

**SPILL OVER EFFECTS OF ENVIRONMENTAL CONSCIOUSNESS : THE
BERGAMA ENVIRONMENTAL MOVEMENT IN TURKEY**

**The Institute of Economics and Social Sciences
of
Bilkent University**

by

BURCU GEZGÖR

**in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for The Degree of
MASTER OF ARTS IN POLITICAL SCIENCE AND PUBLIC
ADMINISTRATION**

in

**THE DEPARTMENT OF
POLITICAL SCIENCE AND PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION
BILKENT UNIVERSITY
ANKARA**

January 2001

**HN
656.5
.29
564
2001**

SPILL OVER EFFECT OF ENVIRONMENTAL CONSCIOUSNESS: THE
BERGAMA ENVIRONMENTAL MOVEMENT IN TURKEY

The Institute of Economics and Social Sciences
of
Bilkent University

by

BURCU GEZGÖR

In Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for The Degree of
MASTER OF ARTS IN POLITICAL SCIENCE AND PUBLIC
ADMINISTRATION

in

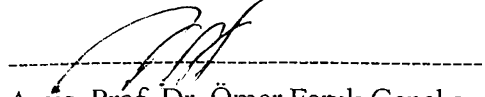
THE DEPARTMENT OF
POLITICAL SCIENCE AND PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION
BILKENT UNIVERSITY
ANKARA

January 2001

HN
656.5
-Z9
S64
2001

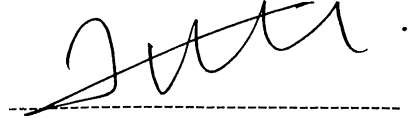
8 057266

I certify that I have read this thesis and have found that it is fully adequate, in scope and in quality, as a thesis for the degree of Master of Arts in Political Science and Public Administration



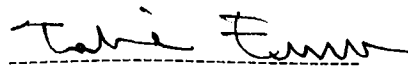
Assis. Prof. Dr. Ömer Faruk Gençkaya
Supervisor

I certify that I have read this thesis and have found that it is fully adequate, in scope and in quality, as a thesis for the degree of Master of Arts in Political Science and Public Administration



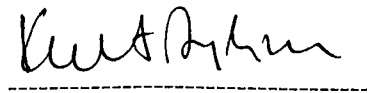
Assoc. Prof. Dr. Ahmet İçduygu
Examining Committee Member

I certify that I have read this thesis and have found that it is fully adequate, in scope and in quality, as a thesis for the degree of Master of Arts in Political Science and Public Administration



Assis. Prof. Dr. Tahire Erman
Examining Committee Member

Approval of the Institute of Economics and Social Sciences



Prof. Dr. Kürşat Aydoğan
Director

ABSTRACT

SPILL OVER EFFECT OF ENVIRONMENTAL CONSCIOUSNESS: THE BERGAMA ENVIRONMENTAL MOVEMENT IN TURKEY

Burcu Gezgor

M.A., Department of Political Science and Public Administration

Supervisor: Assis. Prof. Dr. Ömer Faruk Gençkaya

January 2001

This thesis describes and analyses the Bergama environmental movement case in Turkey that received a great attention in Turkish public opinion and interacted with various actors. The Bergama case, which was triggered by the Eurogold company's gold mining operation using cyanide, illustrates the struggle of villagers in different forms of protests and actions. In this study, we present an integrated approach by using two theories namely Resource Mobilization (RM) and New Social Movement (NSM) to provide a comprehensive explanation of the social movement. This analysis indicates that increasing awareness concerning a variety of issues such as environmental ones can cause people develop their capacity in dealing with problems and organizing actions. Consequently, they were enlightened to stand up for their rights, encouraged to participate in the decision- making process and introduced social and cultural changes in their lives.

Keywords: New Social Movements Theory, Resource Mobilization Theory, Bergama Environmental Movement, the Bergama villagers, Cyanide, globalization

ÖZET

ÇEVRE BİLİNCİNİN YANSIMA ETKİSİ: TÜRKİYE'DEKİ BERGAMA ÇEVRE HAREKETİ

Burcu Gezgör

Master, Siyaset Bilimi ve Kamu Yönetimi Bölümü

Tez Yöneticisi: Yrd. Doç. Dr. Ömer Faruk Gençkaya

Ocak 2001

Bu çalışma, Türk kamuoyunda büyük ilgi görmüş ve çeşitli aktörlerle etkileşerek gelişmiş Bergama çevre hareketini tanımlayıp çözümlemeyi amaçlamaktadır. Bergama olayı, Eurogold şirketinin siyanürle altın üretim faaliyetine karşı köylülerin çeşitli protesto ve eylemlerinden oluşan bir savaşımdır. Bu çalışmada, söz konusu toplumsal hareketin kapsamlı bir biçimde açıklanması amacıyla, Kaynakları Harekete Geçirme (KHG) ve Yeni Toplumsal Hareketler (YTH) kuramlarından oluşan bütüncül bir yaklaşım kullanılmıştır. Bu çözümleme göstermiştir ki, çevre gibi çok çeşitli konularda bilinçlenmenin artması insanların sorunlarla ilgilenme ve bunlara karşı eylem geliştirme kapasitelerini artırmaktadır. Sonuç olarak, haklarını arama konusunda aydınlandılar, karar verme sürecine katılma konusunda teşvik edildiler ve yaşamlarında toplumsal ve kültürel değişikliklerle karşılaştılar.

Anahtar kelimeler: Bergama çevre hareketi, Bergama köylüleri, Kaynakları Harekete Geçirme Kuramı ve Yeni Toplumsal Hareketler Kuramı, siyanür, küreselleşme

To Bergama villagers

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I am indebted to Assis. Prof. Dr. Ömer Faruk Gençkaya for his initiative guidance, encouragement and the enthusiasm which he inspired on me during this study.

I am also indebted to Assoc. Prof. Dr. Ahmet İçduygu and Assis. Prof. Dr. Tahire Erman for their keen interest to the subject matter and accepting to read and review this thesis.

I can not fully express my gratitude and thanks to Maher Lahmar for his moral support and encouragement throughout this process.

I would like also to thank Mine Gür, Tuba Durgun, Feza Sencer Çörtoğlu, Zehra Yıldız and Hafize Toker for their friendship and help during the preparation of this thesis.

My special thanks to my family who supported me during my studies in Bilkent University.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

ABSTRACT	iii
ÖZET	iv
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	v
TABLE OF CONTENTS	vi
INTRODUCTION	1
CHAPTER I: AN OVERVIEW OF THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVES	
ON SOCIAL MOVEMENTS	11
1.1 New Social Movements	12
1.2 Environmental Movement	15
1.3 Resource Mobilization Theory	19
1.4 New Social Movement Theory	22
1.5 Deficiencies and New Directions	23
CHAPTER II: THE BERGAMA ENVIRONMENTAL MOVEMENT	29
2.1 Geographical Location, Economic and Social Indicators	29
2.2 The Mining Project	30
2.3 The Emergence of Collective Grievance and the Social Construction of Protest	32
2.4 Milestones of the Major Developments	36
2.5 The Main Aspects of the Bergama Movement	57
2.5.1 Objectives	57
2.5.2 Organizational Structure and Strategies	59

2.5.3 Collective Identity	63
2.5.4 The Role of Women	66
2.6 Views from the Multi-organizational field	68
2.6.1 The European Parliament	68
2.6.2 The Turkish Grand National Assembly	70
2.6.3 The Judicial Process	75
2.6.4 The Views of the Professional Organizations Concerned	80
2.6.5 Eurogold' s Perspective	82
CHAPTER III: A GENERAL EVALUATION ON THE BERGAMA	
MOVEMENT	85
CONCLUSION	98
APPENDICES	
Appendix A. Table 1 Results of the General Elections of Representatives in the Villages, 1987-1999	101
Appendix B. Figure 1 Distribution of Party Votes in the General Elections Of Representatives in the Villages, 1987-1999	102
BIBLIOGRAPHY	103

INTRODUCTION

The first international environment related conference was held by the UN initiative in Stockholm in 1972. The Stockholm Conference attracted world attention to the necessity of protecting the natural environment to ensure life sustainability on earth. It was marked by world recognition of the existing environmental problems and a significant shift in governments' attitude towards these concerns. In the conference, environmental issues were placed on the international agenda for the first time and it was stressed that not only organizations, but also individuals in all walks of life should participate in shaping the world environment of the future. The Stockholm Declaration led to the formation of the United Nations Environment Program (UNEP) that became later the UN environment protection arm.

The 1980s were marked by a series of environmental disasters that reinforced the necessity of protecting the environment through international cooperation. The 1986 Chernobyl nuclear reactor explosion, probably the worst environmental disaster in human history, affected the health of millions and displaced hundreds of thousands. Radiation released from the station into the environment after the accident propagated in areas as far as Western Europe. This disaster triggered more catastrophes and caused further damage to the environment.

In the same decade, the frequent of acid rains increased dramatically destroying large forests. Scientists observed the widening of holes in the ozone layer

that was followed by increases in skin cancer cases. Pollution of the seas and overfishing as well as global warming are just examples among many others (Haynes, 1998: 97). All these disasters and their consequences convinced people around the world that although catastrophes occur locally, their environmental dangers are transboundary.

The next attempt towards finding global solutions to environmental degradation was the Earth Summit held in Rio de Janeiro in 1992. Governments signed "Agenda 21," a document that provides a framework for the relation between environment and development. In the Rio Declaration, it was stated that in order to achieve sustainable development, environmental protection should constitute an integral part of the development process. In the 10th principle, it was proclaimed that:

- Environmental issues are best handled with participation of all concerned citizens at the relevant level;
- At the national level, each individual shall have appropriate access to information concerning the environment that is held by public authorities, including information on hazardous materials and activities in their communities, and the opportunity to participate in decision-making processes;
- States shall facilitate and encourage public awareness and participation by making information widely available; and
- Effective access to judicial and administrative proceedings, including redress and remedy shall be provided (<http://www.unep.org/Documents/>).

Assuming that the participation of citizens in the decision-making process can contribute to the protection of environment, it was asserted that formal and informal organizations as well as grassroots movements should be recognized as partners in the

implementation of Agenda 21. "The Malmö Ministerial Declaration" within the UNEP framework in 2000 also called attention to the deterioration of natural resource base at an alarming rate and the necessity of the full participation of all actors in society, an aware and educated population to combat environmental degradation.

Contemporary environmental movements trace the emergence of environmental protection to the conservation movement. The Sierra Club (1892) and the Audubon Society (1905) in USA were the first environmental organizations concerned with the protection of endangered species and the preservation of wilderness areas (Stephenson, 1997:165).

After decades of conservation activity, the grassroots environmental movement emerged in parallel with the increase in environmental consciousness and disasters. Grassroots environmental movements were crucial in expanding the concept of environmentalism beyond preservation of the wilderness to include the impact of environmental hazards and of the degradation on the daily lives and health of the ordinary people (Epstein, <http://www.interweb-tech.com/nsmnet/docs/epstein.htm>).

Established thirty years ago as one of the NSMs, the environmental movement in Western Europe and the USA evolved from radical grass-roots groups struggling for structural reforms into highly institutionalized mass membership organizations such as Greenpeace, World Wildlife Fund and Friends of the Earth. They are organized across state boundaries and work toward environmental protection at the global level (Wapner, 1996: 2). In the developing countries, people are increasingly coming to realize that if their local environment is destroyed, it is they who will lose out their lives and main source of income. Consequently, struggles against sources of environmental degradation also emerged as early as 1970s such as the India's Chipko movement

(Routledge, 1993; Guha, 1989, 1997; Agarwal, <http://www.india-today.com/itoday/millennium/100people/chipko.html>; Haynes, 1998, 1999) or Indonesia's Tapak movement (Sunoto, 1994).

The Chipko movement was concerned with saving forest resources from commercial exploitation. Women were at the center of struggle. They employed various methods of nonviolent intervention and cultural expressions. For instance, they uprooted eucalyptus saplings in government run tree areas to protest the planting of ecologically unsuitable tree species and women attached sacred threads on the branches to symbolize protection and display their closeness to the trees (Routledge). The Tapak movement is a rural community based movement that emerged to impede industrial pollution. It utilized various forms of protest and action. Both of the movements showed that non-violent resistance and the struggle of ordinary people could succeed. They drew attention to the fact that environmental problems were not only city-based related to quality of life but also rural based related to survival. Thus, it is prominent to study social movements in developing countries to seek theoretical explanations with respect to their particular context.

This study is designed to describe and analyze a social movement, which emerged to resolve a single issue, namely the Eurogold company's operation of a gold mine using cyanide in the Bergama district in the west of Turkey at the local level, and transformed into an environmental movement at the national level by encompassing a wider range of issues.

In addition, this research attempts to show that increased awareness in a developing country about issues such as environment has a spill over effect. As a consequence, people start to widen their knowledge and show more concern about the

problem. In the long run, this enlightens people to stand up for their rights, encourages them to participate in decision-making processes and introduces social and cultural changes in their lives.

Until the 1950s, environmental issues were not on the agenda in Turkey due to the single-party dominance and the lack of severe environmental problems. Issues concerning the foundation of the Republic overcame the other concerns in the political arena; meanwhile the few traditional industries that existed at that period were not causing serious environmental problems on the large scale. However, pollution problems emerged as a result of the rapid industrialization in the late 1950s. Moreover, people in the rural areas started to migrate to big cities causing inadequacy of infrastructure and increase of squatter settlements.

In the aftermath of the rise of these problems, the Turkish Association for the Conservation of Nature and Natural Resources, the first volunteer environmental organization was established in 1955. However, public opinion remained unconscious of the environmental issues. In the 1961 constitution, Article 49, which declares that "everyone's physical and mental health should be protected" marked the first legal base of the concept of environment protection, although not explicitly stated. According to Keleş and Hamamcı (1997: 212), Turkey's official interest in the environmental problems started in parallel with the beginning of related discussions on the international platform at the UN Stockholm Conference in 1972.

Following the emergence of environmental concern in the world in the 1970s, the Environment and Afforestation Foundation of Turkey (1972), the Society for Protection of Nature (1975) and the Foundation for Turkey's Environmental Problems (1978) were founded. These organizations and the Chamber of

Environmental Engineers tried to disseminate environmental sensibility and increase people's awareness of these issues through conferences and publications.

Besides, they contributed to the Foundation of the Undersecretariat of Environment under the Prime Ministry in 1978, the placement of Article 56 in the 1982 Constitution and initiation of further environmental laws. Article 56 states that "all decisions and measures taken and applied to protect the environment and prevent pollution will consider the protection of the health of humans and other livings in the first place."

In response to growing problems, the number of environmental organizations increased rapidly. At present, there are approximately 135 environmental organizations¹ as indicated by published sources and directories (Atauz, 2000: 206). Environmental movements, which have been flourished in the 1980s, indicate a structure, which is fragmented, limited to issue and/or locality, and based on argumentation rather than action (Atauz and Bora, 1995: 282). Mostly imitating the green movements in the west, they failed to develop an identity independent from the discourse of the media and of the state. One can roughly distinguish environmental movements in Turkey as "protectionists" and "greens." While the formers have been directing their attention to minimize the harm to environment by applying technical projects in the field, the latter totally rejected the mode of capitalist development and emphasized on *societal alienation* and *exploitation* of human-beings.

In the 1980s, rising environmental awareness also contributed to the

¹ This figure was compiled from the following sources respectively: Meral Dinçer, Çevre Gönüllü Kuruluşları (*Volunteer Environmental Organisations*), Turkish Environment Foundation: Ankara, 1996; History Foundation, *NGO directory*, The Information Center: İstanbul, 1996 and Mehmet Çevikoğlu and Zeynep Tugay, *Black Sea NGO Directory*. Black Sea Environment Program: İstanbul, 2000.

development of environmental grassroots movements. For instance, the resistance of Zafer Park and the group of Güvenpark Environmental Sensitivity were citizen initiatives, which were organized to oppose the construction of a hotel and a parking lot in the place of a green park. Both of the struggles were organized by intellectual groups and conducted through legal avenues and pointed out to the danger of shrinkage of green areas in big cities.

The aspect of environmental experience in Turkey expanded from demands of provincial environmental protection of life standards to protection of life standards together with environmental values at a general level (Akkoyunlu -Ertan, 1999: 127). The urgent energy demand led the Turkish government to initiate several thermic power station projects: "Gökova thermic station," "Aliğa thermic station" and "Yatağan thermic station" starting from the mid-1980. These projects faced a high resistance from citizens and triggered environmental movements. Later, the project of Akkuyu nuclear power station and Bergama-Ovacık gold mine further intensified the public concern on environmental issues and resistance to government's implementations.

However, the government was persistent on the operation of these projects and facilities through the discourse of economic development. Local people and activists, realizing the imminent environmental disaster, opposed their operation, organized several protests and filed lawsuits against the various ministries to cancel the operation licenses. Although the courts resolved the cases in favor of local people, the government was reluctant to enforce these decisions and people had to live with the problems. In spite of their modest achievements, these movements are prominent because they represent the emergence of a new form of environmentalism

characterized by popular resistance movements through direct challenges to the existing authorities. The use of legal protests and media coverage and the resort to judiciary system did not solve the existing problems, but definitely contributed to the awareness of general public as well as of local people.

In this thesis, the Bergama environmental movement will be described and analyzed by using the Resource Mobilization and the New Social Movement theories. In the case of Bergama, I argue that an integrated social movement theory provides a comprehensive explanation of the movement. I use the term "Bergama" to identify the social movement in the study due to the origin of the villages in Bergama town and to refer the Bergama Environmental Committee, which has been the leading organization to unite and mobilize the local people. However, the movement is a joint struggle of 17 villages, namely Alacalar, Aşağıkırıklar, Bozköy, Çahbahçe, Çamköy, Eğrigöl, Kurfalı, Kadriye (locally known Küçükaya), Narlıca, Ovacık, Pınarköy, Sarıdere, Sağancı, Süleymanlı, Tepeköy, Yalnızev and Yenikent (formerly Yeniköy) which are administratively under the tutelage of Bergama township.

Besides using the internal resources successfully, the Bergama villagers also incorporated external resources such as receiving media interest or support of the European Parliament (EP) into their activities. The movement empowered itself over the course of a decade in parallel to the process of villagers' increasing awareness concerning the environmental disaster and right to environment. Their slogan "deads do not wear gold" epitomized the movement's chief concern that material interests are not important.

The media coverage of the Bergama movement is the major source of identifying its history and characterizing its evolution. The official documents,

including the court decisions, the minutes of the Turkish Grand National Assembly (TGNA), the EP resolution, the publications of the Chamber of Mining Engineers and the Chamber of Environmental Engineers were very valuable sources of information to the study. In addition to that, my field visit to Bergama villages and participation in their recent march enabled me to enhance my knowledge and get into contact with people who involved directly into the process.² To gain more accurate information and objective views, I also conducted several interviews with some of the main actors in the movement and some of the authorized people about the history of the movement, including five active members of the movement, the leader of the movement, a member of the Sixth Department of the Council of State and the representative of the Chamber of Mining Engineers. The questions, which were asked, focused on the respondents' objectives, involvement, perceptions and views regarding the strategies of the movement. In addition, an interview which was conducted with the manager of Eurogold by Feza Sencer Çörtoğlu is used.³

In the first chapter, I explore the different definitions of social movement activity and focus on the new social movements of which the environmental movement is one example. Furthermore, I elaborate on the two theories that seek to explain new social movements namely RM and NSM.

The chapter two is devoted to detailed description of the Bergama Movement in historical context. I explain the events that led to the emergence of the Bergama movement and the processes that mobilized the villagers. I also include the views and positions of various actors involved in the process.

In chapter three, the Bergama movement is compared with the Tapak and the

² July 21-24 and November 13, 2000 respectively.

Chipko movements with respect to origin, organization, and achievements. Then, I focus on the two previously described theories to evaluate the Bergama movement. I emphasize that a single theory is not enough to assess a social movement as each of them has its own advantages and weaknesses with regard to the movement's particulars.

Finally, I highlight the findings and general remarks concerning the Bergama movement. I also point out to future directions in the environmental movement research.

³ He is a Ph.D student in the Department of Political Science at Ankara University.

CHAPTER I

AN OVERVIEW OF THE THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVES ON SOCIAL MOVEMENTS

Whether at local, national or global level, environmental movement is an ongoing process. Since environmental problems have a major impact on the quality of life of people all over the globe, environmental movements gained more importance from the public as well as from scholars in the recent decades (Rootes, 1999; Wapner, 1996; Van der Haiden, 1999; Haynes, 1999, Diani, 1999). This section aims to provide a theoretical framework to understand an environmental movement. First, I will explore the different definitions of social movement activity and then focus on the "New social movements" (NSMs) of which the environmental movement is one case. Then, I will elaborate on the two theories that seek to explain new social movements: New Social Movements theory and Resource Mobilization theory.

