

PEKİŞMİŞ REPERTUAR KİMLİKLER: SİYASİ ŞİDDETE, TERÖRİZME GİDEN YOLLAR*

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Özet: *Siyasi şiddete ve terörizme giden yollar olarak pekişmiş repertuar kimlikleri anlamaya çalıştığımız bu makale altı bölümden oluşmaktadır. İlk olarak, devletin repertuar kimliklerin oluşumundaki rolünü anlamak için inşacı devlet yaklaşımı analiz edilecektir. İkinci olarak, siyasi şiddete ve terörizme giden yollar olarak pekişmiş repertuar kimlikleri açıklanacaktır. Üçüncü olarak, repertuarın kimlik oluşumundaki etkileri tartışılacaktır. Dördüncü olarak, repertuar ile çerçeveleme süreci arasındaki karşılıklı ilişki incelenecektir. Beşinci olarak, bu makale organizasyon şekli ile repertuar arasındaki ilişkiyi ele alacaktır. Son olarak, bu çalışma repertuarın terörizme ve siyasi şiddete giden yollar olarak kimlik oluşumlarındaki etkilerini değerlendirecektir.*

Anahtar Kelimeler: *Repertuar, Kimlik, Siyasi Şiddet, Terörizm.*

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* Bu çalışma *Repertoire Identities in Islamist Movements in Turkey and Egypt* adlı doktora tezinden üretilmiştir.

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Enhanced Repertoire Identities: Pathways toward Political Violence, Terrorism

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Abstract: *As we are concerned with prompting an understanding of enhanced repertoire identities as a pathway toward terrorism, our remarks will fall under six headings. First, there is to be clarified state constructionist perspectives to understand state's role on the formation of terrorist organizations. Secondly, there is to be examined enhanced repertoire identity as a pathway toward political violence and terrorism. Thirdly, there are discussions that arise from the effects of repertoires on identity formation. Fourthly, we will notice the interactional relationships between repertoires and framing process. Fifthly, this paper will analyze the relationships between repertoires and organizational types. Finally this work will evaluate the influences of repertoires on the formation of identity as pathways toward political violence and terrorism.*

Keywords: *Repertoire, Identity, Political Violence, Terrorism.*

I. INTRODUCTION

The term of 'terrorism' has different meanings. Since its primarily meaning is political violence or insurgency (Ozdamar, 90, 2008), we accept this meaning and we will use terrorism as a synonym for political violence in this paper. Those who are defined as terrorists commit political violence such as blasting a bomb or killing people for political purposes.

Democracy and terrorism are in the opposite edges of political continuum. On the one hand, democracy at least liberal democracy is inclusive and "effectively offers the norms values, motivations, and institutions" that prevent the development of terrorist organizations although this is not to say that democratic countries do not suffer from terrorism. However, in democratic countries, the distinguished groups can make terrorist acts at a much lower level since "inclusive, representative democratic systems offers outlets to identify and address social and economic inequalities effectively enough to make terrorism as a political act moot and, when engaged in, largely ineffective. In a fully democratic society, terrorism is neither encouraged nor viewed as a logical course of action to achieve a group's end (Crotty, 9, 2005)."

On the other hand, terrorist organizations emerge in autocratic, authoritarian, and totalitarian states. Such states provide the economic,

religious, ethnic, or regional bases for extremism to develop and terrorism to take root. In this paper, I will demonstrate the role of autocratic states in providing the conditions by which terrorist organizations can emerge. The paper employs state-constructionist theory to find out states' role in identity change in social movements from social movements to terrorist organizations. The state constructionist perspective emphasizes the role of states in shaping the identities, goals, strategies, social ties, and emotions of actors in civil society (Goodwin, 2001). The identities of social movements can produce radical or liberal discourses and the state's constructionist role in the formation of these identities is inevitable. By repressing social movements and forcing them to use violence and then framing them as radical movements, undemocratic states construct repertoire identities of these movements. On the other hand, by allowing social movements to access state policies and encouraging them to become political parties, democratic states prevent the development of terrorist organizations.

II. STATE CONSTRUCTIONIST PERSPECTIVE

There are many theoretical approaches to understand terrorism. I won't review these theories rather I will try to demonstrate the role of state in the emergence of terrorist organizations. The role of state gains importance to understand terrorist act because the emergence of terrorist organizations depends "in large part upon how incumbent governments respond movements and to the broader social problems (Goodwin, 19)." Specifically, if ruling elites can respond in a flexible and creative ways to these insurgents and problems, then terrorist organizations cannot emerge or easily they can be adaptive to the system. This awareness leads us to examine the state-centered approach.

