

DEFENDING NATURE: A COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF THE CERATTEPE
AND KIRAZLI ANTI-MINING ENVIRONMENTAL MOVEMENTS

BÜŞRA ÜNER

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DEFENDING NATURE: A COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF CERATTEPE AND
KIRAZLI ANTI-MINING ENVIRONMENTAL MOVEMENTS

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DECLARATION OF ORIGINALITY

I, Büşra Üner, certify that

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ABSTRACT

Defending Nature: A Comparative Analysis of the Cerattepe and Kirazlı Anti-Mining Environmental Movements

In the last decade, the number of environmental movements that emerged in opposition to the mining projects increased dramatically following the rising pressure of the government, the amendments regarding the mining laws and legislation, and the designation of the new mining areas throughout Turkey. Many of these movements have been organized through similar mobilization strategies like the vigil protests to defend the area; yet, these strategies have substantially changed the ways in which the local actors communicate and ally with each other to sustain the movement. To analyze the organization and mobilization strategies of environmental movements in Turkey, I compare the Cerattepe (Artvin) anti-mining movement with the Kirazlı (Çanakkale) anti-mining environmental movement and question different understandings of environmentalism, its effects on the organization of environmental movements, and the ways in which the local inhabitants are able to forge alliances or not. I argue that when the local actors create a place-based struggle as a part of the organization of an environmental movement it is more likely to sustain grassroots activism through a common ground and diverse alliance like the Cerattepe case. Additionally, the geographical position of the Çanakkale is conducive for the emergence of a new environmentalist group in the province leading to a conflict among different groups of inhabitants. This is why, they could not create a collective identity for a sustainable environmental movement. I name this new environmentalist group as “environmentalism of the urbanite”.

ÖZET

Doğayı Savunmak: Cerattepe ve Kirazlı Maden Karşıtı

Çevre Mücadelelerinin Karşılaştırmalı Bir Analizi

Son yıllarda, madencilik kanununda yapılan değişiklikler, genişleyen maden alanları, artan hükümet baskılarıyla beraber Türkiye’de çok sayıda maden karşıtı çevre mücadelesi yükselmeye başladı. Bu mücadeleler benzer eylemlilik yöntemleriyle maden projelerini protesto etmelerine rağmen farklı yerlerdeki çevre mücadelelerindeki mobilizasyon stratejileri yerel aktörlerin kendi aralarında mücadeleyi devam ettirmek üzere kurdukları ilişkileri etkiliyor. Türkiye’deki çevre mücadelelerinin organizasyon ve mobilizasyon stratejilerini analiz etmek amacıyla Cerattepe ve Kirazlı maden karşıtı mücadelelerini karşılaştırmalı olarak ele aldım. Bu karşılaştırmalı analizde farklı çevrecilik anlayışlarına, çevrecilik anlayışının mücadelenin organizasyonu üzerindeki etkisine ve farklı yerel aktörlerin birbirleriyle kurdukları veya kuramadıkları ilişkilere odaklandım. Bu karşılaştırma sonucunda Cerattepe maden karşıtı mücadelesinde olduğu gibi yerel aktörlerin yer temelli bir mücadele geliştirdiği durumlarda farklı aktörlerin birbirleriyle daha güçlü bağlar kurarak tabandan yükselen bir aktivizmi uzun süre devam ettirebildiklerini ortaya koyuyorum. Bunun yanı sıra Çanakkale’nin coğrafi konumun Kirazlı çevre mücadelesinde kentli çevreciler olarak tanımladığım yeni bir çevreci grubun ortaya çıkmasına olanak sağladığını ortaya koyuyorum. Bu çevreci grubun Çanakkale’de yaşayan aktörlerle ortak bir kimlik yaratamamasının çevre mücadelesinin sürdürülebilirliği üzerinde önemli etkileri olduğunu göstermeye çalışıyorum.

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ABBREVIATIONS

AKP	Justice and Development Party (<i>Adalet ve Kalkınma Partisi</i> in Turkish)
CHP	Republican People's Party (<i>Cumhuriyet Halk Partisi</i> in Turkish)
CSR	Corporate social responsibility
ÇEVKO	Environmental Protection and Packaging Waste Recovery and Recycling Trust (<i>Çevre Koruma ve Ambalaj Atıklarını Değerlendirme Vakfı</i> in Turkish)
EU	Ecology Union (<i>Ekoloji Birliği</i> in Turkish)
EIA	Environmental Impact Assessment
EJ Atlas	Environmental Justice Atlas
MAD	Center for Spatial Justice (<i>Mekanda Adalet Derneği</i> in Turkish)
MTA	Mineral Research and Exploration Institute
NGO	Non-governmental organization
TMMOB	Union of Chambers of Turkish Engineers and Architects (<i>Türk Mimarlar ve Mühendisler Odası</i> in Turkish)
TEMA	Turkish Foundation for Combating Soil Erosion, for Reforestration and for Protection of Natural Habitats (<i>Türkiye Erozyonla Mücadele, Doğal Varlıkları Koruma ve Ağaçlandırma Vakfı</i> in Turkish)
TÇV	Turkey Environmental Foundation (<i>Türkiye Çevre Vakfı</i> in Turkish)
YAD	Green Artvin Association (<i>Yeşil Artvin Derneği</i> in Turkish)

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

In the past, my typical days were spent working in the office. Nowadays, my days depend on the state of the proposed projects, which would lead to environmental degradation. It is not very planned. We sometimes plan ahead; we sometimes plan our lives accordingly. For example, there are mining tenders nowadays. So, we try to map the proposed mining areas as soon as possible and organize meetings accordingly. Otherwise, someone from the surrounding villages is looking a support for the resistance against the hydroelectric power plant project. Then, we immediately communicate with the press and then go to that village. Of course, our range of action is more limited due to the pandemic. Yet, we should follow the state of mining operations in Cerattepe. Now, we are trying to curb ecological and environmental disasters. (Interview 1) (see Appendix D, 8)

By miserably looking from her balcony to Cerattepe (Artvin), a region where copper mining has been extracted since 2017, she, one of my interviewees, mentions how a continuing environmental movement in her city, Artvin, the Northeastern province of Turkey, has been shaping her daily life for over two decades. She feels hopeless for its success and the future of her city due to the copper mining activity in Cerattepe, planned mining projects, and the fierce governmental policies regulating mining areas in the country. However, despite her hopelessness, she implicitly emphasizes that the city inhabitants must continue to protest mining projects to inhibit more ecological destruction and defend their space. Because mining issue, a critical component for the spatial and social relations in the city, leads the inhabitants to feel despair, resist, and eventually transform their city into a social movement space, her narrative about environmental issues seems significant to understand how environmental movements are differently sustained through diverse actors under an umbrella organization. In this respect, I maintain that the Cerattepe environmental movement is a successful case in terms of organization through bringing diverse

actors together under the Green Artvin Association¹ (*Yeşil Artvin Derneği* in Turkish) for several years.

In those days I conducted my fieldwork in Artvin on August 2020, the law enforcement forces were trying to violently suppress the vigil protest of environmental activists in Balabanlı Hill located in Kirazlı (Çanakkale) village of Çanakkale, the Northwestern province of Turkey. These environmental activists were those who have migrated to Çanakkale in recent years. When environmental protests were staged in Balabanlı Hill in August 2019, they actively participated in mobilization and kept a vigil to inhibit the corporation's activities. In contrast to the Cerattepe case, in the Çanakkale province, the community members failed to be organized under an umbrella organization and to reach a common ground against the mining threat. Different groups were organized and allied with the actors from other cities depending on their own interests, politics, and values. Therefore, it is a curious task to study why the inhabitants of Çanakkale could not succeed in building up strong alliances while defending their livelihood against the mining project.

Following the global trend towards the boom in resource extraction, since the end of the 1980s, Turkey has entered a new phase of mining expansion through the extraction activities of multinational private corporations. Bergama environmental movement becomes a symbol of environmental justice movements of Turkey in alliance with diverse actors, including national and international civil society organizations, environmental organizations, local inhabitants, peasants, Green Party (*Yeşiller Partisi* in Turkish), and local organizations (Çoban, 2004; Özen, 2009;

¹ It is a local environmental organization established in 1995 when the anti-mining struggles emerged against the Canadian company, Inmet Mining. Since then, this environmental organization has been playing a crucial role in the organization and mobilization of environmental movement, creating alliances with the villages of the Artvin province to solve environmental problems, and forging alliances with political parties and civil society organization at the national scale to cede the Cerattepe mining operation. Retrieved from: <http://yesilartvindernegi.org>

Çımrın Kökalan, 2015). It locally begins as a struggle between the Eurogold company from France and Canadian multinational mining companies and those who defend their livelihoods. After the rise of Bergama environmental movement, those who organize anti-mining struggle created solidarity with local inhabitants of Uşak to stop the Kışladağ (Uşak)² cyanide mining project in late 1990s and early 2000s. Since then, the numbers of local environmental protests have been dramatically increasing in Turkey against neoliberal agenda and development paradigm, and different local struggles try to create solidarities with each other to protest environmental policies of the current government.

In recent years, Cerattepe and Kirazlı cases have become popular through adapting the same mobilization strategies. However, the actors in both movements have been differently organized. This is why, the research on these cases seems significant to identify the characteristics and transformation of environmental movements in the current political atmosphere of Turkey. To analyze the organization and mobilization strategies of environmental movements that has dramatically increased in Turkey, I compare the Cerattepe anti-mining movement with the Kirazlı anti-mining environmental movement and question different understandings of environmentalism, its effects on the organization of environmental movements, and the ways in which the local inhabitants are able to forge alliances or not. How do the local actors or inhabitants create an environmental movement to defend their livelihood and space under an umbrella organization? Why could not diverse actors create a collective identity and come together to sustain an

² Kışladağ is declared as mining site in 1997 for the mining activities of TÜPRAG company from Turkey and Eldorado company from Canada (Özen & Özen, 2014).

environmental movement against common threats including ecological destruction, human rights violations, health issues, and water, soil, and air contamination?

The comparison between Cerattepe and Kirazlı movements demonstrates that the Artvin community had the capacity to act together to defend their livelihood and to resist the law-enforcement officers who violently suppressed the vigil protest in Cerattepe region. I argue that the active presence of a local environmental organization called YAD which locals identify as a supra-political body, contributes to the continuity of an environmental movement through the establishment of a common ground among the inhabitants of Artvin. Bearing the Cerattepe example in mind, I assert that the strong alliances forged firstly among the local community members play a decisive role for further alliances with and in other alliances including but not limited to environmentalists, civil society organizations, and activists at the national scale. The alliances, however, prioritizing environmental organizations, activists, and environmentalists at the national scale are less likely to engender environmental justice movements. Kirazlı anti-mining movement is exemplary of an ecological conflict in which local inhabitants could not act together due to exclusionary decision-making mechanisms leading to a collective action problem.

There are other factors such as local differences, which we need to analyze to have a better understanding about the sustainability of environmental movements as well as the alliances among diverse actors and organizations. *Place* is an important element to study geographical, historical, and cultural differences, and their effects on the organization of local resistances (Escobar, 2008). I argue that when the local actors create a place-based struggle as a part of the organization of an environmental movement it is more likely to sustain grassroots activism through a common ground

and diverse alliances. The Cerattepe case fits this category well. The counterexample is the Kirazlı environmental movement. The geographical position of the Çanakkale is conducive for the emergence of a new environmentalist group in the province leading to a conflict among different groups of inhabitants. This is why, they could not create a collective identity for a sustainable environmental movement. I name this new environmentalist group as “environmentalism of the urbanite”, which is significantly different from what Martinez-Alier (2002) defines as “environmentalism of the poor”. Because of the conflicting approaches to environmentalism in the Çanakkale province, Kirazlı ecological conflict could not be sustained by the local actors.

Thus, in this part of the chapter, I aim to give a brief account about the history of environmentalism and ecological struggles in Turkey to explain how the number of environmental movements have significantly increased in the last decade. Then, I briefly historicize the emergence of Cerattepe and Kirazlı anti-mining environmental movements. Lastly, I explain the methodology I have used to conduct such research.

1.1 A brief history of environmentalism and ecological struggles in Turkey

In Turkey, until the 1980s, environmental politics and ecological issues have not occupied dominantly the political agenda of Turkish politics and social movements. From the early days of the Republic to the 1980s, state-led environmental policies were developed to protect the environment and beautify nature through the foundation of semi-governmental civil society associations. The military coup on September 12th, 1980 was a critical juncture in the state’s environmental and economic policies due to the neoliberal agenda and, accordingly, the amendments made in the legislation to meet the demands of the new economic framework.

Amidst the political suppression of every kind in Turkey following the military coup, environmental activism started to emerge as a new kind of politics for many groups and local communities who defend their livelihood against unequal distribution of economic benefits and environmental risks. In this context, state-led policies implemented that environmental activism was not a matter of politics, and professionalized civil society organizations adopted policies that depoliticize their environmental activities. As a result, I argue that the military coup of 1980 and the succeeding political atmosphere were a breaking point both for the policies of the state, and the environmental activism in Turkey.

The path leading the country towards this breaking point offers a telling story. After the United Nations Environmental Conference in 1972, environmental protection and sustainable development has become universally popular issues posing the questions about who would protect the environment and whether the state or the market would be responsible for the protection (Adem, 2005; Çoban, Özlüer, Erensü, Akdemir, & Üstün, 2015). These debates had an impact on the Turkish state in the 1980s because they opened up new channels for interaction with international actors through environmental non-governmental organizations. These interactions brought forth new policies supporting the actions of the economic market for environmental protection coupled with modernization and development (Adaman & Arsel, 2005). Hence, the state and semi-governmental environmental NGOs linked environmentalism to development issues to integrate the state into the global economy (Aydın, 2005, p.64).

Not surprisingly, the suppression during and following the military coup on September 12th, 1980 led to the curious rise of ecological struggles especially because many environmental organizations started to call their activities non-political

(Erensü, Turhan, Özlüer, & Gündoğan, 2016). Yet, the lobbying activities of these organizations were crucial for the introduction of the well-known Environmental Law of the 1982 Constitution (Erensü et al., 2016).³ Also, in the 1990s, these environmental NGOs were professionalized with highly specialized environmental expertise, backed up by well-organized communication, fund-raising, and research activities thanks to the support of the international organizations (Aydın, 2005, p.78; Erensü et. al., 2016). As a result, I claim that environmentalism has become a kind of professional work for protecting the environment⁴ rather than a field of activism in Turkey.

The post-coup consensus between the state and the capital led to the neoliberal reforms in 1982. The state adopted economic policies that would more rapidly commodify nature than ever (Çoban, Özlüer, & Erensü, 2015). What is more important for the environmental movements, however, were amendments of the laws that organize land use in the countryside to expand the extraction industry. In 1985, the amendment to Mining Law No.3213 was a turning point for the environment and economics of Turkey granting the international private corporations the right to get mining licenses for their projects (Arsel, 2013; Erensü, 2020). A wave of projects pursued: Bergama (İzmir) cyanide-mining project in the early 1990s, Cerattepe (Artvin) cyanide-mining project in the early 1990s, and Kışladağ cyanide-mining project in the late 1990s and early 2000s.

³ Turkey Environmental Foundation established in 1978 (*Türkiye Çevre Vakfı* in Turkish) was the most crucial civil society organization during the lobbying activities for the introduction of Environmental Law in the 1982 constitution (Erensü et. al., 2016).

⁴ Industry-led environmental protection became popular. Environmental Protection and Packaging Waste Recovery and Recycling Trust (*Çevre Koruma ve Ambalaj Atıklarını Değerlendirme Vakfı* in Turkish) and Turkish Foundation for Combating Soil Erosion, for Reforestation and for Protection of Natural Habitats (*Türkiye Erozyonla Mücadele, Ağaçlandırma ve Doğal Varlıkları Koruma Vakfı* in Turkish) aimed to lobby with the state (Erensü, et. al., 2016) and integrate daily business practices with conservatist themes (Adem, 2005, p.78).

In 2004, the state substantially revised the Mining Law No.3213 to expand further the mining activity fields that the private corporations operate (Erensü, 2020). At the same time, the amendment to Law No.5177 allowed the legally protected natural areas to be run for mining (Çoban, 2018). Çoban et al. (2015) argue that the state enacted legal and institutional re-regulation to achieve de-regulation through constitutional changes in Turkey to facilitate the expansion of the market without considering environmental burdens and risks. Relatedly, especially in the 2000s, lands, forests, pastures, and coasts belonging to the state's treasury have rapidly become commodified for market investment, and construction projects, industrial agriculture, mining activities, and energy projects that caused/will cause various sorts of ecological destruction all around the country (Çoban et al., 2015).

The expansion of a neoliberal market economy in Turkey has aggravated the environmental problems, and thus, opened up space for civic interventions and resistance against the hazardous impacts of the neoliberal expansion of economy (Aydın, 2005, p.55). Çoban et al. (2015) focus on the concept of neoliberalism from below to address the roles in which civil society organizations played in environmental protests. On the one hand, civil society actors replaced the role of the state in shaping environmental policies against ecological destruction caused by mushrooming neoliberal actors and policies all around the country. On the other hand, many civil society organizations mobilizing to impede ecological destruction in alliance with the local communities were limited in capacity to confront the neoliberal market relations. Nevertheless, I argue that civil society organizations substantially contributed to the mobilization of local communities in these ecological struggles and created alliances with them against environmental degradation. The results of this contribution were yet to come.

Since the late 1980s and early 1990s, this contribution revealed itself in the increasing organizational capacity of local inhabitants to defend their livelihood in alliance with actors from different levels. Some environmental movements in the aftermath of the 1980s benefited from the pre-1980 era's organizational strategies and were more likely to ally with socialist and leftist groups and the Green Party (Adem, 2005; Erensü et al., 2016). Thus, it is possible to assert that after the rapid depoliticization following the military coup ecological struggles opened up a new field of activism as environmentalism of malcontent and replaced the role of severely suppressed leftist and socialist groups in a sense (Adaman, Arsel, & Akbulut, 2015).

In recent years, ecological struggles have been more rapidly emerging all around the country as the state expands the extraction industry by deregulating the related laws. Since the 2010s, the extraction industry has become a vital factor reshaping environmental policies during the Justice and Development Party (*Adalet ve Kalkınma Partisi* in Turkish) (AKP) period through centralized government's authority and decisions over land use (Çoban, 2018). During this era, the centralized decisions about land use, especially in the countryside, have been taken without the participation of the local actors in the decision-making processes. The lack of participation was one of the other motives contributing to the increasing environmental activism in Turkey.

In 2013, the rise of the Gezi movement was a milestone for the public opposition against ecological destruction, neoliberal policies, and undemocratic decision-making mechanisms of the government. After the Gezi movement, ecological struggles and environmental issues have become more visible and embraced by a wide variety of groups. Yet, in this process, although anti-developmentalism and anti-capitalism discourses became more apparent than ever

for ecological struggles of Turkey, these views failed in terms of manifesting themselves through organized, consistent, and democratic policies (Erensü et al., 2016). According to Erensü et al. (2016), the critical reason for such a failure is the emphasis on the non-political character of the environmental demands since it creates a shortcut demonstrating environmental degradation, and thus, the struggles as something limited to the boundaries of the regional and/or local by overlooking the economic and political nature of the ecological destruction. Hence, it is quite important to understand how local ecological struggles in different regions of Turkey build up alliances at national scale against environmental degradation through establishing a common ground and uncovering political and economic relations paving the way for ecological issues (Aksu, 2019).⁵

In Turkey, despite the rapid rise of environmental movements all around the country, particularly after the 2010s, only a few managed to sustain grassroots environmental activism, while many environmental movements were either dissolved by their own local community or continued through other actors like civil society initiatives. In terms of environmental justice success, the important elements are the ways in which different actors create a collective identity around a shared problem, the continuity of the movement with alliances among the actors, and the ways in which the actors democratically decide on organization and mobilization. Also, I maintain that when diverse actors come together across the fierce oppression of police forces in their environmental movement, their movement is likely to be

⁵ Ecology Union (*Ekoloji Birliği* in Turkish) is an umbrella environmental organization that brings together 54 local organizations and platforms defending their livelihoods, ecology, environment, and nature. It was established in Eskişehir (Turkey) in 2018 to enable the collaborations among local movements to expand ecological movements and environmental politics in Turkey. Retrieved from: <https://ekolojibirligi.org>. I argue that even if its attempts to create networks among diverse actors are valuable, it seems questionable whether or not this organization could create strong networks at national scale. I think that we could realize the achievement/failure of this organization in the long run.

successful in terms of organization. In this context, to understand the reasons for the failure of grassroots activism and founding alliances among diverse actors, it is critical to comparatively study the environmental movements of Turkey. Thus, I argue that we need to fully analyze the ways in which local communities may be able to sustain their grassroots activism through strong alliances at a local scale because these alliances among community members contribute to creating networks with other environmental organizations and diverse actors at national and international scales.

1.2 History of the case studies: Cerattepe (Artvin) and Kirazlı (Çanakkale) environmental movements

The Cerattepe anti-mining environmental movement has been continuing over two decades in Artvin while significantly shaping the daily lives of local communities and the relationships among them. On the contrary, in Kirazlı, the anti-mining environmental movement occurred from grassroots activism in Çanakkale but quickly attracted the attention of many actors in other cities of Turkey in August 2019. Although this anti-mining movement has been active with protests for more than in Balabanlı Hill (Çanakkale) together with an alliance including various environmental organizations, environmentalists, ecologists, and NGOs, grassroots activism could not be maintained because of the disagreements among the local community.

In Artvin, in 1989, Cominco Inc. from Canada acquired mining licenses from the Ministry of Energy and Natural Resources for a cyanide-gold mining project. In 1995, local inhabitants founded YAD in alliance with the academics and the İstanbul Artvin Service Association (*İstanbul Artvinliler Hizmet Vakfı* in Turkish). YAD

created a conducive atmosphere to bring the whole community together against the mining project. In 2002, Cominco Inc. stopped the project but transferred its licenses to another Canadian company, Inmet Mining⁶. In 2008, the Rize Administrative Court canceled the mining license of the company, leading to a prominent success for the community for the goal of environmental justice.⁷⁸ In 2011, the Ministry of Energy and Natural Resources announced that within the scope of the new mining law⁹, they were going to contract out 1343 mining sites in Turkey including Cerattepe and Genya Mounts in Artvin. In 2012, Eti Bakır corporation, a subsidiary company of Cengiz Holding¹⁰, received mining license. This triggered a new period of legal action and a vigil protest. Yet, in February 2016, the law enforcement officers violently crushed the vigil while prohibiting anyone who came to the city to support the protests. After the July 15th coup attempt in Turkey, the copper mining operation started. Taking advantage of the coup-related state of emergency practices,

⁶ It was founded in 1987 in Toronto, Canada. The company had a copper mining operation in Cayeli (Rize), Turkey, as well. Retrieved from: https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Inmet_Mining

⁷ In the beginning of 2009, the Relevant Department of the Council of State approved the nullity of the license on the grounds that “the areas with the mining license are within the national park and touristic areas, the mining operation would not provide any substantial benefit to the country’s economy, the unique natural beauties and the creatures would be harmed, Artvin is essentially on an area where the risk of landslide is high, there are active landslide areas, many scientific reports can be found asserting this risk, the mining activities in the area would also have adverse effects on the flora and fauna, the activity is within the scope of Environmental Impact Assessment directive as of the date the license was granted, the licensing was carried out in an illegal way, the EIA favorable report was not asked and therefore the operating license and all the licenses should be annulled”. With the request of revision of decision of the relevant company declined, the decision was finalized. Retrieved from: <http://yesilartvindernege.org/our-history-of-struggle/>

⁸ In addition to lawsuit, during the second company era, Artvin community sustained its strong alliances with academics. Kafkas University published a report on the hazard of mining in 2006. Retrieved from: <http://yesilartvindernege.org/kafkas-universitesi-artvin-orman-fakultesi-cerattepe-raporu-2006/>. At the same time, in 2008, Grand National Assembly of Turkey (TBMM) Environmental Problems Research Center came to Cerattepe for investigation. After the investigation, the Research Commission published a report stating that mining should not be carried out in this area. Retrieved from: <http://yesilartvindernege.org/our-history-of-struggle/>.

⁹ In 2010, mining law that was adopted in 2004 was revised by preserving the essence of 2004 amendment (Erensü, 2020).

¹⁰ It was founded in 1987 for infrastructure projects, and then it started to construct energy projects and mining projects in Turkey. Retrieved from: <https://www.cengizholding.com.tr/hakkimizda/>

the governor of the city had imposed a ban on any protest for two years.¹¹ In 2017, YAD filed a lawsuit in the Constitutional Court to stop the environmental injustice caused by the mining activities, this time, with 708 complainants. For the last two years, due to the COVID-19 pandemic, street protests have been restricted; yet the members of YAD continue to monitor the area's current situation to inform the community about what has been happening on the top of the city where the mining activities are ongoing. Also, YAD works hard to create networks with other environmental movements mushrooming in different regions of the country in alliance with the umbrella ecological organization, EU, at national scale.

One of these ecological struggles Artvin community relentlessly monitored and supported is the Kirazlı anti-mining environmental movement that emerged in August 2019. After mass-protests became vocal in Balabanlı Hill, YAD went to Çanakkale to support the resistance of the community who protested gold mining projects in Kirazlı through watchkeeping the company's entrance to the region. However, the Artvin community emphasized that in Kirazlı, the organization strategies and decision-making processes were completely different from the Cerattepe environmental movement.¹² Therefore, it is considerable to compare the organization of the Artvin movement with the Kirazlı ecological struggle to understand the conditions that are conducive for the success of grassroots environmental movements.

¹¹ After a coup was attempted in Turkey in 2016, for two years, the state of emergency has been declared. In this process, Artvin and other provinces that armed conflict is ongoing between Turkish military service and PKK are the cities in which protests are banned as a security measure.

¹² In the Kirazlı environmental movement, the different groups organize the vigil protest, and the people participating in the protest stay in tents at nights whereas in the Cerattepe environmental movement, the people organize a roster that determines the people who keep vigils weekly. In the Cerattepe case, the people are not allowed to bring their tents. Rather, they build a shed to keep vigil together whole night. Additionally, in the Kirazlı environmental movement, the different groups independently decide on their mobilization whereas in the Cerattepe environmental movement, all decisions were made by Green Artvin Association.

Similar to Artvin, Mount Ida region is also under threat of the planned mining projects especially because of the mineral resources. In 2010, Alamos Gold¹³ bought the Kirazlı cyanide-gold mining project from Teck Resources Ltd. and Frontier Development Group.¹⁴ In 2012, the company gained positive environmental impact assessment (EIA) report. In July 2019, the drone images of the devastated area¹⁵ in Kirazlı displayed in social media by Turkish Foundation for Combating Soil Erosion, for Reforestration and for Protection of Natural Habitats leading to vast public opposition immediately.

The members of the Ida Solidarity Association (*İda Sosyal Yardimlasma ve Dayansma Derneği* in Turkish), the City Council, and the Çanakkale Municipality established a committee, namely Water and Conscience (*Su ve Vicdan Nöbeti* in Turkish), to organize a vigil against the proposed project in the area and announced that all activists and supporters are invited to come with their tents to join the protests. Hence, the protests rapidly erupted with the participation of diverse actors from Çanakkale province as well as the other cities. After the mass protests against the proposed mining project in August 2019, the Water and Conscience Committee decided to move the vigil protest to the city center and abandon the project area in Balaban Hill. Yet, the others continued to stay in the area until the law-enforcement violently expelled them from the area in September 2020.

Overall, unlike the Cerattepe anti-mining movement in Artvin, the environmental struggle did not continue with the alliances of the actors under an

¹³ Alamos Gold corporation has been in charge of two other proposed mining licenses for the Mount Ida region, both of which are Ağı Dağı and Çamyurt projects' licenses (Hamsici & Tatlıcı, 2019). Retrieved from: <https://www.bbc.com/turkce/haberler-turkiye-49245614>

¹⁴ Kazdağları İstanbul Dayanışması. *Kazdağları kronolojisi*. Retrieved from: <https://www.kazdaglariistanbul.org/kaz-daglarinda-kronolojisi/>

¹⁵ Although EIA report demonstrated that 45.650 trees would be cut, the company cut 195.000 trees. Retrieved from: <https://www.kazdaglariistanbul.org/kaz-daglarinda-kronolojisi/>

umbrella local organization. On the contrary, both movements mobilized diverse actors through various ways of protests, especially keeping a vigil in the project area. I argue that the use of the same mobilization strategies has been a significant result of sharing experiences among distinct local ecological movements for many years. Yet, even if local ecological conflicts know more about each other by sharing experiences of resistance with the same mobilization strategies, and trying to create alliances in this way, it is still questionable how grassroots activism continues by mobilizing the whole community with a common purpose to defend their living space against the ecological threats. I think that the Kirazlı ecological struggle and Cerattepe environmental justice movement are two crucial cases for understanding how different organizational strategies, and historical and geographical differences have an impact on the emergence as well as the sustainability of grassroots environmental activism.

1.3 Methodology

In this work, I comparatively study the organizational strategies and forms of mobilization of the environmental movements in Turkey in order to understand how an ecological struggle could be maintained through grassroots activism for environmental justice. To answer this question, I conducted fieldwork research in both Artvin province and Çanakkale, especially focusing on the people who support the anti-mining environmental movement in their own respective areas. Also, in Artvin, I managed to have contact with the people who support the copper mining activity in operation since 2017. Before the copper mining activity started, they resisted the previous mining project. I interviewed them because I wanted to understand why they shifted their position regarding the mining projects. During my

field studies in both regions, I have conducted in-depth interviews, which lasted between 30 minutes and 2 hours with the people who consented to participate in my research. In addition to the interviews with the community members, I reviewed archival material and secondary sources to comprehend the historical backgrounds of environmental movements and the characteristics of environmentalism in Turkey.

Throughout my interviews, I aimed to appreciate the dynamics that enable the whole community to organize with strong networks under an umbrella organization and the dynamics that somehow keep the local community members away from organizing grassroots activism. In these interviews, by using a semi-structured interview method, I asked open-ended questions to my interviewees. Thanks to these interviews, the people could more comfortably answer my questions because our dialogues were like a conversation about their experiences about the ecological struggle they experienced. During these interviews, I learned more about their motivations to support environmental resistance, about their environmental valuations, and their varying relationships with nature and environment. In this thesis, I used the names of interviewees anonymously. Yet, in Artvin, some interviewees felt uncomfortable during interviews because of the traumatic experiences about the violence during the protests in 2016, so they chose to end the interview.

In Artvin, I stayed for one month for my fieldwork. During the fieldwork in August 2020, I interviewed the people from the local community, almost all of whom are members of YAD. They consisted of shopkeepers, lawyers, journalists, teachers, teacher union members, academics, local NGO and chamber union representatives, the members of political parties, students, women, villagers, and the mayor of the

Artvin province.¹⁶ Initially, I interviewed the people who were constantly active in the resistance against the copper mining project to understand how these people could continue to organize and mobilize and why they oppose the mining projects in their place. After I completed my interviews with them, I interviewed those who abandoned their anti-mining position due to economic reasons after the copper mining activity started in the Cerattepe region in 2017.

