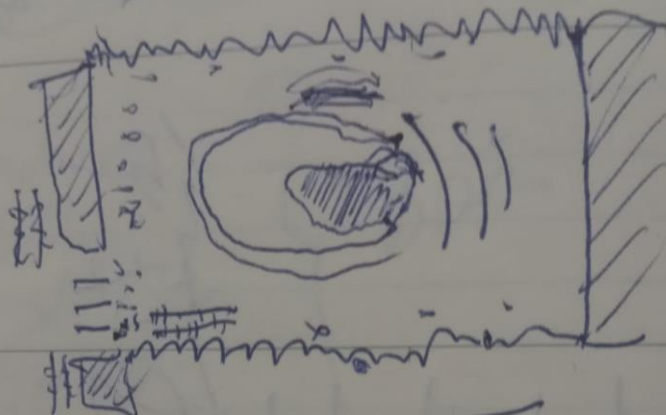
keine besseren erhalten. App. ist defekt.
S. 116 an defekt.



'Dünya zindanıdır, her bir insan bir tane hapisli'

"Gedächtnis d. d. 25. 10. 1911
1. 1. 1912. 1. 1. 1913. 1. 1. 1914."

AUGUST

Monday
8

Tuesday
9

27th Dec.

Wednesday
10

Editing Rhythm

15:00 - 16:30 ~

08.01.2021

Thursday
11

Appendix E: Complementary Visual Data Sources

The data below consist of a sample of Youtube video footage from the protests in the adopter countries, shared by activists or alternative media channels (or, in the absence of both, a mainstream media channel), and the printed materials such as flyers that were distributed by the activists.

E.1. Summer Case

E.1.1. Protesters chanting “Acabou o amor isso aqui vai virar Turquia” in Porto Alegre during 2013 Protests

Piratoshi Namakonha. (2013). *Acabou o amor isso aqui vai virar Turquia - Protesto 13/06 - Porto Alegre* [Video]. Youtube. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=-UhfB2Gt00U>

E.1.2. Protesters chanting “Acabou o amor isso aqui vai virar Turquia” in Rio de Janeiro during 2013 Protests

Eurritimia. (2013). *"Acabou o amor..."* [Video]. Youtube. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=lH-hkyJA1yE>

E.2. Autumn Case

E.2.1. Occupation of Barcelona el Prat Airport in 2019 Protests

Pixelker. (2019). *Barcelona Aeroport T1 - Tsunami Democràtic* [Video]. Youtube. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=p6XnNt5wmfo>

canal independència catalana. (2019). *Aeroport del Prat colapsat per tsunami democràtic* [Video]. Youtube. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=iTDGFIjVCT4>

NacióTV. (2019). *Tsunami Democràtic: el bloqueig de l'aeroport del Prat, resumit en dos minuts* [Video]. Youtube. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=QWIFwRLgseo>

E.3. Winter Case

E.3.1. Las Tesis Protests in Beşiktaş, Istanbul

Cemre Demircioğlu. (2019). *Kadınlar Las Tesis dalgasını yaymak için Beşiktaş'taydı.* [Video]. Youtube. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=G3ZwqD93ZIk>

E.3.2. Las Tesis Protests in Kadıköy, Istanbul

Elif Yiğit. (2020). *Las Tesis Istanbul (Elif Yiğit-Betül Fidan)* [Video]. Youtube. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=0DwHhfSVpYc>

E.3.3. Las Tesis Protests in Ankara

SolfasolTV. (2019). *"Asla Yalnız Yürümeyeceksin!"* [Video]. Youtube. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=aXnb_CHx6nU

E.3.4. Las Tesis Protests in Izmir

euronews (Türkçe). (2019). *Video: 'Las Tesis' İstanbul ve Ankara'nın ardından İzmir'de* [Video]. Youtube. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=k9hLiHiv64U>

E.4 Flyers referring to the 2019 Hong Kong Protests during the 2019 Protests in Catalonia (Source: Pont Aeri BCN HK [@HkPont], 2019)

PONT AERI HONG KONG - BCN N°1

“Vosaltres ens heu ensenyat que l'acció pacífica no dona resultat”

*pintada apareguda al 30 minuts de TV3 “Tot o res”,
sobre la revolta de Hong Kong*

“Sols el poble salva al poble”

En els darrers anys (i sempre al llarg de la història) quan el poble ha volgut la llibertat hi ha hagut líders que han intentat aturar-lo, que han cridat a la calma i ens han desmobilitzat. No podem confiar en persones que són capaces de vendre'ns i deixar-nos tirades.