There are three kinds of state-centered perspective: (1) state-autonomy perspective, (2) states' infrastructural power perspective and (3) state constructionist perspective. According to those scholars who support state autonomy perspective, the state officials or state managers are autonomous from the dominant social class, civil society more generally, or other states (Goodwin, 2001, 37). On the contrary to Marxian and liberal perspectives, this perspective emphasizes the variable autonomy of politicians, bureaucrats, and military officers because they "may develop identities, interests, ideologies, and (ultimately) lines of action that are very different

from those organized groups in civil society or the officials of other states (Goodwin, 2001, 37).”

The second statist approach, infrastructural approach, pays attention to “the actual material and organizational capacity (or lack thereof) of state officials to implement successfully their political agenda, even in the face of opposition from powerful actors in civil society or from other states (Goodwin, 2001, 38).” That perspective emphasizes the variations in “state’s fiscal resources, military power, and organizational reach (or penetration) into civil society (Goodwin, 2001, 38).” Although state autonomy and state capacity approaches emphasize two different dimensions of the state, they are interdependent and complete each other.

Finally, state constructionist perspective emphasizes “how states shape the very identities, goals, strategies, social ties, ideas, and even emotions of actors in civil society (Goodwin, 2001, 39).” Thus, that perspective focuses on states’ autonomy and capability to construct or constitute various social forces and institutions that are (falsely) conceptualized as wholly exterior to states (Goodwin, 2001).

Although final perspective, state constructionist perspective, depends on other two dimensions of the state, autonomy and infrastructure, it is analytically different from others. Especially, the final perspective helps us to understand the formation of enhanced repertoire identities in the social movements. Although these identities can be represented as political parties or rebellious movements, the state’s constructionist role in the formation of those identities is inevitable. By repressing social movements and forcing them to use violence and then, framing them as terrorist movements, undemocratic states, partly construct enhanced repertoire identities of these movements. However, these identities are embedded in the repertoires which emerge from the struggle and cultural background. Thus, only state constructionist approach is not enough to understand the identity formation of terrorist organizations. In addition to states’ structures, we need to examine repertoires of contention, ideological frames and mobilization structures because rather than being an outcome of fixed circumstances, they are “a dynamic of interaction, adaptation, and intended and unintended consequences that are likely to shape the strategies of movements over time (Hafez, 2003, 31).” Thus, rather than as why does a movement become a terrorist organization, a more appropriate question is what causal

mechanisms and the processes lead those movements to become terrorist organizations.

If the political system denies the social movement substantive access to state institutions and violently repress those movements, the members of movements are likely to adopt exclusive, loosely structured organizations and promote anti-systemic ideological frames.

If rebellious social movements splinter into exclusive, loosely structured organizations that adopt anti-systemic frames, their rebellions are likely to turn into protracted conflicts and produce patterns of anti-civilian violence (Hafez, 2003, 204).

As we see, although Hafez describes the processes by which identity shift occurs, from social movements to terrorist organizations, which use violence, he is not interested in explaining the causal mechanism that explains how that identity shift happens. Our main argument is that social movements have to use violence against state when the state denies the social movement substantive access to state institutions and violently repress those movements. More importantly, after starting to use violence as a repertoire, the social movements start to change their identities because the repertoire is not neutral, as it is believed. On the contrary, its effects range from the transformation of the identity of social movements and their lost of their legitimate foundations to the legitimating state repression. We agree with Tilly (1995) in that repertoire is the language of the movements. We argue that just as language shapes our thought and identity, so repertoire shapes the identity of movements.

III. ENHANCED REPERTOIRE IDENTITY

Identities are not things we think about, but they are existential. “As such they have no existence beyond our politics, our social relations, and our histories (Yavuz, 2003, 21).” As Crawford Young argues identity “at bottom is a subjective self-concept or social role; it is often variable, overlapping and situational.... ‘We’ is defined in part by ‘they’; the relevant other in a social setting is central in shaping role selection (1976, 65).” Using this definition of identity, I understand enhanced repertoire identity as the social identification with respect to which an individual responds with a given repertoire of social protest to specific normative and instrumental appeals

(Gould, 1995,13). Enhanced Repertoire Identity has two interwoven dimensions: participation and repertoire.