In Çanakkale, on the other hand, I conducted interviews with ten people who were living in the places such as Çanakkale province, Bayramiç district, Küçükuyu district, and surrounding villages. Due to the worsening conditions of the pandemic, I could stay in Çanakkale only for a week. In contrast to my experience in the fieldwork of Artvin, I could not unofficially improve the dialogue with local community members apart from semi-structured interviews. Also, I could not access those who support mining projects in the region to interview. The people I interviewed in Çanakkale include the members of the local NGOs, Union of Chambers of Turkish Engineers and Architects (*Türk Mimarlar ve Mühendisler Odası* in Turkish), the deputy mayor, the people from the Water and Conscience Committee, and the inhabitants who migrated from İstanbul to this region. In these interviews, I aimed to understand why these actors could not achieve an agreement for the organization and mobilization of Kirazlı ecological struggle to maintain the grassroots activism. That's why I focused on the different relations these people have

¹⁶ I have totally conducted 26 official interviews. However, during my field work in Artvin, I have developed very close relationship with the community members and could be able to participate in their daily lives. For example, apart from conducting interviews, I could meet community members to make conversation, to drink coffee, or to visit natural places of the city. Hence, thanks to these unofficial conversations with the community members, I could access more information about the Cerattepe anti-mining environmental movement.

with nature and environment, the role of the geography, the historical background, and how migration shapes the characteristics of environmental mobilization.

I also reviewed archival materials to access the history of these environmental movements and information about lawsuits. During my review, I discovered local newspapers of Çanakkale and Artvin, national newspapers, websites, reports prepared by TEMA and TMMOB, academic materials, and books about these movements. The review of archival material also helped me to compensate for the lacking number of interviews I conducted in Çanakkale. For example, in the Mount Ida region, I could not access the lawyers to learn more about the legal actions, so the archival material became even more important with regard to the lawsuits and the current situation of the mining project. However, in Artvin, I could reach the necessary information through interviewing lawyers and other inhabitants. Moreover, it is important to say that for the archival research regarding the Cerattepe anti-mining environmental movement, the book published by Center for Spatial Justice (*Mekanda Adalet Derneği* in Turkish), namely *Public Interest Litigation for Spatial Justice: Cerattepe* (2019), provided very useful information about the history of the anti-mining movement and the legal actions during the whole process.

1.4 Organization of the thesis

In addition to this chapter, this thesis includes five more. In Chapter 2, I will review the literature on mining conflicts, environmental justice, and social movements.

Firstly, I emphasize that the international trend in the privatization of the mining sector and deregulation of the mining laws have had substantial impacts on Turkey's respective politics. In this sense, mining conflicts popularly emerged all around the country. Yet, the literature on the new mineral development poorly investigates the

rise of mining conflicts in different contexts. To analyze the new era of mineral development, we need to focus on mining conflicts and how the boom in the extractive sector adversely impacted local communities. I argue that regional differences¹⁷ play important roles in how local communities create an environmental movement to struggle against the extractive sector and their planned projects.

Secondly, in the same chapter, I attempt to define ecological distribution conflicts, environmental justice movements and different approaches to environmentalism. I maintain that geographical, historical, and cultural differences of a place are important to comprehend the ways in which ecological conflicts transform into environmental justice movements through grassroots environmental activism. Lastly, in Chapter 2, I emphasize the theoretical debates over environmental justice success.

In Chapter 3, I will focus on the organization and mobilization of the Cerattepe environmental movement. I try to show how the place has a significant role in the rise of grassroots environmental activism and the continuity of the environmental justice movement. Through highlighting the roles of local actors, the forms of mobilization, and organization strategies, I argue that when local community members identify themselves with the place where they live and act, it becomes more likely to create a common ground to sustain the environmental justice movement through strong alliances among local inhabitants.

In Chapter 4, I debate over why the local inhabitants of the Çanakkale province could not succeed in continuing grassroots environmental activism in the Kirazlı ecological conflict. In the chapter, I identify different approaches to environmentalism and then argue that because of the geographical location of the

¹⁷ While referring to regional difference, I mention different locations, demographical differences, and distinctive historical and cultural characteristics of different regions in a country.

Çanakkale province, a new group, namely the environmentalism of the urbanite, emerged in the Kirazlı anti-mining movement. Then, I suggest that when local actors could not organize the movement with horizontal, democratic, and participatory ways of decision-making, their grassroots activism is bound to fail.

In Chapter 5, I will compare the Cerattepe movement with the Kirazlı movement, asking the question of why the local actors may not be organized under an umbrella environmental organization, opening up the ways for the failure of the grassroots activism. To answer this question, I pay attention to the role of place and how the Artvin community transformed the city into a social movement space through activism maintained for over two decades. In Chapter 6, I restate my research question, my findings, and my arguments on this research. Then, I explain the further research topics and questions that this thesis points out, but could not answer, to encourage further research about these topics.

CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Since the late 1980s and early 1990s, mining conflicts emerged out of unequal distribution of economic benefits and environmental burdens and risks among stakeholders in the neoliberalizing economy of Turkey. At the same time, as a consequence of the military coup in 1980, the depoliticized atmosphere of Turkey led many groups and protestors to mobilize against ecological destruction as an emerging field of activism. The Cerattepe mining conflict is a crucial case that has mobilized the whole community against the cyanide use in gold mining projects since the early 1990s organized by an umbrella environmental organization with participatory and democratic decision-making processes for grassroots activism. The local community in Artvin has constituted an environmental justice movement in alliance with NGOs, political parties, bar associations, lawyers, and academics at both national and local levels in the last two decades. Therefore, I argue that historical background, geographical and cultural characteristics, and local inhabitants' approaches to environmentalism, alongside their relations with the "place they live and act (Escobar, 2008)" are critical elements to analyze the continuity of grassroots activism in the Cerattepe environmental movement.

However, as Çoban et al. (2015) emphasized, in early 2000s, ecological destruction increased more rapidly due to the state's declaration of new mining/energy projects, the amendments to laws facilitating mining activities, and the exclusion of local actors from decision-making mechanisms. That's why, various ecological conflicts occurred all around the country between local actors on one hand, and the state, and corporations on the other. Kirazlı mining conflict is one of

these ecological struggles in Balabanlı Hill in 2019 that was created through the mobilization of local actors and transformed into an environmental movement in alliance with multiple actors, not only local but also the ones coming from urban centers, especially İstanbul. Nevertheless, in the Kirazlı mining conflict, grassroots environmental activism could not achieve a democratic decision-making mechanism under a local umbrella organization similar to the Cerattepe movement because of the lack of alliances among actors. In this respect, I ask what makes a difference between the organization of Cerattepe movement and Kirazlı movement.

In this thesis, I focus on two definitions of local ecological struggles to compare Cerattepe and Kirazlı anti-mining movements: ecological distribution conflicts (Martinez-Alier, 2002; Scheidel et al., 2018) and place-based struggles (Escobar, 2008). Ecological distribution conflicts refer to the social, spatial, and inter-temporal patterns of access to the benefits obtained from natural resources and environment as a life support system (Martinez-Alier, 2002, p.73). They are essential to constitute a global environmental justice movement against a threat of environmental degradation and related market relations through creating alliances among diverse actors worldwide (Martinez-Alier et al., 2016). On the contrary, place-based struggles are seen as local struggles over culture, territory, and place by demonstrating the links among environment, culture, body, and economy (Escobar, 2008, p.24). Place is a component that local communities create collective identity with physical and emotional belonging, livelihood, living space, and life support systems. According to Escobar (2008), these struggles and the focus on place are important to neutralize asymmetry arising from giving far too much importance to the global over past two decades in many fields (p.7).

Within this framework, I study Cerattepe anti-mining struggle as a place-based environmental justice movement due to the local actors' strong emphasis on their attachment to the place, and to its history, culture, and geography, alongside their specific connection with the natural environment of the area to underline their particular motivation to mobilize for justice. The Kirazlı case, on the other hand, has been transformed into an environmental movement with the support of diverse actors at national and international scales, but the local movements' relations with other actors and the organizational strategies they adopted in and around Mount Ida region and Çanakkale province are entirely different from the experience of the local struggle in Artvin. Hence, the Kirazlı case cannot be conceptualized as a place-based environmental movement arising from grassroots activism.

Following this case-based comparative approach, I attempt to study cultural, historical, and environmental attachments to a place and the ways in which these attachments shape the organization of grassroots activism for the understanding of how local struggles have impact on producing alternative ways of knowledge as a kind of mobilization through participatory and democratic decision-making. As I experienced during my field work in Artvin, knowledge production is a crucial way to transform space by mobilizing whole community, and challenge traditional ways of knowledge making. In this process, they are questionable how knowledge is produced by whom; how a person who come the city to support environmental movement ally with local actors and participate in the organization of mobilization; what kinds of values are matter by whom; and how locality is defined by different actors. All questions show the importance of the organization and decision-making practices in an environmental movement. I argue that it crucial to emphasize the relations among diverse actors in the creation of environmental movement and their

approaches to environmentalism, locality, and decision-making processes. In this thesis, to answer my main questions about the maintenance of grassroots environmental activism and the relations among diverse actors in Turkey's context, I approach the literature on mining conflicts and environmental justice together with social movement studies.

2.1 Mining conflicts and environmental justice framework

2.1.1 The rise of mining conflicts in a new era of mineral development

Since the 1980s, the global economy has opened a new era of mineral development characterized by the erosion of legal compliance, the emergence of new actors, and the broadening environmental issues (Ballard & Banks, 2003; Bridge, 2004; Jacka, 2018). Firstly, the erosion of legal compliance is one of the essential characteristics of the new mineral development era. Jacka (2018) addresses that the pressures from international financial institutions such as the World Bank led to the structural shifts in many countries towards the privatization and deregulation of the mining sector. For example, more than 90 countries, mostly the developing ones, had written their mineral codes and policies in the past two decades (Bridge, 2004, p.262; Jacka, 2018). These policies were credited with attracting significant inflows of mining investment (Bridge, 2004, p.262). Thus, in the literature on the political economy of extraction, many studies focus on mining code reforms, assessment of international best practices, and critical accounts of the mineral law reform on social and geographical distribution of relevant laws and regulations (Bridge, 2004).

Secondly, new actors have appeared in the political and economic spheres of including but not limited to NGOs, academics, lawyers, local communities, and

foreign private corporations (Ballard & Banks, 2003; Bridge, 2004). According to Jacka (2018), large-scale miners and multinational mining corporations are key actors that transform the local communities' livelihood in this period. Not surprisingly, a substantial body of literature focuses on the effects of multinational mining corporations on local communities' livelihood (Bridge, 2004). These studies mainly analyze the asymmetrical power relations and political struggles between the communities and the firms over resource access by employing the terminology of justice, human rights, and indigenous rights (Bridge, 2004, p.239). NGOs, academics, and lawyers play essential roles in ecological conflicts to sustain or stop ecological struggles, as well. These actors might sometimes ally with the local communities, but they might also support the corporations to avoid local mobilization (Ballard & Banks, 2003).

Thirdly, since the mid-1980s, environmental concerns over the mining industry's activities have been a pivotal issue (Bridge, 2004). In this process, aggravation of environmental pollution led the local communities to resist the proposed projects. However, despite local communities' mobilization to defend their livelihood against environmental threats, mining corporations have adopted several policies to circumvent environmental concerns and ecological destruction while curbing the capacity of local resistance and producing a so-called environment-friendly identity.

The literature on corporate culture focuses on the ways in which mining companies efficiently maintain mining activities and achieve sustainable development by creating new trends in corporate social responsibility (CSR) programs to greenwash the environmental damage through allying with each other on an international level (Ballard & Banks, 2004; Bridge, 2004; Jacka, 2018). For

example, in 1998, the Global Mining Initiative consisting of the business leaders of multinational mining corporations, arranged a meeting over sustainable development in the mining sector. During this meeting, the Mining, Minerals, and Sustainable Development Project was announced, and in 2001, the Council of Mineral and Metals was founded. Thus, sustainability debates, including eco-efficiency, effective management, and technological innovation, encourage new strategies for multinational companies to invest in the mining sector by promoting environmental impact assessment (EIA), publishing annual reports, and developing social responsibility programs (Jacka, 2018).

Aforementioned narrative demonstrates how mineral development in Turkey imitated the global trend from the 1980s onwards through erosion of laws, the emerging actors, and increasing environmental concerns. In this respect, I assert that the mining law amendments in Turkey led to the rise of Cerattepe and Kirazlı ecological struggles. By changing the laws, the governments allowed the corporations to take part in Turkey's economy as new actors. At the same time, local communities emerged as new actors who have been mobilizing against environmental degradation with demand for justice stemming from the asymmetrical relationships among corporations, government, and local communities over the use of resources (Bridge, 2004).

In Cerattepe and Kirazlı, anti-mining movements and local communities have become novel parts of the political field by adopting environmental activism coupled with the discourse of justice and human rights. Yet, the actors who mobilize in these struggles have entirely different motivations from each other. I recognize that in the Cerattepe case, the local community took part in the political field through environmental activism by using the discourse of justice. In other words, this

comparison brings forth the historical differences that lead a local community to emerge as a new actor in the new mineral development era of Turkey. At the same time, I contend that in the Kirazlı case the environmental urbanites from İstanbul created a new environmentalism that led to disagreements among the locals of Çanakkale for several years. In Kirazlı, I would claim, the new urbanite class that migrates from İstanbul to Çanakkale participate in the ecological struggle with different motivations than the inhabitants of Artvin. Thus, I agree that the comparison of the Cerattepe environmental movement and Kirazlı ecological struggle contributes to the current literature by emphasizing historical, cultural, and geographical differences that lead local communities to enter into political fields with very different motivations although they may share the purpose of environmental activism.

Additionally, NGOs and academics have become significant actors in Turkey's environmental movements. During my research, I realized that since the beginning of the Cerattepe struggle, academics' roles in sustaining the environmental movement have dramatically changed with the transformation of politics and the deregulation of laws in Turkey. This is one of the reasons why I study the case of Cerattepe as a knowledge-producing space thanks to strong alliances established with academics.

Lastly, corporate culture is another critical point to make sense of the new mineral development era. As Bridge (2004) argued above, after the 1980s, due to the broadening environmental issues, private mining corporations adopted new strategies to avoid conflicts with local communities through environment-friendly policies that support sustainable development. These corporations internationally ally with each other to develop their policies on sustainability. In this research, I point out the

strategies corporations employed to overcome mining conflicts in Cerattepe and Kirazlı for their own benefits. Even if these corporations sometimes achieve their aims to stop or slow down anti-mining mobilization, I could say that in the particular examples I mention, Alamos Gold in Kirazlı and Cominco, Inmet Mining, and Cengiz Holding in Artvin failed to achieve their goals. Yet, in Artvin, the corporate strategies to stop the local community's mobilization somehow affected alliances among community members following the copper mining project that started to operate in 2017.

Overall, Turkey is one of the countries following this global trend in mineral development through the violation of laws, the emerging actors in political and economic fields, and the corporations' change in strategies about environmental concerns. As Jacka (2018) addresses, within the 1980s, the effects of globalization and neoliberalization caused structural shifts in Turkey's politics and economy. In the increasingly globalized world, Turkey's politics was influenced by international actors leading the government to address the environmental issues especially by strengthening NGOs' activities. On the other hand, after the neoliberal reforms adopted by Turkey in 1982, one of the first policies of the government was to change Mining Law No.3213 that allowed multinational corporations to integrate into Turkey's economy. Then, in 2004, this law was amended for the expansion of mining areas in the country for private mining companies (Erensü 2020). Cerattepe and Kirazlı were in the list of regions declared as mining sites following these amendments. This international trend of the privatization of the mining sector and the deregulation of mining laws significantly affected Turkey's politics within rapidly increasing mining conflicts among the local communities, corporations, and the governments.

2.1.2 The rise of environmental justice movement from an ecological distribution conflict

In the rapidly globalizing and neoliberalizing world paving the way for the new mineral development era, local communities have started to take action against ecological destruction in an increasing way. They have shared more experience with each other about forms of mobilization, organizational structures, and mining hazards. In different regions, mining conflicts that emerge between governments, corporations and communities have been transformed into environmental justice movements. Networks established among different localities have promoted the emergence of a global environmental justice movement (Martinez-Alier et al., 2016).

According to Özkaynak and Rodriguez-Labajos (2017), environmental justice discourse becomes a form of social justice politics with the essential roles of activist organizations by intersecting different expressions of domination in which environmental conditions are at stake. The primary studies of environmental justice focus on uneven distribution of environmental burdens on disadvantaged communities and risks unequally distributed due to the choice of locations (Bullard, 1990; Agyeman, Schlosberg, Craven, & Matthews, 2016). At the beginning of environmental history, the environmental justice concept addressed environmental racism against Black and Latino communities by analyzing the urban-based-environmental movements in the US (Temper, Del Bene, & Martinez-Alier, 2015; Scheidel et al., 2018). In these works, different claims of environmentalism and rural conflicts in the global South have been ignored in various examples (Martinez-Alier, 2002). In contrast to the canonical studies on urban struggles against environmental racism, Martinez-Alier (2002) argues that environmental justice is a concept

subsuming historic conflicts on sulfur dioxide; the Chipko¹⁸ and Chico Mendes¹⁹ cases; the current conflicts on the use of carbon sinks; the conflicts about dams, preservation of rainforests for livelihood; and many other cases around the world, which sometimes have to do with racism and sometimes not.

Today, environmental justice demands responding to local ecological distribution conflicts are raised not only by respective communities and activists but also by different social, political, and economic actors that are located elsewhere in the world (Martinez-Alier et al., 2016, p.747). In other words, local conflicts in different regions become global issues through worldwide connections and networks leading them to be visible and effective at a global scale (p.747). Hence, environmental justice framework combines environmental justice discourses of global North with environmentalism of global South through the claims of recognition and participation as well as through distributive aspects (Temper et al., 2015; Özkaynak & Rodriguez-Labajos, 2017):

- 1) What kinds of values and visions matter?
- 2) Who is involved in decision-making and how?

Conflicts related to ecological distribution refer to struggles over valuation processes in terms of which values are deemed relevant for decision-making in particular projects such as market and monetary values, livelihood values, territorial rights, and ecological values (Martinez-Alier, 2002). According to Martinez-Alier (2002), in modern industrialized societies, it is a common belief that economic

¹⁸ The Chipko movement, also called Chipko andolan, is an Indian environmental movement that rural villagers, especially women, non-violently protested to protect their trees and forests slated for government-backed logging in 1970s. Retrieved from: <https://www.britannica.com/topic/Chipko-movement>

¹⁹ Chico Mendes, a Brazilian rubber tapper, trade union leader, and environmentalist, fought to preserve Amazon rainforests and advocated for the human rights of Brazilian peasants and indigenous peoples. Retrieved from: https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Chico_Mendes

growth would alleviate conflicts caused by economic redistribution among social groups because different social groups would economically benefit from development. Yet, although economic growth somehow pacified these distribution conflicts, it is questionable whether similar conflicts about ecology are likely to be resolved through economic growth (p.17). Economic growth does not necessarily resolve conflicts among the stakeholders because, in ecological distribution conflicts, local communities defend their livelihood as a part of the strategies related to environmentalism of the poor against monetary relations, resource extraction, environmental degradation, and development paradigm (Martinez-Alier, 2002). Thus, Martinez-Alier (2002) argues that in Western societies, environmentalism grew in the 1970s not because Western economies had reached a post-material stage but because of material concerns of local communities about increasing environmental pollution and ecological destruction.

One of the exemplary conflicts about ecological distribution among diverse stakeholders is the mining conflicts that have arisen more than ever in the new mineral development era since the 1980s worldwide but most particularly in the global South (Özkaynak & Rodriguez-Labajos, 2017). According to Scheidel et al. (2018), these conflicts may contribute to a larger purpose not only by opposing and sometimes transforming unsustainable use of resources, but also by encouraging political debates on the commodification of the environment and renegotiation of public values about sustainability (p.585). Yet, while some ecological distribution conflicts achieve this goal, those who rapidly mobilized once could also be dissolved rapidly or turn into latent conflicts. In this respect, it is considerable how ecological distribution conflicts could transform into environmental justice movements (Scheidel et al. 2018).

For the success of ecological distribution conflicts and their transformation into environmental justice movements, alliances among diverse actors are very significant (Çoban, 2004; Scheidel et al., 2018). Who are the actors of these ecological distribution conflicts? In this thesis, I demonstrate that the actors of these conflicts may have different kinds of environmentalism. Environmental justice discourse may become a common ground that local communities share to defend their livelihood against resource extraction. Yet, during my field works in Artvin and Çanakkale, I realized that the reaching a common ground is difficult process with the questions of who decides on or produce knowledge about what a common ground is, and what kinds of values matter for whom (Temper et al., 2015; Özkaynak and Rodriguez-Labajos, 2017). In this line, I acknowledged that the processes of how and with which mechanisms a common ground is created are more important than the process of creation of a common ground. Thus, what I said by referring to a common ground is environmental values and visions that the community matters and in which ways or mechanisms the people create these values.

Accordingly, in this thesis, I focus on two kinds of environmentalism to shed light on the ways that diverse actors participatorily and democratically organize their environmental movement: environmentalism of the poor (Martinez-Alier, 2002) and environmentalism of the malcontent (Adaman et al., 2015). Then, I argue that these environmentalisms do not wholly explain the motivations of different actors participating in environmental movement, so I define a new environmentalist group in Turkey's context, namely environmentalism of the urbanite.

Firstly, Martinez-Alier (2002) identify the actors who usually mobilize to defend their livelihood in mining conflicts as environmentalism of the poor (Scheidel et al., 2018). These people are poor and resist to extraction activity that would

contaminate their environment because their life could not be separated from space that the state and corporations will invest for a profit. Even if these actors have different motivations and values for the resistance, their primary cause to create a movement is to protest market relations. Also, these people, environmentalism of the poor, are crucial to realize how peasant groups and local communities create relation with the environment and nature (Martinez-Alier, 2002).

Secondly, Adaman et al. (2015) argue that in Turkey, the concept, environmentalism of the poor, sometimes fails to define the characteristics of environmental movements, and they suggest a different concept by identifying a new group of environmentalists who share a history of military coup and see environmental activism as essentially non-political. According to Adaman et al. (2015), after the military coup in 1980, these environmentalists, through environmentalism of the malcontent, organized movements in the depoliticized atmosphere of the era by capitalizing on their past experiences of mobilization.

On the contrary, through my comparative study on Cerattepe and Kirazlı cases, I reveal that with the increasing numbers of people who migrate from metropolitan centers to rural areas, in environmental movements, a new kind of environmentalism may emerge like in Kirazlı case: environmentalism of the urbanite. Accordingly, to depict the environmentalism of these actors that migrate from İstanbul to Çanakkale and participate in the Kirazlı environmental movement without being able to participate environment movement to defend their livelihood, space, and environment. Rather, these people aim to radically protest governmental policies and do not engage in the people living in Çanakkale for several years.

Hence, I argue that even if globalization contributes to global alliances among local mining conflicts for a global environmental justice movement, it is still

questionable how different kinds of environmentalism and regional differences among the organization of local mining conflicts impact the trajectory of an environmental justice movement. That's why Cerattepe and Kirazlı cases deserve scholarly attention to focus on the effects of regional differences among diverse actors and to understand how the grassroots environmental activism could be achieved.

In both cases, the stakeholders had different values over the environment, and throughout the years, the motivations of the local community (i.e., environmentalism of the poor) for mobilization have changed due to the corporations' strategies to break alliances existing among local actors like in the Cerattepe mining conflict. However, although some local actors abandoned the anti-mining resistance after the copper mining projects started operating in 2017, local actors in Cerattepe have managed to establish a common ground through grassroots activism over two decades. In other words, the corporations' strategies to overcome the anti-mining struggle of the local actors could not entirely stop the local mobilization when community members shared a common ground about environmentalism and values about environment cultivated in grassroots activism efforts.

On the other side, in Kirazlı, local actors have failed in sharing a common ground about their environmentalism and mobilization. To analyze disagreements among local actors in the Kirazlı environmental movement, I suggest a new concept called environmentalism of urbanite, which refers to those who migrated to Çanakkale because of the urban problems, and they immediately identified themselves as local actors in the emerging environmental movement. Environmentalism of urbanite, thus, depicts the environmentalism of those who are younger, especially in their late 20s and 30s, and migrate to Çanakkale and

surrounding villages to escape from the urban life and its distinct environmental problems. Even if they migrate to Çanakkale and its surrounding villages, they still earn their living by freelance/remote work rather than what may enable them to improve relations with nature and environment such as agriculture and farming.

This emerging group in Kirazlı, however, plays an important role as local actors in maintaining ecological struggle and mass mobilization in the region. Yet, others living in Çanakkale for longer periods and even for generations consider themselves apart from environmentalism of the urbanite and exclude them from decision-making mechanisms. Despite the lack of a solid organizational framework among local actors to act together against environmental threats, the mining conflict in the region has been continuing since 2019. Still and all I would argue that disagreements among local actors could endanger the continuation of the environmental movement in the long run in Kirazlı.

Overall, different values and definitions about the environmentalism sometimes prevent the possibility of creating a common ground and may lead to organize a movement through top-down mechanisms rather than grassroots activism under an umbrella organization. In the Kirazlı case, I believe that the environmentalism of urbanite's rise was related to the Çanakkale's geographical features and had a considerable impact on organization/disorganization of grassroots environmental activism. Çanakkale's proximity to İstanbul attracts many people to migrate there to escape from the environmental problems and the intricacies of urban life. As they migrate, they find environmentalism as a new political area for themselves in a small city compared to İstanbul. So, it becomes essential to focus on geographical, cultural, and historical characteristics and some studies on political opportunity structures that may open up space for successful alliances among diverse

actors at local, national, and international scales and maintain an environmental movement and grassroots activism.

2.2 Social movements studies: networks and collective identity

The emergence of a social movement depends on the groups' organizational capacity and is affected by political opportunity structures in relation to other groups' political preferences (Walder, 2009, p.403). Contemporary social movement theories emphasize the initiation of social movements, structures, and mobilization by focusing on the rise of social justice and inequality. Resource mobilization and political opportunity structures are two significant contemporary theories related to social movements that emphasize political, economic, and social structures. Since the mid-1970 and 1980s, new social movements have emerged with respect to the issues of identity, recognition, or environment; yet I argue that political opportunity structures and resource mobilization theories are still important to explain in which ways environmental movements are maintained by grassroots activism in Turkey's context. These theories also provide us with the understanding of conditions in which diverse actors create networks in an environmental movement.

Della Porta and Diani (2006) argue that the most important innovation of these theories is to take participants as rational and conscious actors. According to resource mobilization theory, resources are significant for the emergence and maintenance of social movements, including an adequate number of people, leaders, economic resources, and organizations (Peoples, 2019). According to Peoples (2019), with too few resources, a movement would not form; with too many resources, had no reason to form; having some resources would have been the best, and would have been just right for the movement development (p.24-25). In this

sense, Collier and Hoeffler (2000) prove that if a movement is financially viable at the minimum, it can be expanded further (p.6).

Having access to resources is a necessary but not sufficient condition to create a social movement, but rather political opportunity structures shape the orientations of movement by selectively repressing groups with certain political orientations and facilitating actions of others (Walder, 2009, p.403; Peoples, 2019). According to Peoples (2019), people engage in unconventional politics of social movements precisely because they lack access to institutions and inner workings of the government; they do not have political opportunities that are available to the wealthy and the well-connected and must therefore seek change via non-institutional means (p.26).

Walder (2009) argues that networks in social movements research are primarily understood as mechanisms of micro-mobilization through which individuals are recruited into movement organizations (p.401). In his research on Bergama (Izmir) anti-mining environmental movement, Çoban (2004) demonstrates that the local community's alignments with other actors, coalitions, and networks at national and international scales make a mining issue global through diverting international media's attention. Thus, protest movements and collective actions do not necessarily lead to an environmental movement in the absence of informal interactions and inter-organizational linkages between events, actions, groups, actors, and organizations (p.449).

A social movement identity is crucial to comprehend the extent of both groups and individuals to feel part of a collectivity and their ability to identify common elements in the past, present, and future experiences (Della Porta & Diani 2015, p.4). Identity building in a social movement means that a sense of collectivity

can be maintained even after a specific initiative, or a particular campaign has ended (p.24).

Place-based solidarities are critical for social movements to ally with one another through common feelings and values and encourage the people to participate in a movement easily (Nicholls, 2009). By converging social movements studies and environmental justice framework, Escobar (2008) pinpoints place-based struggles of indigenous communities in Latin America. He argues that these communities manage to create a social movement space through their place-based environmental struggles. According to Escobar (2008), the most important examples of mobilizations in the Pacific area against development projects of international actors are the local struggles over culture, economy, territory, and place. The locals resist these international projects to defend their territories since the main containers of environmental, ecological, and geographical features (e.g., forests, rivers and beaches), which have the utmost importance for their livelihoods, are under threat due to these projects (Escobar 2008). In other words, these communities fight for their place because it is the constitutive space where they live and act (Escobar 2008).

Additionally, the practices of activist research production, distribution, and reception are important to build up networks among diverse actors and to create a collective identity among local actors in a social movement/environmental justice movement (Temper et al., 2015). According to the concept of activist knowledge, social movements are spaces for knowledge production, and they are not only enacting politics through protests but also generating diverse types of knowledge (Temper et al., 2015, p.259). Thus, the activist knowledge concept promotes the idea of science with people and presents an engaged model to understand

social/environmental movements by challenging the conventional ways of knowledge production, inquiring what science means, and collectively establishing alternatives with local communities. The co-production of knowledge within alliances among local communities, civil society, and academics becomes a tool of resistance itself contributing to the creation of alternatives with equal recognition and participation of different actors.

By focusing on some studies of social movements, I agree that in both Cerattepe and Kirazlı mining conflicts, political opportunity structures are essential for initiating an environmental movement. On the one hand, in the early 1990s, political opportunity structures that have been significantly shaped by military coup contributed to the Cerattepe mining conflict and transformed the struggle into an environmental movement with its grassroots characteristics since the depoliticized political atmosphere of the era led the environmental struggles to be categorized as ‘non-political,’ and thus not a real threat to the established political structure. What was categorized as ‘non-political’ proved itself to be a fertile ground on which leftist, conservative, and right-wing people could come together, ally with each other and grow under an umbrella organization for an environmental justice demand. Being able to establish an umbrella organization was an important step to make use of the limited resources to sustain the environmental movement in Artvin by ensuring and maintaining the diverse characteristics, backgrounds, and affiliations of the stakeholders through horizontal ways of decision-making mechanisms.

Kirazlı mining struggle represents a different pattern in terms of political opportunities and organizational trajectory. Although the political atmosphere of Turkey was based on oppressive government policies against any social movement, international and national networks and the people that come from all around the

country played a significant role in diverting the attention towards Kirazlı. However, in Kirazlı, the lack of grassroots activism led to a disconcert among existing and potential alliances of diverse actors that had initially come together to defend the Mount Ida region at a local scale. In contrast to Cerattepe case, in the Mount Ida region, some local actors, especially the ones that came from İstanbul, or what I call environmentalists of urbanite, prioritized the relationships and cooperation with national environmental platforms and organizations since they had already been excluded from local decision-making processes controlled mostly by those living in Çanakkale for longer periods.