Although "collectivity," "shared goals" and "unconventional methods" are the common denominators in the concept of social movement, the term still has various interpretations. For instance, Neidhart and Rucht (1990: 421) define a social movement as an organized and sustained effort of a collectivity of interrelated individuals, groups and organizations to promote or to resist social change with the use of public protest activities. Garner (1996: 43) defines a social movement as a group of people who are engaged in an ideologically coherent and non-institutionalized way of changing the

present state and trajectory of their society. Another definition given by Martell (1994:108) states that a social movement is a collective attempt to further a common interest or goal through collective action outside the established institutions. In short there are some basic features that make up a social movement mainly cooperation, collective action, informal networks, shared goals, common identity and desire for change.

1.1 New Social Movements

Studies related to social movements started in the 18th century. The early studies were usually organized around class-based social divisions. Peasant revolts and traditional worker movements can be cited as conventional social movements during this period. The emergence of new forms of collective action in advanced industrial societies led to the reconceptualization of the meaning of social movements and therefore to the emergence of "New Social Movements." For Touraine, NSMs are both bearers and symptoms of the transition from industrial to post-industrial society. (cited in Scott, 1990:15). Touraine (1985:749) defines NSMs as: "culturally oriented actors involved in social conflict, whose goals and strategies have a social coherence and rationality of their own." NSMs can not be understood within the logic of the existing institutional order, since the overriding function is precisely to challenge that logic and transform the social relations, which it mirrors and reinforces. These movements tend to be organized around a range of issues linked to a single broad theme such as peace movements, student movements, women's rights, antinuclear energy protests, minority nationalism, gay rights, animal rights and environmental movements. What is significant for scholars in such development is the inability of the movements to be

clearly understood within the European or American traditions of analysis (Johnston et al., 1994). There are competing theoretical explanations of the rise and character of the NSMs and debates on the label "new."

In fact, NSMs are considered to be "new" because their social base transcends class structure. They are concerned with social divisions other than class such as gender, ethnicity and lifestyle or with issues that are supra-class such as environment and peace. Therefore, they are primarily social and cultural and secondarily political. An ideal typology of NSMs can be studied in comparison to old social movements. Location, ideology, aims, organization and medium of change can be cited as the basis of differences between the traditional and the new social movements.

First of all, old social movements are located in the polity within political parties whereas NSMs are autonomous movements outside conventional political institutions. The use of radical mobilization tactics of disruption and resistance that differ from those practiced by the working-class movement characterize the NSMs. Secondly, while old social movements aim to secure political representation, legislative reform and rights associated with citizenship in the political community, as Claus Offe stated NSMs bypass the state to defend civil society from political power. They illustrate a pluralism of ideas and values and tend to have pragmatic orientations and search for institutional reforms that enlarge the systems of member's participation in decision-making and expansion of civil versus political dimensions of the society.

Another difference lies in the movement organization. On the contrary to old social movements where the articulation of formal and hierarchical modes of internal movement organization is used, it is more appropriate to use the term "social movement network" in analyzing the NSMs because of the loose characteristics. These are: (1)

locally based or centered on small groups; (2) organized around specific, often local, issues; (3) characterized by a cycle of social movement activity and mobilization, i.e. Vacillation between periods of high and low activity (the latter often taking the form of a disbandment, temporarily or permanently, of the organization); (4) where the movement constructs organizations which bridge periods of high activity they tend to feature fluid hierarchies and loose systems of authority; and (5) shifting membership and fluctuating numbers (Scott, 1990: 30).

Old social movements are inclined to receive change through established political realm, but NSMs are innovative in that they prefer direct action and work on change in cultural apparatus. NSMs attempt to redefine culture. For instance, they try to bring change through changing values and developing alternative life styles. Furthermore, NSMs often involve personal or intimate aspects of human life. Therefore, they contribute to the development of new forms of identity based on cultural or symbolic issues. This creates a focus for individuals' definition of themselves that leads to the internationalization of the self with the movement.

Besides all of the above characteristics, NSMs encompass a tendency for more freedom or autonomy, too. Practices, such as consciousness raising in the movement, aim at the liberation of individuals from barriers to their rights. Many of the more narrowly defined "political" aims of new social movements can be understood as an extension of personal and group autonomy by challenging the *de jure* or *de facto* restrictions implemented by the state. NSMs insist on the autonomy of struggle that the movement and those it represents be allowed to fight without subordinating their demands to other external priorities so that they will not be absorbed by the *status quo*.

In short, newness of expression as well as the magnitude and saliency of such

movements constitute the basis for the need of a revised framework of understanding. In fact, it is difficult to locate environmental movement into some parameters because it carries many elements of NSMs and also incorporate some features of old social movements. The demands, which concern the existing political institutions, can also be understood in terms of citizenship rights. For instance, environmental activists do not want to be deprived of the rights ascribed to the average citizen "clean environment." In that respect, there is not an abandonment of the political sphere, but an extension of politics. Thus, an attempt to identify NSMs exclusively with cultural questions is to adopt a reductionist perspective. In addition, there may be a development within movements from the loose social network towards the more formal and hierarchical form of organization. Then, it is arguable whether NSMs really fit exactly into the new category. The reason is that, until now, the evolution of NSMs, but not their fading away has been observed. Thus, instead of classifying them as old and new, they may be interpreted as dynamism in the status of previous movements.

1.2 Environmental Movement

The emergence of environmental conflicts due to massive industrialization in the 1970s led to the creation of a new environmental movement different than the conservation movement that focuses solely on protection of wildlife and nature conservation. While conservation groups are usually conservative in their political philosophy and adopt conventional policy styles, new environmental groups question the hazardous effects of industrial society and pioneer the philosophy "deep ecology." They believe that human life and other life on earth have equal and independent value (Stephenson, 1997: 169).

Established thirty years ago as one of the NSMs, environmental movement in the Western Europe and the USA evolved from radical grass-roots groups struggling for structural reforms into highly institutionalized mass membership organizations, working with the established order. The emergence of NSMs in the West has been explained in the context of social-structural changes, growth in the middle classes and post-materialistic values (Inglehart, 1990; Kidd and Lee, 1997). For instance, Inglehart (1990: 45) states, "post-materialists emphasize fundamentally different value priorities from those that have dominated industrial society for many decades. They place less emphasis on economic growth and more emphasis upon non-economic quality of life." Accordingly, post-materialists are concerned with the environment. In other words, environmentalism is interpreted as a "full stomach phenomenon" a direct consequence of economic affluence by which wilderness areas and clean air come to be appreciated once basic needs have been fulfilled (Guha, 1997:18). Thus, environmentalism has the impression of "First World" phenomenon.

However, research indicates that this is not limited to developed regions because social action also emerged in developing countries in response to overwhelming environmental problems. The incidents of environmental catastrophes in these countries are usually due to the adverse effects of globalization. While economic integration of the world system through trade, investment and capital flows is one dimension of the ongoing process of global integration that affects environment, foreign direct investment (FDI) is the most relevant one to map out the clash between globalization and environment. The reason is that, FDI goes mostly into manufacturing plants, mining operations, power stations, telecommunications, port development, airport and road construction, water supply, and sanitation, all of which have

environmental and natural resource use implications (Panayotou, 1999: 251). FDI always wants to maximize its profits through operating at the least cost and developing countries need FDI to advance their economy. No doubt, in order to attract FDI, developing countries are usually negligent in enforcing higher environmental standards and this inevitably results in the use of developing countries as *pollution havens* (Gençkaya, 1999: 82).

Besides, democratization process is hindered by the fact that decisions affecting the people's environment are made outside their control. In fact, as the environmental costs associated with the investment appear, the essential value attached to environmental protection comes from the people who are affected directly by the loose policies of governments towards these FDIs. Thus, post-materialist features are not always a *must* for the emergence of environmental movements. A study of environmentalism in Jamaica (Lundy, 1999: 91) suggests that an environmental movement can occur in contexts that do not match the post-materialist features. Although Jamaica is not a post-industrial country and the majority of the population lack the satisfactory quality of life, an environmental movement has emerged.

As to their characteristics, these movements' concern goes far beyond the environmental issues and encompasses wider concerns. They have NSMs' discourse: women's rights, democratization, human rights, environmental protection and claim that radical structural reforms are necessary to achieve these goals. Accordingly, they became vehicles for citizens to reflect their demands on a number of issues through mostly unconventional style based on protests and direct action techniques. In this regard, these were instrumental in the formation of a new epoch, which is more than passing of an environmental legislation or the adoption of environmental policies.

Haynes (1998: 96) summarizes the common characteristics of environmental groups. He states that their first aim is to mobilize local people in defense of the local environment against outside interests usually, state or big businesses. Secondly, they are usually rurally based and women often form the core of their membership. Thirdly, while some groups have narrow conservation focus, many other have wider socio-economic and political concerns. Moreover, they are more likely to succeed in their goals when they can exploit democratic and legal avenues. Furthermore, they cooperate with international organizations such as Greenpeace, which contribute to addressing global environmental problems by heightening worldwide concern for the environment. Accordingly, ecological sensibility is disseminated.

Kousis (1999) uses life span as a major criterion to classify local environmental mobilization into short duration grassroots environmental activism and long duration community based environmental movements. Sustained mobilizations which are identified with community based local environmental movements may be labelled as *ad hoc*, not exclusively in terms of time, but also of issue. In contrast to local environmental activism, they are characterized by an intensification of network building, action escalation and claim framing.

In parallel to the emergence of contemporary social movements, new models emerged to assess them. Although the movements had similar goals, their theoretical approaches differed significantly. For instance, in the U.S. RM theory shifted the attention from deprivation to the availability of resources to explain the rise of social movements. On the contrary, in Europe, the new social movement approach came forward and focused on the growth of new protest potential resulting from the development of new grievances within the highly industrialized societies. In this sense,

each of the two theories represents one side of the coin. It is seen that these theories are based on the experience of the developed part of the world. However, the number of social movements has continued to increase and become more important in the developing countries. Hence, it is essential to compare the two approaches and analyze their understanding of the environmental movements in relation to the particular contexts.

1.3 Resource Mobilization Theory

Resource Mobilization theory aims to understand the internal process of a social movement. Therefore, it studies organizational processes in which participants take action to achieve common goals, develop tactics and organize internal and external resources (Zald and McCarthy:1987).

RM theories were developed partly in response to the collective behavior and deprivation linked theories that were prevalent in American Social Science. Traditional social movement theories argue that personality traits, marginality, alienation, grievances and ideology are the causal factors that lead to the participation in social movements. RM theory deviates from this view. It asserts that grievances exist everywhere, however, they are necessary but not sufficient to cause action. Consequently, it believes that drives are crucial factors to stimulate action. For instance, resources and opportunities provoke social movement formation.

In this context, Klandermans (1990: 25) studies the approach through three key elements: (1) costs and benefits of participation; (2) organisation; and (3) expectations of success. To RM theory, participation results from weighing costs against benefits. One of the key components of RM theory that is, costs and benefits of participation is mainly deduced from Mancur Olson's *logic of action*. To Olson

(1968: 56) incentives differ in the way they are related to participation; since collective incentives are characterized by jointness of supply, obtaining collective incentives is not dependent on participation. Collective incentive simply resembles that of a public good whose benefits are not depleted by an additional user or when it is impossible to exclude people from its benefits. Therefore, unless the number of individuals in a group is quite small or unless there is coercion or some other special device to make individuals act in their common interest, rational self-interested individuals will not act to achieve their common or group interests. Thus, in order to avoid the free rider problematic, the incentive must be selective so that those who do not join the organization working for the group's interest, or in other ways contribute to the attainment of the group's interest, can be treated differently from those who do.

According to Deutch (cited in Olson, 1968: 51) selective incentives can be either negative or positive. For instance, negative one can coerce by punishing those who do not share the costs of involvement and positive incentives can offer inducements to those who act in the group's interest. This perspective implies that people may opt not to participate in the achievement of collective goals. However, it can be argued that individuals sometimes do participate despite lack of selective incentives. There are various suggestions that seek to explain "why individuals participate when there are not selective incentives." For example, if everyone behaves rationally and selfishly, collective good will never be realized. Contrarily, for some people, the goal is so precious that even a bit of chance to succeed is enough to motivate participation or a collective good can motivate people to participate in a social movement if they expect that others will also participate. In contrast to the last one, it is argued that people act with the logic "if you don't do it, nobody else will" (Oliver,

1984: 602).

Another approach supports the view that group solidarity, group interests and personal interests in the collective goods and urgency of collective action are the motives. In a recent work by Klandermans (1997), two types of incentives are seen as reinforcing or compensating for another. He makes a distinction between *willingness to participate* in different forms of action and *low and high risk activities* because of a divergent cost-benefit ratio.

The second element is the movement organization that is crucial as a resource because it decreases the costs of participation, enrolls more participants and increases the likelihood that the movement will succeed. According to the RM approach, grievances and aspirations appear on the surface if there is a social movement organization that is able to put the potential into action. Hence, RM considers organizations as a catalyst in the process. Furthermore, a network of groups and organizations without centralized decision-making and strong leadership can be a kind of organization with the image of disorganization. Hence, to ensure success, social movements should not be characterized with low level or lack of organization.

The third key element is the expectation of success. This is contingent upon other factors such as political opportunity structure, the presence of third parties and allies and the discovery of new tactics, public opinion, media and so on. Indeed, expectations of success can be related to various factors. For instance, during the learning process, individuals may learn those social movements with similar collective goals succeeded and this information may encourage them to participate in the movement.

In brief, RM theory focuses on the efficacy of the usage of resources by the social movement in order to achieve their collective goals. This covers mobilization of people, gaining access to external resources such as the media, legitimacy or public recognition and so on. It is not concerned with who the actors are, what motivate them, or what wider historical or structural meaning a particular movement may have, "but rather why some movements are more successful than others"(Eyerman and Jamison, 1991: 94).

1.4 New Social Movements Theory

The NSMs theory highlights that social movements arouse in the past decades as a result of the new grievances and aspirations. They bring new values, action forms, participants and aspirations. The NSMs do not accept traditional values of the capitalistic society and seek a different relation with nature. For instance, ecophilosophy's thesis that our frameworks of morality and rationality must be expanded to include the welfare of nonhumans breaks with the anthropocentric thought that puts boundaries to the above frameworks at the human species.

Local mobilization, direct action, decentralized organization and anti-hierarchical structure are the major features of NSMs. They favor direct democracy. This implies their distrust to the representative democracies. New middle class, sensitive and informed young people and marginalized groups who directly suffer degradation due to industrialization represent the new participants in the social movement. The main theme in the new social movement literature is that heavy industrialization and rapid economic growth paved the way for the formation of new visions. Inglehart's theory (1987 and 1995) shed light to the articulation of the emergence of new values. Satisfaction of material needs develops nonmaterial needs.

As a result, people find themselves in conflict with the existing materialistic social and political system and develop new aspirations. Indeed, satisfaction of material needs is not always a must because risk of ecological destruction may be enough to motivate people. In this sense, the level of satisfaction of basic needs is endangered.

In other words, NSMs are defined as a reaction to extensive and wrong usage of positional goods (living surroundings, cars, and good education) and its consequences (suburbs, traffic jams, and the devaluation of degrees). There are several explanations. In brief, NSMs arose as a response to worsening conditions and they fight for the reappropriation of time, of space, and of relationships in the individual's daily experience (Melucci, 1994).

1.5 Deficiencies and New Directions

According to Melucci (1995), RM theory, contrary to NSMs theory, focuses too much on the "how" of social movements and too little on the "why" part of the matter. The RM describes how participants in social movements are mobilized whereas NSMs define the structural conditions that generate deprivations and aspirations vulnerable to the appeals of social movements. As a matter of fact, the two approaches complement each other.

None of the approaches took into account neither the significance of the process of grievance interpretation nor the fact that collective action is socially constructed. An explicit reconstruction of how social structures can create the moral claims that individual actors develop in the process of building a movement is missing here (Kitschelt, 1990). Also, they did not take into consideration the important role social movement organizations play in this regard. They ignored the mediating processes through which situations are conceptualized and interpreted. However, it is

necessary to examine the ways people attribute meanings and define situations as well as the methods that social movement organizations help create meanings. The reason is that individual behaviour is not determined by the objective reality but the reality that is subject to perceptions and interpretations.

Social movement organizations generate meanings and interpretations. However, these should be diffused. In other words, the movement needs to find a way to convey to the public about their goals and views. In that respect, media is a one way that is very effective. The reason is that media defines, articulates and transmits the message to a large number of people. Hence, receiving media attention becomes very important for the social movement and social movements plan their actions accordingly. Research on protest coverage (cited in della Porta and Diani, 1999:183) demonstrates that action must involve a great many people, utilize radical tactics or be particularly innovative in order to obtain media attention. For example, Greenpeace designs their campaign activities to be visual, dramatic and easily presentable.

Attempts to disseminate the views of a social actor throughout various sectors of the population are called consensus mobilization. For this purpose, Klandermans and Oegama (1987) identify the following four steps: (1) Formation of mobilization potential; (2) Formation and activation of recruitment networks; (3) Arousal of the motivation to participate; and (4) Removal of barriers to participation.

The formation of mobilization potential is a long-term strategy. It refers to a very broad audience. The action mobilization is a short-term tactic for people who are persuaded by the previous process. In the first step, the argument is to legitimize the cause while in the second step, the argument is to legitimize the strategy.

Another important concept is collective identity. Collective identity is an

interactive and shared definition produced by several individuals, concerned with the objectives of action and the field of opportunities and constraints in which the action takes place. In addition to this cognitive process, it involves a network of active relationships between the actors. Meluchi (1995) argues that collective identity is not a monolithic unity of a subject but rather taking form as a result of interactions within the movement and outside the movement. A third aspect of collective identity is emotional investment that enables individuals to feel like part of a common unity. During the development of collective identity, jointly defined grievances produce the "we" feeling and causal attributions that stand for "they" which is blamed for the collective grievances that in turn results in collective action. The formation of a collective identity should not be seen only as a means, but also as an end in itself. If a movement succeeds in creating a new collective identity, the participants will integrate this new identity in their everyday lives and will be a challenge to the dominant culture. In this sense, collective identity is the nucleus.

Both approaches are seen to neglect the processes and mechanisms that transform these structural factors into collective action. Social construction of protest occurs as a result of interactions among social actors. It can be named as multi-organizational field composed of supporting sectors and opposing sectors. Yanitsky (1999: 159) argues that a movement exists and develops simultaneously in three contexts: historical-cultural, macro-social and local. The historical-cultural context, which characterizes the movement's atmosphere, symbolizes a set of values and norms. The macro-social context is the political regime that determines the relation between civil society and state. In this sense, in addition to social construction of protest, political opportunity structure should also be studied. The local context is the immediate

economic, political and social setting in which a movement emerges and operates and whose resources it depends.

RM model can be criticized for its failure to look at the environment in which social movement organizations are embedded. Van Der Heijden (1999) emphasizes the impact of political contexts on the organizational structure, action repertoire, movement discourse and the chances of success of environmental movement.

According to Tarrow (1998), the degree of openness or closure of the polity is a main factor affecting social movements. Accordingly, we can state that social movement organizations can not evolve independent of the wider external circle of political environment. The degree of access to the political system is important for the environmental movement. For instance, in a society where political conflicts between socialism and capitalism have been contained, the political agenda offers more window of opportunity for new social movement issues (environmentalism, feminism, etc.). Besides, the strategies of political elite's towards challengers, either integrative or exclusive, should be taken into consideration. With respect to elite strategies, integrative strategies concerning environmental movements are characterized by assimilation, facilitation and co-optation. All these exemplify that context is important because it supplies the movement with resources.

For instance, there are no successes recorded for environmental action groups in Kenya and Cambodia whereas in India, they have recorded successes. Since, the first group of countries does not have developed civil societies or effective democratic structures, environmental groups hardly exist (Haynes,1999). Nevertheless, the context should not be taken as constant. The reason is that social movements closely interact with the context. Therefore, political structure and social

movement are simultaneously affected from each other. For example, the Tapak movement in Indonesia indicates that the openness of the authorities and industries developed as the villager's efforts continued. The initial reaction of the authorities and industries came through public statements that intended to either deny villager's allegations or to discourage further actions, but the villagers carried on with their protest (Sunoto: 332). As a result of their determination, the authorities engaged in a discourse, which empowered villagers and advanced their bargaining position. In this sense, it should be acknowledged that the political constraints and opportunity structures are relational, depending on the interaction between the challenged group and the challenger.

To conclude, currently, there are two theories that represent different assessments of the contemporary social movements: RM, which is mainly dominant in the USA and NSMs, which is dominant in Europe. RM focuses on factors that produce resources, whereas NSMs concentrates on factors that produce grievances. None of them examines the significance of social construction. Despite being generated automatically, protest is socially constructed in the multi-organizational field. By developing the concepts of social construction of protest and multi-organizational field, here I attempted to associate the macro level of structural change with the micro level of individual participation in collective action. Moreover, there are external conditions that may hinder or facilitate efforts to mobilize. This can be explained under the label of political opportunity structure, in which social movement organizations are embedded. In short, the accommodation of old political conflicts, an open input structure, a strong implementation capacity and

integrative elite strategies are favorable to the emergence of environmental movement and its development.