És per això que hem de ser capaces de construir les nostres pròpies estructures autoorganitzatives (com per exemple els CDR's), on el poble puguem prendre les decisions del nostre futur, sense dependre de partits polítics. És en aquestes estructures on creem la força que ens permet lluitar i alliberar-nos. Sense la capacitat de decidir per nosaltres mateixos l'estratègia i els objectius sols serem carn de canó en mans dels interessos de les elits (espanyoles, catalanes o de més enllà).

En quant a la lluita al carrer. Si som prou gent i prou organitzada som capaces de qualsevol cosa, però cal pensar de forma estratègica i no improvisar. En cada moment cal pensar quins són els nostres objectius, què volem aconseguir i valorar els riscos/costos i els beneficis/guany de cada acció.

Per això l'enfrontament amb la policia no pot ser un

objectiu en si mateix. Si podem assolir els nostres objectius sense enfrontar-nos amb ella fem-ho. Però evidentment la policia i altres cossos repressius s'interposaran entre nosaltres i la llibertat. Per això enfrontar-se a la policia és la conseqüència de la seva repressió i caldrà organitzar-se per defensar-se i guanyar. Tot i això és important no perdre de vista que els nostres objectius van molt més enllà d'aquest enfrontament i no capficar-nos.

Quins poden ser els objectius? La llibertat i la millora de les condicions de vida de tothom, acabant amb les injustícies econòmiques, socials i amb l'opressió.

Una estratègia per debilitar l'Estat és atacar totes aquestes empreses i institucions que el sustenten: La Caixa i altres bancs, Mercadona, el Corte Inglés, institucions estatals com l'Agència tributària i un llarg etc... L'altra estratègia és millorar de forma directa les condicions del nostre poble: aixecant barreres de peatges, metro o trens per a que siguin gratuïtes; okupant cases per a famílies sense llar, organitzant-nos per aturar desnonaments, etc...

Busquem informació, organitzem-nos, fem-nos forts i lluitem.

Camaradas de fuera de Catalunya:

¡Que se extienda la revuelta!

La revuelta que estamos viviendo en Catalunya va mucho más allá de la cuestión nacional. Como en los movimientos de liberación del siglo XIX y XX, también dentro de este magma que aglutina la opción nacional catalana, hay una enorme diversidad. El peligro es que solo cambie el color de los amos.

No en vano, el 80% de la población catalana quiere un referéndum, aunque sea para votar que no, y está en contra de la sentencia del Procés. Lo que tanto ahora, durante esta semana loca de octubre de 2019, como los días 1 y 3 de octubre 2017, se ha puesto sobre la mesa es la impugnación de un orden, un régimen, un estado de cosas que busca impedir a toda costa que algo diferente pueda siquiera imaginarse.

El bloqueo del aeropuerto, los cortes generalizados de calles y autopistas, las barricadas, el fuego y las prácticas de autodefensa son signos de una impugnación con visos de enmienda a la totalidad. Silbar a Rufián es impugnar también a quien tiene ahora las riendas del Procés, es impugnar el soterrado acuerdo entre el PSOE y ERC para restaurar la gobernabilidad.

Cuando ante la feroz represión, las órdenes de prisión preventiva, los centenares de heridos y los ojos perdidos de los chavales Errejón dice que “jueces y policías hacen su trabajo”, es porque el ciclo de la nueva política está muerto.