In addition, I think that emphasis on place is very explanatory to understand the creation of a collective identity among local actors for grassroots environmental activism and to explain networks, organization, and mobilization structures of environmental movements. Cerattepe mining conflict, I argue, is a place-based struggle (Escobar, 2008) because the local community is able to constitute a collective identity for maintaining grassroots environmental activism under an umbrella environmental organization in Artvin in order to defend their place. At the same time, knowledge production as a form of mobilization (Escobar, 2008; Temper et al., 2015), history (Adaman et al., 2015), the ways the community produces knowledge together with academics, and an approach to environmentalism by different local actors in communities are important components to create a collective identity and to sustain grassroots environmental movements.

Thus, in my comparative study on these cases, I realized that when the collective identity has been constituted among the local community as an initial step, as in the Cerattepe mining conflict, the rise of grassroots activism became more likely to achieve a sustainable environmental movement. The creation of collective

identity among the whole community in Artvin has avoided vehement conflicts among local actors in the critical junctures especially on the issues such as decision-making, organizational structure, and forms of mobilization.

2.3 Environmental justice success

Why/how are some environmental movements sustainable and able to reach environmental justice success? Mining conflicts emerge as the environmentalism of the poor who defend their livelihood, cultural and social relations, and their places against those who want to control and use mineral resources for extraction for capital investment. Mining conflicts may not always transform into environmental justice movements. Even if they transform into mass movements in alliance with diverse stakeholders, the ceding of any proposed/operated project could not always be the only way to reach an environmental justice success. According to the Environmental Justice Atlas database, 17% of all socio-environmental conflicts achieve to cancel the planned mining projects across the world (Özkaynak, Rodriguez-Labajos, & Aydın, 2015; Scheidel et al., 2018). Indeed, there are other elements that contribute to environmental justice success for the communities such as the resettlement of the communities, compensation for environmental damages, or treatment of health issues. In this part of the chapter, I focus on the various factors that may have an impact on local communities' definition of environmental justice success.

Özkaynak and Rodriguez-Labajos (2017) study the ways to understand environmental justice success with relation to the elements of the project, community-power relations, impact, and institutional relations. Following these

elements, EJ Atlas²⁰ analyzes the factors that local communities evaluate their resistance as a success concerning the question of “Do you think this case was a success for environmental justice?”.

According to Özkaynak and Rodriguez-Labajos (2017), for local communities, the first aim to reach environmental justice success is to stop a proposed/operated project. Secondly, environmental justice success depends on impacts. If there is no adverse impact on the local community and the livelihood, environmental justice success will be achieved (Özkaynak & Rodriguez-Labajos, 2017). Another factor is if the corporation repairs environmental hazards, communities think that they have reached environmental justice success (Özkaynak & Rodriguez-Labajos, 2017; Hess & Satcher, 2019). Third, community-power relations have a considerable effect on whether the local community achieves environmental justice in the resistance. Özkaynak and Rodriguez-Labajos (2017) show that when community members have a chance to access powerful actors through their mobilization, environmental justice success becomes more likely than other conditions in which no one supports the community. Lastly, institutional responses are crucial for environmental justice success (Özkaynak & Rodriguez-Labajos, 2017). If local communities react to the ongoing project and its negative impacts by creating dialogues with those in power, it will be more likely to achieve environmental justice. Hess and Satcher (2019) argue that establishments of coalitions with state, government, and non-local civil society organizations should be considered as benefits to the achievement of environmental justice success. Thus, Özkaynak and Rodriguez-Labajos (2017) argue that environmental justice success

²⁰ The environmental justice atlas, directed at ICTA-UAB by Leah Temper and Joan Martinez-Alier and coordinated by Daniela Del Bene, documents and catalogues social conflict around environmental issues. Retrieved from: <https://ejatlas.org/about>

does not only mean ceding a proposed project but rather it is related to various other factors for local communities.

Additionally, according to Hess and Satcher (2019), the corporations and the government actors may sometimes repress environmental mobilization. In this situation, local communities do not have any political opportunity to mobilize and to cede the project at hand. Or, the local community can have a political opportunity structure by allying with the government actors to cede the project and reach environmental justice success. Hess and Satcher (2019) suggest that the government and corporations' lack of countermobilization capacity is another factor that contributes to achievement for environmental justice success in environmental movements. Also, Hess and Satcher (2019) underline the importance of forms and strategies of protests to discuss the ways to achieve environmental justice. Their quantitative comparative research on the analysis of 50 countries shows that litigation and civil disobedience are the strategies that are effective to reach a positive outcome in terms of compensation of environmental and economic hazards and to cancel the planned projects (Hess & Satcher, 2019).

Furthermore, some environmental movements struggle against hegemonic state power and become latent conflicts depending on social and political contexts. Turhan, Özkaynak, and Aydın (2019) argue that the rise and fall of environmental movements and their achievement of ceding the proposed projects depend on governmental policies and the role of the hegemonic state. On the one hand, the hegemonic state sometimes obstructs environmental justice and denies any possibility of dialogue with activists and the local community. On the other hand, it unexpectedly cancels the planned projects depending on its interests in the international area. For example, Turhan et al. (2019) analyze the Aliğa (Izmir) anti-

coal struggle of the local community and demonstrate that after ten days of execution decisions over two years, the project is unevenly canceled by the prime minister before the Rio Summit 1992.

Turhan et al. (2019) explain that the winning of this legal action in the 1990s, depends on three reasons. First, Turkey's post-1980s atmosphere enables people to come together to expand their personal and political freedoms. Second, the country entered the neoliberal era, but the governments were still slow with the privatization program (Turhan et al., 2019, p.176). Lastly, the international popularity of sustainable development discourse leads the government to consider environmental issues differently. Overall, throughout the 1990s, the burgeoning environmental movement was keen on bolstering the power of legal agency through cooperation and networks, such as the alliance between labor unions and environmentalists, strong relations with international counterparts, and collaborations with academia (p.176).

How can we define environmental justice success with regard to the threat of mining projects in the context of Turkey? In Turkey, environmental justice success is a very controversial issue for local communities who resist mining projects. The corporations and the government do not respect the court decisions against mining projects. Disproportionate violence employed against local actors aims to suppress environmental mobilization. Ever-increasing environmental hazards and ecological destruction lead local communities to lose their hopes for environmental justice success.

I argue that Cerattepe and Kirazlı anti-mining environmental movements are telling examples to conceptualize environmental justice success in Turkey for two reasons. On the one hand, Cerattepe is a long-lasting environmental movement that

has been continuing since the 1990s, and the movement has achieved to stop two different projects until the 2010s. Therefore, I suggest that it becomes crucial to understand in which periods environmental movements are more likely to reach environmental justice success in relation to the political atmosphere of Turkey. On the other hand, even if local actors started to organize a movement gradually in 2009, the Kirazlı anti-mining environmental movement massively demonstrated itself in 2019, and as a result of this massive mobilization, the corporation withdrew from the proposed project in 2021. I think it is important to question whether the environmental justice success that stopped the project in Kirazlı will be maintained for further periods in which the mining project may be proposed in different forms and under different names. In other words, will the Kirazlı mining project be transferred to another company like in the Cerattepe project?

On the one hand, in Artvin, the local community created strong alliances through grassroots activism to defend their livelihood against the mining threat in Cerattepe. Then, these strong alliances helped this environmental movement to struggle for other environmental problems in the Artvin province, including surrounding districts and villages along with Coruh Basin. In this sense, community members who organize the anti-mining environmental movement in Artvin are keen on telling their mobilization as a success story.

On the other hand, when local community members mentioned the copper mining project, which has been in operation in Cerattepe since 2017, they depicted their environmental movement as unsuccessful. They do not trust the legal mechanisms in Turkey because even if they ceded two other projects in previous years and won a lawsuit to cede the last project in 2015, the governmental power violently suppressed mass mobilization in Cerattepe, and the mining corporation

started to operate unlawfully. In this sense, as Hess and Satcher (2019) discuss the political opportunity structures to understand the ways of environmental justice success, I argue for Cerattepe case that the countermobilization of the government against local community and its hegemonic power to stop local mobilization (Turhan et al., 2019) cause a successful environmental mobilization to fail.

On the contrary, in Çanakkale, some local inhabitants see their mobilization successful because of mass protests organized in Balabanlı Hill in August 2019 with the support of national and international actors. These massive protests against the corporation and the watchkeeping of protestors to prevent the corporation's entrance to the region positively impact the environmental justice success because, in March 2021, the corporation had to withdraw the project. Thus, local inhabitants identify their mobilization as a successful movement.

However, some inhabitants I interviewed in Çanakkale mentioned that disagreements among local inhabitants and top-down decision-making processes adversely affected the mobilization. In contrast to Artvin, in this region, local actors tend to identify their mobilization and organization strategies as unsuccessful because of disagreements over decision-making mechanisms and organization strategies. I argue that while considering the success of an environmental movement, we need to analyze both organization and mobilization of grassroots activism and the outcomes that this activism achieved. In addition to political opportunity structures, as Özkaynak and Rodriguez-Labajos (2017) showed that there are various components interrelated to each other to understand environmental justice success. Kirazlı environmental movement and its positive outcome are crucial for evaluating these different components of environmental justice success through a comparison with the Cerattepe anti-mining environmental movement.

Overall, I point out that Turkey is one of the countries where many ecological struggles have emerged and continue to emerge as a result of the new mineral development era in a neoliberalizing economy and globalization (Bridge, 2004). In this sense, the amendment to mining laws in Turkey in 1985 and 2004 is critical to understand the reasons for the mobilization of local communities. Cerattepe and Kirazlı ecological struggles are considerable cases to focus on emerging actors who have crucial roles in the organization of environmental mobilization.

In both regions, local inhabitants who defend their livelihood can be conceptualized under the rubric of environmentalism of the poor (Martinez-Alier, 2002). Yet, I find other kinds of environmentalisms that identify local actors' motivations and organizations for environmental mobilization. I argue that these different kinds of environmentalisms in these regions are related to the geographical, historical, and cultural characteristics of place. In Turkey, the shared history of the military coup led to the emergence of environmentalism of the malcontent (Adaman et al., 2015) in the Cerattepe anti-mining struggle. In Kirazlı environmental movement, the geographical difference of Mount Ida region, which is located in a place that is close to İstanbul, caused many to migrate to this region to escape from urban life. In this environmental movement, those actors who migrated to Çanakkale to escape from the city life and then actively protested the mining projects as environmental activists, namely environmentalism of urbanite, differently approach to environmentalism from the Artvin people. I argue that even if these people have an important role in environmental protests, their disagreements with other inhabitants in the region led to the failure of grassroots environmental activism. Also, I show that academics and NGOs, as new actors in environmental movements during the new mineral development era, create alliances with local inhabitants and

constitute a kind of knowledge production space through environmental movements like the anti-mining environmental movement in Cerattepe.

Consequently, I attempt to understand and explain how grassroots environmental activism could be maintained in environmental movements of Turkey. In this sense, the Cerattepe anti-mining environmental movement is an example of place-based environmental justice movement. In Artvin, a collective identity rooted in their shared history and culture and their relations with nature is created through local inhabitants' commitment to their place. The collective identity embedded in the place enables the local community to create strong alliances to maintain environmental movement. In the creation of this environmental movement under umbrella organization, knowledge production which makes an umbrella organization as a knowledge production space through the collaboration between local community and academics is the most important way of mobilization. During my fieldwork, I realized that the analysis of how this organization impacts the community's life enable us to be aware of how these people create a common ground which emphasize social, environmental, and economic relations shaped in the city. Through their life experience in Artvin, these people create a movement to defend their space by producing knowledge about their ways of life and environment in participatory and democratic ways, together with academics.

So, I argue that the defense of a space by the people shaping social relations in there is the most fundamental element in the creation of a movement as a grassroots activism through alliances for the same matters, values, or visions. However, how can I produce knowledge about the Cerattepe environmental movement as a researcher who is not a part of community and does not have roles in shaping social relations? In this respect, it becomes more important to conduct field

research to listen the stories of those who defend their livelihood, environment, and space as I did in Artvin.

Yet, even if Kirazlı environmental movement creates alliances at national and international scales, it could not achieve continuing grassroots environmental activism under an umbrella local organization. The main reason for this failure is rooted in the lack of collective identity embedded in the place for environmental mobilization in the Kirazlı ecological struggle. To question why actors could not create collective identity, I can turn the same question of knowledge production. How can those who has recently migrated know about the ecology and social relations of that space? If all actors matter their own values and visions regardless of social, environmental, and economic relations shaping that space, how can a collective identity be created among diverse actors?

CHAPTER 3

THE RISE OF GRASSROOTS ACTIVISM IN ARTVIN: THE CERATTEPE PLACE-BASED ENVIRONMENTAL MOVEMENT

In Artvin, the mining must not be operated! Why? Due to the physical structure of the city. In Artvin, the community is dedicated to nature and its environment. I could say that 8 out of 10 Artvin residents are keen on nature. It is my lifestyle and [the community's lifestyle there] so I am against the mining project. Also, there has been an organization [Green Artvin Association] in the city for several years. This organization collaborates with all political parties. In this sense, in the city, if there is an ongoing organization and mobilization in alliance with political parties for many years, that would mean that the community disagrees with the project. (Interview 2) (see Appendix D, 21)

For Artvin people, it is impossible to support the operated/proposed mining projects because their whole life depends on this place including their livelihood, their past, and their future. Most of the population in Artvin protested the mining project because they care for nature and have a great love for and attachment to the environment and their living space as one of the interviewees explained their opposition to the mining projects above. Thanks to this sense of belonging to the environment and nature, these people have transformed their living space into a fertile ground for a social movement for two decades. The relations among the community members and their daily routines have been shaping the agenda for environmental issues and against the mining projects in Artvin. I argue that in this process, Artvin has first transformed into a place where local communities reproduce their worlds, and then became a space that constituted both the hegemonies and the resistance for them (Escobar 2008). Cultural, historical, environmental, and geographical features embedded in Artvin enabled the whole community to create strong alliances as place-based solidarities (Nicholls 2009).

Among the constitutive parts of different kinds of environmentalism to maintain a movement, the place and Artvin people's relations with the environment are considerable elements. While discussing the place-based struggle under an umbrella organization in Artvin, I have specifically emphasized two explanatory terms in Chapter 2: environmentalism of the poor and environmentalism of the malcontent. One of these categories, nevertheless, does not fit the reality of the Artvin community sufficiently; these kinds of environmentalism are not sharply separated in practice. Their boundaries get intertwined when people's livelihood and place are under threat from the proposed/operated mining projects. In this vein, environmentalism of the Artvin people is conceptualized as *topyeküin çevrecilik* that the community resists to protect their space without politicizing their movement but rather creates alliances with political parties, municipality, lawyers, journalists, and NGOs (Erensü, 2014, 2016, 2020). Hence, the Artvin people achieved to create a supra-political movement that can bring the whole community together as one of my interviewees mentioned during my field research in Artvin:

Environmental mobilization and togetherness under an umbrella organization are related to the city's class character and political categories. In Artvin, the people who work as blue-collars have different concerns in life than the middle class concerns...However, after all, they can come together for a common ground to defend and to protect Artvin. (Interview 14) (see Appendix D, 22)

I argue that this kind of movement that is represented as supra-political by the Artvin community was not an apolitical but rather distanced itself from political conflicts between left and right ideologies. So, the umbrella organization, a symbol of the supra-political environmental movement, becomes a space that determines the city's agenda surrounding environmental issues. In this context, the opportunities and restrictions of an umbrella environmental organization are debatable, and it is questionable how this experience can be transferred to other environmental

movements of Turkey through economic and environmental demands to transform the current system (Erensü, 2020).

Consequently, in this chapter of the thesis, I aim to describe how the Artvin community created a place-based struggle to defend their livelihood, and to comprehend the reasons for the maintenance of the Cerattepe anti-mining environmental movement under an umbrella organization, namely YAD. Firstly, I briefly describe the geography and ecology of Artvin and how these factors shape the community structures. Then I map out the different stakeholders of this ecological conflict including the state, the corporations, and the local community. Thirdly, I emphasize the organizational structure of the Cerattepe anti-mining movement to demonstrate the impacts of the historical events on the continuation of the environmental movement. Finally, I analyze the mobilization strategies that enable local inhabitants to be organized under an umbrella organization for several years and discuss the conditions enabling relative success for environmental justice movements.

3.1 The ecological and geographical features of the city

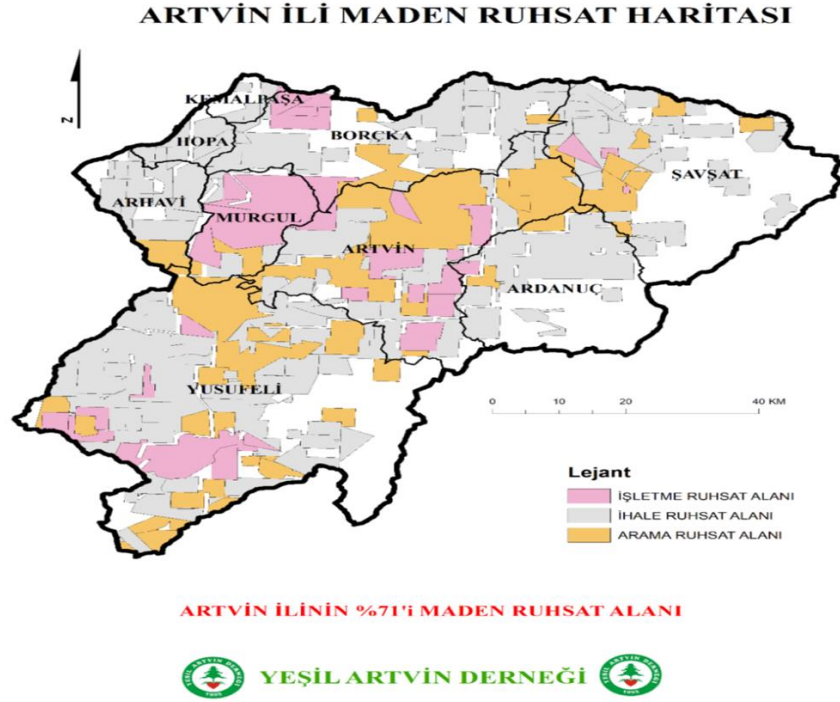


Fig. 1: A map of the declared mining areas in Artvin (YAD, 2021)

Artvin is a provincial city located in the northeastern Black Sea Region of Turkey sharing a border with Georgia. The city is far away from major cities like İstanbul and Ankara. Its ecology is characterized by enormous biodiversity including endemic species and old-growth forests along a harsh geography extending across Karçal Mountains. The Çoruh River that flows in the city throughout the Çoruh Basin is particularly significant for the city's ecology.

In the mountainous parts of the city, the inhabitants mostly reside in highlands -they call those places *mezre*- especially during the summer seasons. For the inhabitants, the highlands of the city are significant not only for economic value (i.e. agriculture), but also for enormous cultural significance. With its ecology and

natural value, Kafkasör Highland is one of the essential places where Cerattepe, the copper mining site, is located. In Kafkasör Highland, the Kafkasör bullfighting fest, which is of cultural importance for the local community is organized every year in the last week of June. For the local community, Kafkasör is a unique and almost a sacred place. They believe that the mining operations potential harm on the ecology, will eventually deteriorate their culture, as well.

In addition to the cultural value of the Cerattepe region for the Artvin people, the geographical feature of the area has a direct impact on the low density of population in Artvin. There are no job opportunities for the young population because of the difficult geographical circumstances as a young woman living in Artvin explained during our interview:

...everyone has concerns about their livelihood. Artvin is a city where the density of civil servants is high. If you are a civil servant, you can make a living, but if you are a tradesman, not many chances are available. There is no employment for the young population in Artvin. Everyone is concerned about their livelihood. However, the literacy level is high in the city, especially in Savsat and Ardanuc districts. If you go to college and turn to Artvin after graduation, you could likely find a job. (Interview 13) (see Appendix D, 3)

Many people migrate from Artvin to larger cities²¹ for education and work. The majority of the Artvin population in the large cities including İstanbul, Ankara, Bursa, and Kocaeli, enables the people to be organized under Artvin Associations (*Artvinliler Hizmet Vakfı* in Turkish) in these cities. The internal migrants from Artvin usually come to their hometown for the summers. Even if they live in another city, they retain their ties and relationships with Artvin. In my interviews, the people usually emphasized that Artvin is a unique place, and wherever they go and live, they

²¹ Most of the Artvin population migrate to İstanbul, Bursa, Ankara, and Kocaeli. According to Doğanay and Orhan (2013), the population registered in Artvin province but lived in these cities is more than Artvin population.

often talk about the beauties of Artvin. They love their homeland and could not break up their relations with this city (Interview 13&18).

Overall, during my field research in Artvin, the common themes emphasized by the interviewees are their attachment to the city, ecology, and nature despite the uncondusive geographical conditions with regard to employment, and thus, the living standards. In the next parts of the chapter, I continue to show how these geographical and ecological features have contributed to the organization and mobilization of the environmental movement and affected relations among the city inhabitants.

3.2 The rise of ecological distribution conflict among diverse stakeholders

In Artvin, the drilling works started in 1986, and the Ministry of Energy and Natural Resources gave mining licenses to the Canadian mining corporation Cominco Inc. in 1989. After the company completed mining drilling in 1994, the local inhabitants started to experience environmental hazards and then attempted to search for ways to cede the proposed mining project. In this process, YAD was established through the community's large-scale participation in protesting the cyanide mining project. So, the ecological conflict that emerged between among the inhabitants and the corporation in the early 1990s rapidly transformed into an environmental movement that would stop the cyanide mining project proposed by Cominco Inc. in 2002. Then, through legal action, the environmental movement managed to cancel an administrative decision allowing another mining project planned by another Canadian company, Inmet mining in 2007. Even though the same environmental movement filed a lawsuit and been granted a stay of execution decision for the EIA report permitting the for the mining operations of Cengiz Holding in 2015, the corporation prepared a new EIA illegally (Interview 3). After the state suppressed the

mass protests in Artvin in February 2016, the corporation started the copper mining activities in Cerattepe in July 2017.

Within this history of environmental struggle, the Cerattepe movement deserves scholarly attention to comprehend the ways in which grassroots environmental activism can be maintained by the whole community, to debate a role of supra-political umbrella environmental organization, and to emphasize the state-corporation alliances that aim to break up mass mobilization in the city. YAD is an important organization that everyone is enrolled in protesting mining operation in the city. In Artvin, the inhabitants explain that the Artvin people became participants of YAD when they were born. In this sense, YAD and the environmental movement played crucial roles in the organization of their daily life as my interviewees mentioned:

Green Artvin is a name that everyone feels belonging to themselves in this city. For example, a newborn duckling jumps into the water as soon as it is born. Why? How does it know swimming? Swimming has been coded to it. Likewise, in Artvin, YAD was coded to every newborn child, and these children were grown up with these codes. So, we would not be able to live in a destroyed Artvin. I could not live in a city whose head and brain have been destroyed. So, I am automatically participating in environmental struggles. (Interview 11) (see Appendix D, 7)

At the same time, I assert that the local community's emphasis on "the place where they live, breathe, and enjoy" in environmental resistance enabled them to see the environmental issue as supra-political and formed strong alliances under an umbrella association. As one of my interviewees stated during our conversation in her Artvin downtown shop:

Every person living in Artvin had to participate in this solidarity. If we are going to breathe this air, if we are going to live here... We have always said this while we were struggling [against the mining operation]. The experts said that [due to the hazards of mining operations] to live in Artvin, the mine must not be operated. Mine is in our brains [referring to the location of Cerattepe which is on the top of a mountain] ... When we think of Artvin's settlement as a human body, a metal comes out of his brain with his head on top. My water

comes from there, my air comes from there. They destroy my forest.
(Interview 9) (see Appendix D, 9)

Thus, in the following part of the chapter, I aim to demonstrate the actors of Cerattepe anti-mining environmental movement. Firstly, I emphasize the role of an umbrella organization and how the local community creates a place-based struggle to understand the maintenance of grassroots environmental activism under an umbrella organization in Artvin. Secondly, I identify the corporations and reveal the state-corporation alliances to debate how the local community could achieve/ could not achieve environmental justice through their activism.

3.2.1 Environmental movement as a place-based struggle of the Artvin community

In Artvin, local inhabitants play the most significant role in maintaining the environmental movement over two decades by creating strong alliances with each other, and these alliances contribute to the collaboration with political parties and bureaucratic actors at a local and national scale. The establishment of YAD was crucial for the rise of the environmental movement in the mid-1990s. This association is active not only in the urban center of Artvin but also in the surrounding villages and districts against various environmental issues such as mining and hydroelectric power plants projects. In this way, YAD became an environmental association encompassing and organizing all the environmental struggles in the entire region of the Artvin province. Yet, it is questionable how this association brings diverse local actors together against these issues. To understand the success of this association, we need to initially identify the local actors, their approaches to environmentalism, and their relations with the place they live in.

Under YAD, both left and right political parties, local civil society organizations, teacher unions, the municipality, academics, journalists, and

shopkeepers have been organizing the environmental mobilization since 1995. Those who were born in Artvin but rather live in İstanbul, Ankara, or Bursa actively support this mobilization by establishing their associations in their own localities. One of these associations was İstanbul Artvin Hometown Association, which played crucial roles in raising awareness around the Artvin community and organizing related events.

Before YAD was founded, when news about the cyanide mining project was heard within the community, shopkeepers started to discuss the ways of impeding the corporation's activities. They arranged a meeting with the governor of Artvin to discuss the mining risks and how to communicate this issue to the Artvin community. In this meeting, the governor advised them to establish an umbrella environmental organization that includes both left and right political parties to mobilize the whole community against a common threat. In one of the interviews, the day, which they decided to establish the YAD was explained in detail:

YAD was founded in 1995. It has not been under the control of a political party since its establishment. It was an organization that embraced everyone. In fact, the governor of that period said that you cannot get things done if you do not establish an association. We were all founders and have been members ever since. It was based on a common environmental issue. The environmental movement was organized as a kind of supra-political mobilization. The honesty of the friends made a significant contribution there... (Interview 12) (see Appendix D, 10)

This supra-political character made it possible for people from diverse political backgrounds to come together easily for a common purpose. However, this supra-political character did not make the movement apolitical. By meaning supra-political, YAD paid attention to the struggling for space, city, and environment to locally organize whole community. In this vein, it created alliances with political parties and bureaucratic actors to make their problems nationally visible through going to assembly in Ankara to demand environmental justice. The community started to

work together to find ways to stop the mining activities and thus, to prevent the related environmental degradation in Artvin. YAD created an important space that the whole community can collect, share, and disseminate information concerning the proposed projects not only within their community but also with potential stakeholders and partners in and around Artvin.

YAD has been able to bring different groups together since its establishment. They followed the advice of a governor who said that you need an organized struggle. In the first establishment of the association, they asked for representatives from all parties. However, when they called representatives from parties, they did not politicize this association. So, YAD became the center of the mobilization in the city. But they also include all groups in terms of social representation. They have never been politicized. It has become an area where an environmental struggle is organized together. (Interview 3) (see Appendix D, 11)

[One of the professors] said that if you don't turn the association [to be established] into a political organization, I'll help you, but you do not turn it into a political organization! He explained the nature of this place. He also said that we live in a precious place. So, we approved, then let's create an association, something that encompasses everyone. After that, the association was founded. Someone was coming and saying something, we were reporting what we heard right away and then were informing the whole community. (Interview 1) (see Appendix D, 12)

The supra-political character of the organization enabled the local NGOs²², the municipality, the bar, and the teacher unions²³ that were usually in conflict with each other to be mobilized under an umbrella association. Academics provided the local community with scientific information about the risks of mining activity through panels. Besides, local journalists contributed to the movement for higher visibility and finding further support nationwide via their alliances with the national press. The second corporation, namely Inmet mining, tried to enter the region after

²² I interviewed local NGOs in Artvin, including TMMOB, Community Centers (*Halk evleri* in Turkish), and Grey Wolves (*Ülkü Ocakları* in Turkish).

²³ I interviewed two teachers for my study, one of whom is a member of the *Eğitim-Sen* union. Another is the member of the *Eğitim-Bir-Sen* union.

Cominco abandoned it. In this process, Artvin Bar Association jumped in the bandwagon and filed the first lawsuit to stop the mining project in 2005.²⁴

İstanbul Artvin Hometown Association is also a part of the movement supporting the anti-mining environmental struggle. At the beginning of the movement, this association contributed to the organization of the first panel to inform the whole community against mining hazards in 1994 in İstanbul. They presented this issue to the national and international agenda through creating alliances with political parties, bureaucratic actors, and other hometown associations organized in other cities of Turkey. These associations established the Artvin Environment Platform to discuss Artvin's mining problem and other environmental issues. In this respect, I claim that the Cerattepe environmental movement emerged through grassroots activism in the process of organization and mobilization of the people living in or were migrated from Artvin. The sense of belonging to the city leads these actors to constitute grassroots activism to defend the place, which plays an important role in their life.

To understand why Cerattepe is a significant place for the people's daily lives, it seems critical to focus on Cerattepe's geographical location. The area is located on top of a mountainous just above the city. Since the Cerattepe area is very close to the urban center, the community can monitor the environmental degradation easily. The construction activities for mining operations created environmental pollution and noise. They were aware of how the environmental hazards would severely affect the whole community through water contamination and environmental pollution, so they protested mining projects to defend their livelihood. For example, one of the interviewees underlined that the mining activity violates

²⁴ From my interviews I conducted with the lawyers in Artvin. They historicized the legal action organized by YAD during the interviews.

his/her lifestyle while undermining the place she/he acts on a daily basis. Due to the mining activity, she/he could not go to the Kafkasör and Cerattepe areas for leisure time activities with her/his child. The mining activities, in other words, breaks the community's daily routines as one of the interviewees explained:

I am a journalist, alright... Beyond that, I am living in the city after all. What would happen to someone else here because of the mining hazards would also happen to me. That's why I am against the mining corporation. I am living in the city and doing my work in the city. I have a child. I had to participate in the movement for my child. There is a city you live above and water resources you drink from. Yet, there is also mining above. I also have a lifestyle. Will I hear the construction machine while I dream of taking a walk in Cerattepe with my daughter? (Interview 2) (see Appendix D, 14)

While the mining operation in Cerattepe changes their daily routine by preventing the community to climb to the mountains, and creating environmental pollution and noise, it also leads to the violation of cultural activities and traditions. For example, since the mining activity pollutes the environment and transforms the geography negatively, Kafkasör will be destroyed (Interview 17). On the other hand, thanks to the city's small population due to its limiting geographical conditions, the local community members usually know each other, so the people have established relations with each other based on trust and solidarity. They believe that these relations signify the distinct culture of Artvin. However, they also admit that these relations would disappear when the environmental contamination destroyed the whole city leading to mass migration due to the uninhabitable conditions (Interview 17).