As Calhoun says, “identity is, in many cases, forged in and out of struggle, including participation in social movements (Calhoun, 1991, 52).” Furthermore, at the collective level, identity is a happening rather than a matter of structure and/or objective interest. Therefore, participation in any social movement reconstitutes, shapes and partly constructs the identity of the members of social movements. “Collective identities undergird normative commitments to social protest, but are the same time the product of the very social relations that are both affirmed and forged in the course of protest (Gould, 1995, 15).” The collective identity of social movements emerges “if the social networks in which they are embedded are patterned in such a way that the people in them can plausibly be partitioned” as the members of social movements and non members (Gould, 1995, 15).” However, once this partition occurs, “social conflict between collective actors who are defined in terms of this partition will heighten the salience and plausibility of the partition itself (Gould, 1995, 15).”

If what one does defines who one is, both for others and especially for oneself, it is obvious that participation in a social movement affects the identity of the members of social movements. Roger V. Gould, in his work, *Insurgent Identities: Class, Community, and Protest in Paris from 1848 to the Commune*, has demonstrated that the participation in the public meetings in the late 1860s “gave many residents of the capital a sense of their neighborhoods as collective political actors (Gould, 1995, 201).” Furthermore, to him, this collective identity constructed by public meetings provided the base for 1871 communal revolution. Thus, he demonstrated the importance of participation in social events in the formation of identity.

Similarly, Calhoun demonstrated that participation in the protest movement of 1989 in Beijing shaped and reshaped the identities of students participating in that movement. Those who avoided to attend and to be linked to that movement in the beginning took an extraordinary risk which imperiled their life in the end of that movement.

Although both Gould and Calhoun successfully demonstrated the importance of participation in the formation of identity, they ignored the repertoires by which participation occurred. Participation happened within the repertoires of contention not in the air or abstract places. Thus, both

author ignored the effect of the repertoires of contention in the formation of identity.

Not only are scholars interested in the identity formation, but also those who are interested in the importance of repertoires in social movements have ignored repertoires' effect in the formation of identities of social movements. In that work, by paying attention to the importance of repertoires in the formation of identities, we will also contribute to the social movement literature.

IV. REPERTOIRES AND THEIR EFFECTS ON THE FORMATION OF IDENTITIES

Although historians of political contention demonstrate that “the predominant forms of contention vary decisively by time and place (Tilly, 1995, 29)”, Tilly tried to accomplish three things: “(1) to help codify the existing knowledge of social and political historians with respect to the forms of popular collective action, (2) to generalize the question of why such forms change and vary, (3) to forward the hypothesis that the prior history of contention strongly constrains the choice of action currently available, in partial independence of the identities and interests that participation bring to the action (Tilly, 1995, 29).”

After he recognized the weakness of his first claims that “single actor (individual or collective) owned a repertoire of means and deployed it strategically,” he offered more interactionist approach to repertoires of contention. For him, “each routine within an established repertoire actually consists of an interaction among two or more parties. Repertoires belong to sets of contending actors, not to single actors...In that sense, then, a repertoire of actions resembles not individual consciousness but a language; although individuals and groups know and deploy the actions in a repertoire, the action connect sets of individuals and groups (Tilly, 1995, 30).”

By introducing the concept of repertoires, Tilly provides us with a new understanding the forms of actions. What new understanding brings to the literature is the historicity and cultural creation of forms of social protests and dynamic characteristics of them. They are historical and cultural because the word repertoire “identifies a limited set of routines that are learned, shared, and acted out through a relatively deliberate process of

choice (Tilly, 1995, 26).” They are dynamic also because “they do not descend from abstract philosophy or take shape as a result of political propaganda, but they emerge from the struggle (Tilly, 1995, 26).” What Tilly ignores is the repertoires’ effects in the formation of collective identity. We argue that repertoires of contention shape, reshape, and constitute the collective identity by reshaping the framing processes and organizational types of social movements.

V. REPERTOIRES AND FRAMING PROCESS

At its simplest, a frame is “an interpretative schema that simplifies and condenses the world out there by selectively punctuating and encoding objects, situations, events, experiences, and sequences of action, thus organizing experience and guiding action by rendering events or occurrences meaningful” (Johnston, 2005, 3). Scholars have applied it to social movements because it provides insight into the forms of interpretation that are part of the dynamics of social movements. Thus, frame has been used to designate that dynamic of a social movement that “identifies a problem that is social or political in nature, the parties responsible for causing the problem, and a solution” (Johnston, 2005, 5).

There are interdependent relations between framing processes and repertoires. The interaction is both directional. On the one hand, framing processes lead the members of social movements to use repertoires that are appropriate according to framing processes. On the other hand, since repertoires emerge from struggle, the leaders of social movements develop framing processes justifying their repertoires. In terms of terrorist organizations, that interactional relationship is more obvious.