Camaradas de fuera de Catalunya, la furia juvenil callejera es un vómito irreductible al prosaico deseo de un nuevo Estado, es un grito por el futuro robado, el mismo grito que aquí y allí suele clamar ahogadamente contra los desahucios, la represión, las casas de apuestas y toda una vida de mierda.

Camaradas, esto es un llamamiento a extender la revuelta, allí donde estéis. Para nosotros está claro que no hay vuelta atrás. Es aquí y ahora. Entre todos podemos romper el hechizo nacional y tumbar este régimen de miseria heredado del franquismo, ese fascismo patrio incrustado en las instituciones que emerge cada vez que el orden se ve amenazado. Nosotras solas no podemos. Os necesitamos. Nos necesitamos.

Esto es una revuelta, y como toda revuelta se sabe dónde empieza pero no dónde acaba.

¡Rompamos el cerco! ¡Viva la revuelta!



AP Photo/Emilio Morenatti





EN LEGÍTIMA AUTODEFENSA



PROTEGIR-SE COSTA
MOLT POC I EVITA
QUE ENS FACIN MAL

**NOMÉS PER ALGUNES
NO S'HI VAL
EXIGIM
AMNISTIA TOTAL**

LLIBRETAT PER LES **40** PRESES POLÍTQUES

**PONT AERI
HONG KONG - BCN**



EN LEGÍTIMA AUTODEFENSA

#BEWATERMYFRIEND "FLUID, FLEXIBLE, AND FAST-MOVING"



b @xwanderlust_ · 13 d'oct.

Recordeu el 30 minuts de Hong Kong. Hem ser com aigua, tornar boja a la policia i a l'Estat. Si som molts més que ells imagineu-vos el caos que creariem amb moltíssimes convocatòries movent-se de lloc constantment

Hong Kong: técnicas de los manifestantes

Métodos utilizados para contrarrestar el efecto de los gases lacrimógenos, las pelotas de goma o el gas pimienta que utiliza la policía

Máscara para los ojos
o gafas de piscina

Suero
fisiológico
para enjuagar
los ojos

Conos de tráfico
para tapar las granadas
lacrimógenas

Botellas de agua
vertidas en el cono
para apagar la granada

Celofán
enrollado alrededor de brazos y piernas
para evitar las irritaciones provocadas por
los gases lacrimógenos

© AFP

Un manifestante el 5 de agosto. Foto AFP/Isaac Lawrence

Casco

Máscara
respiratoria

Guantes ignífugos
para agarrar botes
candentes de gases
lacrimógenos
lanzados por
la policía

Tapas de ollas
y sartenes
para apagar
los gases

Paraguas
contra las pelotas
de goma y el gas
pimienta



CNI Catalunya @CNICatalunya · 15 d'oct.

Venen? Te'n vas. Se'n van? Hi tornes. O ho repeteixes 1km més lluny. I així fins que s'esgotin

MÒBILS & SMARTPHONES

- Mòbil carregat 100% abans de sortir de casa, bateria externa.
- Mode avió quan no es faci servir. Un mòbil actiu per grup.
- Instal·la Telegram i informa't per canals >>>

-L'Applicació que ens cal és la de Hong Kong: decidir entre totes on i quan és l'acció. NO volem ser teledirigits per #TsunamiDemocràtic.

@HKmaplive >



CANALS A SEGUIR:

<https://t.me/tsunamid>
<https://t.me/berlustinho>
https://t.me/CDR_Catalunya
<https://t.me/alertasolidaria>
<https://t.me/laforja>
<https://t.me/sepcnacional>
<https://t.me/elPoble>
<https://t.me/catomplmeu>
<https://t.me/lalerta>
<https://t.me/assemblea>
<https://t.me/picnicxrepublika>
<https://t.me/anoncatalonia>

#STOPBALESDEGOMA



PROTEGIR-SE COSTA
MOLT POC I EVITA
QUE ENS FACIN MAL

FUCKING CAMERAS MAN

**ANAR AMB LA CARA TAPADA
NOMÉS ÉS PROPI DE DELINQUENTS?**

No. Si no protegeixes la teva identitat, pots patir represàlies: la policia fa servir càmeres i sistemes informàtics per nodrir els seus fitxers polítics.