At the same time, these people are familiar with the severe hazards and risks of mining activities unfortunately, due to the infamous example of mining operations in Murgul, a surrounding district of Artvin. One of the interviewees who previously lived in Murgul mentioned her/his memories of how the home in which she lived

throughout her childhood was destroyed during the mining blasts (Interview 13). She associated her Murgul experience with the current state of Cerattepe copper mining and said that if the mining area is expanded in Cerattepe region, the environment will be destroyed even worse than the Murgul case by the cyanide-gold open mining project (Interview 13). Another interviewee emphasized the air pollution and ecological destruction that Murgul mining operation caused demonstrating his/her knowledge and experience with regard to the results of the mining activities (Interview 1). Likewise, one of the interviewees who lived in Murgul for several years also mentioned how agricultural products could not be grown anymore because of the air pollution (Interview 4). The shared history engraved in the minds and the threat posed to their very livelihoods of these people created a common ground on which this all-encompassing, supra-political environmental movement flourished strongly.

I know how Murgul has been destroyed because of the mining activity. We were hearing siren sounds during the day from the mining area. Everyone would stay at their home because mining blasts could have harm them if they went out. Because of this experience, I know how the mining activity destroys the whole city. Now, we could not mention Murgul as a city. The houses that we have live in those times are used for cows now. If the copper mining activity will turn into an open-pit, cyanide-gold mining project, the environment will be destroyed even worse than today. Because I know about the mining destruction in Murgul, I participated in the environmental movement to defend Artvin. (Interview 13) (see Appendix D, 15)

In our adult years, we experienced the ecological destruction caused by the mining activity in Murgul. The biggest mining enterprises of Turkey have been in the Murgul district of Artvin for several years. In Murgul, it is hard to breathe, and nature has already died due to the environmental degradation. We know the contamination created by the mining operation. (Interview 1) (see Appendix D, 16)

In Murgul, the parsley that was green in the evening turns pale in the morning...I swear it turns yellow like an autumn leaf. Why? Because the smoke of the mining operation spreads to the whole city, and SO₂ gases cover up the city. Then, you see environmental hazards and adverse effects. I can mention my dad who died at 55 because of cirrhosis. Why did this happen to my dad? My dad was working in the mines. He was breathing the smoke

that prevailed from mine molds while working. He had a mask and the gloves [yet they were insufficient to inhibit health hazards that mining work would create]. When he came to our home after work, his hands and feet were burnt. Even if he cared for his diet to be healthy, the iron gases that prevail during mining work have already penetrated into his lungs. (Interview 4) (see Appendix D, 17)

In addition to the opposition to the environmental contamination and ecological destruction in this supra-political environmental movement, the community members protest hierarchical ways of decision-making about their place to live, act, drink water, and breathe. They emphasized that the public information meetings about the mining operation were simply ostensible, so the people, protested the corporation's representatives that came for these meetings, as well. Yet, these authorities explained themselves as if they actually want to inform the community, but the community accepted neither the meeting nor the explanations on the mining project. Since the decision-making processes about the projects were organized through top-down mechanisms, the Artvin community opposed the decisions taken without their comment and consent as one of the lawyers highlighted:

Some men charged by the corporation come and explain about the proposed project. Then, as it is not important what you say and think about the project, you could not say anything about it. The public information meetings are organized to fulfill a certain procedure in Turkey. The men charged by the company for the meeting note that we had organized the meeting and informed the community. Through our experiences during our environmental struggles, we understood that these meetings are claptraps. So, we agreed that we would not participate in the public information meetings organized for the proposed projects. Then, we decided on turning the meeting into a mass protest. In this sense, when these men came for the meeting, we occupied the platform to prevent them. However, they showed as if they arranged the meeting, but the community did not want to participate in the meeting. Across the world, these meetings are organized through democratic and participatory processes yet in our country they are arranged only to fulfill some procedures... (Interview 3) (see Appendix D, 18)

Considering the hierarchical and top-down decision-making mechanisms for the mining projects, the people I interviewed in Artvin said that the company's representatives ignored the lives of the community members. One of the interviewees

pointed out that these representatives did not know the Cerattepe area, or its nature, ecology, and geography. It is interesting for the local community how these people aimed to start mining operations in a place where they did not know, and at the same time, to undermine the lives of those who live and act there.

As I said, we liked to live in Artvin too much. I lived in the city for 19 years so I [mostly witnessed mining hazards] and mostly participated in anti-mining protests. I am very sad that the people who never have been to Artvin previously could decide on the city's future. [For example], during our watchkeeping to protest the corporation [in Cerattepe region in 2015-16], we sometimes talk with the people in charge. When we asked where they went in the Cerattepe, they said they would see the mining site [first time]. That is, [Cerattepe] is the place they have ever seen... [These people] do not ever think how this activity would harm the lives of the community there... (Interview 15) (see Appendix D, 19)

Most of the inhabitants of Artvin believe that if the mining area would be expanded for the cyanide-gold mining, health issues will increase alongside the destruction of their environment and culture. As a result, they would not be able to leave their place to the next generations. Martinez-Alier (2002) conceptualized the term environmentalism of the poor to define those who defend their livelihood and protect their incommensurable nature and environment. In this respect, I believe that the environmentalism of the Artvin community who struggle against mining projects can be considered as the “environmentalism of the poor” because their all-life systems including water they drink and air they breathe depends on Artvin's nature and ecology.

There are also a group of inhabitants who participate in the Cerattepe environmental movement through their prior or existing affiliations with the leftist culture and traumas of the 1980 military coup. These people play crucial roles in the establishment and maintenance of YAD. After the military coup, the leftist organizations were suppressed and prohibited by the state. In this sense, one of the interviewees paid attention to this history and mentioned that the people who were

suppressed after the military coup used their previous experiences for organization in order to create an environmental movement (Interview 3).

This resistance tradition inherits from the experiences of the September 12th, 1980 era. Artvin is a place known as left-leaning, and democratic with a highly literate population. One of the surrounding provinces is Rize and another one is Erzurum. In this sense, it is very interesting how Artvin is such an enlightened province. So, there has always been a tradition of resistance even before September 12th, 1980 there. Of course, the military coup regime suppressed the leftist and socialist groups. Almost 1300 people were put on trial because of the Artvin Dev-Yol²⁵ case. Many people have been imprisoned for several years. However, despite all of them, the leftist culture of the past, literate population, and the love for the homeland contributed to the continuation of the resistance culture. So, the people know how to be organized. Also, historical background has impacts [on organization]. Then, the environmental mobilization that started in the 1990s mobilized the whole community and continued the grassroots environmental movement. (Interview 3) (see Appendix D, 20)

Adaman et al. (2015) describes the environmentalism of the leftist people, in their analysis of Gerze (Sinop) anti-thermal power plant struggle, as “environmentalism of the malcontent”. According to Adaman et al. (2015), these people share the traumas of the military coup, and environmentalism becomes a new field of politics for them. They play an important role in the organization and mobilization of the environmental movements in the northern parts of Turkey. In Artvin, through environmentalism of the malcontent’ contribution to YAD’s organization, the environmental movement, in the city, reverses the repressed past by creating new field of activism. In this respect, the organizational success of the environmental movement enables the movement to continue and evolve across time.

Despite the different approaches to environmentalism, the community members created a common ground under a supra-political environmental organization to defend their place and livelihood through their attachment to the city, trustful relations among the people, cultural values, and the relations they improved

²⁵ It is a leftist and socialist organization that has been politically active until the military coup. In Artvin, many people were joining this organization.

with the environment. In this context, the supra-political character of the movement is critical to think about the characteristics of environmental movements in Turkey through its restrictions and possibilities. On the one hand, as I demonstrated above, the supra-political character contributes to create a place-based environmental movement by bringing different political ideologies together. So, YAD, an essential organization at local and regional scale, makes the voices of Artvin people heard within the city center and surrounding villages. On the other hand, the supra-political character of an environmental movement sometimes leads to the disagreements among diverse stakeholders and destroys the organization of a movement. For the discussion chapter of this thesis, it seems critical to debate the restrictions of supra-political environmental movement for the understanding of the conditions that diverse stakeholders come together and create alliances in the organization of an environmental movement in Turkey.

In the further chapters of this part, I will focus on how organization and mobilization strategies contributed to the maintenance of this movement for several years as additional elements explaining the success of the Cerattepe movement. Before accomplishing that goal, however, let me elaborate upon the ways in which the alliance between the state and the corporate bodies reacted to the mobilization and protests in Cerattepe.

3.2.2 The state and the corporation alliances against grassroots environmental activism

Environmental mobilization that started in the early 1990s has been maintained over two decades. Since those times, the Artvin community achieved, what I will call, environmental justice success three times. However, in February 2016, the law-enforcement forces violently suppressed the mass mobilization of the local

community that were keeping a watch to prevent the Cengiz Holding from entering the mining site in the Cerattepe region. In 2017, the copper mining operation started even though the local community won a lawsuit to nullify the proposed project in 2015 after the corporation got a new EIA report. In this part of the chapter, I briefly mention the environmental justice success that YAD achieved during Cominco and Inmet Mining corporations. I mainly focus on the Cengiz Holding era because the copper mining project was started to operate in 2017, and the environmental mobilization slowed down in this period. I aim to question how the state and the corporation, Cengiz Holding in this particular case, circumvented the law to continue the mining project.

The first company that received mining licenses for the Cerattepe in 1989 was a Canadian mining corporation. The drilling works that the Cominco operated in Cerattepe led to the poisoning of the animals exposed to the chemicals that leaked into the water. YAD was established during this period and the association organized panels²⁶ to inform the local community about the mining hazards, health issues, and environmental impacts from a scientific point of view.

Besides, the members of the association organized a petition campaign and then went to the Turkish Grand National Assembly to ensure the support of bureaucratic actors and political parties. Simultaneously, Mineral Research and Exploration Institute²⁷, the state's institute responsible for mining activities throughout the country, published a report²⁸ that indicated the potential hazards of a

²⁶ The first panel that was organized in 1994 in İstanbul was “Gold Mining in Artvin and its Environmental Consequences.” In the successive years, the Artvin people continued to organize the panels. Retrieved from: <http://yesilArtvindernegi.org/our-history-of-struggle/>

²⁷ The General Directorate of Mineral Research and Exploration is an institution that was founded in 1935 in order to explore the exploitable deposits of Turkey. Retrieved from: <https://www.mta.gov.tr/v3.0/kurumsal/hakkimizda>

²⁸ Mineral Research and Exploration Institute (MTA). (1998). *Artvin İlinin Çevre Jeolojisi ve Doğal Kaynakları*. Retrieved from: https://eticaret.mta.gov.tr/index.php?route=product/product&product_id=10165

future mining activity for Artvin. In this process, the Artvin people did not issue any lawsuit against the proposed project because the public opposition could achieve to stop the corporation through local reactions and social mobilization. As one of the interviews said, the company could not continue to work against the strong opposition:

[After 2000, I started living in Artvin again. After I came back] there was not any problem related to mining until 2005. As we learned later, in Artvin, the company namely Cominco proposed a cyanide-gold mining project, but when both the governor of the city and the Artvin community opposed the project, the company withdrew. (Interview 3) (see Appendix D, 23)

In 2002, the Canadian mining corporation, Cominco, withdrew from the project because of the mass mobilization of the local community who organized panels and petition campaigns and allied with the political parties in the national assembly. The company transferred its mining licenses to another Canadian counterpart, namely Inmet Mining. To stop the cyanide-gold mining project of this Canadian company, the local community rapidly reinitiated its mobilization, and the first lawsuit was issued in 2005. One of the lawyers I interviewed talked about the legal action issued by YAD stated:

In 2005, we issued the first case in the Erzurum Administrative Court [where Artvin Administrative Court depended]. For the Cerattepe region, there were two mining licenses: Genya Mountain and Cerattepe mining licenses. After the lawsuit, the Erzurum 2nd Administrative Court decided to cancel the mining license and the operating rights of the corporation. The company appealed and went to the Council of State. The Council of State overturned the decision. In other words, [they said] there were two license areas, and we needed to file two lawsuits. When this decision came, they took us from Erzurum and connected us to Rize. Then, we went and filed two separate lawsuits in Rize in 2007. The Council also gave annulment decisions from the files numbered 2017/51-52 in Rize. Later, at the end of 2008-2009, the court decision was completed in the revision stages and the license was revoked by the court. (Interview 3) (see Appendix D, 24)

In terms of defending and demanding environmental justice, this was the local community's success in 2007 when the court decided on ceding the proposed project

in Artvin. Then, Inmet Mining had to withdraw from the project. The local community believed that the court decision permanently removed the mining threat. That's why, until 2011, the anti-mining movement was in a passive period.²⁹

In 2012, with the decision of the Ministry of Energy and Natural Resources, Özaltın Corporation got Cerattepe and Genya gold-mining licenses through a tender bid expanding the previous project areas. The Artvin community heard the news, and the members of NGOs in Artvin, the provincial heads of political parties, and the mayor went to Ankara to arrange a meeting with the Ministry of Energy and Natural Resources and heads of all political parties.³⁰ Eti Bakır Corporation, a subsidiary company of Cengiz Holding, received the mining license from Özaltın Company via a royalty deal³¹. After Cengiz Holding obtained the Cerattepe mining tenders, the mass mobilization of the local community arose leading to a new lawsuit, demonstrations, and a vigil protest in the Cerattepe region. One of the interviewees said: "Inmet mining withdrew from the project because the mining license was cancelled by the court. It means they won't touch here again. [However,] in 2012, a tender was held [by another company]. The license area expanded to 4406 hectares that include all the mountains around Artvin" (Interview 7).³²

In 2013, Eti Bakır was granted a positive EIA report for mining activities. As a response, YAD filed a new lawsuit to cancel the EIA report of the project with the

²⁹ During this era, the community protested hydroelectric power plants in alliance with the inhabitants of the surrounding villages and districts like Hopa, Kemalpasa, and Yusufeli. (Interview 3)

³⁰ The Minister of Energy stated that the project would be re-examined and "it will be checked whether the above ground or underground is more valuable". However, it was contracted out without any re-examinations. It was realized that due to a special clause in the tender specifications there was only one company in Turkey, which would meet the requirements. Retrieved from: <http://yesilartvindernegei.org/our-history-of-struggle/>

³¹ It is an agreement between the mining corporations. Within this agreement, the mining corporation which gave the mining license for a proposed area could transfer its license to another mining company. (Interview 3)

³² Translated from: "İnmet mining gitmesine sebep olan ruhsat iptal edilmesidir. Bir daha buraya dokunmazlar anlamı çıkar bundan. Sonra 2012'de bir ihale yapıldı. Ruhsat alanı 4406 hektara çıktı. Artvin'in etrafındaki tüm dağlar..."

283 plaintiffs. Then, the court decided that in the Cerattepe region, the mining activity could not be operated, and the expert's report supported the court's decision.

In 2014, an expert discovery was made in Cerattepe... The participation of the public was ensured. At the end of 2014, there was a court hearing. That hearing was also very well attended... We opened that case with 283 people. One month after the trial, the decision was announced by the court, and we won. The decision was announced in the first week of 2015. Then, the decision was appealed. The Council of State approved it. In fact, we have a decision that mining cannot be done in Cerattepe. The expert report was also important. It was one of the exemplary decisions... As a matter of fact, the court followed that report and decided that mining cannot be done here. After April 2015, the corporation appealed the decision and requested a stay of execution for this decision. The Council of State rejected it, as well. He had made the right decision at that time. (Interview 3) (see Appendix D, 25)

The company prepared the second EIA report depending on the infamous 2009/7 memorandum³³ with some changes made in the first EIA report. Then, the corporation attempted to enter the designated mining site. The inhabitants initiated a new lawsuit as a result of the corporation's attempt, which ended up as the biggest environmental lawsuit of Turkey with 751 plaintiffs. The court did not declare the result of the lawsuit until February 2016.³⁴ One of the interviewees told this process during our interview:

Afterwards, the company tried to enter the Cerattepe region within a new EIA. How can we [the city inhabitants] react to a project? We are suing in the most democratic way. We don't break, we don't spill, we don't make a scene. We are filing a lawsuit and you consider it invalid.... In July 2015, a second lawsuit was filed with 751 people, and 61 lawyers participated from all around the country. Until February 2016, there was no change in the file. (Interview 3) (see Appendix D, 26)

In June 2015, the local community started to keep a watch that has been sustained for 245 days in the Cerattepe region when the legal decision that canceled

³³ According to the 2009/7 memorandum, when one of the reasons for the cancellation is corrected in the EIA report cancelled by the court, it could be submitted as a new EIA report to the court. (Interview 3) After the corporation prepared new EIA report, the lawsuit that achieved to cancel the previous EIA became invalid. (Interview 3)

³⁴ Because from July 2015 to February 2016, the court did not decide a stay of execution for the project, the corporation tried to enter the mining region in Cerattepe. (Interview 3)

the EIA report became invalid (Interview 3). This protest was violently suppressed by the law enforcement in February 2016. After this violent suppression, the local community started losing their hope to stop the project. When I asked about their experiences of the vigil protest during my fieldwork in Artvin, the interviewees mentioned their disappointment with regard to the state. The community members also lost their confidence in law and courts. For example, one of the women shot by a police bullet in February 2016 mentioned how the state could exert violence on its people:

When I was shot, I cried a lot, why the state treats people like this. That morning [the morning that the police forces intervened in the vigil protest in Artvin] at around 4 am I woke up to a sound. Young people were on guard. There are three bends between my house and that area where the vigil protest has been continued. I heard the footsteps of the police in the sound of that night. At that moment, I said it's over, the state has sacrificed us... I started crying... You think about your children, you think about your future, and you really think you don't deserve this [violent atmosphere] ... I've never seen something like this in my life... It feels very painful to experience these... It is very sad that the state sacrifices so many people just because a company will win. It takes away the future of your children. (Interview 15) (see Appendix D, 27)

To end the vigil protest in the Cerattepe region, the law enforcement forces were brought from the surrounding provinces of Artvin. Most interviewees emphasized that it was their first time facing the pepper spray and the police forces (Interview 1, 3, & 15). The community members said that their mobilization was peaceful, and they did not respond to the state forces violently (Interview 1, 2, 3, 7, & 16). At the same time, they recognized that the state violently suppressed its people for the benefits of the corporation. In the interviews, these people repeatedly pointed out to the alliance between the state and the corporation when I asked them about state violence:

The state can break anything by force. Nobody is in the mood to draw a gun, but after all, Cengiz Holding was not a company, we have seen this again. As such, they are a group that has the power to do anything. This should not have

been done to these people [Artvin community]. These people spoke in the most peaceful language. They didn't swear, they didn't do anything. The police cursed the women. It also undermines the trust in police. What you call the state is the security force. The people [protesting the mining operation] say that our country is being robbed, firstly, and secondly, we cannot live here yet, we are not rich, there is nothing.... (Interview 7) (see Appendix D, 28)

After these violent days, the representatives of YAD went to Ankara with members of the Artvin municipality governed by AKP³⁵ to meet the prime minister, Ahmet Davutoğlu, in 2016. At the end of the meeting, Ahmet Davutoglu (2016) announced that until the lawsuit³⁶ against the proposed mining project in Cerattepe ended, the mining operation would not be started. The corporation did not enter the region until the last lawsuit was lost (Interview 3). In 2017, however, the mining project started to operate in full force.

After the operation of the mining project and the police violence, the corporation's activities aimed to break up environmental mobilization in Artvin. In this sense, corporate representatives tried to get the support of the Artvin people by eroding the mobilization. For example, the corporation founded an association namely Our Artvin Platform Association (*Bizim Artvin Platformu Derneği* in Turkish), and paid a salary to those who joined this association as explained below:

At that time, there were fabricated associations established by the mining company here [in Artvin]. There are associations that they [the members of Cengiz Holding] set up by giving money. [Their fabricated association was] named as Our Artvin Platform Association... It was giving five thousand Turkish liras monthly to twelve people [who are the members of this association to support the project]. These are the things that were established to divide this society and deter people from this struggle... Apart from that, there are groups who will make profit from the mining operation in Cerattepe like truckers.... (Interview 3) (see Appendix D, 29)

³⁵ Between 2014 and 2019, the Artvin municipality was governed by AKP.

³⁶ He refers to the lawsuit issued in July 2015 with the participation of 751 plaintiffs.

At the same time, when the local community faced injustice because of the court's decision, some people agreed to collaborate with the corporation for economic benefits. One of the interviewees explained:

After the decision of the court, social breakdowns begin. While you were successful [against the mining project] previously, there were a lot of people around you [to support the struggle]. But in times of defeat, interest groups leave [the struggle] quickly. Here's the sad thing. There may be employees in the company who are worried about work. But the company forces the people who are at the front of the struggle to work for the cooperation, especially the people from the left ideology. In this process, there is no company-state distinction. Everyone knows who the big partner of this company is. In this case, no public administrator does anything to oppose the company in the way. (Interview 3) (see Appendix D, 30)

In this sense, the daily routine of the local community and the relations among the inhabitants are affected by the corporation's activities that aimed to convince the people to collaborate with them. The community members against the project stopped communicating with those who ally with the corporation for economic benefits. This situation also leads to the feeling of hopelessness because the inhabitants believed that if the community relations were broken up and the people started to support the mining activity in Cerattepe, the environmental mobilization became latent. One of the shopkeepers in the city center explained his feelings about the environmental mobilization during our interview:

Economically, we do not have problems because of the mining activity. Let me tell you personally, I am a shopkeeper and when someone supporting the mining project came to my shop, I refused to cooperate with him. After a while, these people who support mining no longer visit my shop... I am less competitive with those who support mining activity in Cerattepe [because I refuse to cooperate with mining supporters economically] ... I will earn my money, but my chances of economic competition are decreasing because the people collaborating with the mining company have more chances to grow economically. I'm losing my chance to grow economically. [Because of economic reasons] people's resistance is breaking down. So, everyone may gradually surrender. (Interview 16) (see Appendix D, 31)

Additionally, the state suppression has been continuing in the city since February 2016. Because of the fear of suppression, many inhabitants, especially officeholders and teachers, abandoned active participation in the activities of YAD. Several people were subject to punitive measures taken by the courts and/or law enforcement system just because they were participating in mass protests in Cerattepe in February 2016. At the same time, after the military coup attempt in the July 2016³⁷, the government declared a state of emergency in Artvin to curb the mass mobilization of the community.

Everyone was punished for their actions and the vigil they kept. For a while, they [the state] inhibited any action [to suppress any protest against the corporation in Artvin]. All kinds of press statements, the right to protest, the right to march... It is forbidden in many places in Turkey [during a state of emergency between 2016 and 2018], but they also brought a state of emergency in Artvin. Using Cerattepe as an excuse, they created a policy to extinguish all opposition and to limit the opposition's range of action. (Interview 14) (see Appendix D, 32)

After the vigil protest was fiercely suppressed by the law enforcement, the prime minister labelled the Artvin people as “*yavru gezici* (Erdoğan, 2016)”, referring to the Gezi resistance that occurred in İstanbul in 2013. Likewise, mainstream media was referring to the protestors as “terrorists”. Many of the Artvin people were discouraged because of the fear of being labelled as terrorists in Artvin. Moreover, they knew that all decisions are made by the prime minister. In this sense, one of the interviewees emphasized that if the prime minister did not permit the mining operation, it would not start to operate in Cerattepe (Interview 2).

Overall, the mobilization during the Cengiz Holding era was very exhausting for the Artvin people. On the one hand, the Cengiz Holding was not a Canadian

³⁷ In July 2016, a military coup was attempted by a group of soldiers from Turkish Armed Forces. Retrieved from: https://tr.wikipedia.org/wiki/15_Temmuz_Darbe_Girişimi. Then, for two years, state of emergency has declared in Turkey. During this period, protests and marches were banned by the executive order. Artvin is one of the important examples of these bans.

company but rather the owner of the corporation having a close relationship with the AKP government. I argue that the starting of the copper mining activity is related to the alliances among the state and the corporation, and the community recognized these relations. On the other hand, the local community organized a vigil protest in the Cerattepe region to cede the corporation for 245 days and brought the lawsuit, the biggest environmental lawsuit of Turkey with 751 participants, including the Turkish Association of Bars, TMMOB, political parties, environmental organizations, labor unions, Artvin associations, and 61 lawyers.³⁸ Despite these struggles, the environmental justice success could not be achieved. Many people I interviewed during my field work in Artvin emphasized the erosion of law and bureaucracy in Turkey:

The conditions of that time are not the same as the conditions of today. The current political pressure, social pressure did not exist at that time. At that time [1990s and early 2000s] this association [Green Artvin Association] was established with the idea given by the governor of the time. Our current governors preferred to be on the side of the company rather than being with the inhabitants. That's why we couldn't put up a strong fight. If you don't have bureaucratic support, say whatever you want locally, that idea will have no validity. It cannot be done. Bureaucracy matters. There is no one behind us [in our mining opposition]. MPs do not support us. (Interview 16) (see Appendix D, 33)

The court has decided. Under these conditions, minerals cannot be extracted from this habitat [in a lawsuit that we won in 2015]. The court said "Either Artvin or mine!" and took his stance in favor of Artvin. This decision was made in the Council of State. Now, you know, there is a talk about old Turkey. If [we lived in] the old Turkey which was not governed by a one-man order, if there was no dictatorship, if there was no process in which the judiciary, the executive, the legislature was gathered in one hand, the law would still be on our side. The law will be on our side and there will be no chance for this mine to be here. Yet, it says that I will run the country like a company with capitalist logic right now [so the mining project is operating there]. (Interview 17) (see Appendix D, 34)

³⁸ In this process, the vigil protest in Cerattepe was sustained by the Artvin community.

I argue that for the Artvin community, the only way to achieve environmental justice success for the local community in Artvin is to affirm the court's decision to cancel the EIA report. In the current situation of Turkey, it is less likely to achieve environmental justice success because the governmental policies continue to expand mining areas in Artvin and all around the country. So, according to many locals I interviewed, it is necessary to overthrow the AKP government in Turkey for any kind of environmental justice success (Interview 1, 3, 14, 16, & 17). Even if many inhabitants do not actively participate in environmental mobilization in Artvin and do lose their hopes for environmental justice nowadays, YAD continues to pursue lawsuits against and prepare reports of the environmental hazards of the mining operation. I argue that YAD became a symbol that enables the local community members to boost their hopes because many inhabitants who are against the mining operation completely trust the members of the association.

So, the emergence of an umbrella environmental organization is significant for the continuation of environmental mobilization in the long run. Even if the mobilization became latent or started to get slowed down, it would have power to bring diverse actors together again. To understand the reasons for how the Green Artvin Association achieved to be maintained by the local actors over two decades, in the next part of this chapter, I analyze the organization strategies and the forms of mobilization in the continuation of the Cerattepe environmental movement.

3.3 The organization strategies of the Artvin community: Historical and cultural characteristics of the place

... the association did everything it aimed to do [to stop the proposed mining projects]. Its members said everything they wanted to say, they were not afraid of anyone, they didn't hesitate... The biggest problems we experience are the situations in which the officers participated in the environmental

struggle [against the mining project] ... [Since then] those who believe that we failed in the environmental struggle say that the numbers of the people against the mining project are decreasing. [Yet], we are still sharing common matters and visions against the mining threat [in the community]. However, people who are mobbed cannot actively participate in protests [due to economic reasons]. [Still] the effort of the association is good... Trying to gather everyone in the same place at the same time, trying to find a middle ground even if you don't like it, being warm to every idea, behaving well even if you don't like it, strengthened this struggle. Frankly, it made us want to be in it. (Interview 16) (see Appendix D, 35)

Despite the corporation's activities that aim to break up the community's unity under YAD and the state violence that attempts to suppress the community's opposition, most inhabitants emphasize their love of the city, and they stubbornly defend their habitat and livelihood. Since some people who allied with the Cengiz Holding after the copper mining project started their own pro-mining mobilization and propaganda activities, the resulting fractures in the environmental movement led some others, anti-mining people in Artvin, to feel despair about the future. Yet, they believe that someday the Artvin community would massively protest the corporation as long as YAD continues to be active in the city.

To understand how the inhabitants maintain environmental mobilization in the city despite the uneasy feelings of the current situation, we should pay attention to the organizational strategies of the environmental movement and YAD. First, an umbrella environmental organization with horizontal and democratic decision-making mechanisms was crucial for the Artvin people who can share a common ground and a joint vision to protest mining projects in Artvin through grassroots environmental activism by bringing the whole community together. Second, the city's history contributed to the maintenance of the environmental movement under an umbrella environmental organization through democratic and participatory decision-making processes. Lastly, cultural characteristics of the place affected the organization of the inhabitants contributing to a long-lasting environmental

movement. So, in this part of the chapter, I shed light on the history, culture, and decision-making processes that bring the community members together against a common threat to create a place-based environmental movement.

The critical element that enabled the environmental movement to survive in the city over two decades is the presence of YAD identified as the Artvin people as a supra-political association. I contend that the establishment of a supra-political organization is a strategic shift to create a common ground among the local community against a common threat and to maintain environmental mobilization for several years. Most inhabitants agree on how the supra-political organization of YAD was vital to persuade many inhabitants to oppose the mining project in the city because this kind of organization enabled them to equally represent different groups/platforms/local organizations and different political parties:

... at the beginning of the environmental struggle when YAD was established, we did something like this: This struggle is not a political struggle of any party, a group, or an opinion. We told the society that this is in the interest of all people in Artvin, the struggle for life, and if we base it on a political party, if we launch it as a struggle for an opinion, we lose it from the beginning. The reason why our struggle continues for a long time is that this struggle is adopted by large segments of the community, that is, it is accepted as a struggle for life. (Interview 8) (see Appendix D, 36)

YAD is organized by stating that it is not a political institution. I think this is the right thing about the environmental movement. Because when the Cerattepe vigil protest started in February 2016, while there were leftists, there were also rightists. We cannot forget this cooperation among the rightists and leftists. If we look at the current situation, there were people from the left as well as from the right who abandoned their environmental struggle... But there were also nationalists in action that day. In my opinion, this is the success of YAD. Meetings are held. Sometimes representatives of all NGOs from all parties are called. In this last thing [the period after the mine started to be extracted in Cerattepe], only the AKP does not participate in meetings concerning mining issues in the city, although its members are invited. There was even a person from MHP in the administration, and he left the administration because the MHP did not want him to participate in these meetings anymore. YAD always said it was in the middle. Because this struggle is not a political struggle. (Interview 13) (see Appendix D, 37)

In addition to the presence of a supra-political organization that brings the whole community together, with a leftist historical background in this city, the local community could quickly organize and mobilize thanks to the experiences of those who were politically mobilized until the military coup. When the mining threat appeared in the late 1980s, those whose political organizations were closed by the state during the 1980 military coup adopted their previous experiences of how a movement could be established and mobilized to struggle against the proposed mining project. After the suppression of the political activities in Artvin, the resistance culture of the leftist people could be utilized through environmental mobilization. One of the interviewees emphasized the historical difference of the place above:

The culture of enlightenment was created until the 1980s in Artvin. This progressive social climate created an incredible social organization and power in the September 12th era. It created a progressive wave. The most powerful organization at that time was the Dev-Yol. It had been the most known leftist movement in Turkey. Artvin is the province where it has many supporters after Ankara... This is something that shows that Artvin has another history [beyond the history of the environmental movement]. The reason why Dev-Yol was so well organized at that time was its working and organization style. It was to establish one-to-one contact with people... At that time, they were able to have a very tight organization in a very short time with a planned and programmed study directly on the problems that people faced and experienced in Artvin. Of course, there was the September 12th coup, and those people did not evaporate suddenly. Of course, a lot of people lost their lives - very qualified people lost their lives at that time - a lot of people had to migrate to other provinces ... but of course they did not evaporate, some of them continued to live in Artvin. At least the culture they created survived. Culture of resistance, culture of organization... When the issue came back to Cerattepe... They created a culture of resistance against the seizure of lands here by capitalists who had never been to Artvin before. (Interview 14) (see Appendix D, 38)

The resistance culture rooted in the history of the place created an atmosphere that grassroots environmental activism flourished within alliances among diverse actors whose political and ideological views were sharply distinct from each other. The organization's strategy based on neighborhood committees founded to mobilize

grassroots activism before the military coup contributed to the establishment of YAD that brought the whole community together, including both leftist and rightist political parties, shopkeepers, NGOs, and local authorities, sharing a common problem, to protect the city (Interview 14). In this vein, the struggle for the place became a common matter for these people because the city is an important place for them as a space where they live and act (Escobar, 2008). In this respect, I argue that the history of the city enabled the community to constitute democratic, participatory, and transparent decision-making processes under YAD. The interviewees explained that the administration of association has never made top-down decisions in an authoritative way (Interview 17). Also, another interviewee identified this organization structure with his/her own words:

Different people made decisions through different organizations that brought together legitimacy and militancy, and a course of action was formed accordingly. There was also a lot of confidence among the inhabitants of the city. It was a situation that required an important virtue to be able to create transparent processes and a cooperation among the people from different segments of the society, both inside and outside villages of Artvin with its political party, its association, its headman, and to make people from there a part of the resistance. (Interview 14) (see Appendix D, 39)

A distinct cultural atmosphere is another element that contributed to the creation of a supra-political environmental movement in the city. As previously explained in Chapter 1 and the beginning of this chapter, low density of the population makes the people know each other very well. It becomes more likely that the people can develop trustful relations and create solidarities. According to many of the interviewees, the small size of the city and the low density of population give this place a cultural character that is transferred from one generation to another (Interview 1, 3, 7, 10, & 17). As a result of the confidence and solidarity relations that shape cultural character of the place, the inhabitants who had different views and ideologies were not sharply contrasted with each other (Interview 6 & 7). Thus, I

assert that the city's culture enabled the whole community to come together with confidence and solidarity to struggle for their place and maintain the environmental movement over two decades within a supra-political organization.