The combination of two theories suggest that the emergence of a social movement involves two main factors, the conditions or issues which stimulate actors to take a collective action as well as the process which enables actors to act collectively. Bearing these two factors in mind, I will analyze the circumstances, which led the local people to organize the Bergama environmental movement in the following chapters.

CHAPTER II

THE BERGAMA ENVIRONMENTAL MOVEMENT

2.1 Geographical Location, Economic and Social Indicators

The Ovacık gold mine is located in a forest area of 100 hectares between Ovacık, Çamköy and Narlıca villages and 7 km away from one of the few ancient sites in the world, Bergama (Pergamon) in western Turkey. According to the socio-economic development index, which was published by the State Planning Organisation in 1996, Bergama was listed in the 141th rank among 858 towns in Turkey (Dinçer, 1996: 42). With the development index number of 0.716296, Bergama falls into the third group towns, which means medium level development. The Ovacık area is known for its richness in ancient olive trees, wild life and natural beauty and has a population of approximately 15.000 citizens scattered in 17 villages. There are five villages namely Narlıca, Pınarköy, Sarıdere, Tepeköy and Yalnızev where *Alevi* tradition mainly exists. According to the results of general elections, the SHP/CHP and the DYP dominated the political preferences among the villagers (See Table 1 and Figure 1). While the major parties, including the ANAP, the CHP, and the DYP lost a great deal of votes, the DSP and other parties increased their share of votes in these villages in the 1999 elections in parallel to the nationwide tendencies.

Most villagers earn their living from agriculture. The region is characterized by its fertile agricultural lands. Villagers use the regional underground water for irrigation

and drinking purposes (Ertan, 1997: 75). Green houses and olive oil factories are important sources of revenue. According to the reports of the Bergama Trade Chamber, agricultural production revenue in Bergama was 42 million-dollars in 1995 (Chamber of Environmental Engineers, 1998:49). Besides, first and second degree industrial plants, which mainly process wool and tobacco, have been growing in the region. The enterprises are export-oriented, and the wool especially, is famous worldwide for its light fiber.

2.2 The Mining Project

Even though gold mining has not been done yet in Turkey since the mining operations of the Ottoman state in 1850 in Gümüşhane, Turkey holds a large share in world's gold fabrication and consumption sector. As of year, Turkey imports 160 tonnes of gold yearly at a price of 1.9 billion dollars (TEB, 1996). At present in Turkey, the known gold reserves' yearly production capacity is 11 tonnes (Chamber of Mining Engineers, 1997).

Scientific explorations of gold reserve in Turkey started during the Republican era with the establishment of the Institution of Mine Investigation and Search (Maden Tetkik Arama, MTA) in 1934. MTA's studies provided information about Turkey's geology and mine formation. However, the high cost of detailed search for precious metals prevented the use of MTA's data for investment purposes. Currently, Turkish companies are not investing in the gold mining sector because of the high investment capital required and partly because of the lack of expertise in this field. The enactment of the Mining Law Nr. 3213 in 1985 encouraged foreign companies to invest in Turkey such as Cominco, Dardanel, Eurogold and Tuprag. Nonetheless, it should be

acknowledged that one of the goals of the "24 January Measures"⁴ in 1980 was the encouragement of foreign investment (Togan, 1995: 5)

The Ovacık Gold Mine was invested by the Eurogold company. Eurogold is a joint venture between Mine Or SA (66.7 percent) and the Inmet Mining Corporation of Canada (33.3 percent). It was established in Turkey to explore, form and process metals and minerals. Mine Or SA is the gold mining arm of the La Source partnership, a joint company between the Normandy Mining Group of Australia and France's BRGM. The company operates in Turkey under the Law Nr. 6224, the Law on Encouragement of Foreign Capital (Yabancı Sermayeyi Teşvik Kanunu) and Law Nr. 1567, the Law on the Protection of the Value of Turkish Currency (Türk Parasının Kıymetini Koruma Hakkında) (Taşkın, 1997: 13). The company was given the licence for mine exploration and excavation by the Ministry of Energy and Natural Resources on August 16, 1989. As a result of exploration activity, Eurogold has discovered gold deposits in the Aegean region. At the beginning of 1992, it was entitled to operate a mine in the Ovacık area. The company was motivated by the fact that the Ovacık deposit was located relatively close to the surface making production costs as low as \$ 150 per ounce, around half of the production cost of the world average in 1995 (TEB, 1996: 48). Eurogold expected to produce 24 tons of gold over a period of eight years and a similar amount of silver. Neither MTA nor any other government agency was authorized to make investigations about the amount of gold in the gold mine site.

According to the Chamber of Mining Engineers, cyanide leaching seems to be

⁴ During the decades 1950-1979 Turkey protected import substitution industries over exports and industry over agriculture through tariffs, quotas and overvalued exchange rates. The malfunctioning of the policies led to payment crisis coupled with recession and political instability by late 1970s. Hence, market oriented policy was introduced through transformation of an inward oriented development strategy into outward oriented one that encouraged foreign investment and market pricing.

the most appropriate method in the operations of the prospective gold mines. The Eurogold company intended to use the cyanide (CN) leaching method to extract gold. The process consists of piling up crushed ore on top of a synthetic liner and then spraying it repetitively with cyanide solution. The cyanide solution trickles through the ore, bonds to the gold and other metals and then sinks to the bottom of the heap. Then, it flows into collection ponds, after which the gold is recovered from the solution by absorption using carbon/charcoal ([http://www.miningwatch.org/emcbc/library/and_water.htm# Heap](http://www.miningwatch.org/emcbc/library/and_water.htm#Heap)).

The Ovacık Gold Mine is comprised of an open pit and underground production areas, a conventional carbon-in leach (CIP) treatment plant, a chemical detoxification plant and tailings pond. The mining process at the Ovacık mine is briefly described by the company as follows (<http://www.ebso.com.tr/business.web/Eurogold>). First gold ore is extracted from the open mine, loaded on trucks and transported to the plant for the process. Secondly, the ore is broken down into small pieces and they are taken to the mill on a conveyor belt for refining. Accordingly, the pieces are refined in a water mill and transformed to a muddy consistency. While a muddy consistency, the refined minerals are mixed with cyanide in tanks causing the dissolution and absorption of gold and silver out of the muddy water with carbon. After this stage, the gold and silver are scraped from the carbon and turned into a dry powder. While a powder, the gold and silver are melted and poured into forms. Finally, the muddy water is chemically detoxified and collected into a sealed "tailings pond."

2.3 The Emergence of Grievance and The Social Construction of Protest

At the beginning, everyone thought that gold mine would bring wealth and prosperity to the Bergama region. Mr. Oktay Konyar, the chair of Republican People's

Party (Cumhuriyet Halk Partisi, CHP) township organization commented that:

One day, we woke up and came across a multinational company in Bergama. We were so excited! This is gold! This is ambition! Common life! In other words, gold fascinates women cloaked in its mystery. Even, ancient scientists define it as the common prostitute of life, everyone wants it, everyone tries to achieve it, farmers will not do any more farming, and children will not work on the land! For a long time, we expected that there would be richness where there was gold! (Interview of the Author, IA)

Eurogold presented a Report of Environmental Impact Assessment (Çevre Etki Değerlendirme Raporu, ÇED) in 1991 intending to show that the use of cyanide leaching during the extraction of gold is not harmful to the environment. The report initiated some debates among the scientific community about the deficiencies of the Eurogold's method. Moreover, Eurogold claimed that the gold mine would have a positive impact on tourism. The first reaction to these developments came from the Bergama villagers who asked for help from the municipality whereas the headman of some of the villages sought advice from lawyers. Meanwhile, the mayor of Bergama started searching to learn about the effects of cyanide on the Internet from the early stages of the development. This marked the beginning of a learning process, villagers started to read and learn through seminars organized by the municipal government about the cyanide leaching method. They soon grasped the imminent danger of cyanide. They learnt that short-term exposure to high levels of cyanide, by inhaling, drinking or eating contaminated substances, or even by skin exposure is very toxic and fatal and that lower level exposure over time can also cause problems with breathing, nervous system disorders and digestive tract disorders. Hence, villagers found themselves in a conflict between the prospect of job opportunities and the fear of the harmful effects of cyanide. Mr. Münir Aldaş, a villager from Ovacık, complained that they were misinformed at the beginning:

They did not tell us that the gold mine would operate in Bergama. The company said that villagers, who could afford to buy a lorry, should buy one to carry the rocks. We were happy because of the employment opportunity. Later, they informed us that the mine would work in Bergama. We learned that it would use cyanide. However, we immediately regretted having welcomed Eurogold (IA).

The villagers went on investigating the conditions and locations of gold mines in the world, through several sources.⁵ They also taught what they learnt to each other. This process led to a further increase awareness among the villagers. As they learned that cyanide was a highly poisonous substance, they became convinced that if they stayed in the area, they would eventually die and lose their main source of income. This learning process ended with the conviction that they would have to oppose the production of gold with the use of cyanide leaching. From the perspective of Mr. Polat Bektaş, a villager from Çamköy, their coffee houses became a source of knowledge:

We started to examine everything carefully in order not to make something wrong. The issue was whether the mine would benefit the country or not. The village's coffee houses became an open university. Professors from the universities visited us. We are not against gold! We are against cyanide! An African leader said that "when the foreigners arrived in our country, they had God, we had gold but now, we are the god, let them to have gold. Our country does not need such a poison. There should be a faculty of agriculture instead of the mine. It should be for the public good. Will we live with the risk of cyanide for 100 years!" (IA)

Mr. Muzaffer Duran, another villager drew attention to the material losses that they would face and their strong bonds with the land:

⁵ In this formation process, they were especially informed about the impact of environmental disaster on human life from the following cases; disposal dam in Buffalo Creek-West Virginia gold mine was destroyed due to heavy rain and caused the death of 125 people and huge environmental disaster (1972); a similar disposal reserve was breached by rain and caused the death of thousands of fish and living things in Brever -South Carolina (1990); 300 people died in a gold mine accident due to soil erosion in Equator (1993); Yanonamies, a local tribe opposed the operation of gold mine using cyanide and some of them were killed during their struggle in Brazilian (1993); a Cyanide dam released cyanide effluent into the Essequiba River causing an environmental disaster (1995); a survey found that there was high cancer rate among the Dulkadir-Kütahya villagers due to a silver facility constructed 100m away from the village. In Lefke (Cyprus); many plants were poisoned and fish died around the gold mining area. An overflow of Cyanide in a dam at a Romanian gold mine has contaminated rivers, killed millions of fish, shutting down water supplies and causing the death of aquatic life in early 2000 (Chamber of Environmental Engineers,

If the mine operates, who will buy our grain and olives? Would you buy them? Our government does not think this way. My grandfather settled here during the War of Liberation. I do not want to leave my father's land. (IA)

Eurogold's operations in the region increased the land rents. The Bergama villagers had already sold their land for 5 or 6 times of its initial price before they heard about the cyanide effects. After they were informed about the dangers of cyanide they were ready to return the money. Although Eurogold provided jobs to the villagers, most of them rejected the offers, while a few of them started to work in the mine. The ones who accepted Eurogold's job offer were soon dismissed from their village. In an attempt to deter villagers' opposition and dilute their protest movement, the company built villas, a wedding salon and a fountain in the region. In other words, Eurogold deliberately tried to attract the attention of the local people by using economic incentives, however, these efforts soon failed. Ms. Müzeyyen Solak, a villager from Ovacık affirmed that they were determined to oppose the economic incentives of the company:

Why would Eurogold build a wedding salon or a fountain if it does not have any interest? It is impossible to live with the fear of death. Since the arrival of the company, our peace is disturbed. We want to live in a clean environment and plant crops! No one except the company's watchman lives in the villas. No one goes to the wedding salon. I heard that Eurogold would build a school. We will not send our children to Euro gold's school. We can pay money to the school services to take our children to other schools (IA).

After the ÇED⁶ was issued by the Ministry of Environment in 1993, the lawyers representing 800 villagers started the legal struggle (Demirer *et al*, 1999: 212).

1998).

⁶ The concept of "ÇED" was first introduced in 1983 with the article 10 of Environmental Law Nr. 2872, but it was put into effect when the ÇED regulation was published in 1993 in the Official Gazette. ÇED, a process of environmental management, planning and decision making that protects and improves environmental quality, involves detection and definition of direct or indirect, probable negative significant impact of a project on environment. (Yaşamış, 1997: 34).

The villagers filed a lawsuit to the Bergama Justice Court accusing of Eurogold of environmental damages and appealed to the İzmir Administrative Court in order to halt operations of Eurogold. However, they lost both cases. Against the Administrative Court decision, they appealed further to the Council of State. Furthermore, Mr. Senih Özay, the lawyer of the villagers, submitted a petition to the EP about the company that violated environment and law. Upon this appeal, on November 17, 1994, the EP ruled that gold mining operations carried out by Eurogold and Tüprag in Bergama and Edremit were an environmental disaster and operating must be halted.

While the legal procedures were carried on by the İzmir lawyers for the environment, other procedures were conducted by the Environmental Executive Committee. The committee was composed of the representatives of labor unions, CHP, Freedom and Solidarity Party (Özgürlük ve Dayanışma Partisi, ÖDP) and the municipal government. Moreover, the committee was also supported by some of the environmental pressure groups and the Chamber of Environmental Engineers and Chemical Engineers and the Atatürkist Thought Association. While Mr. Sefa Taşkın, the mayor of Bergama supported the idea of establishment of an association and the use of conventional tactics (personal lobby activity), the chair of CHP's township organization, Mr. Konyar, claimed that conventional tactics would not alone contribute much in achieving the goals and he opted for protests because they are more radical and participatory. Accordingly, Mr. Taşkın established the Pergamon Association. Thus, the movement gained a momentum and acceleration.

2.4 Milestones of the Major Developments

As the excavation started, the company cut 10.000 trees promising that for every tree uprooted, it would plant five saplings. The villagers tried to stop the falling of

trees by standing in front of them like in the case of Chipko Movement in India (Haynes, 1998:102), but they failed. This caused more grievances and marked the start of the protests against Eurogold in 1996. Mr. Konyar recalled the colonial Indian wars:

We realized that it was not possible to negotiate with them. They are cowboys and we are American Indians. They occupied our lands and they are ready to exile us! (IA)

Since 1996, the villagers have been organizing several protest marches. Every demonstration has a special meaning. Firstly, on November 16, 1996, they blocked the Çanakkale-İzmir highway for five hours and walked on foot 18 kilometers from their villages to Bergama. Then, a week later, the headmen of the 17 villages organized a meeting in the Bergama Cumhuriyet Square screaming "Enough! No to gold mining with cyanide." On November 24, 1996, despite the cold weather, the male villagers of Bergama staged "a shirtless" demonstration with the slogan of "Enough!" For the most part, this type of protest has been a trademark of the Bergama movement. Mr. Konyar articulated that nakedness and cold weather showed their determination. Nakedness is something unusual for rural people in social terms.

In mid -January 1997, over two thousand villagers participated in a symbolic referendum made by the Bergama Environmental Executive Committee. All of the villagers from seven villages said "no" to the use of cyanide. By this informal referendum, the Bergama movement gained a further momentum and developed legitimacy in the public realm. This also signaled the fact that the villagers' opinion were being taken into account democratically and increased public awareness and participation. Soon after the referendum, on January 24, 1997, the villagers participated in a summit "From Susurluk to Gold with Cyanide" organized in memory of Uğur Mumcu and Metin Göktepe both of whom were left-wing journalists and were

assassinated. In order to increase solidarity and collective action, a series of events were organized. For instance, about three thousand people went for a picnic near the Ovacık gold mine.

First of all, in February 1997, activities promoting the movement individually and collectively were intensified. On February 11, 1997, Mr. Taşkın took their case to the EP. Meanwhile the Greens and Socialists showed support for the Bergama Movement and even German tourism companies declared that they would support the protests against the gold mine. As stated above the EP in a resolution had warned Turkey in 1994 against the use of cyanide in gold mining operations. In other words, the Bergama movement has been receiving legitimacy in the international arena.

Later, on February 22, 1997, in a play, the villagers expressed their frustration with Eurogold. At the end, a villager who played the role of a representative of Eurogold was chased and beaten up by the spectators. (*Milliyet*, February 23, 1997) Thus, to put their physical resistance against Eurogold, dramatizing the case in the minds of people like a Turkish folk play (*ortaoyunu*) was effectively used to improve public awareness and to develop people's consciousness towards it. This also helped the development of identity for the villagers.

The day after, the villagers planted fig saplings in front of the mine. Their act was a reflection of a popular Turkish idiom "to plant a fig on the source" which means, "to ruin the source or do away with it" symbolizing the closure of the mine. Furthermore, the villagers decided not to send their children to school for a week in order to draw the attention of the public authorities to the fact that there might be no future for their kids if Eurogold could go on with its plant. The villagers also cooked *lokma*, which has been a tradition in Anatolia after someone has died.

In addition to their continuous protests, the villagers tried to learn more about the effects of cyanide. Therefore, on February 28, 1997, they visited the deserted gold mine areas in Lefke in Cyprus and Balya in Balıkesir. Those site trips made the villagers more aware of the material losses as a consequence of gold mining with cyanide. Upon their visits to the sites, Mr. Bayram Kıray, a villager from Narlıca, said :

Mayor of Lefke told us that the company had left the country in 1974. Tones of poisonous waste have been stored in Lefke ever since. The fact that heavy metals got into sea meant a disaster. It poisoned fishes. Most of the miners died because of cancer. Moreover, the population radically decreased. Many people migrated to somewhere else (IA).

Mr. Duran made an account on the material losses:

We went to Cyprus. We could hardly breath. Our throats were aching because of the smell. There was only a watchman; people had left their lands. There were lots of orange gardens. However, none could eat the oranges because they knew that they were poisoned. No ship has come to that part of the island for years (IA).

Mr. Bektaş underlined the long-lasting impact of cyanide in Balya:

Balya is near Bergama. In 1934, Atatürk nationalized the mines and foreigners had to go away. They had used cyanide. Sixty-six years have passed but it is still poisoning. Any plant, even grass is not growing on the earth (IA).

While the villagers were returning from Lefke, they thought about hijacking the plane in order to publicize their cause, but they gave up the idea because such an act could harm their peaceful movement. (*Milliyet* , March 6, 1997)

During April 1997, a series of national and international events were set up in conjunction with the Bergama case. The villagers' movement attracted the sympathy of many other groups in society. For instance, an environmentalist group, known for their beattle car drove to Bergama to support the villagers. Students from different parts of the world met in Bergama. On April 10, 1997, "the Bergama-Izmir Hand in Hand"

committee started a petition campaign. After the campaign, environmental pressure groups and citizens organized a walk from Izmir Agora to Bergama.

On April 22,1997, the villagers, accompanied by 100 trucks picketed the area that Eurogold intended to gold mine for about 12 hours. As a consequence, Mr. Kutlu Aktaş, the governor of İzmir province stated that the operations were impeded for a month in the mine.

In another protest march held on May 5,1997, the villagers were stopped by security forces on the outskirts of Ankara. The villagers, who managed to enter the city, visited Mr. Deniz Baykal, the chair of CHP and Mr. Adnan Keskin, the party's secretary general. Meanwhile, the Council of State on May 13 annulled the decision of the Izmir Administrative court. Accordingly, the villagers celebrated their victory with a picnic party on the grass covered plot selected as the plant site. Following the Council of State decision, a press conference by the Eurogold authorities faced a huge protest of environmentalists with the slogan of "go away Eurogold!"

On May 18, 1997, about three thousand people involved in a picnic, which is titled "before cyanide is mixed with water." After the picnic, the base for the monument of Episode of the Seventeen Villages (Onyedi Köy Kitabesi) was opened in the Çamköy square.