Els primers en tapar-se la cara són ells, tot i actuar sota ordres.

+FAQS



PONT AERI HONG KONG - BCN N°2

"El puny amunt per qui no pot estar a casa"

Ara que tot comença

Set anys de procés cívic i pacífic han donat cent anys de presó i una enorme sensació d'impotència. França, l'Equador, Xile i Hong Kong ens han ensenyat que **dues setmanes de bloqueig, barricades i foc poden fer recular lleis, governs i FMI**. A tot arreu el jovent prenem la revolta en les nostres mans. Perquè nosaltres ens prenem seriosament la merda de vida que ens volem deixar en herència. És el món sencer el que és irrespirable.

No volem més promeses electorals, estem farts. El govern català i el govern espanyol tenen un problema. Ja no esperem res de vosaltres. Pensàveu que se'ns podia humiliar, que se'ns podia pegar i que ens quedàrem a casa? **Ara estem tornant els cops que van rebre les nostres àvies**. Com hem dit al carrer: "Ens superen més les ganes de canviar la societat que la por que tenim al cos".

No és que no tinguem objectius. En tenim tants que no caben dins dels vostres programes de paper mullat. És la revolta la que obre el camí i més lluny ens porta, la que ens lliga a les amigues i als amics i ressona al món sencer. **El que està clar, és que no volem viure el vostre feixisme. Ni aquí, ni a Madrid, ni enlloc.**

És el més bonic que hem viscut mai. Milers i milers de persones que no deixàvem d'arribar a l'aeroport, els somriures, les abraçades, els ulls plens de llum. **Ja no podem tornar a ser els d'abans**, és tota una vida la que hem descobert darrera la barricada i el que estem fent és explorar-la.

No tenim por del futur, és el vostre futur el que té por de nosaltres. Ara ja hem començat.



Foto: Jordi Borràs

PONT AERI

HONG KONG - BCN N°3

"El puny amunt per qui no pot estar a casa"

Ara que tot comença

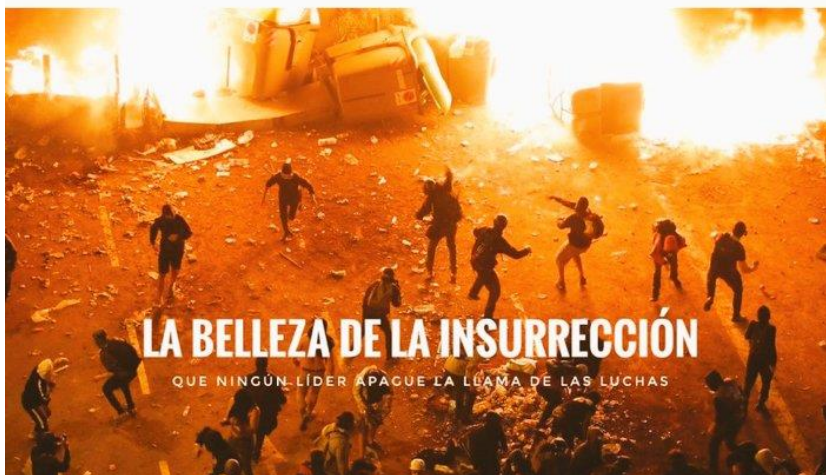
Set anys de procés cívic i pacífic han donat cent anys de presó i una enorme sensació d'impotència. França, l'Equador, Xile i Hong Kong ens han ensenyat que **dues setmanes de bloqueig, barricades i foc poden fer recular lleis, governs i FMI**. A tot arreu el jovent prenem la revolta en les nostres mans. Perquè nosaltres ens prenem seriosament la merda de vida que ens volem deixar en herència. És el món sencer el que és irrespirable.