Artvin's sociological structure makes the organization of diverse actors possible. Also, the sensitivity of YAD is very important. We are also members of that association. In the meetings we held, from left to right, from headmen to associations, they were all present. In those meetings, we were very careful about our language and our discourse. We used a more environmentally oriented language. Instead of using political language, we were using a language about how much it would affect our daily life and we were finding the common point at that time. We were careful not to hurt anyone. Although there are some who think this is a mistake, I don't think so. YAD has always kept this line. (Interview 6) (see Appendix D, 41)

Consequently, I claim that in Artvin, the cultural and historical features of the place are significant to comprehend the creation of a supra-political organization and a common ground despite political and ideological differences. Even if the community sometimes feels despair because of the state suppression and the copper mining operation, they mention the maintenance of this environmental movement as a significant success for them. So, I argue that an umbrella environmental organization with participatory, transparent, and democratic decision-making processes is vital to maintain a movement and create alliances among local actors by coming together with a common ground.

3.4 Forms of mobilization: The Cerattepe movement as a knowledge production space

Over two decades, the Artvin community organized various forms of mobilization to cede the proposed/operated mining projects and environmental hazards. These forms of mobilization include petition campaigns, legal action, street protests, as well as knowledge production. In this part of the chapter, I emphasize the forms of mobilization and how they had impacts on the continuation/breaking of the Cerattepe

environmental movement. Through activist knowledge, in Artvin, the local community persuades the city dwellers for mining opposition and challenges the hierarchical relations between the knowledge of academics and local community, so I argue that knowledge production becomes a vital element for the mobilization of the Cerattepe environmental movement.

Knowledge production is the effective form of mobilization that contributed to maintaining the environmental movement in Artvin. From the beginning of the ecological struggle, the community members ally with the academics to organize panels about mining hazards, water pollution, air contamination, and health issues related to environmental degradation (Interview 1, 3, 7, 14, 16, & 18). Thanks to the credibility of scientific information, YAD appealed to the whole community to struggle for defending the place against the mining project and ecological destruction. One of the interviewees emphasized: “In this process, we did not believe anything that the scientists did not say. Based on what they said, we issued our lawsuits.”³⁹ (Interview 3)

Knowledge production created an alternative space (Temper et al. 2015) that allied the Artvin community with academics, so through co-producing knowledge, in Artvin, the hierarchical ways of making science were challenged. For example, the members of YAD marked the proposed/operated projects on the maps in alliance with academics. While preparing the maps, local knowledge was integrated into professional, scientific knowledge/information. Through these maps, the places that the mining operation would damage are concretely indicated to the community members.

Teachers mark those maps. Ore stock area, open operation field, etc... They mark them, and we understand the details. We share our knowledge about the

³⁹ Translated from: “Biz bu süreçte gerçekten de bilim insanlarının söylemediği hiçbir şeyi sahiplenmedik. Onların söylediklerinden hareketle hukuksal süreci yürüttük.”

region with academics. Then, they make a mapping. This is what happens when others are in their field. Everyone expresses their opinions in their own field, and according to that, we both prepare for the courts and create scientific reports. It doesn't happen otherwise... [Afterwards, to inform the public with maps...] We explain it simply. This is basically what we're talking about. When you see it, that is, when you use the image, it is more effective than telling it by reciting. So, this has been a very successful study. We went door to door. We take this in our hands, there is a day in such and such places, the women gathered in the garden are waiting for us. Neighborhood by neighborhood we have this in our hands... We didn't turn our backs on it. If someone asks a question about the map, how would we answer? First, we told the teacher friends. How will we explain the map to those who do not know about it? (Interview 1) (see Appendix D, 41)

Until 2016, the legal action and petition campaigns were affecting the state's decision over the mining project; yet, with the erosion of the law in Turkey, the local community started to discredit the power of legal action and petition campaigns. The petition campaigns were significant in creating alliances with bureaucratic actors and political parties and persuading them for mining opposition. The local community used academic and scientific knowledge to indicate mining hazards to bureaucratic and political actors when they submitted petitions against mining projects in the city in 2002 and 2016. At the same time, the scientific knowledge produced by academics became vital evidence to indicate environmental hazards in the lawsuit.

We made an international signature campaign with the contribution of the Foresters' Association. We used to go to every bureaucrat and tell them. We were explaining the ecological structure and why it shouldn't be here with scientific data. For us to be able to do this, these scientists had to come here over the years to examine and report them. We could not have done this without their contribution. In fact, scientists are not very numerous. We have dozens of universities, but most of them do not support our struggle. Their voices are not heard, it is sad to say they are scientists. He should convey what he knows to be true, but he does not use it for the benefit of society. In other words, they turned into three monkeys... Real scientists take responsibility, they are very few... The publication of a report by Artvin Forestry Faculty in 2006 is an important example. They did it, they published it, passing it through the academic board, and we used it in court. (Interview 1) (see Appendix D, 42)

Additionally, the bullfight fests in Kafkasör have turned into an environmental mobilization event since the 1990s. Every year, the Artvin community emphasized the importance of the mining issue during the fests. I argue that Kafkasör is a place where the community breathes, enjoys, lives, and acts, and then within the mining issue, this place became a social movement space for the inhabitants of the city. One of the interviewees emphasized how Kafkasör is significant for the memories of environmental mobilization:

Something stuck in my memory. In 1998, Zülfü Livaneli concert was held in Kafkasör, and the theme was “No to Mines”. I was 6 years old then. Again, when I was 6-7 years old, “Don't Let Artvin's Green Fade, No to the Mine!” I was seeing stickers. It was in my head too. I grew up with a memory of the mine being a bad thing. Something came out of those codes in the city, that is, a young person from Artvin who grew up here actually understood that the mine was a bad thing because of the activities and posters around him. I was a teenager growing up at that time. In those years, I was beginning to learn that this mine would harm Artvin and destroy Artvin. (Interview 14) (see Appendix D, 43)

In addition to knowledge production, legal action, and petition campaigns as a form of mobilization, the vigil in Cerattepe place for 245 days was a radical form of mobilization in Artvin. The main reason for keeping a vigil in Cerattepe is that the inhabitants lost their trust for lawsuits when the corporation that attempted to enter the mining site for the operation in 2015 did not respect the court's decision (Interview 3). Like Kafkasör, through the vigil protest, Cerattepe became a social movement space for the local community, while the protest in Cerattepe has considerably affected the relations among the inhabitants in the city center. Most interviewees mentioned how the relations among the community members were dynamic and how many people waited to keep a watch in Cerattepe. In this process, everyone hoped to cede the proposed project with their bodies, organization, mobilization, and solidarity in Cerattepe (Interview 2, 9, & 11).

Thus, I claim that the different forms of mobilization were significant for maintaining the Cerattepe environmental movement over two decades. Knowledge production is the most considerable element for this environmental mobilization because it persuaded most inhabitants about mining hazards and proved these hazards to the court. At the same time, knowledge-production is used as a tool to organize a social movement (Escobar, 2008; Temper et al., 2015) while converging local knowledge with academic knowledge (Temper et al., 2015). The vigil protest is another form of mobilization that deserves attention because it is organized as the last chance to cede the proposed project when the community loses its hopes for the law and bureaucracy. Although the community members usually identified this form of mobilization as a successful strategy, many of them were still traumatized when they remembered the memoirs of the state violence and suppression in Cerattepe. Even so, I argue that if the people sometimes lose the hopes for environmental justice, the supra-political character of the Cerattepe environmental movement considerably affects forms of mobilization in the place-based struggle by enabling the whole community to strongly ally with each other through confidence, solidarity, and helpfulness.

Overall, I argue that the Artvin community created a place-based environmental movement to protest the proposed/operated mining projects. The place where their daily routine passes became a social movement space. So, the Cerattepe anti-mining environmental movement has been shaping the daily lives of the community members for over two decades. In the constitution of a place-based struggle, the local actors who create grassroots environmental activism, organization strategies, and forms of mobilization have significant impacts on bringing the whole community under a supra-political environmental organization, YAD. Although in

the Cengiz Holding era, the community lost hope for environmental justice success because of the state violence and erosion of the law, the association still plays an essential role in maintaining the environmental mobilization in the city.

Initially, in this chapter, I indicated that when the proposed cyanide mining project was launched in the Cerattepe region, the daily routine of the local community would be broken due to environmental hazards, health issues, air and water pollution, and noise. I argued that these people opposed the mining activity in their place through the environmentalism of the poor who defended their livelihood (Martinez-Alier, 2002). I revealed that the history of the city contributed to the organization of the place-based struggle and the continuation of the movement over two decades. Through environmentalism of the malcontent (Adaman et al., 2015), the leftist and socialist people used their previous experience to create a supra-political environmental movement with horizontal and democratic ways of organizing the local community. So, I argued that even if the community members had different understandings of environmentalism, they could achieve a common ground to mobilize against the mining activity by identifying Cerattepe as a space where they live, act, breathe, and enjoy. In this vein, I identified environmentalism of the Artvin community as “*topyekün çevrecilik* (Erensü, 2014, 2016, 2020)” that distance itself from political conflicts between leftist and rightis ideologies, so supra-political character of the movement was a strategic shift to create grassroots activism to defend the city, environment, and the place. Also, I focused on the state and the corporations’ roles to debate over environmental justice success. I recognized that even if these people radically protest environmental degradation in their city, the only way to achieve environmental justice success is to stop the proposed/operated projects by the court decision.

Additionally, I emphasized the organizational strategies that contribute to the maintenance of the environmental movement in Artvin. I maintained that the umbrella environmental organization, YAD, is significant for bringing the whole community together over two years. In this vein, the historical background of Artvin is an essential element that enabled the local community to agree on the founding supra-political organization. Thanks to the previous experiences of socialist and leftist people, YAD achieved to be organized through horizontal and democratic decision-making mechanisms and transparent knowledge to enable the community members to trust each other and reach a common ground.

Lastly, I argued that knowledge production is a confident way to enable the community members to learn about mining hazards. When they were scientifically informed about environmental degradation, they tended to see the environmental issue as supra-political and transformed ecological conflict into a place-based environmental movement. At the same time, I maintained that the Cerattepe environmental movement was a critical example of creating a knowledge-production space (Escobar, 2008; Temper et al., 2015). By breaking up hierarchical ways of knowledge production, both academics and community members produced knowledge about environmental issues. I could say that the Cerattepe environmental movement used knowledge production as a significant tool to continue the struggle over two decades.

CHAPTER 4

ECOLOGICAL STRUGGLES IN ÇANAKKALE: ENVIRONMENTALISM OF THE URBANITE AND ENVIRONMENTALISM OF THE POOR

Çanakkale is a city located in the Biga Peninsula in the Northwestern Aegean of Turkey with a variety of endemic species, natural forests, and peculiar flora and fauna. The Biga Peninsula covers the area from Edremit to Akçay including Güre, Altınoluk, Küçükkuyu, Ezine, Çan, Bayramiç, Gönen, and Yenice, and, most importantly, includes Mount Ida, which shapes the entire ecosystem of the region (TEMA, 2020, p.6). Mount Ida is the highest mountain of the region that extends through the southeast of the Biga Peninsula within the borders of Çanakkale and Balıkesir provinces (TEMA, 2020).

Mount Ida region is significant for wildlife around 800 plant species that belong to 101 different families, so many natural preservation areas are located in the region (TEMA, 2020). This region has significant water resources and fertile lands for agriculture. The area is also important in terms of cultural heritage with Ilyada Epos, Trojan Legend, and the first philosophy school (TEMA, 2020). In the surrounding villages of Mount Ida, Turkomans, nomads, and Bulgarian immigrants inhabit, all of which maintain their traditional customs and cultures (TEMA, 2020).⁴⁰

The region is geographically characterized by its strategic location. The location, close to İstanbul and Dardanelles (*Çanakkale Boğazı* in Turkish) and surrounded by many holiday destinations, makes this area a transition point for travelers from İstanbul and other cities of the Thrace region to the Aegean region. Also, Çanakkale is a place where the people have migrated from metropolitan cities

⁴⁰ For local inhabitants, olive cultivation is an important way to earn livelihood thanks to the region's suitable climate. Also, those who migrate from İstanbul to this region cultivate olives.

like İstanbul, Ankara, and İzmir in recent years. The districts including Küçükkuş and Bayramiç are the popular places where the people have settled to escape from the difficulties of urban life and to create a lifestyle more engaged with ecological and agricultural activities (Aynalı Pazar, 2020; Erten, 2021).⁴¹

In this region, thermal power plants and the proposed mining projects are severe threats to biodiversity, culture, agriculture, and the livelihood of the inhabitants in the region. In the 1990s, the first mining explorations were started in the region by mining companies and the state, and different companies gained mining licenses for their activities. Until the beginning of the 2000s, these companies have not launched any operation for the extraction activity. In the region, the first mobilization of the local actors including local inhabitants, municipality, civil society members, and summer residents, were organized to protest the Bahçedere mining project in 2007 (Avcı, 2008). These protestors filed a lawsuit and succeeded in canceling the Bahçedere gold mining license. Until 2012, the mining issue did not mainly occupy the agenda of the inhabitants due to the success of blocking the proposed project in the Bahçedere district (Olcan, 2019).

Currently, 76% of the Mount Ida region is licensed for extractive activities with the proposed mining projects by the state (TEMA, 2020). The proposed Kirazlı cyanide gold mining project is one of these licenses owned by the Canadian Alamos Gold Company and its subsidiary company East Biga Mining in 2009. Even if Alamos Gold Corporation withdrew from the project in October 2020 after the mass protests that have continued over a year in the Balabanlı Hill⁴² by environmental

⁴¹ Since the last year, the coronavirus pandemic has triggered the population boom in this region. Many who escape from the large cities due to the tight restrictions in the cities rented houses and moved to this region's surrounding villages, like Camtepe and Adatepe, and districts, like Kucukkuyu and Assos. (Interview 21)

⁴² It is a place where the Kirazlı gold mining project was proposed in the Kirazlı village of Çanakkale.

activists, the company is still threatening the region with the other licenses, namely Mount Ağı and Çamyurt projects. In the Kirazlı environmental movement, one of the reasons for opposition to the proposed project is water contamination. If the mining project had undertaken its operation, the Atikhisar dam, the main water resource of the Çanakkale province, would be polluted by mining activity. The protestors who come from different regions across the country opposed the project due to environmental degradation, ecological destruction, air pollution, water contamination, soil erosion, and undemocratic decision-making of the current government.

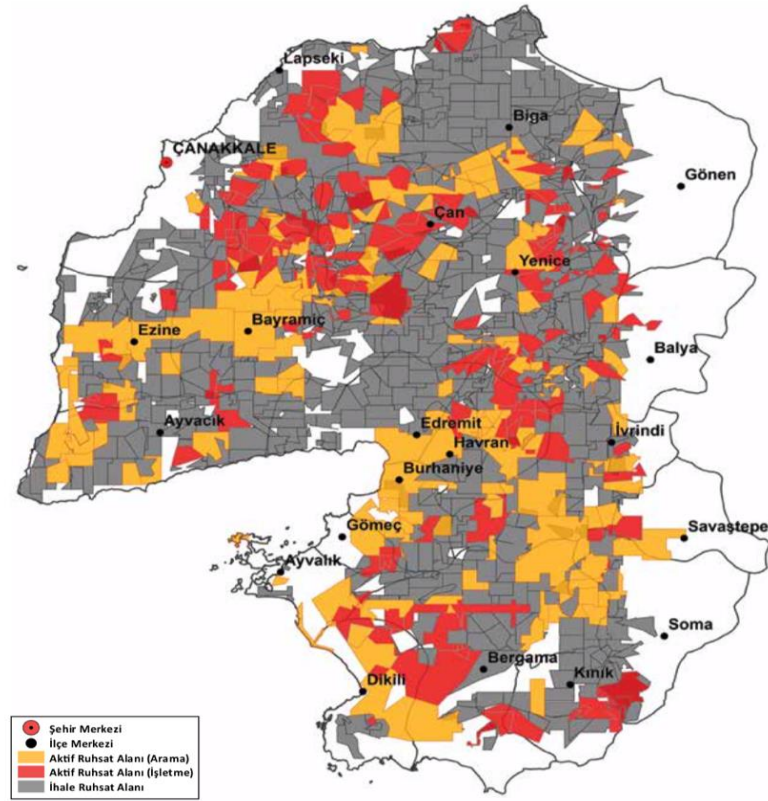


Fig. 2: A map of the declared mining areas in Mount Ida region (TEMA, 2020)

In this chapter, I specifically focus on the province of Çanakkale to study the Kirazlı environmental movement. In the Kirazlı anti-mining environmental movement, the main local actors are the Çanakkale municipality, the representatives

from the NGOs, and the inhabitants living in the surrounding districts like Küçükkuyu and Bayramiç. In the Balabanlı Hill, the mining corporation cut down 195 thousand trees in 2019. When the images of damages in the region were shared on social media by TEMA, thousands of people from Çanakkale, surrounding districts and provinces, İstanbul, and the rest of the country were mobilized to protest the tree slaughter in Kirazlı village of the Mount Ida region. This strong mobilization has continued over a year through keeping a watch on the Balabanlı Hill to prevent the corporation from entering the mining site.

During the organization of mass protests and the watchkeeping on the hill, the conflicts among local actors, including city dwellers, summer residents, and the inhabitants who migrate to Çanakkale from İstanbul led to the failure of grassroots environmental activism⁴³. In the Kirazlı environmental movement, the local actors could not be organized under an umbrella local environmental association against a common threat. Among the supporters of the cause including but not limited to environmentalists and civil society organizations all around the country, some members of the Çanakkale community allied with actors at national scale to organize environmental protests in Balabanlı Hill, while others did not want to include those that are not living in Çanakkale or migrated to Çanakkale recently in the local decision-making processes. Unlike the Artvin community, the Çanakkale community was organized under different platforms against the mining project embracing different approaches to environmentalism.

To understand the characteristics of the environmental movement in the Mount Ida region, the region's geographic location deserves special attention. The

⁴³ When I refer to grassroots environmental activism, I aim to describe the organization of city inhabitants against the mining threat through democratic and participatory decision-making processes under an umbrella association.

people who migrated from İstanbul and started to live in this place to create a new life more in touch with nature have a different understanding of environmentalism than those living in Çanakkale already. I call the environmentalism of the former as environmentalism of the urbanite while I identify the latter group of inhabitants as environmentalism of the poor. I argue that in Çanakkale, the conflicts among environmentalism of the urbanite and environmentalism of the poor differentiated the organization and mobilization of the Kirazlı environmental movement from the Cerattepe anti-mining environmental movement.

The different kinds of environmentalism could not reach a common ground against the mining threat because, in Çanakkale, the environmental struggle did not stem from a place-based struggle. Through the environmental struggles, the city does not turn into a social movement space like the Artvin case because the mining area is far away from the city center. On the one hand, unlike Cerattepe, Balabanlı Hill is not a location where the city inhabitants can view the potential destruction from the city center, and the ecological degradation of this place does not necessarily impact on their daily routine immediately. On the other hand, while many people coming from İstanbul and other cities were protesting the proposed mining project and environmental degradation in the Mount Ida region across the country, the region that the people defend is not a place where they live in and act. Many of these people participated in the environmental mobilization to protest the current government's policies in general. I argue that the Kirazlı environmental movement opened a space for those who opposed governmental policies to voice their opinions.

Hence, in this chapter of the thesis, I aim to focus on the Kirazlı anti-mining environmental movement to explain the failure of grassroots environmental activism and the conflicts among diverse actors who organize mass protests in Balabanlı Hill.

I initially explained the actors of this movement while emphasizing why the inhabitants protested the proposed mining project. I aim to focus on the state and the corporation to discuss environmental justice success and the reasons of withdrawal of the corporation compared to the Cerattepe project. Second, I emphasize the organization strategies to shed light on the conflicts and disagreements among diverse actors. Lastly, I discuss the mobilization strategies, especially watchkeeping protests that have been continued for over a year.

4.1 The diverse actors of ecological conflicts against the Canadian company and the state

4.1.1 Urbanite environmental movement: Who is the local actor in the Kirazlı ecological struggle?

In Çanakkale, the environmental mobilization organized in 2007 enabled diverse actors, especially local inhabitants to come together against a common threat of mining issues. The actors who came together to mobilize against the gold mining project organized different platforms/groups/associations to defend their livelihood. When new areas were declared as mining sites in 2009 and later in the 2010s, these organizations contributed to the mobilization of the people more rapidly in alliance with diverse actors at the national scale. However, during this process, the main driver of the environmental movement was the Çanakkale municipality in alliances with the local NGOs in Çanakkale.

Although the Kirazlı environmental movement attracted the attention of various people all around the country, during the process of vigil protest called “Water and Conscience Watch” (*Su ve Vicdan Nöbeti* in Turkish) organized by the

Çanakkale municipality and the representatives of local civil society organizations in Balabanlı Hill, the alliances among diverse actors, especially between those who migrated to Çanakkale and came to Çanakkale from other cities to support the movement and others living in there for several years, were broken because of different understandings of environmentalism and exclusionary ways of decision-making. So, in this part of the chapter, I aim to introduce the local actors living in Çanakkale and the surrounding districts and their motivations for the mobilization to explain these different approaches to environmentalism.

As I said above, the Çanakkale municipality has played an essential role in the creation of environmental movement through allying with other municipalities at the regional scale. 34 municipalities in the region established the Ida Mountain and Madra Mountain Environmental Platform (*Kazdağı ve Madra Dağı Çevre Platformu* in Turkish) to prevent the mining threat in the region. The involvement of municipal administrations to the environmental movement has been strengthening the opposition groups since the beginning of environmental struggles in Çanakkale. In alliance with this municipal organization at the regional scale, the Çanakkale Municipality obtained a leading role in initiating a Water and Conscience Watch in the Balabanlı Hill in 2019. In the organization of this protest, the municipality cooperated with Ida Solidarity Association and TMMOB, and created a Water and Conscience Committee to organize the environmental movement through grassroots environmental activism to preserve Atikhisar dam that meets the water demand of Çanakkale.

Ida Solidarity Association is an organization that is founded in 2015 to achieve environmental and social justice in Çanakkale (Interview 24 & 25) and allies with the Çanakkale municipality and the local NGOs of Çanakkale to organize the

environmental movement in the city. Also, when environmental issues mainly occupied the agenda of the inhabitants in Çanakkale, Ida Solidarity Association aimed to mobilize whole inhabitants as an umbrella organization. Yet, it could not bring the whole community together against a common environmental threat in the city because of different approaches to environmentalism. I identify the environmentalism of these people, including municipal actors, the representatives of TMMOB and Ida Solidarity Association, as environmentalism of the poor. These people oppose water contamination so that they can defend their livelihood against the corporation because if the mining project is operated, the city's main water resource would be contaminated. These people, environmentalism of the poor, identify environmental issues as non-political and contrasts with others who want to politicize the Kirazlı environmental movement (Interview 19, 20, & 25).

On the contrary, the local community involves the people who live in Küçükuyu, the small district of Çanakkale, the villagers, ecologists, and the people from the ecotourism industry. The locals consist of the people who migrated from İstanbul and have been actively organizing environmental struggles against the mining projects and thermal power plant projects since the beginning of the 2000s. Those, who come from İstanbul for holidays and have summer houses in the Mount Ida region, actively participate in the protests to cancel the project by alerting the media (Avcı, 2008). These people are organized under an association, namely Kazdağı Association for the Preservation of Natural and Cultural Resources⁴⁴ (*Kazdağı Doğal ve Kültürel Varlıkları Koruma Derneği* in Turkish), founded in 2012.

⁴⁴ It is a local organization founded in Çanakkale in order to protect natural and cultural values around Mount Ida region. Retrieved from: <http://www.kazdagim.com/dernegimiz-hakkinda/>

The people who migrated from İstanbul to Çanakkale play essential roles in the organization and mobilization of the environmental movement in Kirazlı. Some of these people are organized in the Kazdağı Association for the Preservation of Natural and Cultural Resources. They established a platform namely Brotherhood of Kazdağları (*Kazdağları Kardeşliği* in Turkish) to debate environmental problems of the Mount Ida region.

[Initially, we had a formation called Brotherhood of Kazdağları]...One year before this [tree] cutting [in the Balabanlı Hill], we were meeting once a month every fortnight in Bayramic and talked about the future of gold mining, drilling, and licensing... There are people from many movements, including the environment or women's movement. Using this, we started to talk about our rights and what we can do. Then, when the drone footage appeared [on social media] and the movement was arisen, the people from outside started to keep watch in Balaban. At that time a very large crowd of urban people flocked there. Most of those who remained on watch were from outside. But we had already started to organize step by step at the local level. Naturally, the movement related to these Kazdağları was also a bit urban. (Interview 26) (see Appendix D, 44)

The Kazdağı Association for the Preservation of Natural and Cultural Resources allied with Brotherhood of Kazdağları during the Kirazlı environmental mobilization and those who came from İstanbul to support the environmental protests that occurred in Çanakkale. They also create a group namely Kazdağları İstanbul Solidarity⁴⁵ (*Kazdağları İstanbul Dayanışması* in Turkish). I define the environmentalism of these people, including both that migrated to Çanakkale from metropolitan cities and came there to support environmental mobilization, as “environmentalism of urbanite” that contrasts with the environmentalism of the poor who defend the livelihood. Environmentalism of the urbanite consists of those who see environmental movement as a politicized process and believe in the importance

⁴⁵ It is a group that is founded by those who live in İstanbul in order to protest undemocratic governmental policies, infrastructure, mining, thermal power plant projects, and environmental degradation. They aim to protect all living beings in the world. Retrieved from: <https://www.kazdaglariistanbul.org/hakkimizda/>

of alliances with other environmental activists all around the country. So, they maintain watch-keeping protest in the Balabanlı Hill in 2019 after Water and Conscience Watch was ended by the municipality and some of the local NGOs. This group sees environmental movement as a way to protest the current governmental policies and aims to radicalize environmental activism by unmasking the relations between environmental issues and politics (Interview 21, 26, & 27).

These people, mostly college-graduated, migrated to Çanakkale at the beginning of the 2000s and then in the 2010s to escape the urban life and they recognized the importance of environmental issues and mining threats immediately. In other words, they linked environmental issues with politics when environmental issues started threatening their lifestyles also in their new living place.

I moved here in 2015. I studied environmental engineering but never worked as one. Before I came here, I was working as a white-collar worker in İstanbul. At that time, I was tracing the ancestral seeds. After the Gezi movement, I started to dream of living in the countryside with my partner. I resigned from my job in 2014. When we moved here, we lived in Çamtepe village of the Çanakkale province for 2 years. When we came here, we realized that there were important environmental problems such as dams, thermal power plants, mines and quarries [while living there]. While we were living in İstanbul, these did not attract our attention. We bought a piece of land in Bahçedere. We learned that mining drillings were carried out in 2007 in the area where the land we bought is located. After the struggle at that time, the project there stopped. The reason why we [Kirazlı and others] joined the struggle was the necessity to defend our living space. (Interview 21) (see Appendix D, 45).

We have already come here to live with nature. Afterwards, Alamos Gold proposed the Çamyurt gold mine project in a place which is close to our village. We went to the information meeting in the village to see what it was. It's been about two and a half years... We learned there what a gold mine is and the destruction it will cause... People from environmental associations came and they told us. We saw that not many people are taking action, what will happen [if the project is operated there] ... That's how we started the struggle. First, learning what the mining issue is, then we talked about how to struggle... We opened social media accounts. We followed the litigation processes. A year later, the same company's permission for the mine in Kirazlı was given to the company, and the trees were cut in two and a half months, and the top layer of the ground was stripped. (Interview 27) (see Appendix D, 46)

One of the interviewees mentions that her/his reason for migration to Çanakkale is to breathe in the clean air, but the mining activity would contaminate the air and prevent her/his from living in a healthy place as she/he had dreamed before the migration.

Firstly, I want to live in a healthy environment on my own. I came to this area with this intention. I was living in the Mediterranean Sea. [I came there] to live in healthy and quiet surroundings ... but unfortunately, I saw that there was a threat to where I live right now. This is a citizen and woody responsibility that I was supposed to take part in the struggle. Therefore, it has taken place. (Interview 22) (see Appendix D, 47)

The members of this group who protest the proposed mining project and continue a vigil in Balabanlı Hill are more likely to create a link between environmental issues, politics, and gender issues. While explaining the reason for environmental mobilization, one of the interviewees emphasizes the intersection of feminist struggle and environmental struggle:

*Sarıköz*⁴⁶ is my sacred. Currently, these mountains have different meanings for me. I will not change this place with gold or anything else. The spiritual state of this place, for me, is very valuable. So, I also feel responsibility. When both [culture and spiritual state] of them are folded, we can't remove our head from this struggle. My contribution to the environmental movement was less visible than the women movement. Now, I'm also trying to continue the ecofeminist struggle in some way because the women's movement in Turkey has already taken the following blows. I do not see these issues as different from each other. Someone defends the living space, defends the right to life ... (Interview 26) (see Appendix D, 48)

I argue that these people who migrated to Çanakkale in the 2000s, especially in the 2010s, have different approaches to environmentalism when compared to those who cooperated with the municipality, Ida Solidarity Association, and other local NGOs. On the one hand, these people depict Çanakkale as their new place and identify themselves as local actors of environmental mobilization because they live

⁴⁶ Sarıkız is a legend of the Turkmen people living in Mount Ida region.

in the province of Çanakkale and defend their livelihood against ecological destruction. On the other hand, they define environmental issues as political and create links between their motivations for the environmental mobilization and their previous experiences related to various other areas of activism. Also, they adopt environmental activism to protest the AKP's policies and the undemocratic atmosphere of the country, in general. Therefore, this group of people from İstanbul who considers Çanakkale as their new place is more familiar with horizontal organizational practices while politicizing environmental issues. They play essential roles in the environmental mobilization within a new kind of environmentalism, which I called environmentalism of urbanite in the Turkish context in addition to the previous concepts such as environmentalism of the poor and environmentalism of the malcontent. I argue that these inhabitants are new local actors in the province of Çanakkale with their roles and backgrounds in environmental mobilization and organization shaped in the urban context.