The monument represented the struggle of the seventeen villages against the operation of gold mine using cyanide. The major statements of the Episode are as follows:

The lands that you step on belong to the villagers of Alacalar, Aşağıkırıklar, Bozköy, Çalibahçe, Çamköy, Eğrigöl, Küçükkaya, Kurfalı, Narlıca, Ovacık, Pınarköy, Sağancı, Saridere, Süleymanlı, Tepeköy, Yalnızev and Yeniköy. These lands are bountiful. In its plains, cotton is like snow, wheat is like gold, tobacco is like amber. In its mountains, solemn pine and oak

trees, in its streams shadows of cool plane trees lie. The olive trees in its skirts are as old as the history. You can not be full enough for its pomegranate and grape. Do not return without tasting. If you hit your heel to the ground, water comes out with gurgling sound. It is healing, it improves mind, it gives health to the body. If you hit the hill some more, all sorts of mine scatters around the earth. It is richness. There is this place's mud in Kleopatra's beauty. Pergamon paper is native of this place, it went around the kings and sealed the treaties, it carried the love words and is hidden in the silver boxes. Alexandrians read their library for centuries, their theatres, statues, sculptures. The people living here are honest and hard working. They do not discriminate against religion, language, race, gender and nation. They forget neither their friends nor their enemies. They are peace loving. They heard about the things that greedy Europeans did to American natives for gold. Now, every night, they say good bye to their lands, animals, trees and each other before they go to bed but they can not sleep. They do not love those Europeans who prefer gold to life. They do not consider them as guests but considers the other westerners as their fellow. They had known gold but they just learned about cyanide. When they learned about cyanide, they threw the gold that they carried with care to the ground. They know that their grain, sunflower, tobacco are yellow, wool is white, and olive is black gold. They do not want to go away from their land or to die here. In recent times, they have become very angry. They are annoyed with the indifferent attitude of political hope merchants. They are hurt by the insensitivity of hard days' friends. Recently, they have become very sensitive. Through a quick look, they can distinguish friend and enemy. If you come as a friend, meet with them, listen to them and speak with them. If you are not friend, leave here quickly. These people love life and nature, which is their life. They know that death does not wear gold! We saw these people like that, knew, understood and wrote.

Upon the 30 days elapsed since the Council of State's decision, the legal period for law enforcement that was recognized after the decision of the Council of State for the Ministry and the company expired. The Ministry of Environment objected to the court decision on the grounds that cyanide is the most effective solvent and 85 percent of the world's gold production is made by using cyanide.

After the news saying that Eurogold brought more cyanide to the plant area was spread, the villagers caused damage to the plant site and were held in custody as it was an obvious violation of law. As a consequence of the protests, Ms. İmren Aykut, the Minister of Environment said that it was enough, the villagers had "a taste of pumpkin

"meaning that the movement was disgusting (*Sabah*, July 28, 1997). In response to the minister, the village women cooked all the sorts of dishes that were made of pumpkin in order to protest the minister.

In the meantime, on August 21, 1997, the period of allocation for the area, which was given by the Ministry of Forestry to Eurogold, expired. The Eurogold's office in Bergama was bombed. This was the second incidence of violence until that time. After the bombing of Eurogold's office, the Greenpeace Mediterranean Office declared that the event should not be related to the villagers, who believed in non-violent actions (<http://www.greenpeacemed.org.mt/prs/turkey/toxics/971020.htm>).

Then, the Bergama villagers marched on the Bosphorous bridge in Istanbul, which was notorious for suicides, thus they symbolically associated cyanide with suicide. Mr.Konyar explained their experience:

We arrived at the bridge at 9.00 A.M and the media was ready there. The police, gendarme and the special terrorist police teams were also present. Their chief asked, " what are these people doing here" very harshly. I said to him that he had to take his words back and tell his teams that these people were the grandchildren of the people who were involved in the War of Liberation. Later, another chief-police asked again what we were doing? I told them that we were doing a civil disobedience. They did not know about it and asked again what it was. We told that the citizens have won their rights, their request has met with a favourable judicial decision and if the decision is not enforced, citizens do such things. Later, a nice thing happened. They bargained with us to leave the bridge. We accepted leaving the place on the condition that they let us to have lunch in the Blue Mosque Square so that we could also talk with the tourists about our struggle. (IA)

While the demonstrations were able to transmit their resistance to the international audience directly, the national media also showed an increasing sympathy with the movement. Several front-page stories and editorials appeared in the major newspapers following this march in Istanbul. Thus, the Bergama movement created a nation-wide public opinion in support of their activities.

On September 12, 1997, the villagers protesting in a wedding ceremony did not attach jewellery to the bride. In Turkey, gold bangles, talismans, woven bracelets and chains are traditionally offered to a new bride on her wedding day as part of her trousseau. They represent her financial security for the future and are displayed proudly. This was another indication of the fact that the villagers were developing a reaction towards gold as a material, which has been an indispensable part of women.

The İzmir Administrative Court approved the decision of the Council of State, thus annulling the permit of the Ministry of Environment to Eurogold on October 15, 1997. In spite of the expiration of the legal period for the implementation of the court decision, it was not enforced by the governmental authorities. Almost a month later, on November 25, 1997, security measures were increased in Bergama and the İzmir governorship provided additional forces. Aftermath of these developments, the villagers boycotted the general census, which was held in 30 November 1997 and were not counted. The villagers announced, "they should not be counted until they are cared about."

The mayor of Bergama had filed a lawsuit against the Prime Minister, the Minister of the Environment, the Minister of Energy and Natural Resources on the grounds that they did not execute the court decision. Then, on December 4, 1997, a compensation case was filed which also stated that compensation would be spent in order to repair the damage and restore the plant site.

The Human Rights Association (İnsan Hakları Derneği, İHD) visited the Bergama villagers and organized a press conference without a permit. In mid December, a lawsuit was filed about the administration of İHD. Then, on December 12, 1997, the İzmir provincial government stopped the activities of its inspection unit that

was established for controlling the operations of the gold mine.

On December 14, 1997, the Association of Turkish Medical Doctors offered the prize of "Public Health Service" to the Bergama villagers. This further strengthened the legitimacy and the recognition of the Bergama movement in Turkish public opinion.

Meanwhile, an inspection conducted by the Inspection Office of the Ministry of Public Works resulted in the closure of Eurogold due to the construction of illegal buildings. In the legal realm, on January 3, 1998, the Bergama villagers collected money among themselves to file a law action for damages against the authorities, including the Prime Minister, the Minister of the Environment and the governor of İzmir.

In order to lessen the degree of negative public opinion about itself, on January 9, 1998, the Eurogold company started a new advertisement campaign using the slogan "Turkey is entering to the gold era". The Eurogold company also attempted to use the moral values of the people. In this respect, the company provided free dinners during Ramadan to the Bergama villagers, but the villagers boycotted the restaurants by screaming that "no life can be sold for one plate of food".

In the following days, the Council of State rejected the compensation case against the successive Ministers of the Environment, Mr. Ziyaettin Tokar and Ms. İmren Aykut.

On January 9, 1998, the Chamber of Environmental Engineers nominated the Bergama villagers as a candidate for the "Global 500" environment prizes organized by the UNEP. Upon the indifferent attitude of the Ministry of Environment toward the nomination of the Bergama villagers and its negative response to the chamber by the

reason of expiration of the application deadline, the nomination petition was directly sent to the UN office in Nairobi. The negative attitude of the Ministry indicated that the official authorities considered this movement illegitimate either because of the economic interests of the government or the petition of the organizations, which had been leading the movement from the very beginning.

In response to Eurogold's counter campaign on January 28, 1998, the professional associations declared a petition, which was titled "Everywhere is Bergama, all of us are from Bergama" and signed by hundreds of people throughout Turkey. At that time, there were nine joint ventures, which had been granted by the Turkish government for gold mining licenses.⁷

Therefore, the Ovacık project was considered as a test case for both sides, implicitly or explicitly including the government, the company and the public. In short, the Bergama movement was a symbol of resistance in this process. Mr. Duran expressed the importance of the Bergama resistance as such:

Not only for Bergama, the door looks a castle door, once, the door is opened, they will extract gold by using cyanide in 562 places in Turkey. Therefore, we are important. I hope they will not be able to break down the door! (IA)

Mr. İsmail Duman, a professor of Istanbul Technical University, contributed to the learning process of the villagers stating the fact that Cogema and Nukem (the major shareholders of the Eurogold company) have been guilty of nuclear disposal trade;

Cogema is in fact, a uranium producer and Nukem had caused a nuclear scandal, recently. It was caught while disposing of nuclear waste in the North Sea in 1987 and 1989. Turkey was attractive for those companies because of its mine galleries. These companies could easily dispose of radioactive waste in the mountains of Anatolia. (*Milliyet* February 14, 1998)

⁷ Of which 499 exploration, 48 pre-operation and 40 are operating licences. May 23, 1997. *Turkish Probe*.

At last, on April 1, 1998, the Council of State approved the decision of the Izmir Administrative court that rendered the permit of the Ministry of Environment to Eurogold as illegal. Mr. Özay stated that not only the villagers were opposing to the Eurogold, but also plants and animals as a whole nature itself (*Milliyet*, April 4, 1998). In that respect, the movement's philosophy is close to deep ecology.

In order to enhance the solidarity and unity among and between the Bergama villagers, several activities have been regularly organised. For instance, they watched the play titled "Işık İnsanları" (People of the Light) during the International Bergama Festival. On June 15, 1998, Mr. Haluk Levent, a popular rock singer, indicated his support to Bergama villagers.

The country passed into an early election period starting from September 1998 during which the movement became less active probably due to the judicial victory gained by the villagers at the Council of State eventually.

Mr. Taşkın failed in the early local elections which was held in 18 April 1999 and the majority of voters elected the candidate of the Democratic Left Party (Demokratik Sol Parti, DSP) who was the constructor of the Eurogold's villas. As was indicated earlier Bergama residents living in the centre of the town were not directly involved in the struggle. During our interviews people interpreted this phenomenon differently. Ms. Solak, emphasized the fact that most of the people are unaware of the upcoming threat:

Some of the people living in the center of the town are working in the gold mine. And, if the mine operates, most of the harm will affect the villages. Besides, they are not also as conscious as we are about the prospective danger of cyanide for the local people. Professors came from universities to raise consciousness. If there is a spill, everyone will be affected. (IA)

Mr. Konyar mentioned that only traders and unemployed people thought about

the financial interests of the gold mine:

In fact, all of the people except the tradesmen are against the gold mine. The traders think that gold mine will bring money, which, in turn, means more shopping. There are also unemployed people and the gold mine raises hopes for a better condition of employment. In my opinion, the most important factor is the change of ethical values in Turkish society after the 1980s. In other words, people can hardly take responsibility for social issues and remain indifferent. "If I do not do it, somebody else will, why should I bother myself!" (IA)

When Eurogold transported 18 tones of cyanide to the Kütahya province, the Bergama villagers moved to Kütahya and organized protests around the Etibank silver facility. Traditionally, a group of 50 villagers staged a shirtless demonstration and put a bandage on their mouths as a silent protest. Thus, the movement expanded its geographical scope to the neighboring provinces. Mr. Konyar told that:

Our struggle is not only for Bergama, but also for Kütahya. The company should have left our country. The city smelled of poison. People faced serious problems. We attempted to express it. We used bandages instead of oxygen masks! (IA)

Despite the recent decision of the Council of State, Eurogold has produced the first bar of gold (Milliyet , June 5, 1999). Meanwhile, the newly formed coalition government of Nationalist Mother-left submitted a bill amending the articles 55 (nationalization and privatization), 125 (Judicial review of administrative decisions) and 155 (the Council of State) to the TGNA in mid-July (Gençkaya, 1999). During the late 1990s, the respective Turkish governments were convinced to initiate a new foreign investment regime with international arbitration as a consequence of increasing energy demand. One of the priorities of the new coalition government was to eliminate all obstacles before foreign direct investment. This was considered as supportive of Eurogold's operations in Bergama having actual or potential threat to environment. Several organisations under the umbrella of Labor Platform put a strong resistance

towards international arbitration as against to the national independence of Turkey, national sovereignty and public interest.

An anti-nuclear festival in Mersin-Akkuyu turned out to be a resistance movement against international arbitration (Bulunmaz, 2000:33). Several women from Bergama went door to door calling villagers to the meeting. Although, this festival was organized by the local people to show their opposition against a nuclear power station, the Bergama villagers convinced the Akkuyu villagers to protest by reason of experience. According to Mr. Konyar, the festival would not help villagers to win their struggle, because there was nothing to celebrate! Eventually, the TGNA approved the amending bill in the second reading on August 13, 1999 with an overwhelming majority. Sooner, the TGNA made necessary changes in the regulating laws, too. Thus, foreign companies became able to appeal to international arbitration when a dispute occurs. More importantly, the Council of State, which had become the only state institution indicating environmental sensitivity in its authoritative decisions, was totally eliminated from the process. This opened a new phase in the struggle of the Bergama villagers.

On November 28, 1999, the Bergama villagers formed a chain with cans in their hand near the mine. They shouted "No to gold with cyanide, no to international arbitration". They symbolically dismissed Eurogold. It was acknowledged that there was no article related to international arbitration in Eurogold's contract, but the company could try to add a new article according to the recent amendments to the 1982 constitution. This would imply that Eurogold could apply to an international court when and if a dispute arose and the recent decision of the Council of State would be obsolete.

In late January, a cyanide spill that spread from the Baia-Mare gold mine in Romania to neighboring countries destroyed virtually all aquatic life especially in the Tisa river in Serbia. This was the worst environmental catastrophe in Europe since the 1986 nuclear reactor accident at Chernobyl, Ukraine and it increased the public tension in the Bergama region. Although Eurogold denied the fact that it had anything to do with the Esmeralda company, which partly owns the mine in Romania, Mr. Taşkın, the chair of the Pergamon Society and the former mayor of Bergama, insisted that Eurogold was lying and misleading the Turkish public (*Cumhuriyet*, February 18, 2000). Upon these developments, the Bergama villagers organized a demonstration in İzmir and sold cyanide "free fish sandwiches". They also played an act simulating the death of fishes on the street (*Cumhuriyet*, February 20, 2000).

Meanwhile, the Turkish government had announced that any company, which did not have an operation license, would be given an additional time period for official application of operation license (*Official Gazette*, April 5, 2000). Moreover, the government requested The Scientific and Technical Research Council of Turkey (Türkiye Bilimsel ve Teknik Araştırma Kurumu, TÜBİTAK) to prepare a report on Eurogold's operation. In brief, the report maintained that the gold mining in Bergama was proper and beneficial as an economic operation, and sensible to the environment in terms of sustainable development. Moreover, it was also asserted that the probability of a spill of cyanide was very low, according to scientific considerations. Accordingly, Undersecretariat of Prime Ministry informed ministries of interior affairs, health, public works, energy, forestry and environment that risk factors were removed and called for re-evaluation of the situation.

As a consequence of the government's permission for Eurogold operations, The Foundation for Afforestation and Struggle Against Soil Erosion (Türkiye Erozyonla Mücadele Ağaçlandırma ve Doğal Varlıkları Koruma Vakfı, TEMA) filed a lawsuit in order to stop the enforcement. TEMA also declared its opinion about the recent developments in Bergama. TEMA protested the scholars who prepared the new report on the gold mining with cyanide in Bergama contrary to the principles of law and scientific ethics (Bayer, June 16, 2000).

While the villagers were determined to carry on their struggle, the company did not also give up gold mining in Bergama. The company used several strategies in order to operate. They declared that Eurogold would change its name and sell its shares to the public. This strategy of the company was considered by Mr. Aldaş as follows:

Unless I die, I will oppose gold mining with cyanide. I must protect my environment. From then on, I cannot live in another place. If it were a Turkish company, I would oppose again because I know its harmful effect. I heard that Eurogold would sell shares. There can not be such an immorality! (IA)

The lawyers of the villagers reacted against the latest developments.⁸ They stated that the request of the prime ministry conflicted with the Articles 2, 11, 129, 37 of the Constitution and the bureaucrats at the prime ministry violated the constitution on the following grounds:

The paragraph four of Article 138 maintains that legislative and executive bodies must comply with the court decisions, administration can not modify the decisions and block the enforcement of the decisions. The Article 11 emphasizes the importance of the Constitutional provisions as the basic legal rules. The article 129 states that officials and the other public officers are obliged to act in accordance with the constitution and laws. The paragraph two of the Article 137 implies that if the subject of a command constitutes an offence, it can not be obeyed by of any reason, the person who obeys that command can not escape from responsibility. The procedure of Administrative Trial Law article

⁸ Names of the lawyers are Ö. Erlat, A. Cangı, R. Bozkurt, S. Özay, U. Kalelioğlu, N. Özkan, A. Okyay, and T. Oğuz.

28/1 states that the decisions of the Council of State regarding the administrative court's decision about halting the execution must be immediately complied with.

Furthermore, it was stated that the Ministry of Environment sent an official document to the public organizations and called for the enforcement of court decision. After the annulment of the operation permit given by the Ministry of Environment, the other permits of the company became invalid. As a result, the lawyers petitioned the Prime Ministry and ministries concerned to comply with the court decision and respect the rule of law principle in August 2000.

Meanwhile, the Public prosecutor's office of the İzmir State Security court asked the Bergama public prosecutor's office to make investigations about the Bergama villagers on the grounds that they were members of "a secret organisation." In response to the investigation, thousands of Bergama villagers denounced that if there was an offence, all of them committed it. Thus, they are going to inform the public prosecutor's office that they are also guilty. During the visit of Chamber of Turkish Architectures and Engineers (TMMOB) to Çamköy in support of the villagers, Mr. Konyar stated that the investigation was a tactic to impede their struggle. According to Mr. Konyar, these latest developments warned the people of Eşme-Uşak, Efem Çukuru-İzmir, Kaymaz-Eskişehir, Mastra-Gümüşhane and Küçükdere-Balıkesir that if they opposed gold mining in their vicinity like the Bergama villagers, they would also face investigations. In addition, he stressed that suppressing people's right to protest did not benefit society (*Cumhuriyet*, September 12, 2000).

Accordingly, Mr. Taşkın drew attention to the documents, which the investigation was based upon: Interestingly, all of the documents are provided by the

Eurogold company to conceal their illegal acts, all of the documents are one sided and not objective (*Cumhuriyet*, September 15, 2000).

On September 23, 2000, the Bergama villagers demonstrated their trial for being an illegal organization. In this occasion, they chose the former building of the TGNA as the demonstration site. In that regard, the villagers displayed their dissatisfaction with the policies of TGNA and they identified their struggle with the principles of Atatürk. They were also protecting their native lands. In brief, this demonstration contributed to the legitimacy of the movement because the Bergama villagers demonstrated peacefully. After the protest nearby the former building of the TGNA, the Bergama villagers stated that their leader was Mustafa Kemal Atatürk and quoted from Atatürk's speech to support their struggle: "Even worse however, might be a situation in which those who hold power within the country may be in error, misguided and may even be traitors. Furthermore, they may identify their personal interests with the political intentions of the invaders." They added that they supported the other protests in the world, which resist to international exploitation.

The continuous international support was providing the vital motive for the movement. Turkish people in Australia protested gold mining with cyanide. Young people who were organized as "SOS Bergama Volunteers" participated in several demonstrations in Melbourne in order to support the Bergama villagers (*Milliyet*, October 8, 2000). Before the World Economic Forum in Melbourne on September 11-13, 2000, anti-globalization protests took place. During these protests, Australian Turks allied with environmentalist groups distributed a declaration. Intellectuals, students and artists united for the anti-cyanide campaign with the slogan "The Third world is not the dump site of the developed countries". The demonstrations in

Australia were important because Australia based companies have mining facilities in different parts of the world and the Normandy Mining Group of Australia is a partner of Eurogold. Besides, Bergama movement was becoming more publicized in other parts of the world.

In line with the efforts of the government for the operation of gold mine, the Eurogold company prepared a new ÇED and got an approval from the Ministry of Environment. In addition, the company managed to extend the permit of the Ministry of Forestry to use the forest area and receive another permit from the Ministry of Health. In the mid-October, it was announced that Eurogold was awaiting the permit of İzmir provincial governorship. All these developments implied that Bergama struggle returned to its starting point.

On October 14, 2000 Mr. Konyar and a group of villagers denounced themselves to the State Security Court (DGM) to protest the ongoing investigation about the Bergama villagers with the reason of forming a secret organization. They visited DGM in Istanbul and petitioned their offence announcement.

A week later, on October 19, 2000 the Bergama villagers were awarded the honorary prize by the TMMOB at Bilkent University, Ankara. Mr. Konyar rejected the prize on the grounds that they had not yet achieved their goals. On behalf of the Bergama villagers, he promised to accept the prize when they succeed in the whole country.

The Bergama villagers visited Jose Bove, a French farmer and an activist in anti-globalization protests on November 4.⁹ He had come to Turkey in order to

⁹ Jose Bove is the leader of a radical farmers' union. He was jailed for vandalizing McDonald's restaurant property on August 25, 1999. His union made McDonald's the main target through violent protests, decrying the fast-food chain as a symbol of American trade "hegemony" and economic globalization (http://www.infoshop.org/news4/french_farmers.html).

participate in a discussion on globalization during the book exhibition organised by TÜYAP. The villagers visited him and gave him a cyanide-free village bread that they had brought from Bergama (*Cumhuriyet*, November 5, 2000).