No volem més promeses electorals, estem farts. El govern català i el govern espanyol tenen un problema. Ja no esperem res de vosaltres. Pensàveu que se'ns podia humiliar, que se'ns podia pegar i que ens quedaríem a casa? **Ara estem tornant els cops que van rebre les nostres àvies**. Com hem dit al carrer: "Ens superen més les ganes de canviar la societat que la por que tenim al cos".

No és que no tinguem objectius. En tenim tants que no caben dins dels vostres programes de paper mullat. És la revolta la que obre el camí i més lluny ens porta, la que ens lliga a les amigues i als amics i ressona al món sencer. **El que està clar, és que no volem viure el vostre feixisme. Ni aquí, ni a Madrid, ni enlloc.**

És el més bonic que hem viscut mai. Milers i milers de persones que no deixàvem d'arribar a l'aeroport, els somriures, les abraçades, els ulls plens de llum. **Ja no podem tornar a ser els d'abans**, és tota una vida la que hem descobert darrera la barricada i el que estem fent és explorar-la.

No tenim por del futur, és el vostre futur el que té por de nosaltres. Ara ja hem començat.



SEGONA SETMANA

Nosaltres, si desitgem algun honor, és el de figurar per a la posteritat dins la història dels cataclismes.

Le Grand Jeu

Ruïna. Espanya és una ruïna. El vent recorre el buit deixat pels **Grandes de España**. Erms saquejats, segons la tradició, per cada generació governant, per cada generació de negociants i tramposos. Només trencades, les espanyes poden assajar una recomposició a l'alçada del seu art i les seves festes. Hong Kong, Xile, l'Equador, Haití, el Líban i la França de les **armilles grogues** demostren que és l'ordre mateix que governa el planeta el que és una ruïna. Una ruïna ferotge, que protegeix les seves bombolles de sabó com si fossin de diamant.

Consejo de Tumultos. Durant el segle XVI va esclatar als Països Baixos una revolta contra la corona espanyola. Es demanava llibertat de culte. **Poder decidir** passar-se al protestantisme. El 1556, Felip II va enviar al Duc d'Alba per contenir la **sedició**. El que va fer és implantar un règim de terror i repressió sota una institució anomenada **Consejo de Tumultos**. Davant les protestes d'arbitrarietat, Fernando Álvarez de Toledo, el duc, responia: "tanto mejor: si han muerto por equivocación, será un mártir e irá directamente al cielo". El príncep d'Orange va aixecar llavors la seva divisa, "je maintiendrai" (no recularé), i inicià la seva campanya amb els **pordioseros del mar**, gent comú que realitzava ràpides concentracions i dispersions en els canals. L'Imperi espanyol es va empanatgar allà vuitanta anys de guerra, va perdre els territoris i començà el seu esfondrament. Avui vol reproduir una estratègia de terror i repressió.

Bloquejar-ho tot. Aquesta és la intuïció primera de la revolta catalana. El bloqueig de l'aeroport va mostrar, a

qui ho volia veure, el caràcter il·lusionari de la normalitat. El bloqueig de carrers, autopistes i vies de tren s'està duent a terme a tot el territori català. Lloc de trobada i elaboració, enginy de cossos i barricades. —Aquesta segona setmana se segueix inventant. Ja són dos els arbres serrats sobre les vies, uns simples ganxos sobre la catenària van bloquejar a França i Alemanya la circulació de trens d'alta velocitat.

No esperem res - ara que tot comença. El jovent és qui està liderant la revolta arreu del món. "Se'ns han acabat els somriures". "Ara plantem cara, no ens agrada córrer". "Som per cada cop que han tocat les nostres àvies". "L'únic que fem és autodefensa. Ens supera més les ganes de canviar la societat que la por que tenim al cos". —Aquesta segona setmana han començat els bloquejos i ocupacions de les universitats d'arreu de Catalunya. Algunes les han desfet grups d'extrema dreta i estudiants cívics. No defallim. Si alguna d'aquestes ocupacions pren, pot crear les bases per intensificar la circulació i els encontres entre diferents fraccions i grups de la revolta.