On the contrary, the people organized in the İda Solidarity Association and allied with the municipality and other local NGOs tend to exclude environmentalism of the urbanite from environmental mobilization and organization. I identify these people as environmentalism of the poor who defend their livelihood against the proposed mining project in the city. In the Kirazlı environmental movement, they are unwilling to politicize environmental issues but rather identify environmental problems as the problem of livelihood and non-political issues. In other words, they emphasize that the vigil in Balabanlı Hill aims to defend water resources because the Atikhisar dam meets the water demand of Çanakkale. Thus, they oppose environmentalism of the urbanite who wanted to continue the vigil in the Balabanlı Hill and perceived this as radicalization of environmental protests. Two interviewees

explained that the people who came from İstanbul had identified their environmental mobilization as political but these migrants or those who came from İstanbul to support their movement should not participate in decision-making processes (Interview 19 & 20). They added that although it had been banned to open a political flag in the Balabanlı Hill during the vigil, the people from İstanbul had opened political flags (Interview 19 & 20).

According to them, environmentalism of the urbanite are not local actors because they have recently migrated to Çanakkale or came to Çanakkale for the environmental mobilization and have not been familiar with environmental struggles that have been continued in Çanakkale since the beginning of the 2000s.

Three-four people stay there in the tent. It's not walking in the way of this job. This is not our struggle style. There is a preference of youth to survive there by keeping watch. This is not our planning. They cannot put it on when there is a 10-year environmental struggle in this city... You cannot come from İstanbul and organize the struggle here. This struggle cannot be maintained with a political identity. (Interview 25) (see Appendix D, 49)

Hence, I argue that when new people participate in the organization and mobilization of the environmental movement in the city, the emerging alliances among diverse local actors have broken, so grassroots environmental mobilization could not be maintained through a common ground among the Çanakkale community members. Some actors who have been organizing environmental movements since the beginning and seeing their cause as an issue of right to livelihood and in non-political character could not come together with the newcomers of the city who have a different approach to environmentalism, namely environmentalism of the urbanite. However, even though the diverse actors cannot create alliances with each other, in Çanakkale, environmental mobilization is massively continuing today. On the one hand, the groups consisting of elites migrating from İstanbul to the surrounding districts and the people from İstanbul united under the Mount Ida Ecology Platform

(*Kazdağları Ekoloji Platformu* in Turkish) to strengthen their alliances with each other in February 2021. It is important that these people have stronger relations with other environmental and ecological organizations located in different regions of Turkey and with the Ecology Union aiming to ally with the environmental organizations and ecological struggles at national scale. On the other hand, municipality and local NGOs of Çanakkale including Ida Solidarity Association take responsibility for maintaining environmental struggle through legal action and press statements in Çanakkale.

In the next part of the chapter, I explain the roles of the state and the corporation to indicate how this ongoing environmental mobilization achieved environmental justice success. Also, in the following parts of the chapter, I will focus on the other reasons of disagreement among environmentalism of the poor and environmentalism of the urbanite.

4.1.2 The achievement of environmental justice success against the Canadian corporation and the state

In Kirazlı, the Canadian company Alamos Gold and its subsidiary East Biga Mining have been trying to launch a mining operation since 2009. When Alamos Gold started drilling works for its operation in 2009, the local NGOs, municipality, and local inhabitants organized protests to cede the proposed project (Yazıcı, 2020). In 2012, Alamos Gold and East Biga Mining corporations were granted a positive EIA for the proposed project in the Kirazlı village of Çanakkale. Then, the municipality and Ida Mountain and Madra Mountain Environmental Platform issued a lawsuit to stop the project in the Çanakkale Administrative Court. In 2013, the court gave a stay of execution decision on the exploration activities of the companies (EJ Atlas, 2019).

Despite this decision, Alamos Gold did not leave the mining site. Moreover, in 2017, the Union of Marmara and Ege Municipalities and the Çanakkale Bar filed another lawsuit against the activities of Alamos Gold. Yet, the company did not stop its activities and continued to cut trees in Balabanlı Hill, although the court canceled the affirmative EIA for the project in 2018. When TEMA shared drone footage of the region where the corporation cut 195 thousand trees, the Water and Conscience Watch was organized by the municipality, the members of Ida Solidarity Association, and the city council in July 2019 (bbc 2019).

Water and Conscience Watch continued until the end of August 2019, and then the watch committee decided to end the vigil, Water and Conscience Watch, in Balabanlı Hill. The municipality and some NGOs tried to keep a symbolic watch in a tent in the city center of Çanakkale. In this symbolic tent, they aimed to keep the memory of protest alive (Interview 19). The environmentalism of the urbanite, however, did not want to leave the place. After August 2019, the vigil has been continued mostly by these people. During the vigil protest that has continued for over a year until September 2020, the protestors have faced police violence and punitive actions.

In 2019, the company's mining license was not renewed; yet, it did not leave the planned project area. In September 2020, the security forces violently suppressed the protestors. In April 2021, the company left the region while demanding compensation from the state because the state did not renew the mining license of the corporation in 2019. The actors against the proposed project felt a sense of environmental justice success following the end of the project. In this part, I aim to explain the state and the corporation's activities to curb environmental mobilization in Çanakkale and surrounding villages.

At the beginning of Water and Conscience Watch, East Biga Mining's project manager first asserted that the protestors acted with a misconception since the project was not planned for the Mount Ida region and the Kirazlı village was not located in Mount Ida (bianet 2019). At the same time, one of the interviewees mentioned that when the environmental protest has attracted the attention of many people across the country, the company started increasing security measures at the entrance of the mining site (Interview 19). The corporation tried to deceive the villagers through school or mosque constructions and repairing of the roads. For example, in one of the villages, close to the mining site, the company constructed an Atatürk statute to receive the support of the villagers (Interview 19 & 20). Some of the villagers supported the mining activity for economic reasons in the region. One of the interviewees emphasized that the corporation bribed the villagers (Interview 26).

Likewise, the state supports the corporation's activities to curb the environmental mobilization. When TEMA shared drone footage of ecological destruction in Balabanlı Hill, the Ministry of Environment and Forestry also shared a video about the state's activities of planting trees to identify themselves as environmentally friendly (Interview 26). One of the interviewees underlined that the state was destroying ecology to overcome the economic crisis, and at the same time, wanted to look as if they planted more trees than the ones cut down (Interview 27). However, even if they planted new ones, they could not replace the old forests cut down by the corporation (Interview 27).

During the pandemic, in June 2020, the police forces stopped the people who went to the Balabanlı Hill to support the protestors (Yeşil Gazete 2020). The state imposed fines on the people in the Balabanlı Hill because of their "violation" of pandemic rules.

In the meantime, penalties [to the protestors in Balabanlı Hill] were imposed during the pandemic. Before the pandemic, the governor's office banned staying in the forest. In fact, it is a legal right, you can stay in the forest, you can realize your right to protest, you can protect your nature... They started imposing fines because it is forbidden to stay in the forest.... The drone was around us every day... After that, the biggest punishments came with the pandemic. It was winter. There was no need for a large crowd [in winter] as the company was not working. During the pandemic, they [police forces] told us to leave the place while there are four people left, or you will be evacuated. We said no, the company is there, you did not take them out, why you were taking us out, when they left, we would leave... After that, fines started pouring in... We stayed there for two months with four people. Meanwhile, it was not forbidden to go out into the forest anywhere in Çanakkale. There was only one road which was at the beginning of our guard area, and the gendarmerie was waiting all day. They did not accept those who wanted to come, saying it is forbidden. They tried to isolate us there. Then, when the bans were lifted, the people who previously were on watch wanted to go back. They began to penalize everyone who came. In total, 100-150 people were fined 650 thousand liras in total. We are still paying... We've already made an appeal at the courthouse. Foreclosures, bank blocks, etc. began. With the solidarity campaign, we collected approximately 200 thousand liras. We still pay the fines. (Interview 27) (see Appendix D, 50)

In September 2020, the security forces violently suppressed the protestors and detained them.

On the anniversary [of the first day of the vigil protest in Balabanlı Hill], Alamos was still in the field, even though it didn't have a mining license. We wanted to draw attention to this and celebrate the anniversary. That's why we were going to be in the vigil area [in Balabanlı Hill] on Sunday and we were going to make a press statement on Saturday. An hour and a half before the press release, the police said we could not make a press statement, the governor forbade it. We also asked for written permission.... When a friend of ours said that a press statement was not allowed, they [security forces] took the megaphone from him. There was great applause. Without any warning, they dragged us into custody. (Interview 27) (see Appendix D, 51)

When they were in custody, their rights were also violated by the police. One of the protestors detained by the police said that the police did not let them go to the restroom when they were in custody (Pişkin, 2020). Another one also said that the police harassed them by taking their photos when they tried to change their clothes during the police operation (Pişkin, 2020).

However, despite the state and the corporation's activities to curb the environmental mobilization, the protestors managed to keep a watch in the Balabanlı Hill area for over a year. Even if the police forces suppressed the protestors and ended the vigil in the region, the Kirazlı mining project was stopped when the Alamos Gold left the region in April 2020. While I was conducting my fieldwork in Çanakkale in March 2020, the corporation had not left the region yet. As the state did not renew the mining license of the corporation, the interviewees usually mentioned that they achieved environmental justice success. On the contrary, even if the corporation suspended its activity, the inhabitants are aware of threats from other mining corporations, so they emphasized that they would not abandon the environmental struggle. The vigil protest in Balabanlı Hill was essential to raise the consciousness of the society about the environment and ecology.

There has been a success so far. The company's license has not been renewed. They could not work at all due to public pressure. They destroyed the place in two months and then they could not work at all after the shift. It's a success, but our struggle is not over. They can come again. We can go on keeping vigil again. With its police and gendarmerie, they can remove us from that place. We do not know what will happen... I argue that we have been able to explain to people a little bit why the forest should be protected, and it is more important than money. We need to tell more. (Interview 27) (see Appendix D, 52)

In addition to the vigil protest, legal action is a crucial way to achieve environmental justice success for the inhabitants. Municipality, TMMOB, the Union of Marmara and Ege Municipalities, and the Çanakkale Bar have been issuing lawsuits against the extraction projects. Thanks to the legal action and the protests in Balabanlı Hill, the Kirazlı mining project could be ended, and the inhabitants achieved environmental justice success.

On the contrary, many of the interviewees agreed with the necessity for transforming the political atmosphere to prevent ecological destruction all around the

country. When the related laws and regulations were eroded in Turkey, it was not possible to entirely cede the proposed projects. For example, 76% of the Mount Ida region has been declared a mining site and shared among different corporations (TEMA, 2020). One of the interviewees said that:

I think we are in a stuck situation right now. This is not just about mining, it's about the political situation in Turkey in general. There is a lot of pressure. We are talking about a situation where almost 70 percent of Mount Ida has been turned into a mining licensed area. Drilling news [for the proposed mining projects] comes from everywhere. There is a project that will destroy all of Mount Ida. Cengiz has one foot in Alamos... There is a very strong network [among the companies] ... When we start to lose somewhere, we will actually lose everywhere [in our environmental struggle], so you have to stand tight. Our job is difficult as the rule of law remains in words, as they do not recognize anything that has been won on the legal ground of the movement, and they can even overturn the EIA annulment cases. It would not be a problem if we were conducted with a more legal understanding. We would have sighed as soon as we had fought and won our legal battle. But we are not in such a situation right now. They don't know the law either.... They show the unmade EIA as if it has been done... There is a huge blockage due to the failure of the law. Secondly, they have created such a great social pressure that people find it difficult to oppose and claim their rights. People could not mobilize because of the pressure... I think the most critical point is that injustice starts here. We try hard, but when there is no law, it gets stuck. Of course, as social pressure builds, something will happen there. Our aim is to never silence the voice here, we are still trying to spread it. (Interview 21) (see Appendix D, 53)

Hence, in the Kirazlı environmental movement, Water and Conscience Watch and the continuing vigil protest were essential to make the environmental degradation visible and to achieve environmental justice by stopping the project. The pandemic conditions led to the violent suppression of the vigil protest and the violation of human rights by the police forces. In other words, the pandemic conditions provided the state the excuse to curb the environmental mobilization. I contend that when both environmental mobilization and legal action continue together, it is more likely to achieve environmental justice success by putting the company under pressure. I argue that the most critical element to achieving environmental justice success in the context of Turkey is to transform the law and

political atmosphere together. When the undemocratic political atmosphere has continued and the governmental policies have eroded the law, it would not be possible to maintain environmental justice success permanently.

4.2 The main reasons for the disagreements: the organization strategies and forms of mobilization in the Kirazlı environmental movement

The organization strategies and the forms of mobilization are critical factors that impact the continuation of the environmental movement and the alliances among diverse actors included in the movement. In this part of the current chapter, I shed light on both the organization and mobilization strategies of the Kirazlı environmental movement to explain the reasons for the failure of grassroots environmental activism, and why the alliances among environmentalism of the poor and environmentalism of the urbanite could not be established at the local scale, or why environmental movement could not be organized under an umbrella environmental organization that provides a common ground for the inhabitants.

In July 2019, after the drone footage shared on social media by TEMA, the Kirazlı environmental movement became very popular and many people all around the country, especially from İstanbul. A vigil is one of the most popular forms of mobilization enabling large-scale and effective environmental movements. As I also mentioned previously, in July 2019, Water and Consciousness Watch was organized by the municipality, local NGOs of Çanakkale, and the city council as stakeholders of the grassroots activism in the area. To organize the vigil, these groups established a committee consisting of the municipality members, city council, İda Solidarity Association, and TMMOB.

This committee was formed under the roof of the city council, in which there were deputy mayors. We tried to organize the vigil and environmental

movement here without harming the forest. The vigil was a great action, and it was glorious. This watch was initially organized by this committee with the support of the municipality. Afterwards, people from all over joined in. From Artvin, Munzur, Aydın.... Support came from abroad. People from Çanakkale also participated... (Interview 24) (see Appendix D, 54)

At the beginning of the vigil organization, the associations, or groups such as Kazdağı Association for the Preservation of Natural and Cultural Resources and Brotherhood of Kazdağları could not participate in the organization of the vigil protest. Until Fazıl Say⁴⁷'s concert organized in August 2019 in Balabanlı Hill, there were no major disagreements and problems among these different groups, including the Water and Conscience Watch committee and those from other associations/platforms/groups, some of whom came from İstanbul, and others migrated to Çanakkale already in the recent years.

The vigil protest started. In fact, we and many associations cooperated to organize the start of this vigil. We made campaigns and raised them. We continued to watch. People came to keep the watch with the call of the Aegean Marmara Municipal Union. After the Fazıl Say concert, the municipality decided to end the vigil.... Then the disagreement occurred when they decided to end the vigil. Afterwards, our alliances with the municipality and the associations that collaborated with the municipality have broken, but other than that, those who were continuing to keep watch, Kazdağları Kardeşliği, Kazdağı Protection Association, Çan Environment Association, we continued together. The Ecology Union and so on supported our vigil protest there, the continuity of the vigil... (Interview 26) (see Appendix D, 55)

After the Fazıl Say concert presented on August 18th, 2019, the committee decided on ending the vigil protest in Balabanlı Hill and moving the protest to the Çanakkale center because of the adoption of the new security measures in the region by the company (Interview 19 & 20). So, the disagreements among diverse groups arose when other groups including Kazdağı Association for the Preservation of Natural and Cultural Resources, Brotherhood of Kazdağları, and Kazdağları İstanbul

⁴⁷ He is a famous pianist in Turkey.

Solidarity, emphasized the significance of continuing the vigil protest to stop the corporation from launching its activities.

Whether the vigil protest continued or not led to fractures among different groups. While some wanted to continue the watch, others were saying that there is no point in keeping watch here any longer, let's go down to the center of Çanakkale, let the watch continue to the center of the city.... I'm talking about the process after the Fazıl Say concert. Balaban Hill is a hill Alamos Gold is considering taking down. It was important to keep watch there as a location, marches were held every day, people were coming.... It was viewed as a won territory and not to be lost. During this period, serious discussions took place. It was said that we should leave this place, this is now over, we would go down to the center of Çanakkale. I'm talking about the group that started the Water and Conscience Watch. Those who migrated from İstanbul like us, who went there from Bayramiç preferred to stay there. That's when the conflict started. (Interview 21) (see Appendix D, 56)

On the contrary, the members of the committee exclude others who have recently migrated to Çanakkale or came to Balabanlı Hill to support environmental mobilization from the decision-making process because according to the committee, these people, I call environmentalist of the urbanite, were not local actors, so they could not have a right to participate in the decision-making process. For the committee, these people, environmentalism of the urbanite, aimed to politicize the environmental movement, leading them to be stigmatized as terrorists and encounter police violence. The committee members believed that keeping watch was not a form of mobilization that enables them to reach environmental justice success in the long run, but rather, it is necessary to continue legal action to reach a successful outcome (Interview 24). They criticized those who continued to keep the vigil after the committee withdrew the environmental mobilization in Balabanlı Hill because those who continued keeping watch, environmentalism of the urbanite, were politicizing an environmental issue by discussing other ecological problems and the Kurdish issue in the vigil area (Interview 19 & 20). At the same time, environmentalism of the poor explained why they did not want environmentalism of the urbanite to participate in

decision-making processes. According to environmentalism of the poor, they are not the local inhabitants of Çanakkale.

There is a problem of coming together in the structure of Turkey. People have a lot of problems. People use a single problem to voice their every single problem. For example, the Kurdish problem, being a vegetarian, etc. What did it have to do with the vigil there, the struggle? Why don't you act with local people? The struggle of the locals is very important. When we were planning the place, we should not have called everyone and said to set up tents everywhere. We could have taken the organization of the Cerattepe protest as an example in that regard; but we could not establish the organizational structure they did. At the same time, we could not do the division of labor. Everything doesn't happen when it's over 15 people. (Interview 19) (see Appendix D, 57)

Foreigners who came or migrated from İstanbul wanted to join the committee. However, we did not allow this. In my opinion, environmental movements should proceed locally and be organized. We wanted to move the watch to the city because of the insistence of those coming from outside to keep watch there. They opposed it. What happened in the end? Three people remained [in Balabanlı Hill], and they were taken away by the police. (Interview 25) (see Appendix D, 58)

When environmentalism of the urbanite and the committee, environmentalism of the poor, could not reach common ground on the organizational structure and the form of mobilization, the committee withdrew its support from those who continued to stay in Balabanlı Hill. The alliances among environmentalism of the urbanite and the committee members were completely broken. I argue that the lack of communication among these groups and the hierarchical ways of the decision-making process in the organization of the vigil are significant reasons for the failure of the alliances among the inhabitants of Çanakkale in the Kirazlı environmental movement. In contrast to the committee's hierarchical decision-making, other groups I call environmentalism of the urbanite tend to organize movement through horizontal, transparent, and democratic decision-making processes. After the committee left Balabanlı Hill, the others who continue to keep watch in the region

tried to organize their protest through forums based on more horizontal and democratic decision-making mechanisms.

I went to Balabanlı Hill for a Fazıl Say concert and stayed there... There were problems during the organization of the concert. I have been there since the first forum, which was held separately from the Water and Conscience Watch committee. There was no separate forum before, but those who wanted to continue the vigil organized a separate forum at that time. The first rupture was there. Then, the Water and Conscience was gathered elsewhere with its own coordination team. They came to us and gave us instructions that we are withdrawing from the watch, you should also withdraw, we cannot ensure your safety here... They withdrew. The municipality took its own tents. There were toilets, benches, seating, and the municipality took them all from the vigil area. It remained only with people who came from outside and pitched tents and settled there, or people who came from Bayramiç and close ones like us... There was already a big break there. From that moment on, the state of exclusion and marginalization started by creating discourses [by the actors withdrawing from the vigil] such as we started the vigil, we will finish it, and that we have no relationship with the people who are on watch there. This has already worked throughout the whole process. The next process was also built on this duality. (Interview 26) (see Appendix D, 59)

Although the different local environmental groups/platforms/associations could not manage to organize under an umbrella organization and maintain strong local alliances, in the Mount Ida region including the Kirazlı environmental movement, ecological conflicts among the corporations, the state, local inhabitants, and NGOs continue and local inhabitants who organized under different platforms reach successful outcomes. The struggle in the Mount Ida region makes environmental and ecological issues more visible all around the country. One of the interviewees, I can call as environmentalism of the urbanite who migrated to Çanakkale in the last ten or five years and actively participates in environmental mobilization in the region, underlined the importance of the solidarity among diverse actors in the Balabanlı Hill despite the disagreements among diverse actors:

Kirazlı started with great enthusiasm, and a lot of people came [to Balabanlı Hill] ... Many tenders were withdrawn with the visibility of environmental mobilization there. New mining areas were given and withdrawn. This does not normally happen when a mine's EIA positive decision has been revoked on the south side [of Mount Ida]. Other vigil protests began elsewhere. I think

an idea is rising about protecting the tree. There was hope in many places. Like we can resist, we can save... We couldn't let go of something so high and bring it down... We also took responsibility for it... We couldn't make people despair, either. That's why we kept going... During the whole vigil, we were in solidarity with other places in Turkey, even abroad, through social media... The people there also sent a message of solidarity here. In other cities, they held demonstrations for Mount Ida. It's a nice combination. (Interview 26) (see Appendix D, 60)

Consequently, I argue that the lack of supra-political umbrella organization with democratic and participatory decision-making mechanisms adversely impacts the organization strategy by inhibiting the protestors from reaching common ground in the movement. The geography of the Çanakkale province is significant. It is in the west side of Turkey and a transition point for the people. Everyone could easily travel to Çanakkale for the summer holidays. When people across the country saw ecological destruction in social media, they immediately supported environmental mobilization. In Balabanlı Hill, an environmental movement that could be characterized as the urbanite movement has been arisen by those who migrated to Çanakkale and the support from all around the country, as well. Those living in the city could not create a common ground with environmentalism of the urbanite through a horizontal decision-making process. So, I argue that in the organization and mobilization of the Kirazlı environmental movement, the collective identity based on the place where the protestors live and act could not be created because of the city's geographical location, which is in a transition and migration point. The environmental mobilization continued with the supports of diverse actors at a national scale and those who have recently migrated to Çanakkale and actively participated in mobilization through environmentalism of the urbanite.

Overall, in this chapter of the thesis, I focused on the Kirazlı environmental movement to explain the new emerging elite, environmentalism of the urbanite, and these people's role in the organization and mobilization of the ecological struggle.

Initially, I argued that in the Kirazlı environmental movement, grassroots environmental activism failed because the inhabitants of Çanakkale could not ally with each other under a local umbrella organization due to different approaches to environmentalism between environmentalism of the urbanite and environmentalism of the poor.

I maintained that the geographical location of Çanakkale has significant impacts on the failure of grassroots activism because, in Çanakkale, the population consists of migrated people, summer residents, and travelers, and Balabanlı Hill, a place for the proposed project, is far away from the city center. On the one hand, the migrated people, I call environmentalism of the urbanite, and those who came to the region to support the protests see this environmental struggle as a field to present their opposition to the governmental policies. In other words, the environmental struggle becomes political activism for these protesters rather than a place-based struggle by identifying Balabanlı Hill as a space where they live and act. On the other hand, because of Balabanlı Hill's location far away from the city center, this place does not have importance in shaping their daily lives. Others who live in Çanakkale for several years and ally with the municipality in the Water and Conscience Watch organization in Balabanlı could not constitute a place-based environmental struggle.

Additionally, in this chapter, I showed organization strategies and the forms of mobilization. In this sense, I argued that the watch-keeping is the most effective protest that enabled people's attention all around the country and made ecological destruction more visible. However, despite the support from all around the country, the local actors could not have organized through democratic and participatory decision-making processes. When Water and Conscience committee excluded those

who migrated to Çanakkale and identified themselves as local inhabitants of the region from decision-making mechanisms, disagreements arose. In this vein, the environmentalism of the urbanite aimed to organize their form of mobilization through the participatory, horizontal, and transparent decision-making process and continue to keep vigil in Balabanlı Hill even if the committee withdrew from there. While shedding light on the disagreements that lead to the break-up of the alliances among the inhabitants of the city and the supporters of the movement, I argued that when environmental movement has been constituted through horizontal, participatory, and democratic decision-making processes, it was more likely to ally diverse actors with different approaches to environmentalism under an umbrella organization/platform by reaching a common ground.

Lastly, Alamos Gold withdrew from the project and is seeking compensation because the state did not renew its license in October 2019. When the corporation left the region, all protesters who organized and mobilized the movement felt environmental justice by believing that their mobilization and legal action achieved to cede the proposed project. Yet, even if Alamos Gold leaves Kirazlı, there are other projects in Çamyurt and Ağıdağı. I think that for Kirazlı, it is still a threat that the state can give the mining license of the region to another company. Thus, the people who live in Çanakkale, protest the proposed projects, and organize ecological struggles argue that the mining issue is not only the problem of Çanakkale but also a critical issue around the country. To address this issue and for the achievement of environmental justice across the country, it is necessary to transform the law in Turkey against the current government policies that destroy ecology and the environment in many regions of Turkey.

CHAPTER 5

A COMPARISON OF THE CERATTEPE AND KIRAZLI ENVIRONMENTAL MOVEMENTS

In Turkey, since the rise of the Bergama anti-mining environmental movement in the early 1990s, many ecological distribution conflicts have emerged from the unequal distribution of environmental risks and burdens against the proposed/operated extraction projects. In some ecological conflicts, environmental mobilization continued through solidarity networks at the local scale and in alliance with diverse actors at the national scale, whereas others failed to maintain environmental mobilization for several years. For example, in the Artvin case, local inhabitants who have different understandings of environmentalism could be organized under an umbrella association with a common ground through democratic and participatory organization practices. On the contrary, for some environmental movements, it is hard to bring together diverse actors under an umbrella organization, for instance, in the case of Kirazlı. In this respect, the rise of grassroots activism and the conditions that enable the alliance of diverse actors deserve scholarly attention to debate distinct features of these cases in terms of their organizational forms and mobilization capacities.

In this thesis, I compared the Cerattepe anti-mining environmental movement with the Kirazlı anti-mining environmental movement to discuss the actors and the organization and mobilization of environmental movements in Turkey. Although both environmental movements have captured the attention of many people, media, and the government in recent years, the alliances among diverse actors and local inhabitants appeared significantly different from one another. In the Cerattepe

environmental movement, local actors have managed to come together around common ground and been organized under an umbrella organization to defend the place and their livelihood for over two decades. In contrast, in the Kirazlı environmental movement, various associations had different views on environmentalism, and how the movement should be organized. So, through my research, I observed that the Cerattepe environmental movement could keep its grassroots environmental activism character and be maintained over two decades, whereas in the Kirazlı movement, because of the different approaches to environmentalism and the city's geographical character, local inhabitants could not have a grassroots environmental movement.

In this chapter of the thesis, I comparatively discuss the roles of the actors and the place in the rise of environmental movements, the organizational strategies, forms of mobilization, and the conditions for environmental justice success in the Cerattepe and Kirazlı environmental movements. In this comparison, I argue that when local inhabitants organize an environmental movement as a place-based struggle to defend the place where they live in and act, they are more likely to ally with each other under an umbrella environmental organization against the mining threat by ignoring different political views. While I am referring to place, I put emphasis on the cultural, historical, and geographical attributions of the cities. Because all these attributions have an impact on social relations among the community members, the people's relations with the environment, and their approaches to environmentalism, I try to understand how place is an important factor in the organization and mobilization of the local community in an environmental movement.

Additionally, the stronger alliances among diverse actors and the creation of a common ground contribute to the environmental movement's organizational success. Even if the local community does not win a lawsuit to cede the project or is pressured by the police forces, the solidarity and alliances among local community members make the movement resilient and enduring. The successful coalitions among the community members enabled the movement to continue by raising the belief and morale of the community within their mobilization. In this respect, I show that participatory, transparent, and democratic decision-making practices are the crucial elements of how the community members create successful alliances among themselves under an umbrella organization.

5.1 The rise of environmental movements: the role of organizational practices and the relations with the environment in the continuity of grassroots activism

In this part of the current chapter, I compare the characteristics of environmentalism, and the organization and mobilization of these movements to indicate how the local inhabitants reach a common ground to maintain the environmental movement in Artvin. In this sense, I argue that the geographical location of the city, historical and cultural features, and the relations with the environment are critical components for the continuation of grassroots environmental movement under a local umbrella organization. I emphasize the geographical location of the mining sites in both cities to indicate the reasons for how the Artvin community constitutes a place-based struggle by transforming the place as space where they live and act.

Artvin is geographically located in a place far away from the urban centers of the country like Ankara, İstanbul, and İzmir. Because of its unique location and harsh geography due to the enormous mountains surrounding the area, it is harder to access

the province. Even if the Cerattepe environmental movement became very visible all around the country and was supported by diverse actors at the national scale, the number of people who physically visited Artvin to support the environmental movement was limited. In this respect, the local inhabitants are the main actors in organizing the environmental movement. They took this responsibility through organizing YAD calling their movement as supra-political to bring the whole community together to defend the place they live, love, breathe, and enjoy. At the same time, it has a decreasing population due to the high rates of migration to larger cities such as İstanbul, Ankara, and İzmir because of the limited job opportunities in the region. The migrants in their new cities maintain strong networks with their “*hemşehris*”. Despite the high rate of migration from Artvin, the people who migrated to other cities do not get disconnected with the province of Artvin and usually spend their summer holiday there.

Cerattepe is an important place for the Artvin community in terms of its geographical, ecological, and cultural features. It is a place seen from the city’s downtown whenever the inhabitants look up at the mountains surrounding the city. As one of the interviewees said, it is a city with a face-up (Interview 7). At the same time, the Artvin community organizes the Kafkasör festival, a culturally important event for them⁴⁸, every year in this region. Also, the Artvin inhabitants go to the plateaus and the mountains surrounding Cerattepe in their leisure times. In this respect, the gold-mining activity in Cerattepe breaks the community’s daily routine while degrading the environment and transforming the culture embedded in the place. Culture embedded in the place enables the inhabitants to create a collective identity through solidarity networks with each other. This collective identity is based

⁴⁸ I mentioned its cultural importance in the introduction of the thesis and in Chapter 3.

on their love of Artvin, their love of Cerattepe, and their fear of cultural destruction in the city because of the mining activities. For example, during my field work in Artvin, many of the interviewees mentioned how the leftist and rightist people who do not normally go to the same places because of their ideological disagreements keep a vigil in Cerattepe together (Interview 1, 14, 16, & 34).