The Fourth Environment Forum was held in İzmir by the Ministry of Environment between 5-9 November. Mr. Noyan Özkan, the chair of İzmir Bar reacted against the attitude of the Ministry (*Cumhuriyet*, November 9, 2000). Although the Bar had dealt with environment and worked against the violations of environment right in the cases of Gökova, Yatağan, Yeniköy thermic stations and Ovacık-Bergama gold mine, he was not invited to the Forum's commission on right of environment and role of the judiciary. Besides, other active environmentalists, including Mr. Konyar, were not invited, too. This explicitly indicated that the government did have a negative attitude towards grassroot environmentalist groups and their advocates such as the İzmir Bar.

"İzmir-Bergama-Eşme-Sivrihisar hand in hand movement" organized a meeting "Solidarity with Bergama villagers" at the İzmir Bar. By this occasion Mr.Özkan, Mr.Taşkın, Mr.Konyar, representatives of the Atatürkist Thought Association, the Human Rights Association, the SOS Mediterranean Association, TEMA, the Chambers of Environmental Engineers, Chemistry Engineers and Architects, the CHP and the ÖDP participated to show their support to the Bergama villagers. Moreover, Mr. Konyar announced that Bergama villagers would march from Bergama to Çanakkale and invited everyone to participate in the march. Until now, the movement did not let their sympathizers participate in the protests. However, Mr. Konyar's announcement implied that they would welcome all kinds of support during their march and affirmed the view that at an actual protest site, all the

participants would see how many other people were willing to protest and the appearance of collective strength encourages individuals who were less committed to participate.

On November 13, 2000, 40 villagers from Narlıca, Ovacık and Çamköy started their "Kuvva-i Milliye" (Nationalist Forces) march at the monument in Çamköy. These villages are the closest to the mine site. Many people said farewell to the villagers and applauded them to show their support. The Bergama villagers were accompanied by a group of reporters and gendarme. When they took their first break, women depicted Atatürk posters and all the villagers attached Turkish flags on their clothes.

The reporters wanted to learn the reason of Ms. Sabahat Gökçeoğlu's absence in the march and learned that she was ill but would join the march soon. She, taking the responsible for the mobilization of Çamköy, has been recognized by the media as one of the leading figures in the movement. Later, they wanted to interview with Mr. Bayram Kuzu, called *Obelix* for his resemblance, another important character of the movement in the public. Accordingly, Mr. Konyar asked the reporters not to show interest just to the popular villagers in the media, because all of the Bergama villagers were heroes.

Later, the villagers opened their banner "2000 Kuvva-i Milliye March". Mr. Konyar wanted to thank Ms. Ayşe Tosuner, a member of the banned Greens party for her support and make a press announcement about their march. However, the gendarme announced that they were violating the law Nr. 2911 about "holding meetings and demonstration marches". Therefore, the villagers started walking. During the march, Mr. Konyar articulated that they initiated this march for their

rights:

We are inspired by martyrs in Çanakkale, who died for national independence. Our symbol is the War of Liberation. In the old days, enemies were coming with their guns and bombs. At present, enemies are coming with their old-fashioned technology, nuclear power stations, gold mines and incredible pollution. An Australian Company is a partner in one of the parts in Eurogold joint venture. We are the modern form of Kuvva-i Milliye and we will continue our struggle. (IA)

An old truck carried the food and clothes. Although, *Obelix* was not feeling well, he insisted on walking. Later, he was put into the old truck. *Obelix* was 68 years old and had some problems while he was walking. He stated that he would continue struggling until they won. In addition, he expressed his doubts that there could be other precious metals in the gold mine site or the company could bring nuclear wastes to the area.

On November 16, the villagers left 140 km behind. Many people in Edremit and in Güre welcomed the villagers with flowers. The mayors of these towns said that Bergama villagers' struggle was a model that should be supported. The villagers attached the court decisions on themselves and said that they only wanted the implementation of court decision. Later, the villagers went to the baths in Güre.

Four days later the villagers reached their destination, Çanakkale. During the arduous march, the villagers took breaks in several towns namely Altınova, Ayvalık, Gömeç, Burhaniye, Edremit, Güre, Ayvacık, Bayramiç and Ezine and were greeted with joy and appreciation by the local people.

Mr. Duran commented that:

We are happy because of the people's interest in our cause. There was a big support. We are gaining strength from that support. Enlightened and sensitive people do exist. Everyone is with us. These demonstrations will not end until the gold mine is closed. We have the same determination like the Kuvva-i Milliye (*Cumhuriyet*, November 21, 2000).

After the end of the march, the other villagers stressed that they were not tired and they were full of energy for their next march to Samsun. It was stated that next destination of Kuvva-i Milliye march would be Samsun where Mustafa Kemal Atatürk gave the start of National War of Independence. Moreover, villagers underlined that the march meant that people were not asleep. In effect, they became more conscious. This march was also done against bank robbers, mafia and gangs.

On December 4, 2000, the representatives of the labor union at the Petkim Petrochemical Company in Aliğa, together with Bergama villagers, joined the Greenpeace cyber action that took place in both localities where messages were sent to over 100 government representatives that met in Johannesburg, South Africa, for the final negotiations on an international treaty to ban some of the world's most toxic chemicals. If the negotiations end with success, global ban on toxic chemicals identified by the UNEP will be initiated. This will be followed with a ban on the production and use of persistent organic pollutants. The Ministry of Environment announced that they were not able to send a committee to the meeting because traveling funds were not available (Cumhuriyet, December 5, 2000).

2.5 Main Aspects of the Bergama Movement

2.5.1 Objectives

It is observed that the movement possesses different goals from the perspectives of its leadership and of the villagers. As the movement progressed, it contributed to some unintended aims for the greater public, too.

In general, the leaders of the movement consider the phenomenon from a wider angle, including its consequences in the Turkish politics. For instance, Mr. Konyar identifies the movement with a project of civil disobedience. He articulated

that the Bergama villagers discovered that political decisions were affecting their lives and their environments were beyond their control. They opposed to the operation of gold mine using cyanide by law and won with the decision of the Council of State. However, the decision was not implemented. Then, they used their right to resist through civil disobedience. In this context, he related human rights and democracy to environment so that all of them are interrelated:

We should not have been put into jail when we organized a demonstration. Because, we were just defending our right to live, we were not committing a crime. We do not let people other than our villagers to participate in our protests because if we included fundamentalists, terror criminals etc., the police could dissolve the group on the grounds of *show-making*. However, our aim is to organize a social opposition (IA).

Moreover, according to Mr. Konyar, democratization in Turkey is hindered by the fact that rural people are not conscious enough:

Our starting point is that villagers are the least organized in Turkish society. Anti-democratic actions in Turkey start with villagers. Villagers only participate in voting and their votes usually go to Islamists or to the people that steal, corrupt and do not think about the country's full independence. The reason is that they are not made conscious, they do not participate in consciousness raising, they are deceived, and they are not enlightened. Now, there should be such a movement that will establish Turkey's order in the most respectful and principled way (IA)

In short, this project primarily aims to awake consciousness among the villagers and solve the environmental problem which affects their life through their participation in the decision making process. In contrast to Mr. Konyar, the villagers were mainly concerned with the environmental risk surrounding them. Therefore, they openly intended to stop the operation of Eurogold in their locality. Although they did not use the concept of "civil disobedience" during their responses, they tacitly articulated what they were doing. In other words, while the leaders dealt with

more comprehensive objectives, the people focused on preventing an immediate danger.

The movement arose as to protect their local ecology, but then changed into a movement at the national level. Mr. Kiray, a villager from Narlıca, mentioned that the movement transformed itself from local to national.

We are not only concerned with Bergama. Everywhere is Bergama and all of us are from Bergama. We are also against nuclear power stations like in the case of Akkuyu and human rights violations. Now, the movement encompasses all the country. (IA)

Thus, the objectives of the movement were broadened by incorporating the goals of similar cases countrywide.

2.5.2 Organizational Structure and Strategies

The movement does not have a formal structure. There are three prominent figures, Mr. Taşkın, Mr. Konyar and Mr. Birol Engel, the former chair provincial organization of the ÖDP. Mr. Taşkın has played an important role at the initial learning process and established the Pergamon Society preferring organizational lobbying activity, while Mr. Konyar and Mr. Engel carried on with the movement. At the beginning, the movement was led by the Bergama Environmental Committee, which took decisions together with village committees composed of the village headmen and women. In 1996, Mr. Konyar was chosen as the spokesperson. Later, this mechanism changed into a more centralized decision making with a strong leadership at the top. Villagers elected Mr. Konyar as the chair of the committee. Aftermath of the election, the decisions were taken secretly in a narrow platform and transmitted to the flood of the villagers. Moreover, the headmen could not be as active as before because of the official pressures.

Although, the movement aims to achieve participation of the villagers in the decision making process with regard to matters affecting their life, the villagers do not participate in the decision making process within the movement. Mr. Konyar explained the reason of this paradox as follows:

The villagers authorized the Bergama environmental committee to decide. This may seem undemocratic. Our strategy is to be seen suddenly in the public places. The point is that you can defend the project and prepare the grounds for discussion in the public opinion after you achieve your aim. If you do not, you can not also discuss your project in the public opinion. There are the Eurogold's workers, their families, the gold lobbies and rent-seekers in the region. Someone informs on us and while we are getting out of our houses for the protest, the gendarme impedes us. Then, everything can be messed up. Thus, the secrecy is essential. The leader is not important. Everyone who participates in the movement is a leader. Leader is any villager. I take decisions because of their demand. Everyone has a responsibility in this movement. For instance, Hatice Hanım's duty is to organize 20 women, Sabahat Hanım's duty is to organize 10 women and Ahmet Amca's duty is to watch gendarme while Mehmet Amca milks the cows, etc. (IA).

In terms of the resources, human beings are the most valuable source in the movement and they are mobilized well. The movement does not require much financial assistance. The villagers put aside a short supply of their yearly product and use it at a later time for the protest. For instance, the ordinary villagers give 3 million Turkish Liras and the rich ones give more so that the buses that will carry people from one point to another are arranged. Various chambers of professional organizations also send their busses to take the villagers to the protest site. Furthermore, the villagers take their own food packages with them when they go demonstration. They do not spend money to buy food. In other words, this is not an extra activity for them rather it became a part of their daily life.

The leader of the movement does not intend to form an association. Mr.Konyar articulated that:

An association has advantage of collecting money and it makes declarations. There is a Law Nr. 2911 regulating "meeting and demonstration" and its violation is an offense. We are always demonstrating and opposing that law. If we form an association, we will apply for a permit so that violation is prevented. Therefore, Mr. Taşkın established the Pergamon. However, would they give permission for marching half-naked to the TGNA, demonstrating on the Bosphorus Bridge or picketing the mine site! What I really want to mean is that these things can be realized without an association. (IA)

In brief, Mr. Konyar does not believe in the efficacy of an association. According to him, if they formed an association, they would not be as free as at present during their demonstrations and they would not be able to publicize their cause effectively.

Mr. Konyar and Mr. Özay, the two leading persons of the movement describe the Bergama movement as a civil disobedience¹⁰ against the unjust practices of authorities. In other words, civil disobedience is a public, non-violent and conscientious act contrary to law usually done with the intent to bring about a change in the policies or laws of the government. Moreover, it involves the acceptance of liability for the actions and it can have different forms such as direct, indirect, boycotts, strikes and poster shows.

When the action repertoire of Bergama movement is examined, it can be observed that the movement tries to achieve its goals through civil disobedience. The Bergama villagers adopted civil disobedience because they tried legal avenues and achieved success but the court decisions were not implemented. Furthermore, at every stage of the movement, they always try first the legitimate methods. For

¹⁰ The term has been popularized by Mohandas K. Gandhi's approach to racial laws in South Africa and British rule in India. However, Gandhi was inspired by Henry David Thoreau's essay titled "Resistance to Civil Government." Thoreau protested at the complicity of his state in returning fugitives from Southern Slavery and the war between USA and Mexico in 1849. He reacted against the government by refusing to pay the state poll tax and he stayed in the jail. Thoreau thought that the refusal to obey could be useful tactic for reform and if the government was unresponsive, this meant

example, if the legal period of execution for court decision is 30 days, they do not protest within the following 20 days. They wait until the authorities take action in this 30 given period. Then, they start protesting the negligent attitude of the governmental agencies (Özay, 1997: 31). On these grounds, the Bergama movement seems to be consistent with John Rawl's criteria of justification for civil disobedience.¹¹

Besides, Alan Carter's contention that civil disobedience is justified in those cases where people suffer harm as a result of other's polluting activities (1999: 280) is applicable to the Bergama case. As the third aspect of Rawl's criteria states, the Bergama villagers encourage others such as the Akkuyu villagers or the people of Yatağan who face with governmental practices contrary to judicial decision to engage in civil disobedience.

The Bergama villagers employed various ways of civil disobedience. For instance, as we have seen, they refused to be counted during the national census registration in 1997. They usually march or organize demonstrations without getting a permit. They consciously violate the law on "holding meetings and demonstration marches."

Besides challenging the policies of the government, civil disobedience of the villagers indirectly challenged the taboos of the cultural life through "shirtless demonstrations" or questioned the predetermined gender roles of the society. For example, while women were not even passing in front of the coffee houses earlier, they

the government was illegitimate and not entitled to obedience anyway (Walker, 1991).

¹¹ These criteria are as follows: 1-the target of protest must be a basic injustice 2-legitimate methods of public protest must have been tried and seen to be ineffective 3- the protesters must agree that others in their society similarly situated with their sense of justice deeply offended by some other law or policy, also have the right to engage in civil disobedience 4- there must be some reasonable prospect of success resulting from the protest (Bedau, 1997: 85).

started to speak out their views loudly in the village square. Although housework was considered as only women's responsibility, men started to share the work after.

2.5.3 Collective Identity

The rural nature of the Bergama movement enabled the villagers to develop their collective identity in daily communal spaces through direct, face to face relations. Accordingly, the close proximity facilitated the reproduction of common goals and values.

The participants are closely interlinked and act collectively. For instance, the villagers mentioned that if one of them was arrested during the protest and was kept in custody, all of them would go with him/her. Moreover, participants of the movement are able to isolate the villagers that are employed by Eurogold or induce negative incentives to coerce them to involve in the movement. For instance, the headmen deprive them of using the village water or villagers announce a boycott of all products from the sellers supporting Eurogold's activities in Bergama. Simply, they developed "we" and "them" identification according to the position towards gold mining with cyanide. The Bergama villagers identify themselves with an opposition to gold production using cyanide. Despite the fact that they are attached to several political identities, the unifying element is "anti-cyanide sentiment." Mr. Aldaş commented that:

There may be differences in our political views, but we are all for each. We are not against gold, but we are against cyanide. In the village, a right-left dichotomy does not exist. (IA)

In addition to anti-cyanide aspect, participants of the movement identify themselves with strongly rooted territorial base. They emphasize that they are heirs to the lands that belonged to their grandparents. However, as the objectives and the

scope of the movement were expanded, territorial identity was gradually unified with a national one as described earlier.

The "anti-cyanide" campaign developed by Bergama villagers soon confronted with opposite images developed by other actors in the multi-organizational field such as "adversaries of Turkey's economic development". The reason is that the villagers prevented the exploitation of natural resources by a private company. Those who are against private enterprise can be considered as enemies of development, too. This is an almost dated capitalist labeling as opposed to the concept of *environmentally sound development*, which was emphasized in major international documents recently.

Moreover, an investigation about the Bergama villagers that they were members of a "secret organisation" was commenced by the public prosecutor. Describing an unidentified public advocacy as "affair of secret organisation" is very typical of the Turkish public authorities even though action is innocent and humane. However, both of the negative images developed by the representatives of private enterprise and the Turkish public authorities explicitly or implicitly intended to discredit the Bergama movement in the Turkish public opinion. The Bergama villagers responded this by restructuring their actions. For instance, they visited the former TGNA and associated their struggle with principles of Atatürk. They also quoted from Atatürk's speech. Eventually, they developed another identity to invalidate the arguments of the opposition side and identified themselves with "Kuvva-i Milliye." To them, "Kuvva-i Milliye" was an amazing example of how common people of Anatolia struggled against the foreign invaders to protect their lands. In that respect, another identity was added to the anti-cyanide,

environmentalist identity. This contributed to the justification of villagers' actions. The villagers stood their ground firmly because they were struggling like the Kuvva-i Milliye did in the War of Liberation. Recent march of the villagers to Çanakkale with the motto "modern form of "Kuvva-i Milliye" reinforced their collective identity in the public.

As Diani and della Porta (1999: 97) stated, the Bergama villagers also referred to experiences, symbols and myths and associated them in various ways with their actions. They attached Turkish flags and carried Atatürk's pictures during the Kuvva-i Milliye march. They visited the martyr tombs. They were inspired by the experiences of Anatolian people during the War of Liberation. Their myth was their struggle. Hence, the monument in Çamköy by mirroring the vision of the movement defined their collective identity and reinforced solidarity.

In addition to collective identity, individual identity was constructed by the outsiders. For example, the "shirtless" demonstrations and courageous acts of the Bergama villagers led the media identify Mr. Konyar with *Asterix* and Mr. Kuzu, a villager from Pınarköy with *Obelix*. Accordingly, Mr. Konyar as the leader resembled the clever little warrior to whom all the missions were immediately entrusted while Mr. Kuzu as the active participant in the protests near Mr. Konyar resembled the inseparable friend who was always ready to drop everything and go off on a new adventure with *Asterix*.

Since collective identity is a process built through interactions, the recent events suggest that the nurturing of the villagers' collective identity will continue in the near future.

2.5.4 The Role of Women

In the region, men were mainly employed with the agricultural sector, while women were both involved in doing household work, such as cooking, looking after children and in planting and harvesting. With the start of the movement, changes in terms of gender relations have been openly observed. Men and women collaborated around their collective identity, standing against gold production with use of cyanide that, in turn, meant protesting, organizing meetings and discussing together. The overlap of public and private spaces and times initiated the changes.

It is unusual to see men and women sitting together in coffeehouses in most of the Anatolian villages, but the movement brought about the abolishment of this tradition. Men also started to assist in doing tasks traditionally assigned to women. Furthermore, women stopped wearing "kivrak" that is made of (black fabric which covers the entire body) on the grounds that it prevented women from moving freely during the demonstrations.

The radical changes in terms of gender relations were interpreted by Mr. Konyar as follows:

During our struggle, we reached a point where there was no more man and woman distinction. Earlier, a woman was unable to pass the village coffeehouses without wearing kivrak. Now, she threw it away and sits together with men in the village square. She says to her husband, 'Today, I will go to protest and you will look after the children.' For the most part, women were milking the cows. Now, men and women are milking together. When a woman goes to protest, her husband does not know where his wife goes. He cannot learn it until the protest is shown on television in the next day because of secrecy. In this sense, understanding between wife and husband developed by virtue of their cause and women became more independent in many aspects (IA)

Women are the bedrock of the movement because of their participation and contribution to the mobilization. They provide the networks to communicate through

circulation of news and consciousness rising. The minimum condition required to inspire individuals to take collective action is the existence of interpersonal communication. This usually takes place when at least some of the actors are geographically concentrated in one area (Oberschall, 1995). In this regard, in every village, there are women who are responsible for the establishment of networks.

Ms. Solak explained how this system works in practice:

I am responsible for mobilizing 20 women in the Ovacık village. For example, our leader informs me that there will be a demonstration the next day. I phone Aysel, she calls Meral and Meral calls another woman in a telephone chain telling that there will be a march next day. I warn them that if they do not come, the mine will operate. We do not have time to meet in women's gatherings but whenever we meet, the subject is Eurogold. Even, our children became very conscious about it. My grandchild takes the radio and puts it on to his shoulder; his brother holds the wire. One of them asks the other "do you want gold with cyanide" and the other answers "no, we do not want, we do not want to die!" (IA)

Women's involvement in environmental issues is mostly explained in terms of their social roles as sustainers of families: mothers and family caretakers. Accordingly, they become more sensitive to health problems related to environmental degradation surrounding them. Furthermore, when the environment starts to suffer, the signs of degradation are seen first in things, such as water, food and fuel that women have to use these on a daily basis. By making their lives harder, (Seager, 1999: 344) these problems soon becomes "the number one" discussion subject among women. During the interviews in Bergama, only women reported when Eurogold used dynamite and their water became brown like mud. They mentioned that their houses were damaged due to the explosions in the mine and they did not want to repair the houses in case they have to leave their houses in the future. Subsequently, they expressed their fear of losing their houses and the neighborhood.

Farming, as the main economic activity in the region caused women to become major labour occupiers in their whole day and invalidated the assumption that women are active in the emerging movements because they have more flexibility than men in their work days (Epstein, op.cit.,). In addition, while addressing the question of women's participation, women who participate in the demonstrations are usually middle-aged or older because young people are working or looking after their children. Another reason is that security forces are sensible to maternal symbol and they hesitate to exert violence against them. In other words, women in the front lines act as a buffer zone between the male participants and the gendarme.