Participar de la revolta. Com succeix arreu del món, les reivindicacions que obren la revolta no ho resolen tot. Què són trenta cèntims més o menys? Què fa un Estat de més o de menys? Són les gotes que fan vessar el got d'una realitat que no és capitalista. Un cop en el desbordament, són les forces en presència les que determinen l'obertura de la situació. És a dir, el sentit del que passa i del que s'interromp. —La vida que s'obre en la revolta no només trenca la normalitat, trenca la separació i la indiferència que nodreix



el gran sofriment que ens habita. Ara que tot comença, és el moment de mantenir i examplar els vincles que s'han intensificat darrere les barrícades. Cadascuna de nosaltres comparteix els ulls plens de llum i el desig de canviar ho tot construint ponts. És fer atenció al que ja s'està fent: intensificar els vincles d'amistat, tant dins les forces anònimes que prenen els carrers, com entre les vides que trenen els grups que s'organitzen arreu.

Comitès locals. Alguns voldrien que la revolta fos una cosa del poble català. Aquestes són idees romàntiques i burgeses del segle XIX. A la revolta hi ha fragments de poble. Són fragments prou massius i determinats com per esberrar la normalitat i trencar el tauler de joc. Trencar el joc, escombrar la beatificació de la misèria que sancionen els mossos del govern català i la policia nacional del govern espanyol. —Són els comitès de defensa locals, els CDR i els grups organitzats a barris i pobles els que tenen la iniciativa. Per més que semblin dispersos i inconsistents, és en cada indret on la imaginació política pot desbordar uns governs que no poden res enfront de dos milions de cossos que s'organitzen. —No estem soles. Tot el patiment i tota la tristesa que degarra la nostra existència clamen per tramair aliances d'autodefensa.

Destituïció - Pensar, combatre, construir. Deia Rosa Luxemburg que no és la vaga general la que crea la revolució sinó la revolució la que desencadena la vaga general. Perquè tota revolució és un procés que es pren el seu temps fins a fer-se perceptible per a tota una època. És el mateix que ocorre amb tot procés destituïent, que és la sortida més intel·ligent a la catàstrofe ecològica i existencial que arrossega el nostre món. —Cap futur d'estabilitat no ens espera. La destituïció de l'estat de coses present no només és destrucció, és al mateix temps obertura de llocs i creació de formes, és un procés que construeix. Dins de la revolta contra aquest món, que salta de país a país i corre de ciutat en ciutat, el procés destituïent segueix el seu curs. La destituïció significa també construir una percepció compartida de com

el que no és, és possible: tot el que hem vist aquests dies, tot el que podem imaginar contra l'administració total que governa la perpetuació del desastre.

Tout le monde deteste la police. A tot arreu, la policia s'alça com un obstacle entre la revolta i els amos del món. A Catalunya i Barcelona s'ha fet evident per a qualsevol. Ha trencat els reflexos de la por que les televisions traspunen com aparells de govern que són. La por a l'altre i la por al pobre. Tòthom detesta la policia. La policia que ha arrencat quatre ulls en set dies. Que ha intentat atropellar-nos i en una ocasió ho ha aconseguit. Que reparteix hosties a tort i a dret i detencions indiscriminades. —La vella tàctica de Hong Kong, ser foc i aigua, entrar, cremar i enretirar-se, ser inaprehensible com l'aigua i contundent com el foc, durant mesos, demostra un cop més la inanitat de la institució policial front a la intel·ligència estratègica de milers d'insurgents. "Nosaltres som policies i podem fer el que vulguem. Som la llei", declaraven l'altre dia a una periodista. Si la policia és la llei, la revolta és la força sense nom que agafa les regnes per a una altra manera de viure en aquest món.

Hoy acaba el régimen. Porque este mundo está acabado. La insostenible levedad con que lo insostenible nos vive se muestra con la gravedad extrema que desde siempre arrastramos. El rostro que llama a la revuelta es anónimo. Como el agua llenar, hasta desbordar. Y retirarse. Como el fuego arder súbitamente, calcinar. Y volatilizarse.