In contrast, Çanakkale is located on the west side of Turkey, where one can easily transport to İstanbul. It is a transition point for the people, especially for those who travel throughout the Aegean region and the Mount Ida area during the summers. Also, the geography of the Çanakkale province is significantly different from Artvin. It is a city that spreads along the coastline rather than reaching throughout the mountains as Artvin. Unlike the Artvin case, for those who live in Çanakkale, it is hard to recognize environmental destruction from the city center because Balabanlı Hill is not seen from the downtown. On the one hand, the increasing population of the city is crucial to understand the characteristics of the environmental movement in Çanakkale because those who migrate to the city actively participate in the environmental movement and create alliances with other environmentalist groups all around the region, especially İstanbul. On the other hand, its location that is close to İstanbul enables many people to come this region to support environmental mobilization against the corporation and ecological destruction in Çanakkale. In this respect, I can say that the geographical location of the city enables diverse actors, including both city inhabitants, those who come to support the movement, and others who migrate to the city from the metropolitan cities, to take different parts in the environmental movement.

On the contrary, a more diverse group of actors are involved in the organization of the movement, and they all participate in decision-making processes;

yet they are unable to create a common ground in the environmental movement because every actor does not see environmental movement as supra-political and non-political but rather some of the actors participate in the movement to radically protest undemocratic atmosphere of Turkey. In this respect, I argue that when diverse actors from different regions participate in an environmental movement with different motivations, it becomes less likely for the movement to be organized as a grassroots movement under an umbrella organization.

Within grassroots environmental activism in Artvin, local inhabitants are organized to defend the place, which is particularly important for their daily routine in Artvin. Many of the inhabitants are members of this organization to defend Cerattepe against the mining threat by creating a common ground. The participation of the whole community in YAD contributes to the continuity of grassroots activism. Under this association, the community members take responsibility to defend the place, and their protest activities spread around the city. When the vigil protest was organized in the Cerattepe region, the solidarity atmosphere created in Cerattepe was felt in the downtown of the city. One of the interviewees mentioned his memories about the vigil protest to explain the relations among the downtown and Cerattepe by especially emphasizing the days the police forces pressured their protest:

Financial support, food and beverage support was provided [from the city center]. We had support as the shopkeepers in the economic sense. Everything is evenly distributed. It was not said that it was from this view. Pharmacies distributed medicines... We don't know much about those things. It's been tight. Because we more or less knew what to expect. But we never imagined how they would treat us. Pharmacists took care of that too. It was very useful for us. It allowed us to see ahead. Bakers provided free bread. Everyone did their best... [Someone closed their stores.]... (Interview 16) (see Appendix 61)

In this respect, I argue that the Artvin community transforms the place into a social movement space in the environmental movement, and during this process, the

organization of YAD shapes everyday relations in the city. For this transformation of the city into a social movement space in Artvin, I also maintain that the supra-political character of YAD is a strategic shift to bring whole community together apart from the community members' political and ideological differences that lead to disagreements.

During the mobilization process of the Artvin community, the inhabitants are classified as two distinct groups who come together under an umbrella environmental organization: environmentalism of the poor and environmentalism of the malcontent. Thanks to the supra-political feature of the movement, all community has struggled against the corporations, the state, and ecological destruction for many years through the understanding of “*topyekün çevrecilik* (Erensü, 2014, 2016, 2020)”. On the one hand, environmentalism of the poor depicts those who defend their livelihood against market relations, destruction of cultural and social relations, and ecological destruction (Martinez-Alier, 2002; Martinez-Alier et al., 2016). On the other hand, environmentalism of the malcontent, which is peculiar to the characteristics of environmental movements in Turkey, identifies the people who have shared traumas of the 1980 military coup (Adaman et al., 2015). After these people were suppressed during the 1980s, environmentalism became a new field of activism for them. These people play essential roles in the organization of the Cerattepe environmental movement. However, when seen Cerattepe as a place that shapes their daily life with its geographical feature and cultural attributions, the community members who have different understanding of environmentalism come together under YAD and identify environmentalism as supra-political activity. In this vein, the movement shapes the relations among the whole community, and the province of Artvin becomes a social movement space where the inhabitants live, act, breathe, enjoy, and defend through

the active role of YAD. In other words, the supra-political character of the movement enabled environmental issues to shape the agenda of the whole community. For example, when YAD called itself as supra-political, the movement could get the support of AKP municipality in Artvin.

Although the supra-political character enables the Cerattepe movement to be resilient for two decades, it sometimes leads to the restrictions and negative consequences for the organization and mobilization of an environmental movement. Whether or not an environmental movement should be supra-political or political is a debatable issue for environmental politics of Turkey. In the Artvin case, some actors start to distance themselves from the activities of YAD, especially after the copper mining activity started to operate in Cerattepe. For example, one of the interviewees explained that because of the supra-political character, YAD accepted to arrange a meeting with the bureaucratic and governmental actors but it should not meet those who exert violence on the Artvin community (Interview 33). Even if those who support more radical ways of protests criticize the supra-political model, they are still a part of an umbrella association to defend the place.

On the contrary, as I mentioned above, Çanakkale is a place where the people easily arrive. After the construction of the environmental movement in the Kirazlı village by local actors, municipality, and local NGOs, many people all around the country were able to arrive there to support environmental mobilization immediately. I call the local actors who have been organizing the ecological struggle in Çanakkale for ten years against the Alamos Gold company as environmentalism of the poor. For ten years, these people, including municipality and local NGOs, created environmental mobilization to stop the planned mining projects in Çanakkale. In the 2010s, the migration to Çanakkale from İstanbul and other cities increased, and in the

rise of the Kirazlı environmental movement in August 2019, these newcomers played vital roles in alliances with their counterparts still living in İstanbul. I call these migrants who came to the city in the 2010s and those who came to Çanakkale for environmental protest as ‘environmentalism of the urbanite’. This group consists of those who see environmental issues politically, put emphasis on ecological lifestyle and sacredness of nature, have alliances with other environmentalist groups of the country, and support the radical ways of protesting.

I argue that in contrast to the Cerattepe environmental movement, the geographical location of Çanakkale leads to the emergence of a new group who actively participate in environmental mobilization as environmentalism of the urbanite. However, different approaches to environmentalism among those living in the city for several years and newcomers could inhibit them from being organized under an umbrella organization by creating a common ground. On the one hand, for environmentalism of the poor, the Atikhisar dam would be damaged if the proposed project operated in Kirazlı village, so they oppose the project to defend the city’s water resources. In this vein, according to them, the environmental struggle should be identified as a non-political activity. On the other hand, the newcomers, I call environmentalism of the urbanite, emphasize that environmental issues were political, and they were creating an ecological, sustainable, and democratic lifestyle while protesting the corporation in Balabanlı Hill through a vigil protest. For environmentalism of the urbanite, the region is not depicted as a place where they live and act but rather identified as a place where they constitute a democratic and ecological new life against the authoritarian governmental policies.

In contrast to the Cerattepe environmental movement, in the Kirazlı environmental movement, the city inhabitants have different motivations for

environmental mobilization and do not have a harmonious relationship with the place they defended. So, they could not create a collective identity based on the place-based environmental struggle, and the place could not become a social movement space. For example, unlike the Artvin case, when the police forces pressured the vigil protest in Balabanlı Hill, the people from the city center did not come to Balabanlı Hill to support the oppressed, and the oppressive atmosphere in the vigil era was not felt in the city center. I maintain that when different inhabitants have different relations with the place they defend, it becomes harder to reach a common ground and organize a place-based movement through a local umbrella organization. Instead, the movement is maintained by different groups who do not have a common approach to environmental mobilization and environmentalism.

Overall, in the organization and mobilization of an environmental movement and the continuity of grassroots environmental activism, the place has a significant role. I argue that when the inhabitants of the city create a place-based environmental struggle, it becomes more likely to continue grassroots environmental activism under an umbrella organization through reaching a common ground. In the place-based environmental struggle, the inhabitants come together to defend their livelihood, culture, and history, all of which are embedded in a place where they live, similar to the case of Artvin. In this vein, the organization under a supra-political umbrella organization is essential to defend the place and to create alliances with the bureaucratic actors and different political parties. So, I argue that a supra-political movement does not mean a non-political or apolitical movement but rather a way to strategically persuade different ideological views together around a common ground.

5.2 The role of a shared history in the organization of environmental movements

In this part of the chapter, I compare the organizational strategies of local inhabitants in Artvin with the actors of the Çanakkale case. I argue that an umbrella environmental association with participatory, democratic, and transparent decision-making mechanisms was crucial to bring diverse actors together and to maintain grassroots movement. I realize that the city's history had a significant influence on the organization of the environmental movement and the approaches to environmentalism.

In Artvin, YAD -a supra-political environmental organization- is organized through democratic, participatory, and transparent decision-making mechanisms. The whole community feels a sense of belonging to the environmental movement and organization by seeing the environmental issue as supra-political. They are able to constitute a collective identity in order to defend their place and livelihood through an umbrella organization.

To explain how the whole community reached a common ground and created a collective identity under an umbrella organization with participatory and democratic decision-making mechanisms, the city's historical background and its significant impact must be taken into consideration. In Artvin, as I mentioned in the previous chapters, the shared traumas of the 1980 military coup led to the emergence of a new class of environmentalists in addition to environmentalism of the poor (Martinez-Alier, 2002) who defend their livelihood. After the military coup, the leftist and socialist organizations were closed by the junta regime. Those who were previously organized in the socialist and leftist groups use the organization strategies of these groups for the mobilization and maintenance of environmental protests in Artvin. Adaman et al. (2015) define the environmentalism of these people who play critical roles in environmental movements of Turkey, especially in the Black Sea

region, as ‘environmentalism of the malcontent’. I argue that the historical experiences of the organization contribute to the maintenance of environmental mobilization through the creation of a collective identity within the community by defining environmental issues as supra-political and by instituting participatory and democratic decision-making mechanisms.

Compared to the organization of the environmental movement in Artvin, in Çanakkale, the actors of the environmental movement do not share any common history that make them familiar with organizational strategies of a movement. The local inhabitants of the city were initially organized from the bottom-up to protest the proposed mining project in Çanakkale. In the beginning, the municipality, local NGOs, and some inhabitants tried to organize environmental mobilization to defend the water resources of Çanakkale because the proposed mining project is very close to Atikhisar dam, which feeds the province of Çanakkale. I call this group who approach environmental issues as supra-political as ‘environmentalism of the poor’ (Martinez-Alier, 2002). This group tries to be organized through creating a common ground under an umbrella environmental organization such as Ida Solidarity Association. Yet, they could not achieve this kind of organization like the Artvin community because of lack of participatory, transparent, and democratic mechanisms. For example, the people from this organization argue that those who migrate from İstanbul to Çanakkale were not local inhabitants of the city, so it is unnecessary for them to take part in the decision-making mechanisms of the Kirazlı environmental movement (Interview 19 & 25).

In addition to environmentalism of the poor (Martinez-Alier, 2002), like Artvin, Çanakkale is a place where a new group, namely environmentalism of the urbanite, has emerged because of its geography located as a transition point between

Aegean and Marmara regions. In contrast to environmentalism of the malcontent (Adaman et al., 2015) as a new group shaping an environmental movement in Artvin, those belonging to this new category of environmentalism of the urbanite identify environmental issues and ecological destruction as openly political. During environmental protests in Balabanlı Hill of the Kirazlı village in Çanakkale, they adopted an ecological and rural lifestyle by learning more about ecology and the environment and using the environmental protest as a kind of politics to oppose the current government in Turkey. In this sense, their different approaches to environmentalism lead others, namely environmentalism of the poor, to exclude the urbanites from decision-making processes. Because their different approaches to environmentalism inhibit them from being organized umbrella organizations with participatory and democratic mechanisms, the different groups could not create a collective identity.

Thus, in this part of the chapter, I focused on the organization strategies to comparatively understand why YAD has been able to organize as a local umbrella association that creates a collective identity among whole community members, while the movement in Çanakkale, the Ida Solidarity Association, could not achieve such a solidarity among different stakeholders. I show that when the community members have a shared history to organize a movement, it becomes more likely to constitute a collective identity and to organize a larger group of inhabitants under an umbrella environmental organization with participatory, horizontal, and democratic decision-making processes.

5.3 The continuation of an environmental mobilization: the importance of knowledge production as a form of mobilization

In this part of the chapter, I emphasize the forms of mobilization to explain how the Artvin community could be organized under an umbrella organization within the strong alliances among the city's inhabitants. I aim to explain which forms of mobilization are more likely to bring together the community members around a common goal. The vigil protest is a very important form of mobilization for the continuation of both environmental movements in my study. Yet, I contend that knowledge production as a form of mobilization was the most crucial strategy for forming strong alliances among local inhabitants and grassroots environmental activism in the case of Artvin.

In Artvin, an environmental movement started to arise from grassroots activism in the 1990s, and within the foundation of YAD, the whole local community came together and opposed the proposed mining projects. During the first company era, Cominco, the whole community was organized and mobilized to cede the proposed mining project through various protests, including panel organizations, press briefings, petition campaigns, and street protests. In this process, panel organizations and the maps that mark the mining areas were the most effective forms of protests that informed the whole community, and they strengthened the alliances among whole community members against a common threat of the mining project.

In the second company era, Inmet Mining, the community members issued a lawsuit to cede the planned mining project in 2007. For the Artvin community, legal action is another critical way of protest that contributed to the continuation of the environmental movement for over two decades. During my fieldwork in Artvin, the interviewees usually mentioned the importance of legal action to achieve environmental justice and stop environmental degradation. For example, in 2008, they won the lawsuit, so they felt a sense of victory when Inmet mining withdrew

from the project.⁴⁹ Also, the community members organized under YAD issued a joint lawsuit by diverse actors. For example, one of the lawsuits that YAD issued in July 2015 include 751 participants at national and regional scales, which is the biggest environmental lawsuit⁵⁰ of Turkey.

When Cengiz Holding tried to enter the Cerattepe region for a mining operation in 2015 despite the stay of execution by the Rize Administrative Court in 2012, the local community has kept a watch for 245 days in the Cerattepe region to observe and prevent the corporation's activities. This protest has mobilized the whole community in Cerattepe and shaped the social relations in the city center for 245 days. Most interviewees emphasized that for 245 days, the relations among the community members have tightly developed against a common threat in their place. YAD had an essential role in the organization of this vigil protest for 245 days and the strong alliances among community members who defend their place to cede the proposed project. During the vigil protest, the umbrella association was responsible for the organization and democratically decided on whether or not/how long they will continue the vigil protest. So, I argue that such an umbrella environmental organization with democratic and participatory mechanisms enabled the inhabitants to create alliances and maintain environmental movement.

Additionally, YAD has been organizing panels to inform the community in alliances with the academics since the beginning of the environmental mobilization. In this sense, the alliances created with the academics are important to transform YAD into a knowledge-production space. For example, to produce maps on mining areas in Artvin, the knowledge of the inhabitants on the environment converges with

⁴⁹ Retrieved from: <http://yesilartvindernegi.org>

⁵⁰ YAD filed this lawsuit against the positive EIA decision in July 2015. Retrieved from: <http://yesilartvindernegi.org>

the academics' knowledge who use geographical information systems. In this process, academics also use the knowledge of inhabitants to mark the mining areas in Cerattepe. I maintain that in Artvin, knowledge production becomes a tool for a social movement against the mining hazards and ecological destruction (Temper et al., 2015) by enabling the local community to collaborate with academics.

On the contrary, at the beginning of the environmental movement in Çanakkale against the proposed Kirazlı mining project, the municipality, local NGOs, and city council started to organize street protests, press briefings as well as panels to raise awareness of the potential dangers of the proposed mining projects. However, unlike the Artvin community, in Çanakkale, the local actors who organized the opposition do not use knowledge to insist the community on participating in environmental protest. Even if they tried to organize panels, their alliance with academics is not as strong as the alliances among the Artvin community and academics.

Additionally, unlike the Cerattepe environmental movement, in Çanakkale, the different groups file different lawsuits to cede the proposed projects. Although legal action is an effective form of mobilization to achieve environmental justice in Çanakkale, the community members could not bring a joint lawsuit. Thus, I contend that because of the lack of an umbrella environmental organization, community members could not reach common ground about the mining opposition, so they could not create a joint action against the corporation's activities but rather act as single organizations/platforms/groups.

Like the Artvin community, in the organization of the Kirazlı environmental movement, the vigil protest is a vital form of mobilization to cede the proposed project in Balabanlı Hill. During the Kirazlı environmental movement, the vigil

protest has been continued for over a year by diverse actors. However, unlike the Cerattepe environmental movement, this protest was not organized by an umbrella environmental organization. Rather, it was organized by the municipality, city council, and local NGOs within the name of the Water and Consciousness Committee in July 2019. They have collaborated with those who migrated from İstanbul, environmentalism of the urbanite, for a month. When the committee that organized the protest agreed on stopping the vigil in Balabanlı Hill, environmentalism of the urbanite was excluded from decision-making processes. Then, every group tried to organize its own protest against the corporation's activities. While some actors like the committee withdrew from the vigil protest, environmentalism of the urbanite continued keeping watch until the police forces ended the protest in September 2020. I argue that the lack of umbrella environmental organization with democratic, participatory, and transparent decision-making mechanisms has led to the failure of grassroots activism. I maintain that because of the high rate of migration to the city, in the organization of the vigil protest, the city inhabitants could not reach common ground. Each group acted independently and without a collective agenda or identity based on the place and its history and culture.

Thus, in Artvin and Çanakkale, the city inhabitants use standard forms of mobilization, including panel organizations, legal action, and vigil protest. Yet, the same kinds of mobilization are differently organized by the local inhabitants in these two locations. On the one hand, I argue that in Artvin, the community members jointly organize all forms of protest, and their place becomes a social movement space where forms of mobilization shape daily relations among the community members (Nicholls, 2009). Yet, the most important form of mobilization that the Artvin community has used since the beginning is knowledge production, enabling

the inhabitants to reach a common ground against mining threats in alliance with the academics. On the other hand, in Çanakkale, I contend that grassroots environmental activism fails because local inhabitants could not be organized under an umbrella environmental organization for joint action because they do not have a collective identity to defend their place. In this respect, the different groups significantly contribute to the maintenance of environmental movement within different forms of organizations; yet, they could not achieve a common ground within different approaches to environmentalism.

5.4 The roles of the state and the corporation in the rise of environmental movements in Turkey

In this part of the chapter, I focus on the roles of the state and the corporation in the rise of environmental movements. So, I aim to explain that the achievement of environmental justice greatly depends on the state's action and the alliances among the corporations and the state. Through my comparative analysis, I realize that within the authorization of the state and the changes in mining laws, the environmental mobilization is less likely to cede the corporations' activities.

In Artvin, the community members are organized under YAD to achieve environmental justice to cede the proposed mining projects. At the beginning of the environmental movement, the Artvin community became aware of environmental hazards thanks to the panels organized by YAD. So, community members powerfully allied with each other against a common threat through street protests, petition campaigns, and press briefings and achieved to cede the corporation's activities. In this vein, it is critical that when the Canadian company, Cominco, withdrew from the proposed gold mining project in 2002, another Canadian corporation, Inmet mining,

gained the license for a mining operation. The community members, then, reached environmental justice success through winning a lawsuit in 2008. They believed that the most effective way to achieve environmental justice is to reach a successful outcome through legal action.

Despite the lawsuit's successful outcome, Cerattepe was declared as a mining site in 2012, and then the new mining licenses were given to the Cengiz Holding. The community's environmental protests continued through both a vigil protest in Cerattepe and the lawsuits brought to the Rize Administrative Court. Because of the police forces that violently suppressed mass protests in the Cerattepe region and the starting of the copper mining operation in 2017, the community feels a sense of despair today. Although in 2014, the community won the lawsuit to stop the proposed project in Cerattepe, the corporation prepared new EIA report, so the lawsuit decision became invalidate. According to the lawyers I conducted interviews, this process was unlawful and showed how the law did not work in Turkey's political atmosphere (Interview 3 & 12). Thus, the community members believe that if the current government does not change in the 2023 elections of Turkey, there is no way to achieve environmental justice in Turkey because of the erosion of law.

Like Artvin, in Çanakkale, the Kirazlı environmental movement arose against the Canadian mining corporation Alamos Gold and its subsidiary East Biga Mining. Alamos Gold withdrew from the proposed project in April 2021. Yet, it is a considerable threat that another mining corporation can get the mining licenses of Balabanlı Hill like the history of the Artvin case. In this respect, the withdrawal of Alamos Gold seems a temporary success, and then another Canadian company or a corporation that has a strong alliance with the state could replace Alamos Gold corporation. As I said above, the state considerably supports the activities of mining

corporations through its financial incentives. So, I argue that within the current governmental policies, it is hard to achieve environmental justice for local communities because of the close relations with the state and mining corporations, the violence against the protestors, the violation of human rights, ecological destruction, and erosion of the law in Turkey.

Overall, in this chapter, I compared the Cerattepe and Kirazlı environmental movements to comprehend how diverse actors create strong alliances, and the impact of these alliances on the success of movements. I emphasized the importance of creating inclusive umbrella organizations with participatory, transparent, and democratic decision-making mechanisms. I compared local actors and their approaches to environmentalism in the Cerattepe movement with the Kirazlı movement. I contend that because of the geographical location of the province of Çanakkale, during the environmental mobilization, a new type of elite residents, who I label as ‘environmentalism of the urbanite’, emerged. I maintained that different groups of environmentalists in Çanakkale do not have a relationship with Balabanlı Hill unlike the Artvin community. So, I argued that when the local community defends livelihood by paying particular attention to the place where they live, act, breathe, and enjoy, it would be more likely that their livelihood place turns into a social movement space like in the province of Artvin.

Second, I emphasized the organization of both environmental movements to explain why in Çanakkale, community members could not achieve to be organized under an umbrella environmental organization. I tried to understand why the Çanakkale community failed to organize an association or committee with participatory and democratic decision-making mechanisms. In this sense, I focused on the importance of the historical difference of the place. In Artvin, the leftist and

socialist experiences contributed to the organizational strategies of the environmental movement. Because of the shared trauma of the military coup, a new class emerged as environmentalism of the malcontent (Adaman et al., 2015) who have the primary roles in the continuation of the movement. They could reach common ground with those who defend their livelihood as environmentalism of the poor (Martinez-Alier, 2002) under an association. On the contrary, Çanakkale is not a place where the community members have historical experiences to organize a movement but rather the rise of the environmental movement was the first time community members organized to oppose the proposed mining projects. Thus, I argue that historical background is the essential element contributing to the continuation of the environmental movement under an umbrella organization with democratic and participatory mechanisms.

Additionally, I compared the forms of mobilization in the Cerattepe environmental movement with the Kirazlı environmental movement. Although community members use the same mobilization strategies to cede the proposed projects and achieve environmental justice success in both places, the organization of environmental protests considerably differs from one another. In Artvin, the community members act together in the protests thanks to YAD. For example, YAD brought a joint lawsuit to stop the corporation's activities in the Cerattepe region. In contrast, in Çanakkale, diverse actors continue the environmental protests separately. Unlike Artvin, they filed separate lawsuits. Also, in contrast to the Kirazlı environmental movement, in the organization and mobilization of the Cerattepe environmental movement, knowledge production plays a vital role because the community members usually organize panels since the beginning to be informed about the current situation, environmental hazards, and mining risks in Artvin. So, I

contend that for the continuation of the Cerattepe environmental movement, knowledge production becomes a tool for a social movement by insisting whole inhabitants on the mining opposition.

Lastly, I emphasized the roles of the state and the corporations in the rise of environmental movements. In this sense, I contend that the essential way to achieve environmental justice for local communities is to win a lawsuit against the corporation. Nevertheless, in the current situation of Turkey, it seems less likely for local communities to reach environmental justice success within the legal action. Like the Artvin inhabitants, the actors who defend their livelihood and organize environmental protests could fail in their movement even if they won the lawsuit to cede the proposed/operated projects. In this vein, I maintained that even if in the Kirazlı environmental movement, the environmental protestors and community members feel a sense of victory when the Alamos Gold corporation stopped the proposed project, the Çanakkale inhabitants can face a new threat of another corporation. Thus, through my comparative analysis in this thesis, I argued that in Turkey, the only way to achieve environmental justice success is to change the current governmental policies and cede the state's incentives for expanding mining operations all around the country.

CHAPTER 6

CONCLUSION

In this thesis, I focused on the organization and mobilization of environmental movements in Turkey to understand how/in which conditions some environmental movements continue to be organized under a local organization/platform/group, while others failed in grassroots environmental activism. Focusing on this question, I debated the different approaches to environmentalism, the local actors' motivations for environmental protests, the forms of mobilization, organization strategies, and the roles of the state and the corporations. To discuss these subjects, I comparatively studied the Cerattepe environmental movement and the Kirazlı environmental movement, both of which have become the popular environmental protests in Turkey in recent years. Yet, their organization considerably differs from one another. I aimed to understand the reasons why the environmental movements are differently organized and mobilized, and how history, culture, and geography have an impact on the emergence of new understanding of environmentalism in the Turkish context. Through this comparative study, I argued that when local inhabitants organized environmental movement as a place-based struggle to defend their place "where they lived in and acted (Escobar, 2008)", a movement became more likely to arise from grassroots activism under an umbrella environmental association.

In the first chapter of the thesis, I discussed my primary motivation to conduct such research, my main questions, and the methodology of my study. I also explained the history of environmentalism and environmental policies in Turkey. I argued that civil society organizations replaced the state's responsibility to implement environmental policies in Turkey, and the state established many civil

society organizations to protect natural resources by depoliticizing environmental issues.

In the second chapter of the thesis, I reviewed the literature on environmental justice, political ecology, and social movements. To answer my main question of how an environmental movement can continue for several years under an umbrella association with participatory and democratic decision-making ways, I utilized two concepts: ecological distribution conflicts and place-based struggles. In this vein, I treated the Cerattepe movement as a place-based environmental struggle to show the relations among distinctive ways of organization and historical and geographical features. Through my comparative analysis, I showed these understandings of environmentalism is not sufficient to examine environmentalist group in the Kirazlı environmental movement. I argued that the geographical and demographic characteristics of Çanakkale led to the emergence of a new elite during the Kirazlı environmental protests. The young population in their late 20s and 30s who politicized during environmental protests, had many alliances with diverse actors due to their educational background, and migrated to Çanakkale to escape urban life in the 2010s.

In the third chapter of the thesis, I analyzed the Cerattepe environmental movement to explain how the Artvin community created a place-based environmental struggle to defend the city. I argued that due to their common ground based on a great love attachment to the place and the cultural and historical importance of Kafkasör, a city became a social movement space where the inhabitants' life is shaped around environmental mobilization over two decades. Most inhabitants realized that if the mining operation destructs the environment, their

daily routines would be broken up because of water contamination, ecological destruction, air pollution, and increases in health issues.

In the fourth chapter of the thesis, I mainly focused on analyzing the Kirazlı environmental movement. I discussed the different motivations of environmentalism of the poor and environmentalism of the urbanite in the organization of the movement. I emphasized the location of the mining site and contended that, unlike Artvin, Balabanlı Hill was not a place where the community members spend their time to create a relationship with this region. If this place is destructed, the daily routines of the inhabitants would not change too much. So, in Çanakkale, the community members could not identify their motivation for environmental protest in relation to their proximity to the environment, place, and nature where they live. Also, environmentalism of the urbanite contributed to creating national and international alliances within their networks in İstanbul. Yet, environmentalism of the poor (Martinez-Alier, 2002), who tend to depoliticize the mining issue in Çanakkale, exclude these people from the decision-making process in the vigil protests in Balabanlı Hill. So, I argued that the lack of an umbrella environmental organization with participatory and democratic decision-making mechanisms led to the disorganization of diverse actors through exclusionary decision-making mechanisms.

In the fifth chapter, I comparatively analyzed the Cerattepe and Kirazlı environmental movements. Through this analysis, I focused on the local actors, organization strategies, forms of mobilization, and the roles of the state and the corporations. In Artvin, the local community defended the livelihood with an emphasis on Cerattepe as a place where they live in, act, and breathe (Escobar, 2008; Nicholls, 2009). I argued that this emphasis on place enabled these inhabitants to see

environmental issues as supra-political and formed strong alliances under an umbrella association named YAD. I contended that knowledge production as a form of mobilization was an essential strategy for a creation of grassroots movement. Additionally, I argued that Artvin's history contributed to maintaining environmental movement under an umbrella environmental association through democratic and participatory decision-making processes. After the military coup of 1980 depoliticized leftist groups in Artvin, these groups shared their organization experience for anti-mining mobilization.

On the contrary, in Çanakkale, local community members failed to create a movement that bring all the actors under an umbrella organization. I suggested that an umbrella environmental association with horizontal decision-making mechanisms was crucial for reaching a common ground to constitute a grassroots movement. In Çanakkale, multiple groups attempt to maintain anti-mining environmental struggles, but lack of communication, different approaches to environmentalism, and hierarchical decision-making processes obstruct the rise of grassroots activism. Lastly, I contended that despite the different organization strategies in these distinct regions, the only way to achieve environmental justice success for local communities is to win lawsuits for stopping the extractive projects. For them, the change of current government in Turkey becomes critical to cede the projects with law regeneration.

Throughout the thesis, I tried to comparatively analyze the characteristics of anti-mining environmental movements in Turkey. The significance of this thesis lies in its attempt to show the ways/conditions under which environmental movements maintain grassroots activism through reaching a common ground among diverse actors. On the one hand, the Cerattepe environmental movement was a very

particular example that the whole community has been organized under an umbrella organization for over two decades. In Turkey, a few environmental struggles could achieve such an organizational success. On the other hand, the Kirazlı environmental movement was a critical case to analyze because of the city's location; in Çanakkale, a new class of environmentalists plays a vital role in maintaining environmental protests. Even if diverse inhabitants of the province could not reach a common ground in Çanakkale, the continuing environmental mobilization and mining oppositions in Çanakkale deserve scholarly attention for further studies to analyze the evolution of environmental protests.

Besides its contributions, this thesis has its shortcomings and points to different areas for further research. Initially, in this thesis, I focused on the organization of the city inhabitants for the understanding of the conditions for grassroots environmental activism. Yet, my comparative study did not analyze the conditions for how an environmental movement fails or becomes latent. Because of the pandemic, I had to choose two ongoing environmental movements. If I tried to choose a case that became latent, it would be more difficult to conduct interviews. At the same time, the location of Çanakkale was very suitable to go in the spring term and conduct my interviews despite the pandemic. Nevertheless, for further studies, it is critical to compare an environmental movement that has continued for several years with latent environmental struggles of Turkey like the Kışladağ (Uşak) anti-mining environmental movement that occurred in the early 2000s.

Additionally, although I realized the importance of gender in the maintenance of environmental movements and the ways in which gender inequality impacts the organization of the movement, I did not have sufficient time to pursue these issues. For further studies, gender issue deserves scholarly attention for both bridging the

gap between gender and environmental justice studies and understanding how gender inequality impacts environmental organization and mobilization in Turkey.