2.6 Views from the Multi-organizational Field

2.6.1 The European Parliament

The European Parliament ruled out a resolution on the use of cyanide in gold mining operations near Pergamon and Edremit in Turkey on November 17, 1994. Drawing upon the Council Directive 91/689/EEC on hazardous waste, the resolution referred to the two companies Eurogold and Tüprag that aimed to mine gold in the Bay of Edremit and in the vicinity of Pergamon. The resolution initially highlighted the fact that the international human rights organization, which upholds the right to food (FINA), had called for urgent action to prevent the imminent destruction by goldmining of the Edremit region. The text provided technical information about the estimated destruction of gold mining. For instance, about 22.3 hectares of olive groves and forest would be affected as well as 1.56 cubic metres of rock due to the use of sodium cyanide. In addition, the EP maintained that dumping of polluted rock with cyanide would drain straight through the sandy soil into the groundwater and jeopardize the health of nearly one million people due to the lack of proper disposal

unit. It also drew attention to the contamination of olive trees, orange plantations and forests, which, in turn, would jeopardize the local people's livelihoods. Following the risks of gold mining with use of cyanide, the EP also cited to the protests of the people of Bergama, Küçükdere and Greek Island of Lesbos and the reservation of Minister of Environment about the issue. Furthermore, the resolution acknowledged that the planned cyanide-based method of mining ore is outlawed in the member states of the Union while the industrial use of cyanide baths in the member states is permitted in exceptional cases only and cyanide must be detoxified without the use of sodium hypochlorite. The resolution emphasized that the Dresdner Bank, one of the main sources of finance for the projects also signed the UNEP, which meant the Bank should be committed to protect environment and avoid double standards at home and abroad.

Consequence to the factors stated in the above part, the EP also urged the Turkish Government to ban the use of substances containing cyanide in mining and to prevent the destruction of valuable regions with centuries-old crops and forests. It stressed that the Member States and Turkey obliged to protect the Mediterranean and its historic sites. Moreover, it called the Federal Republic of Germany to ban the use of cyanide and to oblige German companies and banks to comply with German and EU standards even outside the EU. Finally the EP authorized the Commission to investigate the ecological impact of the gold mining with use of cyanide in the vicinity, the island of Lesbos, the Aegean and the Mediterranean and instructed its President to forward this resolution to the Council, the Commission, the governments and parliaments of the Member States and the Government of Turkey.

2.6.2 The Turkish Grand National Assembly

The Bergama case came to the agenda of the Grand National Assembly several times since the mid-1996. A total of six written questions on gold mining with cyanide nearby Bergama were submitted by various deputies and responded by the respective Ministers of Environment and Minister of Energy and Natural Resources. Moreover, four speeches out of agenda were made by the deputies in several occasions since then. Besides, during the amendment of the Law Regulating the Establishment of the Council of State and the deliberation of the Law on the Principles Regulating the Use of International Arbitration, the Bergama case was also referred very briefly by some deputies in the plenary.

First of all, Mr. Temel Karamollaoğlu, a Sivas deputy from the banned Welfare party (Refah Partisi, RP), asked if any survey was done by the Ministry of Environment about the impact of the Ovacık gold mine on public health. In his written response to this question, Mr. Mustafa Taşar, Minister of Environment of that time, stressed that it was necessary to consider both economics and environment in taking decisions especially in developmental context. He briefly mentioned that by taking all technical measures in consultation with the public institutions concerned, by receiving a written engagement of the company and by establishing an inspection and supervision infrastructure, the Ministry declared a positive opinion about gold mining with cyanide. However, he also added that, he would visit the region since he promised the Bergama people to do so (MTGNA, June 25, 1996: 324-5).

On November 20, 1996, Mr. Aydın Güven Gürkan, a CHP deputy from İzmir, addressed to the general assembly on environmental problems of Turkey. Among others, he especially pointed out that although there were several factors

threatening the human life in Bergama, the operation was undertaken by the official permission. He urged the government and TGNA to reconsider the issue after the decision taken by the Council of State (MTGNA, November 20, 1996: 111-12).

Mr. Ali Rıza Bodur, a CHP deputy from İzmir, raised another question on gold mining with cyanide in Bergama. In his written question, he touched on the environmental problems, which occurred in Lefke, the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus, as a result of gold mining and asked if the Ministry of Environment would keep silent on this issue! Mr. Ziyaettin Tokar, Minister of Environment of that time, replied that a technical survey visit to Lefke was planned and all necessary measures and engagements of the Eurogold company were taken. In addition, the inspection and supervision commission under the local government was watching the developments in the region (MTGNA, February 25, 1997: 235-6).

One month later, Mr. Ercan Karakaş, a CHP deputy from Istanbul, raised a written question about gold mining with cyanide and referred to the Minister of Energy and Natural Resources. Mr. M.Recai Kutan, Minister of Energy, replied that gold mining with cyanide was the most economical method that had been used in several countries, including South Africa, New Zealand and Canada without causing a permanent environmental threat. He also underlined that all kinds of technical measures would be taken against spill of cyanide and the impact of earthquake (MTGNA, March 19, 1997: 194-6).

Mr. Yüksel Aksu, a DSP deputy from Bursa, asked whether gold mining with cyanide would be banned or not? Mr. M. Ziyaettin Toker, Minister of Environment, mentioned that all the procedures and operations had been undertaken according to the laws. He also stressed that the Council of State concluded the case

of compensation, which was filed by the Bergama villagers in favour of the Ministry in November 1996 (MTGNA, April 1,1997: 159-61).

Two months later, Mr. Mehmet Silay, a RP deputy from Hatay, addressed to the general assembly of gold mining in Bergama. By stressing the importance of mining in regional development, he mentioned that gold mining with cyanide had been the only method and used in several countries. In this respect, he continued that the government took all necessary measures and established a control mechanism. Then, he told about an official visit of a group of deputies to the region. He said that two or three leftist provoked the local people contrary to scientific realities and international law. He reminded that the same ideology, which says no to gold mining, said "No" to Bosphorus bridge earlier, because they were fanatic and conditioned. Some deputies from CHP and DSP protested his statements on the grounds that he was lying and distorting the facts (MTGNA, June 4,1997: 258-61).

Before the end of the legislative year, Mr. Ali Rıza Bodur, a CHP deputy from İzmir, raised another written question concerning gold mining with cyanide in Bergama and the decisions of the Sixth Department of the Council of State on this issue. Mr. Ziyaettin Tokar, Minister of Environment of that time, mentioned that the Ministry objected the decision of the Sixth Department of the Council of State and the case was in process. Since the Ministry of Energy and Natural Resources offered the licence for the operation in that mining field, the Ministry of Environment had no power to take counter measures against the hidden intention of the Eurogold to increase the amount of compensation if the licence would be ceased (MTGNA, July 3, 1997: 216-7).

At the beginning of the next legislative year, Mr. Ali Rıza Bodur, a CHP

deputy from İzmir, made a speech out of agenda in the general assembly of the TGNA on gold mining with cyanide. He especially referred to the struggle of the Bergama villagers during the last nine years at different levels. Moreover, he criticized the attitude of the government towards the decision of the Council of State, which rendered the licence for operation of the Eurogold company as unconstitutional according to Articles 17 and 56 of the 1982 Constitution. Furthermore, he declared that two ministers of the 55th Government seemed to forget their honorary promise to the Bergama villagers. He asked the government to put the judicial decision into force, because he and his party voted for this government, which declared the supremacy of the state governed by the rule of law in its program (MTGNA, November 4, 1997: 10-1).

Mr. Ercan Karakaş, a CHP deputy from Istanbul, further raised a written question about why did not the government enforce the decision of the Council of State. Ms. İmren Aykut, Minister of Environment of the 55th government, replied that the Court had annulled only the opinion of the Ministry, which did not include license or permission for the operation of gold mining, therefore it was impossible to close the operations of the company. She also underlined that since the Ministry of Energy and Natural Resources was the authority of issuing a licence, the judicial decision was immediately sent to the ministry concerned. Additionally, she told that the issue was considered by the Council of Ministers in several times and the Ministry of Environment was assigned to communicate with the operating company and to advise them postponing their activities until the end of judicial process. In her concluding remarks, she underlined the fact that the government having a full respect for the supremacy of law and the judicial decisions would take action in accordance

with this principle. In this respect, she said that, the Ministry upon the receipt of the decision, asked the company concerned, to comply with requirements of the judicial decision (MTGNA, December 20, 1997: 681-2).

Towards the end of 20th legislative period, Mr. Erdal Kesebir, a CHP deputy from Edirne, addressed to the general assembly on gold mining with cyanide in various parts of Turkey. He talked about the raising opposition against gold mining with cyanide in Turkey at various levels. Then he gave examples for the harmful effects of cyanide leaching from around the world. He asked from the Ministries of Environment, of Finance, of Public Works and the Governor of İzmir to stop the operation of the Eurogold. He concluded that the Eurogold could be very powerful to convince the authorities, but the essence of the Republic was to make the national will sovereign. In her response to Mr. Kesebir, Ms. Aykut, Minister of Environment, expressed that she was pleased to have this issue on the agenda of the TGNA. This indicates the increasing sensitivity of public towards environmental issues. However, she said that this issue was subject to legal examination at the Council of State. Therefore, she did not want to talk on this too long. In short, she explained that the ÇED report was prepared optionally because the region was not included in the ÇED during that time. Therefore, she admitted that, the ÇED report was not a real one in that sense.

During the 21st legislative period, we observed only two occasions relating to gold mining with cyanide in Bergama between the lines of the speeches of two deputies recorded in the MTGNA. Firstly, Mr. Ali Arabacı, a DSP deputy from Bursa, on the occasion of the annual budget of the Council of State, stressed that the executive did not enforce the decisions of the administrative court including the

Bergama case (MTGNA, <http://www.gov.tr/develop/owa/tutan>).

Secondly, Mr. Murat Akin, a DYP deputy from Aksaray, on the occasion of amending the Law regulating International Arbitration, referred to the Bergama case and stressed that the international arbitration should not have caused any harm to public interest retrospectively. Simply, the new parliament did not indicate any special concern for the Bergama case compared to the previous one.

2.6.3 The Judicial Process

The Ministry of Environment had approved gold mining by Eurogold in Bergama on the condition that:

- The company will comply with the conditions of contract;
- There will be a commission established by İzmir province to supervise the operations before, during and after the process; and
- The company will comply with the environment laws and take the necessary precautions in accordance with the regulations.

After the permit was issued, the Bergama villagers first appealed to the İzmir Administrative Court for the dissolution of the permit. However, on July 2, 1996, the court rejected the case on the grounds that the permit does not cause inconvenience in terms of public health, natural, historical and cultural values, public good and legal regulations.

In its decision, the Sixth Department of Council of State cited Articles 17 (guarantees the right to live protect and develop one's material and spiritual entity) and 56 (guarantees the right to live in a healthy environment for all citizens) of the 1982 Turkish Constitution. Moreover, the court drew upon article 1 of Law Nr. 2872 of the environment law, which states that:

The aim of the law is to protect and provide a better environment, which is the common possession of everyone, to induce environmental protection and utilization of land and natural resources; prevention of water, soil and air pollution; protection of country's plant and animal existence, together with the natural historical richness, improvement of the level of health, civilization and life standards for the present and the next generations.

It is also stated that regulations and precautions should be determined in accordance with the aims of economic and societal development and regulated with respect to legal and technical aspects.

The Council of State found that the ÇED underestimates the hazardous effects of cyanide, and falls short from meeting the environmental regulations. Actually the ÇED report summarizes the harmful effects of use of cyanide leaching method and unsuitable conditions of the region. However, it concludes that the risk factor will be limited due to the good intention of the firm and the supervision by the local authorities.

The ÇED report and the expert report examines the effects of cyanide operations on atmosphere, underground water, flora and fauna, noise and resonance and land use. The report states that the cyanide toxic and the emergence of other heavy metals are harmful to living things in case it mixes with water, soil and air. It is estimated that toxic effect of heavy metals on underground water may last 20-50 years. In an attempt to minimize the dangers, disposal dams are planned to be made of clay that is theoretically impenetrable, however there is always a risk of spill over into underground water resources in case of earthquake or erosion. This is extremely dangerous if we know that Bergama residents are using underground water for the daily needs. This risk becomes more serious since the region is located on the earthquake zone of first degree and it is characterized with high potential of soil

erosion due to frequent floods after heavy rains in winter and spring.

Confirming its trust in the firm's good intention to comply with the conditions stated in the contract and in the central and by the local authorities, the İzmir Administrative Court had underestimated the high risk of cyanide for living species. In contrast to the İzmir Administrative Court, the Council of State maintained that there's a high risk to the environment, which affects every human being and urged for more sensibility on this issue. Therefore, the Council of State decided that operation of the gold mine using the cyanide leaching process is not beneficial to the public and rendered the decision of the İzmir Administrative Court illegal.

In its final decision of May 13, 1997, the Council of State stated that "It is obvious that extinction of balancing elements will affect environment and cause destructive consequences on living species and environment". It also added that "when the economic value received by the operation depending on the concepts such as *good intention of the company* and *very careful inspection of precautions* is compared with the *harmful effect* resulting from the materialization of the risk factor, it is natural to favour human life on public good. It is not possible to accept the hypothesis that risk probability will decrease depending upon the trust of the company management and the inspection by the authorities."

The decision of Council of State (1997/2310) has been a watershed in many aspects; First of all, the İzmir Administrative Court changed its decision in accordance with the decision of the Council of State and Bergama villagers won their struggle to ban gold mining using cyanide. The decision did not only involve Bergama villagers but also the whole Turkish territories. In other words, the decision halted the extraction of gold using cyanide in other regions as well. In order to assess

the decision, I held an interview with a member of Sixth Department of the Council of State.¹²

The Council of State took the probability of cyanide danger seriously. The court states that the list of risks and precautions in the ÇED report are enough to understand the imminent disaster in case precautions do not function well. According to the court, precautions can be taken but they are not enough to guarantee well functioning. Moreover, it is articulated that the issue depends on the level of consciousness, which is deficient in our public culture. Thus, the advancement of in our culture and technology go hand in hand with a decrease in risk factors.

The Council of State has also examined the case from economic point of view but was not convinced with the supremacy of gold revenues on public good. The concept of "public good" was interpreted by the court referring to public health. It is remarked that increase in the number of environment related lawsuits advances in parallel with the increase in environmental consciousness as was observed in the case of Bergama. The court had decided independently of the factors such as media, protests, environment pressure groups and public opinion. Its focal point had been the Constitution and the Law on environment. It is stated that their duty is to determine whether there is public good or not and they do not have the authority to investigate the execution of their decision. However, the executive should comply soon with the decision. Judicial decision is a final judgement that cannot be changed unless new developments happen and the executive appeals to the court.

The Council of State has been very sensitive to environmental issues and knowledgeable about other cyanide related events in the world. For example, it

¹² Ankara, May 3, 2000.

presented the overflow accident of a dam at the facility in Romania that caused cyanide to spill and lead to ecological disaster as a clear example of the catastrophic results that can happen in case precautions are not sufficient.

After the final judgment of the İzmir Administrative Court, the Ministry of Environment and the Eurogold company appealed to the Council of State to review the decision of the İzmir Administrative Court on the grounds that the decision was contrary to the procedure and the law. In addition, Mining Development Foundation for Turkey, Turkish Miners Association and the chair of Anatolia Miners Association took part in the case near the defendant side. The court rejected the request of Eurogold due to time expiration. Although the İzmir Administrative court's decision was officially notified on October 21, 1997, Eurogold did not apply the court within 30 days. Therefore, its application on November 27 1997 was void. Referring to its previous decision (1997/2310), the Council of State (1998/1830) concluded that none of the cassation reasons stated in the paragraph 1 of the article 49 of the law Nr 2577 Administrative Trial Procedure Law were present in İzmir Administrative Court's decision.

Consequently, on May 15, 1998, the Ministry of Environment petitioned for a correction in the decision of Council of State that approved the decision of İzmir Administrative court. However, it was rejected by the High Court on November 11, 1998. After the final ruling, the Ministry of Environment requested the view of the Council of State concerning the necessary steps that the Ministry should follow. The Ministry wanted to learn whether the annulment decision would be decisive in the permit procedures for the new gold mine ventures, whether procedures would be initiated to halt the operations of the business enterprises using the same method,

whether the operations of other sectors using cyanide-leaching method would be halted. Finally, the Ministry asked if a concrete supervision in the gold mine would be made to learn whether risks were removed as a result of the environmental precautions and if so, the way the decision would be implemented.

After consulting several authorities and examining the file, the First Department of the Council of State answered the questions of the Ministry of Environment. It was stated that the final decisions of the Council of State carries the characteristic of being an example in cases where peculiar conditions are taken into account and there is no difference in the material and legal facts. Furthermore, it was mentioned that there was no possibility of providing view about the last question.

2.6.4 The Views of the Professional Organizations Concerned

There are different views on the use of cyanide. The Chamber of Mining Engineers does not oppose gold production using cyanide, in turn negative about villager's protests, whereas the Chamber of Environmental Engineers fully supports the Bergama movement. A representative of the chambers of Mining Engineers said that:

Well operated mine does not damage environment and the disposal waste is collected in a dam which is earthquake proof of 10 magnitude. Moreover, if the company paid money for the cyanide, it would utilize it as much as it can. In this sense, the Bergama villagers are not rational and well informed. People do not trust the operations of private sector anymore. There is an ideological perspective, which is in opposition to foreign capital. Nevertheless, the Bergama villagers set an example. Ever since the Bergama event, the public authorities learned that the consent of the residents should be taken if a facility to be built affects the lives of the people in the vicinity. The decision of the Council of State on the operation of Eurogold is not technically convincing. There is a neglect that caused the cyanide spill over in Romania (IA).

In addition, the representative stated that cyanide could have harmful effects

on living species unless it is used carefully like the other chemical substances. Cyanide can cause death if a 60 kg person gets 60 mgr of it through digestion.

Moreover, the chamber provided technical information regarding the location of disposal dams. For instance, design of disposal dams depends on examination of various factors such as, impenetrability and earthquake zone. An article on this emphasized that the disposal dams are generally not constructed on the areas with the following features: high slope, windy area, fragility of ecosystem, underground water and earthquake zone. Paradoxically, it was also stated that gold mining has been processed without causing environmental problems in the world, but it came across difficulties because of the environmental lobbies in the developing countries. Briefly, the Chamber of Mining Engineers supports the idea that despite toxic feature of cyanide, it can be used safely because it is possible in terms of technology.

In contrast, the chair of Chamber of Environmental Engineers challenged the idea of "well operated mine," on the grounds that functioning of supervision mechanism is not guaranteed:

According to the reports of the State Institute of Statics, 83 percent of the work places do not have any disposal detoxification unit, while 86 percent of them lack of permission for dumping of disposal water and 95 percent for gas emission (Chamber of Environmental Engineers, 1998: 184).

The chamber maintained that the term "well operated mine" was considered as unrealistic in Turkey's circumstances. Besides, it was stated that the Bergama villagers' emphasis on the environmental rights contributed to the cause of human rights and non-governmental organizations (NGOs) should support.

2.6.5 Eurogold' s Perspective

Eurogold represents the major challenged party, antagonistic sector in the multi-organizational field, which affected the development of Bergama movement.

In an interview with Mr. İsmet Sivrioğlu, the manager of Eurogold facility in Bergama, he stated that:

Although cyanide-leaching method has been used for about 105 years, nobody died because of it. Today, 85 percent of the gold production in the world is done by using this method. Gold is found in different forms in the nature and various methods are used in accordance with the conditions. In Bergama, only cyanide leaching method can be used to extract gold. The claim that this method is not used in developed countries is false. In fact, cyanide is used in Europe, too. Spain, Portugal, France and Sweden are some of the countries that use cyanide leaching. The location of most of the gold mines are close to the populated areas such as Sarthe Mine and Le Bourneix Mine in France, Re Tinto and Filon Sur Mine in Spain, Martha Hill in New Zeland, Macassa and Kerr Addison in Canada. Moreover, tourism developed near the gold mine sites. This shows that cyanide-leaching method is harmless. The other methods are risky. Thus, they are not used widespread in industry. It is not the first time that cyanide is used in Turkey. It is used in Gümüşköy-Kütahya without causing harm to people. All of the chemicals are poisonous but their effects are determined by the dosage. The recent accident in Romania should not be associated with the Eurogold company. The Bai Mare gold mine did not have a detoxification unit and a tailings tank, which is constructed according to technical standards. Although 0.1 mgr cyanide inclusion must be stored, 700 mgr cyanide was contained in the dam. Accordingly, the heavy rain caused the spill over. Ovacık gold mine had two of the units in which advanced technology is used. In that respect, the Ovacık gold mine is the safest facility. There are two methods that make cyanide harmless: natural defusion and chemical defusion. The first one is the storage of cyanide in the disposal tank between 2 months and 4 years while the other one is the process of decreasing the ratio of cyanide to 1 mgr in the detoxification unit and leaving it to the external receptor (Interview of Sencer Çörtoğlu, Bergama, August 7, 2000).