Una y otra vez. Miles de cuerpos, de recuerdos, de seres partidos. Una y otra vez todos los días de fiesta. La fiesta es la insurrección de los cuerpos, miradas, presencias. Contar sin contar.

Porque la insurrección frente al colapso es la única fiesta posible. ¿Qué vendrá después?

Después fue ayer. Ayer ya era tarde. Hoy acaba el régimen. Mañana es pura confianza en la vida común y corriente que arde a flor de piel cuando os abrazos.



LEGAL I SEGURETAT

FIL DE CONSELLS DE SEGURETAT:
Si veus una agressió o una detenció, mantingues la calma i intenta gravar-ho amb el mòbil; busca amics o coneguts de la persona o contacta amb nosaltres per facilitar les teves dades de contacte i el material gràfic i NO HO ESBORRIS.

10:51 a.m. · 29 set. 2018 · Twitter for Android

1,6m retuits · 1,2m agradaments

Alerta Solidaria @AlertaSolidaria · 29 set. 2018
En resposta a @AlertaSolidaria
En cas de detenció:
✓ Tria d'informar dels motius de la detenció de forma clara, concreta i que puguis entendre.
✓ Tens dret a que et portin al metge i deixar constància del teu estat físic.
✓ La visita mèdica ha de ser sense presència policial.

Alerta Solidaria @AlertaSolidaria · 29 set. 2018
✓ NO DECLARIS NI ENTRES EN DIALOG AMB LA POLICIA
✓ Apaga el mòbil i qualsevol dispositiu digital
✓ Tens dret a comunicar la teva distància a una persona
✓ NO signis cap document
✓ NO lloquis cap objecte
✓ NO autoritzis proves d'ADN
✓ NO autoritzis fotos de tatuatges

Alerta Solidaria @AlertaSolidaria · 29 set. 2018
En cas d'identificació:
✓ Tria d'informar dels motius de la identificació.
✓ NO donis més informació de la que consta al DNI
✓ NO donis mai el teu número de telèfon, correu electrònic, etc.
✓ NO signis cap document.

Trenquem amb el silenci, acabem amb la impunitat!

IRIDIA @centro_IRIDIA · 7 h
En el marc de @SomDefensores prestem assistència gratuïta psicojurídica a persones que hagin sofert violència policial.

Pots telefonar-nos al 693287323. T'atendrem a partir de les 9h.

És important que vegis al metge i si hi ha imatges les conservis en format original.

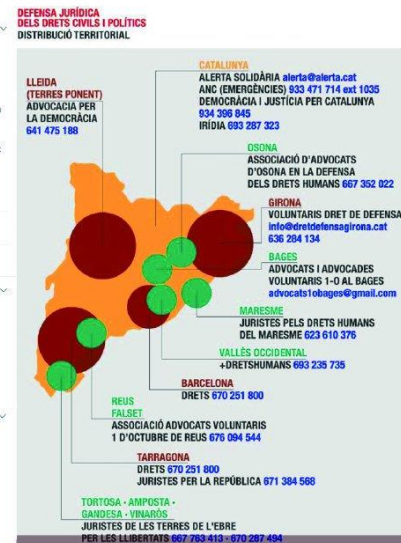
SomDefensores @SomDefensores · 9 h
En #SomDefensores seguim operatives.

En caso de detención: 645715070
En caso de violencia policial: 693287323 (a partir de las 9h)

Estamos gestionando denuncias sin parar.
Ayer observamos cargas desproporcionadas.
#Actualización de casos de agresiones atendidos

3 · 46 · 31

Muestra el fil



EMERGENCIA JURÍDICA

ASSISTÈNCIA GRATUÏTA PER A EMERGENCIES
93 347 17 14
EXT. 1035

LLIBERTAT DETINGUDES 23S

LLIBERTAT PRESOS POLÍTICS!