The justification of the use of political violence has tremendous effects on the framing processes of many social movements. Political violence makes leaders of social movements reinterpret problems, and, more importantly, solutions. Prior to engaging in political violence, they offer frames which are more inclusive and more compatible with general cultural tools. After the use of violence, they justify these actions as compensation for losing compatibility with hegemonic ideology and conventional cultural tools.

VI. REPERTOIRES AND ORGANIZATIONAL TYPES

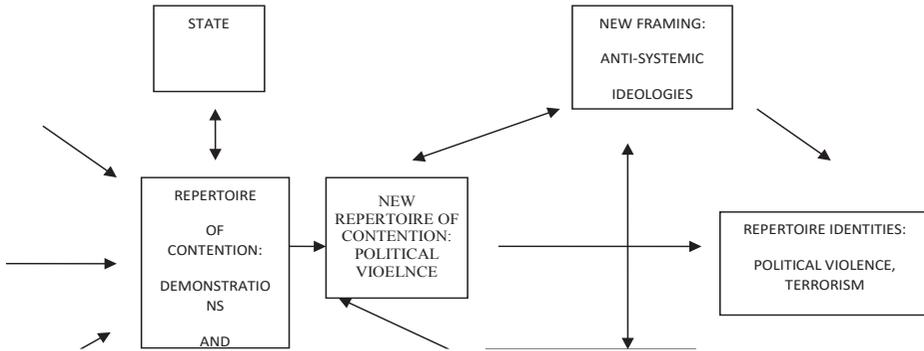
Just as repertoires reshape framing processes, so they reconstruct the organization types of social movements. If repertoires are legal, then, the organization of movement most likely is inclusive. On the contrary, if repertoires are illegal, the organization of movement tends to be exclusive and loosely structured. “Social movements dominated by exclusive, loosely structured organizations are likely to experience protracted conflict. Exclusive organizations that produce spirals of encapsulating deprive activists of the opportunity to come across competing ideologies...Exclusive groups often cannot afford an honest, self-critical appraisal of its theoretical premises and positions; questioning its theoretical assumptions would endanger the group’s *raison d’être* and could activate a destabilizing effect on the group consciousness (Hafez, 2003, 112).”

If repertoires are legal and institutionalized, then, the organization type of movements is inclusive and more adoptive to the system. The members of movements can make concession and give up their radical claims.

In short, protracted violence is partly a product of exclusive, loosely structured organizations, and partly anti-systemic framing. However, both of them have been constituted by new repertoires of contention depending on the absence of state repression or not.

Chart 1.1 presents the social mechanisms forming the repertoire identities of the militants. The change of the repertoire from conventional repertoires such as demonstration, to using violence in response to state oppression, has important impacts on the social organizations and framing processes of the movements. Anti-systemic frames and exclusive, loosely structured organizations are the social mechanisms between the identity change in social movements and the change of repertoires.

Chart 1.1: Mechanisms of Identity Formation of Militants



VII. CONCLUSION

Social movements hardly emerge as militants bent on social transformation. On the other hand, anti-systemic frames that reject the possibility of reform and reconciliation with the incumbent regime likely emerge with movement supporters in the context of repressive and exclusionary political environment.

When any movement has to respond to repressive political environment by political violence, its members have to justify their action by employing the mechanism of moral disengagement and adopt exclusive organizations. State repression facilitates political violence. Political violence facilitates exclusive organizations and anti-systemic framing. Exclusive organizations and anti-systemic framing facilitate militant identities because it is difficult to uproot anti-systemic thinking once it has been planted in the movement. Anti-systemic framing in early interactions solidify into collective identities that prevent reconciliation in later interactions. Thus, repertoires of contentions depending on political environment shape, constitute and construct the identity of the movement.

As Hafez demonstrates, “once individuals begin to cross over from the sphere of uncommitted supporters into the realm of organized activities, identity gains salience (161).” Furthermore, once identity that defines participants in relation to non-participants gains salience, the identity constructs expectations among actors, consolidates lines between real and perceived advisories, and establishes parameters to the range of strategic options available to them. Emerging identities particularly among militants explain why many failed anti-systemic movements persist in pursuing political violence, even though their violent actions serve to further alienate the larger public that may have supported them at one time or another. Their violence ceases to be strategic but instead becomes an important part of their identity or an end in itself (Hafez, 161).

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