According to the company, there were three reasons of anti-cyanide reaction:

political, ideological and economic. Economic factors were underlined as the most

important one that put villagers into action. It was claimed that Mr. Taşkın and Mr.

Konyar had political interests. Ideological reason was explained in terms of agitation of radical left groups: they oppose foreign capital and want the state to take over the operation of gold mine so that gold will not be sent to abroad. To Mr. Sivrioğlu, villagers were not permitted to speak to miners so that they would not be conscious. Besides, they were told to dismiss the miners from the village. Therefore, the villagers had problems with each other. Villagers were agitated against state and radical ideological groups benefited from this situation.

The shareholders have thought that the permits of the state would be adequate to finalize the problems but they were not. Moreover, the state had induced institutional taxes one and a half years ago and this had caused a severe destruction to the metal mining industry. As a result, the Turkish private sector avoided making investments in mining sector.

The economic dimension of the project was explained by Mr. Sivrioğlu in a competitive market condition as follows:

A total of 24 tonnes of gold reserve exists in Bergama. Eurogold is expected to produce 3 tonnes of gold and silver, yearly. MTA claimed that Turkey lacked gold reserves but the excavations of the foreign capital suggested that Turkey has 6500 tones of gold and this also brings out the economic dimension. If 500 tonnes of gold is produced in addition to 2300 tones of yearly production, this will mean a loss of \$150 billion in the gold values. Accordingly, countries such as Germany or England will oppose this situation because they have also gold reserves.

According to Mr. Sivrioğlu, by virtue of the Bergama event, miners learned that they had to take all the necessary precautions before starting an operation. Mr. Sivrioğlu interpreted the decision of the Council of State as follows:

The Council of State prohibited the use of cyanide because of the potential risks and the claim that there is not public good in gold production. Now, all of the risks are removed so the reasons of this

decision. TÜBİTAK's report proves that there is nothing inappropriate for getting operation permits. In that respect, gold mine will operate unless there is a new decision of the court.

In other words, the company found the governmental authorities' statements sufficient to continue its operation. Obviously, economic gains, which have been common priority objectives for both the government and the company, created a strong ally against the public opinion and the court decisions on the Bergama case in practice.

CHAPTER III

A GENERAL ASSESSMENT OF THE BERGAMA MOVEMENT

This chapter aims firstly to discuss the Bergama movement's position compared to environmental movements in other parts of developing world and then evaluate its development within the scope of theoretical approaches described in Chapter I.

During the late 20th century, developing countries had to focus attention on environment because of the industrialization efforts and adverse effects of globalization on environment such as air, water and other pollution. Accordingly, many local, national and transnational environmental movements emerged in these countries. Nevertheless, these movements are not sufficiently analyzed. Among others, we explored some scholarly works about the Chipko and the Tapak movements which emerged some decades ago but seem to be similar to the Bergama movement in their origin, organisation and objectives. Therefore, I think it will be useful to highlight the major features and development trends in these cases comparatively.

In general, the Bergama environmental movement carries similar characteristics of the environmental movements in developing world. These movements represent a new kind of environmentalism different than the post-materialist, "full stomach" incident. In this context, the Chipko movement of India

and the Tapak movement of Indonesia, which is not as well known outside as the Chipko movement, will be briefly referred in order to provide a comparison with the Bergama movement.

These movements came out in reaction to the existing values that regard "nature" as a "commodity." Due to the dispatch of the untreated waste from a factory producing chemicals into the river, the Tapak movement emerged to stop the river's pollution and its harmful effects on agricultural and fishpond irrigation. The next case, the Chipko movement aimed to prevent the resource exploitation in the Uttar Pradesh Himalayas that caused deforestation and destruction of agricultural and pasture land. In the words of Chipko activists, they were not greenies of the western kind. For them the environment was much more than pretty trees and tigers. Their cause had entirely to do with themselves. Their own lives were so intertwined with the existence of trees that their very culture and survival was at stake without them (Agarwal, *op.cit.*).

The Tapak villagers and the Chipko activists similarly found themselves in defense of their environment from the state and foreign business enterprises. While, Tapak river was polluted by a joint Japanese-Indonesian venture and the forests in India were sold to the outside contractors by the state administration in the name of making urban-oriented products. The local people voiced their concerns to the factory and the authorities but their requests were ignored. As a result, like Bergama villagers, they used the lawsuit strategy and adopted innovative techniques of protest to bring their issue to the public attention. For instance, the Chipko activists hugged the trees to prevent their being logged for export, buried themselves in the middle of an access road to a quarrying site that had been depleting water resources and the

movement's leaders conducted fasts in protest of state government policy. The Tapak activists first boycotted all the products from Tapak industry. Once they also blocked the highway when Minister of Industry was going out of a conference.

All these attracted media's interest. For these movements, the media was important as it enabled them to articulate voices, to exchange knowledge and to facilitate the formation of public opinion. Moreover, the programs were set up by the local governments to allow the villagers to learn about the laws and human rights in relation to environment. When they became aware about their rights and the importance of the problem, they felt more confident in voicing their demands.

In brief, the participants of these movements asserted their rights and challenged the destruction happening in their environment by adopting non-violent direct action. However, the attempts to protect the environment were considered as trouble making which have disrupted the social harmony through challenges against the industries and the government. Besides, the local people were seen by the government and companies as an obstacle before economic development.

After the persistent protests of the villagers, the companies understood that they could not carry on unless they consider the demands of the local people. While the Eurogold company constructed additional units as a safety precaution, the SDC company in Indonesia at first provided compensation to the villagers and then installed waste water treatment systems. However, these were not sufficient to stop the activists.

These movements strongly emphasized on their right to live in a clean environment and articulated their environmental demands relating to issues such as human rights and social justice. They have a radical tendency in their discourse.

They do not accept anthropocentrism. In other words, they do not see the non-human world purely as a means to human ends. So that, the instrumental use of the non-human world may involve unjust and unfair practices (Dobson, 2000: 52). Moreover, they associate their struggle against environmental problems with the struggle against western imperialism. They show their determination with the statement that unless they die, they will struggle to protect the lands, heritage of their parents from the outsiders.

Division of labour in these communities mainly determined the participant profile. For instance, women played a prominent role in the cases of Bergama and Chipko. While the Tapak movement gained a momentum with the participation of younger generation, middle or older age groups robustly participate in the Bergama movement and young ones usually go to work or look after children.

In terms of organization, none of the movements had formal form of organization to represent the movement. There were three main associations set up by the Tapak villagers to empower the movement but we do not see such establishment in the case of Bergama except the one founded by Mr. Taşkın. The Pergamon Society can also be interpreted as another faction in the Bergama movement. In that sense, there are three distinct factions led by different persons in and around the Chipko movement.

The significance of these movements lies in their being pioneers of and sources of inspiration for non-violent struggle of ordinary people to protect their environment. Although the Tapak movement was not successful in realizing all of its goals, it was significant, as it constituted a starting point to initiate dialogue between villagers and authorities. This implied that villagers and authorities came together in

decision-making process to find a solution to the environmental problems. While Tapak movement was only concerned with a parochial problem, the Chipko movement went beyond the geographical locality and spread through out India. It established links with some of the international environmental organizations and was recognized by the UNEP. It also resisted building of a dam that would uproot trees and pose a flood threat. After an arduous struggle, it achieved a victory with a ban on green felling in the Himalayan forests of the state for 15 years and called for long-term policies to prevent ecological destruction. The Bergama movement, on the other hand achieved a victory as a consequence of the ban on gold mining with cyanide however it was never put into effect. Even though the Bergama movement has not yet spread through out Turkey in the same way as Chipko did, it developed a concern for other environmental problems in Turkey and organized demonstrations in different parts of the country. Besides the partial achievement of the collective goals, the Chipko and the Bergama movements resulted in redefinition of gender roles and empowerment of women, too. Despite the existence of their contextual distinctiveness, it is observed that these movements have similarities with respect to their emergence, development, organisation and achievements. If these form the factual part, then it is necessary to understand the Bergama movement with regard to theoretical frameworks.

Different theoretical approaches in social movement studies emphasize one of four factors: grievances, resources, multi-organizational field and political opportunities and processes of meaning construction. However, in analyzing Bergama movement, I realized that these theoretical approaches should be integrated like the pieces of a puzzle to provide a more comprehensive explanation of the

movement. As Klandermans maintains (1997), grievances are necessary but not sufficient for social movement to come out or for individuals to participate. Then, resources and opportunities become significant to understand why all aggrieved groups do not mobilize and some do. And, individuals produce a common identity when they share grievances and act collectively. After all, the movement takes place in the multi-organizational field.

The Bergama movement is an informal organisation (*non-organization*) and sustained effort of a collectivity of interrelated individuals to resist change with the use of public protest activities. Drawing upon this definition, it includes three key concepts "change", "consensus mobilization" and "action mobilization." Firstly, change is the source of the whole process. The other two develop as a reaction to the change. Secondly, consensus mobilization involves a learning process and a formation of a collective identity, which, in turn, persuade people to participate in a collective action to oppose change. Finally, action mobilization puts people into action so that they can try to achieve their goal.

The change was brought to Bergama by the establishment of the Eurogold company, which intended to use cyanide-leaching method during its gold mining operations in Bergama. Consensus mobilization started with learning. As part of the learning process, conferences and trips to the deserted gold mine sites were organized. Increase in awareness about the potential dangers of cyanide led to a change in the initial perceptions of the Bergama villagers. The Bergama villagers no more perceived the establishment of Eurogold as an opportunity to prosper. Hence, they became aggrieved. Villagers also met in picnics, coffeehouses or wedding ceremonies and they mostly talked about their collective grievance. Not only local

people, but also outsiders involved in the consensus mobilization. Bergama villagers exchanged information with reporters, students, lawyers, scientists and NGO activists.

When the Bergama villagers' grievance turned into consciousness coupled with solidarity, they started to identify themselves with anti-cyanide sentiment. As a result, formation of group solidarity and groundwork for the collective action began to take place. Initially, villagers avoided talking with the reporters because they were not accustomed to talking with foreigners and they felt that they were not knowledgeable to state their ideas about the issue. As time passed, villagers became well informed and their collective identity encouraged them to talk to reporters about their grievances so that their issue could be made public. These were the first signs of the movement's emergence.

However, neither the formation of collective identity nor the learning process ended with the start of action mobilization. Instead, consensus mobilization and action mobilization interacted with each other and reinforced villager's commitment and consciousness. During the action mobilization, the Bergama villagers participated in demonstrations, marches, boycotts and several other activities.

All these processes did not develop irrespective of its environment that includes multi-organizational field and political opportunities. In terms of political opportunity structure, search was done for the presence of allies in the TGNA by examining the minutes of TGNA. Presence of deputies as allies is important for gaining access to the decision making process. The governments that were in power during the past decade were persistent on the operation of gold mine on the grounds of economic benefits. Apart from some of the CHP deputies, it is not possible to talk

about the role of potential allies in helping the movement. Indeed, most of the deputies were not sympathetic to the movement as expressing ideas similar to the Eurogold's discourse. Briefly, while they viewed the movement as a provocation organized by leftist groups guided with political interests and maintained a positive opinion about gold mining with cyanide on the grounds of its being economic and harmless, the CHP deputies drew attention to the decision of the Council of State that prohibited gold mining with cyanide. The CHP and other left wing parties outside of the parliament also indicated an interest in the movement as a mediator between civil society and the state. Meanwhile, the presence of a mayor from the CHP when Eurogold first established itself in the Bergama district also led to the identification of the movement with a left-wing action. It is also interesting to say that although the neighboring municipal governments full heartedly supported the Bergama movement especially municipality of Izmir province of which Bergama is an administrative sub-unit was either indifferent or antagonistic about the movement. In this respect, it can be considered that the local governmental authorities should have wanted to keep good relation with the central government.

Despite lack of support to the movement within the TGNA, it managed to gain an external ally such as the EP. Although the EP's resolution that ruled out the use of cyanide during gold mining operations and provided information about the estimated destruction of gold mining with cyanide was seen as a stimulus to urge the Turkish government to prohibit gold mining with cyanide by the activists, it did not become as effective as expected.

Other than the Chamber of Mining Engineers, the TMMOB was supportive sector in the Bergama movement. While the Chamber of Environmental Engineers

was supporting the Bergama movement, the Chamber of Mining Engineers posited a discouraging gesture because of their views about the use of cyanide leaching method and the actions of Bergama villagers. In this respect, the Chamber of Environmental Engineers organized panels to enlighten villagers about the harmful effects of cyanide and provided busses to transport the villagers to the protest site. Contrarily, the Chamber of Mining Engineers tried to convince the authorities and the public opinion through its publications that gold mining with cyanide was not dangerous as long as precautions were taken.

Another actor within the multi-organizational field is media. The movement activists considered media as crucial in the development of the Bergama movement because media disseminated the movement's message and prepared the grounds for the emergence of public opinion. Therefore, the leader of the movement organized innovative actions involving many people that in turn received enormous amount of publicity. Besides, the activists prefer being accompanied with reporters during the entire performance of their demonstrations due to security reasons. They believe that as long as reporters are near them, the gendarme will not intervene to their non-violent demonstrations. As a result, the villagers try to keep good relations with the media. However, it occupied little space in the back pages in the written and broadcasted media.

At first, the Bergama villagers started legal struggle to halt the operations of Eurogold with cyanide. We observe variation in terms judicial review processes on the cases opened by the Bergama villagers at different courts. Although, the villagers lost the cases in Bergama Justice Court and İzmir Administration Court, they persisted on their claim and further applied to the Council of State to appeal the

decision of İzmir Administration Court that approve the Eurogold's work permit for gold mining with cyanide. In contrast to the preceding court decision, the Council of State banned the use of cyanide during gold mining operations not only in Bergama but also in the whole country on the grounds of public good. The decision of the Council of State encouraged the Bergama villagers to achieve their goals through legal avenues. However, the disregarding approach of the authorities to the court decision and their insistence on the operation of gold mine on the grounds of economic benefits aggrieved the villagers and led them to continue their protest activities. It should be added that the Council of State has been one of the rare state actors that exceptionally concerned with environmental degradation (Erim, 1997; Ertan, 1998a and 1998b).

From the perspective of the Bergama villagers, Eurogold was considered as an enemy. While the movement's discourse defines the operations of Eurogold with cyanide as a modern form of imperialism, Eurogold interprets the movement as an agitation of the villagers by the radical leftist groups. As a result of the reactions of the Bergama villagers, the company also tried decisively to convince the villagers that the gold mine would not give harm to environment.

So far, the position of different actors to the movement in the multi-organizational field has been stated. However, it must be remembered that the ÇED, lengthy learning process, leader's mobilizing capacity, the İzmir Environmental Lawyers, the probability of cyanide spill and the subsequent destruction were as important as the external factors in the development of the movement.

In chapter II, the organization and objectives of the movement are studied to explore about the processes, in which the Bergama villagers took action to achieve

their common goals, use resources and develop strategies. As I indicated in chapter I, cost-benefit analysis according to RM explains how Bergama villagers decided to participate. In general, the Bergama villagers thought that cost of gold production with cyanide exceeded the benefits of it. However, how costs and benefits weighed in the Bergama villagers' decisions depends in the end on the definition of their situation and this definition does not evolve in isolation, but in interpersonal interaction. This rational approach ignores the importance of strong feelings and collective solidarity that in the absence of these, the risks and uncertainties related to collective action would prevent people's participation. Therefore, the reproduction of collective identity as a result of social practices interacting with external factors is examined in the II chapter. Additionally, the leadership is also important in the development of the Bergama movement. The Bergama villagers regard Mr. Konyar as one of the most respectable figures because of his commitment to the villager's cause. He managed to bring together the villagers from different villages and created opportunities for them to develop environmental awareness.

RM is mostly concerned about the efficacy of the movement in terms of using the resources. In this regard, Bergama movement successfully used internal resources and external resources such as people and media. People were the most valuable source. For instance, over 500 villagers gathered themselves for protest within 10 minutes through network system in Bergama and travelled 800 km. away from their village for the demonstration on the Bosphorous Bridge. Among other activities, about 200 villagers visited the martyrdom tombs in Gelibolu at the end of their Kuvva-i Milliye march. As a consequence, the Bergama movement managed to receive media's interest.

Although RM theory can explain the question of how the Bergama movement took place, it does not explore why it occurred. Initially, NSMs theory can not also be adopted to answer the question, because the Bergama movement did not emerge as a result of the new aspirations or the post-materialist values that had been occurring in the industrialized countries. However, using the NSMs theory is still relevant because villagers learned the imminent danger of cyanide spill disaster in their neighborhood as a result of the lengthy learning process. This was coupled with the new values that environment must be protected because the destruction of ecological balance would also mean the destruction of all living species. Then the villagers grasped the meaning of the environment, which was also the permanent economy that provided their livelihood. The most significant value is that villagers became aware of their environment right.

Besides, the Bergama movement carries the major features of NSMs such as local mobilization, direct action and unconventional tactics. It is more appropriate to use the term "social movement network" to define the Bergama movement organization because no formal organisation has been established. The Bergama Environmental Committee believed that if their issue gained access to the public, they could be more influential in achieving their goals by using non-violent protest means. Only, in this way, they believed, would they maintain respect for their cause. The movement's protest type is defined as civil disobedience. In terms of visual and cognitive effect, every protest activity was differently designed and made each and every occasion *unique*. For example, Bergama villagers demonstrated shirtless in front of the TGNA to show their determination, the villagers played the "contaminated fish" act in the streets of İzmir to show the effects of cyanide spill in

Romania and recently, they involved in a cyber protest. Although the movement lacks of an organizational base, it indicated a well-designed and well-organized activities. In this respect, both the leadership and the will of the villagers coincided and contributed to the livelihood of the movement.

CONCLUSION

Learning the risk to human health and the environment from cyanide, the Bergama villagers claimed their right to environment and mainly asked to be consulted on projects that affect them. They had achieved a victory with a ban on the use of cyanide but it was shaded with the failure of the governments in the implementation of the court decisions and legal commitments entered into by the international community.¹³ Therefore, the villagers' struggle not only sought to stop the operation of the gold mine but was also directed against the unjust practices of the governmental authorities. Accordingly, the Bergama villagers expressed their position and concerns about the operation of gold mine in their neighborhood through effective and innovative means.

Describing the Bergama environmental movement in this study, I intended to emphasize that the increased awareness in the long run led the villagers to widen their knowledge and promote environmental sensibility. For example, in the early 1990s, when the company came to Bergama, undoubtedly, many people simply welcomed the excavation efforts on condition that ore would be carried to another place for process. However, as their consciousness increased, it became almost impossible for the Bergama villagers to accept the gold production with cyanide in another part of Turkey. When the movement expanded its focus from local level to national one, it also

¹³The action plan of Agenda 21 is recognized as binding in the 7th Five years developmental plan, Official Gazette (Double Issue), Nr. 22534 July 25, 1995.

broadened its concerns from cyanide spill over to the problems posed by nuclear power stations and to "human rights" and democracy.

The Bergama villagers' first and foremost claim "the right to environment" implied a *democratization process* whereby citizens involve in the decision making about the projects in their locality. The reason is that they were enlightened to stand up for their rights and encouraged participating in the decision-making process. Moreover, while drawing attention to the robust participation of women in environmental grassroots movements, this study also illustrated that women's activism could contribute to the development of a society in which men and women are liberated from the domination of their "gender attributions." In addition, the Bergama environmental movement went beyond setting an example of how villagers are mobilized to protect their environment for the present and future generations and contributed to the democratic process by bringing up active citizens that are capable of dealing with their problems and organizing actions.

From a wider perspective, this study reaffirmed that the Council of State, as the superior administrative judicial organ, was very sensitive to environmental issues on the basis of superiority of law whereas the governments in office were far remote from being sensitive and indifferent of the former's decisions. Although the ÇED reports on several projects displayed that the negative effects of these projects on human health and environment were outweighing the economic benefits, the governments failed to notice the court decisions that cancelled the permits of the projects and insisted on their operation.¹⁴

¹⁴ Cargill factory, Uludağ National Park, Gökova, Yatağan, Yeniköy, Orhaneli Thermic Stations are some of the examples where the court decisions are not implemented by the policy makers (Binyıl, 3 December 2000).

The continuous *clash* between the Bergama villagers and the government agencies on the project can be associated with the government policies emphasizing outward economic development and liberalization since 1980s. Foreign investment was encouraged by the governments in different sectors without considering its subsequent long-term impact on public health and preservation of environment. Undoubtedly, this phenomenon is not peculiar to Bergama case but seems to be the common destiny for the most of developing countries of which can not keep away from the negative effects of global economy.

The Bergama case indicated that it has its own particulars. Its unique characteristics supports my general argument that the environmental movements in developing countries must be studied because they offer explanations in their own milieu different than the environmental movements in developed countries.

TABLE 1 RESULTS OF THE GENERAL ELECTIONS OF REPRESENTATIVES IN THE VILLAGES, 1987-1999

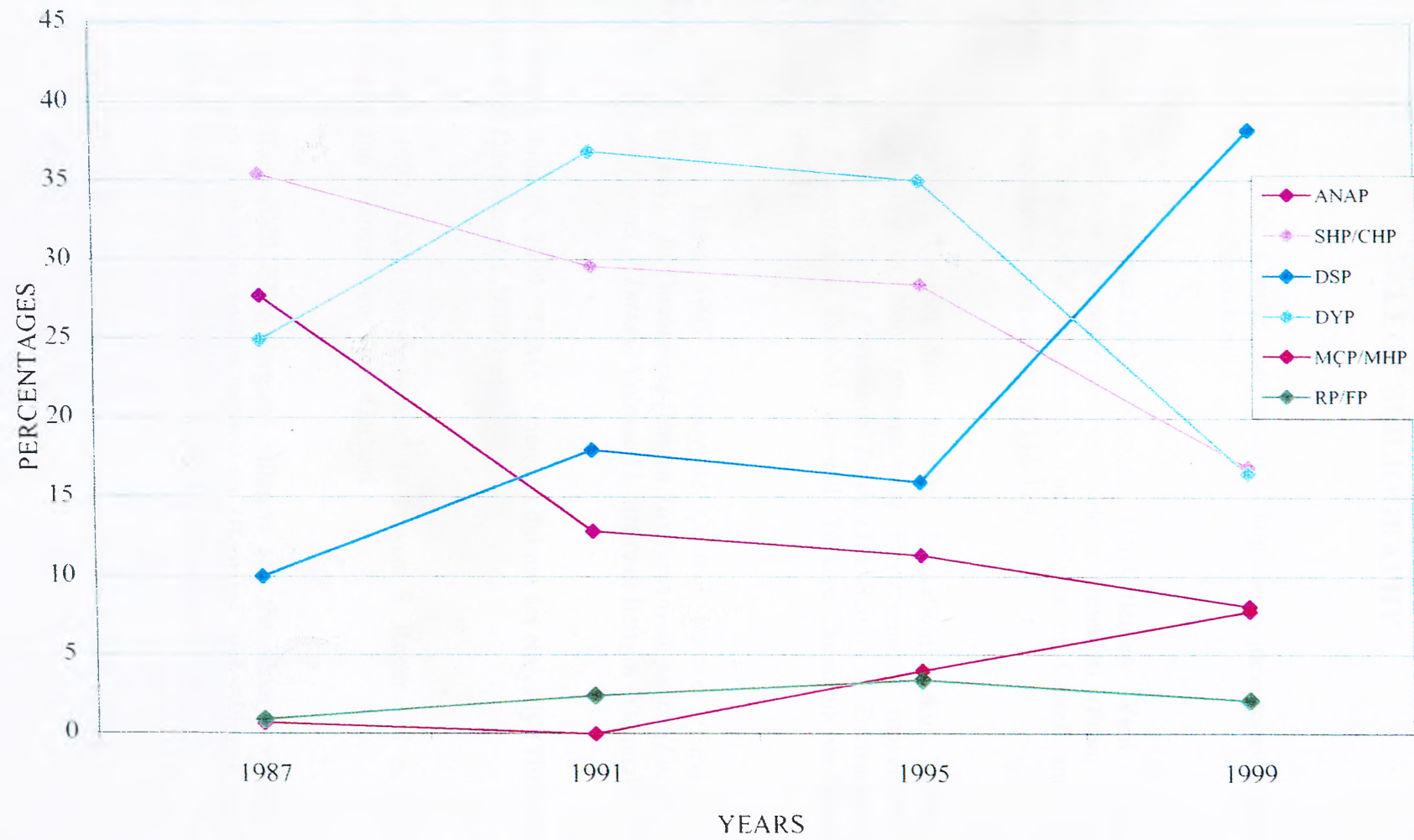
VILLAGES /	ANAP				SHP/CHP				DSP				DYP				MÇP/MHP				RP/FP			
Years	87	91	95	99	87	91	95	99	87	91	95	99	87	91	95	99	87	95	99	87	91	95	99	
ALACALAR	40	45	44	18	62	57	18	9	9	3	8	20	2	11	19	3	3	5	32	6	6	22	13	
AŞAĞIKIRIKLAR	193	78	46	14	119	114	40	48	77	106	141	380	141	268	279	142	2	9	22	3	8	20	24	
BOZKÖY	121	84	68	33	87	97	39	47	25	37	57	105	162	158	165	105	0	17	25	1	10	21	1	
ÇALIBAHÇE	26	0	9	1	24	26	17	8	7	6	13	23	16	39	22	5	0	8	29	1	8	9	5	
ÇAMKÖY	134	52	20	15	66	69	79	63	53	79	114	88	33	98	63	16	3	15	16	2	6	11	6	
EĞRİGÖL	68	28	15	5	37	20	12	8	38	50	71	74	33	83	52	17	0	7	31	1	11	27	15	
KURFALLI	57	16	16	8	91	90	29	22	22	23	53	94	150	195	175	108	13	30	46	4	16	16	5	
KADRIYE	77	44	43	34	51	67	45	22	23	18	46	98	31	75	65	33	0	24	85	0	8	11	11	
NARLICA	33	18	14	60	256	198	218	119	11	30	40	120	18	86	76	3	0	26	2	1	7	2	4	
OVACIK	136	51	28	15	121	70	80	36	27	67	96	149	52	115	88	15	2	20	55	4	6	12	15	
PINARKÖY	49	11	20	28	303	172	442	251	25	315	26	121	112	25	80	32	0	12	10	3	8	0	0	
SARIDERE	31	20	10	0	48	68	122	19	36	36	10	81	61	70	69	47	0	3	13	0	4	4	5	
SAĞANCI	128	73	60	30	193	167	58	18	33	66	99	230	113	170	177	31	8	33	36	2	12	7	1	
SÜLEYMANLI	26	7	8	5	57	33	17	5	14	14	28	79	34	68	46	13	0	0	2	1	2	4	1	
TEPEKÖY	142	52	33	47	187	203	258	160	50	49	55	246	58	141	183	18	0	9	5	2	6	1	2	
YALNIZEV	46	15	4	9	90	104	154	97	9	6	4	75	69	123	127	14	3	5	10	1	3	1	0	
YENİKÖY	241	151	234	161	182	155	54	68	100	135	84	282	302	407	385	377	3	14	45	18	16	33	21	
SUM	1548	745	672	483	1974	1710	1682	1000	559	1040	945	2265	1387	2132	2071	979	37	237	464	50	137	201	129	
PERCENTAGE	27,7	12,87	11,35	8,1	35,4	29,54	28,41	16,9	10,02	17,97	15,96	38,2	24,9	36,83	34,98	16,5	0,7	4	7,8	0,9	2,4	3,4	2,1	

SOURCE: SIS 1988, 1992, 1996 and 2000.

NOTES: Percentages of the total number of votes received by other parties including the Independents are as follows: 0,4 in 1987 and 1991; 1,9 in 1995 and 10,1 in 1999.

EXPLANATIONS: ANAP (Anavatan Partisi); CHP (Cumhuriyet Halk Partisi); DSP (Demokratik Sol Parti); DYP (Doğruyol Partisi); FP (Fazilet Partisi, Virtue Party); MÇP (Milliyetçi Çalışma Partisi, Nationalist Work Party); MHP (Milliyetçi Hareket Partisi, Nationalist Action Party); RP (Refah Partisi); and SHP (Sosyal Demokrat Halkçı Parti, Social Democrat Populist Party). The SHP merged with the CHP in 1995 and the MÇP entered the 1991 elections under the umbrella of the RP and was renamed as the MHP in 1993.

FIGURE 1 DISTRIBUTION OF PARTY VOTES IN THE GENERAL ELECTIONS OF REPRESENTATIVES IN THE VILLAGES, 1987-1999



SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHY

Agarwal, Anil. "The Chipko Movement". <http://www.india-today.com/itoday/millennium/100people/chipko.html>.

Akkoyunlu-Ertan, Kuvılcım.1999. "Kentsel Hareketlerden Yeni Toplumsal Hareketlere: Castells'in Sorgulanması ve Türkiye Örnekleri (From Provincial Movements to New Social Movements: The analysis of Castell and Turkish examples)," *Amme İdaresi Dergisi* 32 (3): 115-129.

Atauz, Akın. 2000. "Çevreci Sivil Toplum Hareketinin Yakın Tarihi (The Contemporary History of Non Governmental Environmental movement)." In *Türkiye'de Çevrenin ve Çevre Korumanın Tarihi (The History of Environment and Environmental Protection in Turkey)*. İstanbul: Türkiye Ekonomik ve Toplumsal Tarih Vakfı, 194-221.

_____. and Tanıl Bora. 1995. "Türkiye'de Çevreci Hareket (Environmental Movement in Turkey)," In *Cumhuriyet Dönemi Türkiye Ansiklopedisi (Encyclopedia of the Republican Period of Turkey)* Volume 11. İstanbul: İletişim Yayıncılık A.Ş.

Bayer, Yalçın. June 16, 2000. "TEMA: Scientists did not act ethically (TEMA:Bilim Adamları Etik Davranmadı) ,"*Hürriyet*.

Bedau, Hugo. 1997. "Civil Disobedience," In Powers S. Roger and et. al, eds., *Protest Power and Change*. New York: Garland.

Bulunmaz, Meftun. 2000. "The Bergama villagers and the Akkuyu villagers are unified for state protection against arbitration (Bergama and Akkuyu köylüleri tahkime karşı vatan savunmasında birleşti)" *Ağaçkakan Dergisi* 5(36): 33.

Carter, Alan.1999. *A Radical Green Political Theory*. New York:Routledge

Chamber of Environmental Engineers.1998. *Gold, Bergama, Democracy(Altın Bergama Demokrasi)*.Ankara: Odak Ofset.

Chamber of Mining Engineers.1997. "Altın Madenciliği (Gold Mining)" *The Mining Bulletin*, 53: 3-41.

Council of State, E: 1996/5274 K: 1997/2310; E: 1998/512 K:1998/1830, E: 1999/15 K: 1999/23

della Porta, Donatella and Mario Diani.1999. *Social Movements*. Oxford: Blackwell Publishers.

Demirer, Göksel *et al.* 1999. "YDD" *Kıskacında Çevre ve Kent (Environment and City at the Grip of "New World Order")* Ankara: Ütopya.

Dinçer Bülent.1996. *İlçelerin Sosyo-Ekonomik Gelişmişlik Sıralaması (Socio-economic Development Ranking of Towns)* Ankara: DPT.

Dobson Andrew. 2000. *Green Political Thought*. New York: Routledge.

Epstein, Barbara, "Grassroots Environmentalism and Strategies For Social Change."
<http://www.interweb-tech.com/nsmnet/docs/epstein.htm>.

Erim, Refet.1997 "Türkiye'de Yasama, Yürütme ve Yargının Çevre Yaklaşımı (The Approaches of Legislative, Executive and Judiciary bodies in Turkey towards the Environment)." In Ruşen Keleş, ed., *İnsan Çevre Toplum (Human Environment Society)*. Ankara: İmge, 372-394.

Ertan Birol. 1997. "Siyanürlü Yöntemle Altın Madeni Üretimi ve Ovacık Altın Madeni (Ovacık Gold Mine and Gold Production with Cyanide Leaching)" *Mülkiyeliler Birliği Dergisi*, 199(21): 74-79.

_____. 1998a. "Bergama-Ovacık Altın Madeni Konusundaki Danıştay Kararının Değerlendirilmesi (The Evaluation of Council of State's Decision on Bergama-Ovacık Gold Mine)," *Çağdaş Yerel Yönetimler*, 7 (3): 72-80.

_____. 1998b. "Bergama ve Çevrecilerin Haklı Zaferi (Bergama and the Victory of Environmentalists)," *Birikim* 113: 84-89.

Eyerman, Ron and Andrew Jamison. 1991. *Social Movements: A Cognitive Approach*. Cambridge: Polity Press.

"French Farmers Protest Globalization" http://www.infoshop.org/news4/french_farmers.html

Garner, Roberta. 1996. *Contemporary Movements and Ideologies*. USA: Mc Graw-Hill.

Gençkaya, Ömer Faruk. 1999. "Recent Constitutional Amendments to the 1982 Constitution of Turkey." In Gisbert H. Flanz, ed., *Constitutions of the Countries of the World*, Republic of Turkey, Supplement, Release 99-7, Issued November 1999, Dobbs Ferry, New York: Oceana Publications, Inc.

_____. 1999. "States and Non-State Actors in Environmental Policy Making: An Overview of the GEF-BSEP NGO forum." In Stacy D. VanDeveer and Geoffrey D. Dabelko, eds., *Protecting Regional Seas: Developing Capacity and Fostering Environmental Cooperation in Europe*. The Woodrow Wilson International Center For Scholars, 81-110.

Greenpeace, Turkey: toxics, <http://www.greenpeacemed.org.mt/prs/turkey/toxics/971020.htm>.

Guha, Ramachandra. 1997. "Environmentalism of the Poor." In Richard G. Fox and Orin Starn, eds., *Between Resistance and Revolution*. New Jersey: Rutgers University Press, 17-40.

Guha, Ramachandra.1989. *The Unquiet Woods: Ecological Change and Peasant Resistance in the Himalaya*. India: Oxford University Press.

Haynes, Jeff.1998. *Democracy and Civil Society in the Third World: Politics and New Political Movements*. Cambridge: Polity Press.

_____. "Power Politics and Environmental Movements in the Third World," *Environmental Politics*. 1(8): 222-242.

Howe, Daniel Walker.1991. *Henry David Thoreau on the Duty of Civil Disobedience*. Oxford: Clarendon.

Inglehart, Ronald.1995. "Public Support for Environmental Protection: Objective Problems and Subjective Values in 43 Societies," *PS:Political Science and Politics* 28 (3): 57-72.

Johnston, Hank, Larana Enrique and Gusfield R. Joseph.1994. "Identities, Grievances and New Social Movements," In H.Johnston, E.Larana and J. R. Gusfield,eds.,*From Ideology to Identity*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 101-133.

Keleş, Ruşen and Can Hamamcı.1997.*Çevre Bilim(Environmental Science)*. Ankara: Imge Kitabevi.

Kidd, Quentin and Aie-Rie Lee.1997. "Post-materialist values and the Environment," *Social Science Quarterly* 78(1): 1-15.

Kitschelt, Herbert. 1990. "Resource Mobilization Theory: A Critique." In Dieter Rucht, ed., *Research on Social Movements*. Campus Verlag: Westview Press, 323-348.

Klandermans Bert. 1984. "Mobilization and Participation: Social-Psychological Expansions of Resource Mobilization Theory," *American Sociological Review* 49(October): 583-600.

_____. 1990. "New Social Movements and Resource Mobilization: The European and American Approach Revisited." In Dieter Rucht, ed., *Research on Social Movements*. Campus Verlag: Westview Press, 17-47

_____. 1997. *The Social Psychology of Protest*. Oxford: Blackwell Publishers.

_____. and Dirk Oegama. 1987. "Potentials, Networks, Motivations and Barriers: Steps toward Participation in Social Movements," *American Sociological Review* 52: 549-531.

Kousis, Maria. 1999. "Sustaining Local Environmental Mobilisations: Groups, Actions and Claims in Southern Europe," *Environmental Politics* 8(Spring): 172-197.

"Leaching method with cyanide." http://www.miningwatch.org/emcbc/library/amd_water.htm#Heap

Lundy, Patricia. 1999. "Fragmented Community Action or New Social Movement?" *International Sociology* 14 (1): 83-101.

Martel, Luke. 1994. *Ecology and Society*. Amherst: The University of Massachusetts Press.

Meluchi, Alberto. 1994. "A Strange Kind of Newness: What is New in Social Movements?" In Hank Johnston, Enrique Larana and Joseph R. Gusfield, eds., *From Ideology to Identity*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 101-130.

_____. 1995. "The Process of Collective Identity." In H. Johnston and B. Klandermans, eds., *Social Movements and Culture*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 41-63.

Minutes of the European Parliament. 17 November 1994, based on Document No. B4-0410/94 - Final Edition.

Minutes of TGNA, 25 June 1996: 324-5; 20 November 1996: 111-12; 25 February 1997: 235-6; 19 March 1997: 194-6; 1 April 1997: 159-61; 4 June 1997: 258-61; 3 July, 1997: 216-7; 4 November 1997: 10-1 and 20 December, 1997: 681-2: 22

December, 1999: 339-341 and 20 January 2000: 474-476.

Neidhardt Friedhelm and Dieter Rucht. 1990. "The Analysis of Social Movements: The State of the Art and Some Perspectives for Further Research." In Dieter Rucht, ed., *Research on Social Movements*. Campus Verlag: Westview Press, 421-464.

Oberschall, Anthony. 1995. *Social Movements: Ideologies, Interests and Identities*. New Brunswick: Transaction.

Oliver, Pamela. 1984. "If You don't do it, nobody else will: Active and Token contributors to local collective action," *American Sociological Review* 49 (October): 601-610.

Olson, Mancur. 1968. *The Logic of Collective Action: public goods and the theory of groups*. New York: Schocken Books.

"Ovacık Gold Mine," <http://www.ebso.com.tr/business.web/Eurogold>.

Özay Seni. 1997. "Sivil Itaatısızlık (Civil Disobedience)." In Hayrettin Ökçesiz, ed., *Sivil Itaatısızlık*. Istanbul: Demokrasi Kitaplığı.

Panayotou Theodore. 1999. "Globalization and Environment," *Human Development Report: Globalization with a Human Face*. New York: United Nations Publications, 235-275.

Routledge, Paul. 1997. "Chipko Movement." In Powers S. Roger and et. al, eds., *Protest Power and Change*. New York: Garland.

Seager Joni. 1999. "Deep Ecology and Ecofeminism." In Mark J. Smith ed., *Thinking Through Environment*. New York: Routledge, 337-353.

Schiva, Vandana. 1993. "The Chipko Women's Concept of Freedom." In Maria Mies and Vandana Shiva, eds., *Ecofeminism*. London: Zed Books, 246-251.

Scott, Alan. 1990. *Ideology and the New Social Movements*. London: Unwin Hyman Ltd.

State Institute of Statistics. 1988. Results of General Election of Representatives, Publication Number 1280, Ankara: SIS Printing Division.

_____. 1992. Results of General Election of Representatives, Publication Number 1511, Ankara: SIS Printing Division.

_____. 1996. Results of General Election of Representatives, Publication Number 1978, Ankara: SIS Printing Division.

_____. 2000. Results of General Election of Representatives, Publication Number 2341, Ankara: SIS Printing Division.

Stephenson, Carolyn. 1997. "Environmental Movements." In Powers S. Roger and et. al, eds., *Protest Power and Change*. New York:Garland.

Sunoto. 1994. "Social Movement in Indonesia: The Case of The Tapak Movement (1977-1992)," Unpublished Ph.D thesis. Canada: York University.

Tarrow, Sidney. 1998. *Power in Movement : Social Movements and Contentious politics*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Taşkın, Sefa. 1997. *Siyanürcü Ahtapot (Octopus Spreading the Poision of Cyanide)*. Istanbul : Sel Yayıncılık.

TEB and IBS Research. 1998. *Gold in Turkey*. Istanbul: Graphis.

Togan Sübidey. 1995. "Trade Liberalization and Competitive Structure in Turkey during the 1980s." In Sübidey Togan and V.N. Balasubramanyam eds., *The Economy of Turkey since Liberalization*. Great Britain:MacMillan, 5-52.

Tont, Sargun. 2000. "The Chronology of Environmental Protection in the West (Batı Ülkelerinde Kurtarıcı Çevreciliğin Kronolojisi)." In *Türkiye'de Çevrenin ve Çevre Korumunun Tarihi*. İstanbul: Türkiye Ekonomik ve Toplumsal Tarih Vakfı, 21-42.

Touraine, Alain. 1985. "An Introduction to the Study of Social Movements," *Social Research* 52(4): 749-788.

UNEP Documents. <http://www.unep.org/Documents>

Van Der Heijden, Hein-Anton. "Environmental Movements, Ecological Modernisation and Political Opportunity Structure," *Environmental Politics* 1(8):199-221.

Yanitsky Oleg.1999. "The Environmental Movement in a Hostile Context," *International Sociology* June.14 (2): 157-173.

Yasamış, Firuz.1997. *Çevresel Etki Değerlendirmesi (Environmental Impact Assessment)*. Ankara: Takav Yayıncılık.

Zald, N. Mayer and D. John Mc Carthy. 1987. "Resource Mobilization Theory." In John D. Mc Carthy and Mayer N. Zald, eds., *Social Movements in an Organizational Society*. New Jersey: Transaction Publishers, 15-49.

Wapner, Paul.1996. *Environmental Activism and World Civic Politics*. Albany :State University of New York Press.