Lastly, in this thesis, I could not sufficiently discuss the networks of corporations and the corporate responsibility projects that the local inhabitants frequently mentioned. For further studies, it would be interesting to uncover these networks among the corporations and the human rights violations committed by the corporations and the state in Turkey.

APPENDIX A

LIST OF INTERVIEWS

Interview ID	Interviewee	Place	Length
Interview 1	Ayşe (a representative of YAD; a housewife)	Artvin	2 hours 45 minutes
Interview 2	Mehmet (a representative of YAD; a journalist)	Artvin	40 minutes
Interview 3	Ali (a representative of YAD; a lawyer)	Artvin	2 hours 30 minutes
Interview 4	Fatma (a representative of YAD; a housewife)	Artvin	1 hour 15 minutes
Interview 5	Sevgi (a representative of YAD; a shopkeeper)	Artvin	1 hour
Interview 6	Adnan (a representative of YAD; a representative of a teacher union)	Artvin	1 hour
Interview 7	Ali (a representative of YAD; an academician)	Trabzon	2 hours 45 minutes
Interview 8	Mehmet (a representative of YAD; a representative of CHP)	Artvin	1 hour 15 minutes
Interview 9	Ayşe (a representative of YAD; a pharmacist)	Artvin	45 minutes
Interview 10	Adnan (a representative of YAD; a representative of municipality)	Artvin	35 minutes
Interview 11	Ali (a representative of YAD; a journalist)	Artvin	2 hours
Interview 12	Ahmet (a representative of YAD; a lawyer)	Artvin	1 hour 30 minutes
Interview 13	Dilek (a representative of YAD; a journalist)	Artvin	1 hour
Interview 14	Kemal (a representative of YAD; a representative of Sol ve Gelecek Party; a shopkeeper)	Artvin	2 hours 30 minutes

Interview 15	Olcay (a representative of YAD; a representative of municipality)	Artvin	2 hours 30 minutes
Interview 16	Kenan (a representative of YAD; a representative of Ülkü Ocakları; a shopkeeper)	Artvin	1 hour 30 minutes
Interview 17	Selim (a representative of YAD; a shopkeeper)	Artvin	2 hours
Interview 18	Mert (a representative of YAD; a representative of İstanbul Artvinliler Hizmet Vakfı)	Online interview (on zoom in İstanbul)	2 hours 30 minutes
Interview 19	Defne (a representative of the City Council; a representative of Water and Consciousness Vigil committee; a representative of İDA Dayanışma Derneği)	Çanakkale	2 hours 30 minutes
Interview 20	Ayşe (a representative of Atatürkçü Düşünce Derneği)	Çanakkale	1 hour
Interview 21	Nergis (migrated to Çanakkale in 2015; a representative of Kazdağları Doğal ve Kültürel Varlıkları Koruma Derneği)	Küçükkuyu/ Çanakkale	2 hours
Interview 22	Sevinç (migrated to Çanakkale in 2004; a representative of Kazdağları Doğal ve Kültürel Varlıkları Koruma Derneği)	Çanakkale	1 hour
Interview 23	İhsan (a representative of municipality; a representative of Water and Consciousness Vigil committee)	Çanakkale	30 minutes
Interview 24	Hasan (a representative of TMMOB; a representative of İDA Dayanışma Derneği; a representative of Water and Consciousness Vigil committee)	Çanakkale	2 hours
Interview 25	Erdem (a representative of İDA Dayanışma Derneği; a representative of Water and Consciousness Vigil committee; a teacher)	Çanakkale	2 hours

Interview 26	Feyza (migrated to Çanakkale in 2016; an environmental activist; a representative of Kazdağları Kardeşliği)	Bayramiç/ Çanakkale	2 hours 30 minutes
Interview 27	Derya (migrated to Çanakkale in 2016; an environmental activist; a representative of Kazdağları Kardeşliği)	Bayramiç/ Çanakkale	45 minutes
Interview 28	Nedim (a representative of YAD; a shopkeeper)	Artvin	1 hour
Interview 29	Kemal (a representative of YAD; a representative of Halk Evleri)	Artvin	2 hours 30 minutes
Interview 30	Yusuf (a representative of YAD; a representative of CHP; a shopkeeper)	Artvin	30 minutes
Interview 31	Halil (a representative of the Carriers Cooperative)	Artvin	30 minutes
Interview 32	Ahmet (a representative of AKP)	Artvin	1 hour
Interview 33	Fevzi (a representative of YAD; a representative of TMMOB; an engineer)	Artvin	1 hour 30 minutes
Interview 34	Ahmet (a representative of the Artvin chamber of commerce)	Artvin	1 hour
Interview 35	Ayşe (a representative of YAD, a representative of a teacher union)	Artvin	45 minutes

APPENDIX B

INTERVIEW QUESTIONS FOR THE ARTVİN AND THE ÇANAKKALE PEOPLE

1. How do you spend a day where you live in?
2. What does the nature of the place you live mean to you? How do you describe your relations with nature and environment in the city regarding cultural and social terms?
3. How was your daily life here before the problems related to the mining projects? How were the society's relations with the local government, the governorship, and the people living here taking shape?
4. How/when was this region declared as a mining cite in your city?
5. Can you talk about how you felt when you first learned that this place was declared as a mining site?
6. How/when did the anti-mine struggle begin in the city? What was your first protest you joined? How would you describe your main motivation to support anti-mining protests?
7. How have been the social relations shaping with the environmental movement in the city?
8. What was your day like when the anti-mining struggle was the most active?
9. (If the interviewee is a woman) Can you tell us about your experiences in the anti-mining environmental struggle? As a woman, how did you feel when you participated in the struggle?

10. Who are the actors of this struggle, how would you rank them according to their activities? (Women, non-governmental organizations, different local environmental resistances, local governments, academics, etc.)
11. What do you think the motivations and discourses of different people who participated in the anti-mining struggle differed? How do you describe the most basic discourses and demands of this resistance?
12. Which actors do you think tried to hinder your resistance during the anti-mining struggle? Can you describe the actions of the actors against you?
13. How has your relationship with nature been shaped since the start of the anti-mining struggles until today? How did your previous relationship with nature and the cultural, social, economic, or religious meanings you attribute to nature change?
14. Can you explain the organizational structure of the struggle? Which actions did you take? What do you think about the decision-making processes of the movement?
15. What are your expectations regarding the legal process and lawsuits?
16. Can you evaluate the solidarity networks that your movement established with the different local struggles that emerged in Turkey? Can you talk about your common demands with other environmental struggles with which you cooperate?
17. What do you think about the latest situation of your movement?
18. Can you share your ideas about environmentalism and environmental protection?
19. What did the concept of environmentalism mean to you after you joined the struggle?

20. How do you evaluate the success of the environmental movement?
21. Can you explain your thoughts on the last period of the environmental movements in Turkey?

INTERVIEW QUESTIONS FOR CIVIL SOCIETY REPRESENTATIVES AND ACADEMICS

1. Can you tell how you got involved in the environmental struggle? How did you become interested in environmental issues?
2. (If the interviewee is a civil society representative) What is the attitude of your organization towards environmental issues? How does your organization define the concept of environmentalism?
3. What kind of relations do you establish with which environmental struggles in Turkey? How do you contribute to them?
4. (If the interviewee is an academic) how did the knowledge production processes take place during the environmental struggle? How does the academy contribute to the environmental movements in Turkey? What kind of relations do you think are established between academia and the environmental movements?
5. Under which conditions do you think that different environmental struggles and non-governmental environmental organizations will establish relations with each other?

6. How would you list the criteria for the success of an environmental challenge?
7. Could you tell your general thoughts on the situation of the environmental movements in Turkey?

Turkish version

Artvin ve Çanakkale’de yaşayan kişiler için mülakat soruları

1. Yaşadığınız yerde bir gününüz nasıl geçiyor?
2. Yaşadığınız yerin doğası sizin için nasıl anlamlar ifade ediyor? Kültürel ve sosyal anlamda doğayla nasıl ilişkiler kurduğunuzu düşünüyorsunuz?
3. Bölge maden sahası ilan edilmeden önce buradaki gündelik yaşamınız nasıl şekilleniyordu? Yerel yönetimle, valilikle, burada yaşayanların ilişkileri nasıl şekilleniyordu?
4. Bölgenin maden sahası ilan edilmesi süreci nasıl gerçekleşti?
5. Buranın maden sahası ilan edildiğini ilk öğrendiğinizde ne hissettiğinizden bahsedebilir misiniz?
6. Maden karşıtı mücadele nasıl başladı? İlk eylemliliğiniz ne oldu? Siz bu direnişe nasıl katıldınız? Temel motivasyonunuzu nasıl tanımlarsınız?
7. Mücadelenin başlamasıyla buradaki toplumsal ilişkiler nasıl şekillendi?
8. Mücadelenin en aktif olduğu dönemde bir gününüz nasıl geçiyordu?
9. (Eğer görüşmeci kadınsa) bu mücadeleye dair deneyimlerinizi anlatabilir misiniz? Kadın olarak siz bu mücadeleye katıldığınızda neler hissettiniz?
10. Bu mücadelenin aktörleri kimlerdir, aktifliklerine göre nasıl sıralarsınız?
(Kadınlar, sivil toplum kuruluşları, farklı yerel çevre direnişleri, yerel yönetimler, akademisyenler vb.)

11. Maden karřıtı m¼cadeleye katılan farklı kiřilerin motivasyonları, söylemleri sizce nasıl farklılařıyordu? Bu direniřin en temel söylemleri ve taleplerinin neler olduėunu d¼ř¼n¼yorsunuz?
12. Altın madeni karřıtı m¼cadele s¼recinde hangi akt¼rlerin sizi engellemeye çalıřtıėını d¼ř¼n¼yorsunuz? Size karřı olan akt¼rlerin eylemlerini anlatabilir misiniz?
13. M¼cadele bařladıėından/maden faaliyeti bařladıėından bug¼ne kadarki s¼reçte sizin doėayla yařadıėınız bu çevreyle kurduėunuz iliřki nasıl şekillendi? Öncesinde doėayla kurduėunuz iliřki, doėaya atfettiėiniz k¼lt¼rel, sosyal, ekonomik ya da dini anlamlar nasıl deėiřti?
14. M¼cadelenin örg¼tlenme yapısını anlatabilir misiniz? Hangi eylemlilikleri nasıl karar s¼reçleriyle gerçekteřtirdiniz?
15. Maden projesine karřı açılan dava s¼reçleri nasıl ilerledi? Yasal s¼rece dair beklentileriniz neler?
16. Burada bařlayan maden karřıtı m¼cadelenin T¼rkiye’de ortaya çıkan farklı yerel m¼cadelelerle kurduėu dayanıřma aėlarını deėerlendirebilir misiniz? Dayanıřma kurduėunuz diėer çevre m¼cadeleleriyle ortak olan taleplerinizden bahsedebilir misiniz?
17. M¼cadelenin son durumunu anlatabilir misiniz?
18. Çevrecilik, çevreyi koruma gibi konular hakkındaki fikirlerinizi paylařabilir misiniz?
19. M¼cadeleye katıldıktan sonra çevrecilik kavramı sizin için nasıl bir anlam ifade eder oldu?
20. M¼cadelenizin bařarısını nasıl deėerlendiriyorsunuz?

21. Türkiye’deki çevre hareketinin gelişimine ve son dönemine dair düşüncelerinizi açıklayabilir misiniz?

Sivil toplum temsilcileri ve akademisyenler için mülakat soruları

1. Çevre mücadelesine nasıl dahil olduğunuzu anlatabilir misiniz? Çevre konularıyla ilgilenmeye nasıl başladınız?
2. (Eğer sivil toplum temsilcisiyse) içerisinde mücadele yürüttüğünüz kurum çevre meselelerine dair nasıl bir tutum sergiliyor? Çevrecilik kavramını nasıl tanımlıyor?
3. Türkiye’deki hangi çevre mücadeleleriyle nasıl ilişkiler kuruyorsunuz? Onlara nasıl katkılar sağlıyorsunuz?
4. (Eğer akademisyense) çevre mücadelesi sırasında mücadeleye dair bilgi üretim süreçleri nasıl gerçekleşti? Akademinin çevre mücadelelerine nasıl katkıları oluyor? Akademi ve çevre mücadelesi arasında nasıl ilişkiler kurulduğunu düşünüyorsunuz?
5. Hangi koşullarda farklı çevre mücadelelerinin ve çevre ile ilgili çalışan sivil toplum kuruluşlarının birbirleriyle ilişkiler kuracağını düşünüyorsunuz?
6. Bir çevre mücadelesinin başarılı olma kriterlerini nasıl sıralarsınız?
7. Türkiye’deki çevre hareketlerine dair genel olarak düşüncelerinizi anlatabilir misiniz?

APPENDIX C

APPROVAL OF ETHICS COMMITTEE

Evrak Tarih ve Sayısı: 19.12.2021-43499

T.C.
BOĞAZİÇİ ÜNİVERSİTESİ
SOSYAL VE BEŞERİ BİLİMLER YÜKSEK LİSANS VE DOKTORA TEZLERİ ETİK İNCELEME
KOMİSYONU
TOPLANTI KARAR TUTANAĞI

Toplantı Sayısı : 25
Toplantı Tarihi : 15.12.2021
Toplantı Saati : 15:00
Toplantı Yeri : Zoom Sanal Toplantı
Bulunanlar : Prof. Dr. Ebru Kaya, Prof. Dr. Fatma Nevra Seggie, Dr. Öğr. Üyesi Yasemin Sohtorik İlkmen
Bulunmayanlar :

Büşra Üner

Sosyoloji

Sayın Araştırmacı,

Daha önce onay almış olan SBB-EAK 2020/46 sayılı eski başlığı ""Defending Nature: Comparative Study of Environmental Movements in Turkey" olan projenizin başlığının "Defending nature: A comparative analysis of the Cerattepe and Kirazlı anti-mining environmental movement" olarak değiştirilmesi komisyonumuz tarafından 15 Aralık 2021 tarihli toplantıda incelenmiş ve SBB-EAK 2021/87 sayı ile kabul edilmiştir.

Bu karar tüm üyelerin toplantıya çevrimiçi olarak katılımı ve oy birliği ile alınmıştır. COVID-19 önlemleri kapsamında kurul üyelerinden ıslak imza alınamadığı için bu onam mektubu üye ve raportör olarak Fatma Nevra Seggie tarafından bütün üyeler adına e-imzalanmıştır.

Saygılarımızla, bilgilerinizi rica ederiz.

Prof. Dr. Fatma Nevra SEGGIE
ÜYE

e-imzalıdır
Prof. Dr.Fatma Nevra SEGGIE
Raportör

SOBETİK 25 15.12.2021

Bu belge 5070 sayılı Elektronik İmza Kanununun 5. Maddesi gereğince güvenli elektronik imza ile imzalanmıştır.

APPENDIX D

LONG TRANSLATED QUOTES

1. Ayakları denizde yüzü gökyüzüne komşu olan bir yer. Türkiye'nin en yağış alan yeri Hopa-Arhavi... Türkiye'nin en kurak yeri de Artvin Yusufeli'nde... Bu da Artvin'e mikro habitatlar açısından bir zenginlik bahşetmiş. Hem kurak hem nemli hem de yarı nemli yarı kurak yerlerde yetişen bitki çeşitliliği var... Artvin'in bitkisel çeşitliliği, hayvan çeşitliliği, ürün çeşitliliği yansır... 2730 tür 200 kusura tane endemik tür var. Üreticiler bitkiler, onların çeşitli olduğu yerde tüketici çeşitliliği de var... Bu yalnızca insan değil, hayvanı, böceği... [Artvin] çok özel bir mekân.
2. Kafkasör aynı zamanda bizim şehirden sıkılıp gidip piknik yapabildiğimiz insanların nefes alabildiği üst tarafımızdaki yer, Cerattepe de oranın üst tarafı. Cerattepe'de madencilik yapılacak dendiği an "Nasıl yani şehrin üstünde madencilik mi olur?" diye tepki verdim.
3. ...herkesin geçinme kaygısı var. Bu Artvin için çok önemli çünkü Artvin memur şehri. Memursan esnafsan geçinirsin ama fazlası yok. Herhangi bir gence iş sağlayacak alan yok. Bu yüzden herkesin geçim kaygısı var. Artvin eğitim açısından çok iyidir özellikle Şavşat ve Ardanuç tarafı. Kalkıyorsun gidiyorsun üniversite okuyorsun gelip iş bulamıyorsun.
4. Çok rahat yaşanabilir güvenli bir memleket burası. Şöyle örnek vereyim sana şimdi ben arabamı ben biraz şey adamım çok düzenli biri değilim. Arabanın camını açık bırakabilirim kapısını açık bırakabilirim falan vesaire önünde de benim telefon numaram var... Artvin böyle bir yer... burada günlük hayat

nasıl gidebilir ki onun dışında? Rahatsızsın güvenilirsin kendini korumak kollamak zorunda değilsin. Endişelerin minimum yani rahat bir hayat.

5. Artvin yaşaması kolay bir şehir. Özellikle kadınlar için kolay bir şehir. Büyük şehrin tantanası koşturmacası yok burada. Evle işimin arası 5 dakika sürüyor. O sebeple kendimize daha çok vakit kalıyor, kendimize daha çok zaman ayırabiliyoruz. Burada sosyal açıdan çok fazla bir şey yok gibi görünüyor. Aslında insan ilişkileri olarak daha çok şey yapabiliyoruz. İnsanların Artvin sevgisi. Herkes seviyordur ama biz çok seviyoruz. Bana deseler size şu kadar para verecekler gel İstanbul'da en lüks yerde yaşa deseler gidemem. Ben başka yerde yaşamak istemiyorum. Buradaki çoğu insan da başka yerde yaşamak istemiyor...Biz burada saat 7 buçukta arkadaşlarla çıkıp da Katravan'da çay içmeyi seviyoruz. Bu görüş herkeste ortak olduğu için bu mücadele de ayakta duruyor.... Çocuğumu güvenle sokağa bırakabiliyorum... Biz bunları seviyoruz, biz yeşili seviyoruz.
6. Dediğim gibi Artvin küçük bir yer ve herkes memleketini çok seviyor. Bu tamamen doğa sevgisinden gelen bir şey. Biz dışarıya gittiğimizde Artvinliyim dediğimizde hayranlıkla biz de gelmek istiyoruz derler... Biz gittiğimiz yerlerde Artvin'i ağızımızdan düşüremiyoruz. Çünkü memleketi seviyoruz, buradaki yaşam alanını seviyoruz. İnsanlar zaten hoşgörülü, misafirperver. İnsanlar bunun yok olmasını istemiyor, çünkü yabancılaşma oldu mu zaten yok olacak. Çok bakir bir yer. Artvin'i Karadeniz şeridi boyunca olan tüm illerden ayıran çok özellik var.
7. Yeşil Artvin dediğiniz zaman içine kimliğinde Artvin yazan herkesin içinde kendini bulduğu bir isimdir Yeşil Artvin. Artvin'in içinde yaşadığımız için otomatik olarak siz zaten hani ördek yavrusu doğar. Yumurtadan çıkar ilk

koştuğu yer sudur yani atlar havuza atlar. Nereden biliyorsa yüzmeyi? Niye? Kodlanmıştır o. O ördek yavrusu havuzla ben Artvin’le kodlanmışım. Dolayısıyla elbette ki ilk tarafım Artvin’dir Yeşil Artvin’dir yani ben mahvedilmiş bir Artvin’de yaşayamam. Ben bozkır bir Artvin’de yaşayamam ve ben tepesi yok edilmiş kafası parçalanmış, beyni parçalanmış, yarın dünyanın en büyük mezarlığı olacak bir Artvin’de yaşamak istemiyorum. Dolayısıyla ben otomatik zaten bu işin içindeyim.

8. Geçmişte çalışarak geçiyordu. Şimdi Artvin’deki çevresel olayların durumuna göre geçiyor. O günkü yapacağımız çalışmalara göre şekilleniyoruz. Çok programlı olmuyor. Bazen önceden planlasak da bazen de ona göre planlıyoruz hayatımızı. Mesela maden ihaleleri var. Onu bir an önce haritalandırıyoruz, toplantı yapıyoruz, ona göre günümüzü şekillendiriyoruz. Ya da birisi arıyor HES’le ilgili destek istiyor. Oraya basını götürüyoruz. Ya da gitmemiz gerekiyor... Tabii pandemi nedeniyle hareket alanımız daha kısıtlı. Artvin’in üst tarafında olan madenle ilgili takip etmemiz gereken şeyler var. Şu anda biz hala onların her şeyini takip etmeye çalışıyoruz, bilgi almaya çalışıyoruz, etraftan dolanıp ne olduğunu anlamaya çalışıyoruz. Aslında şu anda frenlemeye çalışıyoruz felaketi fazla bir şey yaptığımız söylenemez.

9. Artvin’de yaşamaya devam eden her insanın bu dayanışmaya katılması gerekiyordu ve sonuçta da katıldılar. Bu havayı soluyacakasak burada yaşamaya devam edeceksek ki biz bunun mücadelesini verirken de hep bunu söyledik. Gelen hocalarımız uzmanlarımız bunu söylediler. Artvin’de yaşamın olabilmesi için madenin çıkmaması gerekiyor. Çıkardıkları maden beynimizde... Artvin’in yerleşiminin bir insan bedeni olarak

düşündüğümüzde kafası tepede bir maden çıkıyor beyninin içinden. Suyum ordan geliyor, havam oradan geliyor. Ormanımı yok ediyorlar.

10. YAD 95'te kuruldu. Kurulştan itibaren bir parti güdümüne girmedir. Herkesi kucaklayan bir kurulştı. Hatta o dönemin valisi siz bir dernek kurun yoksa bu işin içinden çıkamazsınız dedi. Hepimiz kurucuyduk, o zamandan beri üyesiyiz. Bir partiye dayanmadı. Ortak bir çevre olayına dayandırıldı. Partiler üstü oldu. Oradaki arkadaşların düzgün dürüst olmaları o çok büyük katkı yaptı...

11. Yeşil Artvin Derneği kurulştundan itibaren farklı grupları bir araya getirebilmiş. Örgütlü bir mücadele örmeniz gerek diyen bir valinin tavsiyesine uymuşlar. Derneğin ilk kurulştunda da partilerden temsilciler istemişler. Ama partilerden temsilciler derken bu derneği siyasallaştırmamışlar. Tümüyle çevre mücadelesi odaklı bir merkez haline getirmişler. Ama toplumsal temsiliyet anlamında da bütün grupları almışlar. Asla politikleştirmemişler. Bir çevre mücadelesinin birlikte yürütüldüğü bir alan haline gelmiş.

12. [Hocalardan biri] dedi ki eğer bunu [kurulacak derneği] siyasi bir toplanmaya dönüştürmezseniz ben de sizlere yardımcı olurum ve dönüştürmeyin. O da anlattı buranın doğal yapısı hakkında bir şeyler. Bizim kıymetli bir yerde yaşadığımızı filan da söyledi. Biz de dedik tamam o zaman bir dernek oluşturalım, herkesi kapsayan bir şey olsun. Ondan sonra dernek oluşturuldu. Birisi gelip bir şey söylüyordu, duyduğumuzu hemen aktarıyorduk.

13. Yaşam hakkımız. Hiç başka bir şey yok. Yeşil Artvin Derneği bunun öncüsü oldu. İlk başladığında 2000 öncesiydi. O zaman da iktidar partilerinin siyasi partilerin temsilcileri karşı olanlarla beraber imza atabiliyordu. Tüm Artvin halkı bunun içerisinde oldu. Yeşil Artvin, politik bir organizasyon değildi.

Yaşadığımız yeri, çevreyi, doğayı seviyoruz. Ekonomik olarak güçlüyüz çeker gideriz diye bir şeyimiz de yok. Bizim gidebileceğimiz başka bir yer olmadığı için yaşam hakkımızı mücadelesini verdiğimiz için birlik beraberlik oldu. Atalarım dedelerim 300-400 yıl boyunca buradan hiç gitmemiş. Ben de hiçbir yere gidemem.

14. Mesleğim gazetecilikti tamam da... Onun da ötesinde sonuçta bu şehirde yaşıyordum. Burada bir başkasına olacak olan bana da olacaktı... O yüzden ister istemez taraflı oluyorsun... Ben ister istemez maden şirketi karşısında taraflıydım. Ben basını ben taraf tutmayayım diyemezdim. Çünkü bu şehirde yaşıyordum ben, mesleğimi bu şehirde icra ediyordum. Çocuğum var. Onun için taraflı olmam gerekiyordu. Yaşadıkça bunu daha iyi anlıyorsun. Yukarıda yaşadığın bir kent var, tepende maden var, içtiğin su var.. Benim bir yaşam tarzım var. Ben kızımın Cerattepe’de gezmek isterken iş makinesinin sesini mi duyacağım?

15. Murgul’dan biliyorum o madenin ne kadar kötü olduğunu. Gün içinde siren sesleri gelirdi. Herkes eve kapanırdı çünkü patlatma yapıldı. Taş gelirdi evimizin camları kırılırdı. Oradan biliyorum nasıl yok ettiğini o şehri...Bizim o zamanlar oturduğumuz evleri şu an ahır olarak kullanıyorlar. Burada da açık galeriye dönerlerse burada da daha çok patlatmalar olacak, daha çok zarar verecekler çevreye. Bunu bildiğim için bu mücadelenin içinde olmak istedim.

16. Madene karşılık derken gençliğimizden Murgul maden işletmelerini biliyoruz zaten. Türkiye’nin en büyük bakır işletmelerinden biri Artvin’de. Yıllardır hizmet veriyor. Orada nefesin bile zor alındığını, doğanın öldüğünü biliyoruz. Madenin nasıl bir kirlilik olduğunu biliyoruz.

17. Diyorum ya bak maydanoz mesela akşam bakıyorsun öyle güzel ki yeşermiş şey olmuş. Sabah bakıyorsun sap sarı olmuş böyle gazel. Yemin ederim böyle gazel oluyordu. Neden oluyordu? Böyle duman yukarıdan rüzgâr bu tarafa mı vuruyor şeyden koca koca borulardan çıkan. SO₂ gazı düşün o gazın çıkıp da sahaya yayılmasında görülen zarar öyle. Babamı söyleyeyim 55 yaşında benim babam siroz hastası oldu. Neden oldu? Maden kalıp çıkıyor. Böyle maden dökülüyor kalıp çıkıyor. Oradan çıkan dumandan her ne kadar da o zamanın maskesi nasıl bir maskeydi hatırlayamam. Bir maskesi vardı, eldivenleri vardı. Gelirdi ayakları yanmış şey olmuş. Her ne kadar da doğal yese mesela süt içse, yoğurt ne yerse yesin demir ciğerlerine işlemişti.
18. Birkaç tane adam getirip projeyi anlatıyorlar. Ondan sonra sizin söylediklerinizin önemi olmadığı gibi zaten fazla bir şey söyleme şansınız da olmuyor. Onlar açısından bir prosedürü yerine getirme toplantısı oluyor. Oraya not ediyorlar. Halkı bilgilendirme toplantısı yapılmıştır o kadar. Halkı bilgilendirme toplantısı göstermelik toplantılar olduğu görüşüne ulaştık çevre mücadelesi deneyimlerimizde. Halkı bilgilendirme toplantılarına katılamam yönünde bir ortak karar belirledik. Burada da o şekilde oldu. Toplantıyı protestoya dönüştürmeyi hedefledik. Nitekim toplantı başlar gibi olamadan dağıldı. Kürsüyü işgal ettiler. Ama onlar halkın katılımı toplantısı yapılmıştır ama halk bilgilenecek istememiştir şeklinde gösteriyorlar. Halbuki dünyada bu böyle olmamış. Dünyada halkın katılımı demokratik bir süreç... Bizimkiler göstermelik bir şekilde uyguluyor.
19. Dediğim gibi Artvin’de yaşamayı çok seviyoruz. Bu maden çalışmalarında ben son 19 yıldır buradayım hemen hemen de 19 yıldır içerisindeyim. Artvin’e gelmeyen insanların bizim hayatımızda böyle bir söz hakkına sahip olması çok

üzüyor beni. Orada nöbetleşme dönemimizde devletin yetkilileri geldiğinde birebir sohbetlerimizde arabalarının önlerini kesip nereye gittiklerini sorduğumuzda yerine bakmaya gidiyoruz diyorlardı... Yani, henüz görülmemiş bir yer... Bunun orada yaşayan insanlara ne getireceğini bilmeden ihale ediyorsunuz.

20. Bu mücadele geleneği 12 Eylül'den gelen bir şey. Burası geçmişte demokratlığıyla bilinen, sol kültür almış, okur yazar, düşünür bir kent burası. Aslında çok özel bir kenttir. Bir tarafında Rize olup bir tarafında da Erzurum olan bir ilin bu kadar aydın olması enteresan bir durumdur. Dolayısıyla bir mücadele geleneği 12 Eylül öncesi de var. Tabii o süreç burayı ağır bir şekilde ezip geçmiş. 1300'e yakın insan Artvin Dev Yol davası diye yargılanmış, yıllarca içeride yatanlar olmuş. Ama buna rağmen eski sol kültür onun etkisi, biraz okur yazarlık düşünürlük vatan sevgisi etkisiyle direniş kültürü hep yaşamış. Dolayısıyla örgütlenme bilinci de var. Tarihten gelen bir birikimi de var. Sonraki süreçte de doğru insanların yola çıkmasıyla da burada bir çevre mücadelesi oluşmuş. Halkta da taban bulmuş.

21. Artvin'de maden çıkmaması gerekiyor. Bunun sebebi de ne? Fiziki yapı. İnsanların doğaya düşkün olması. Gerçekten şunu söyleyebilirim her on Artvinliden 8i doğaya gerçekten düşkündür. Bu benim kendi yaşam tarzım açısından madene karşı olma sebebim. Diğer sebepse kentte bir oluşum var ve bunun bütün siyasi partilerle birleşmiş bir güç eğer karşıysa buna demek ki orada halk istemiyor.

22. Biz dağlarda çok gezdiğimiz için de 12 Eylül'den sonra esasında bazı şeyler ranta açılmaya başlamıştı. Ormanlarda da öyle ranta açılan inanılmaz şeyler vardı. Burası küçük bir yer olduğu için fark edebiliyorsunuz. Bazı şeylerin kötü

gitmeye başladığını fark etmeye başlamıştık. Dolayısıyla birtakım mücadeleler başlamıştı...Daha sonra 94'te bunu fark ettik.

23. [Ben 2000'den sonra Artvin'de yeniden yaşamaya başladım. Ben geldikten sonra] 2005 yılına kadar burada madenle ilgili bir problem yoktu. Sonradan öğrendiğimize göre burada Cominco adlı şirketin bir madencilik süreci yaşanmış ama o sürecin sonunda hem valilik tarafından hem sivil hareket hem de siyasi iktidar da o dönemde bir biçimde bunu sorun olarak görmüş ve durdurmuşlar.

24. 2005 yılında Erzurum İdari Mahkemesinde ilk davayı açtık. İki ruhsat alanı vardı: Genya Dağı ve Cerattepe. Duruşması oldu. Erzurum 2.İdari Mahkemesi ruhsat ve işletim haklarının iptali için karar verdi. Şirket temyiz etti, danıştaya gitti. Danıştay kararı usulden bozdu. Yani iki ruhsat alanı var iki dava açmanız gerek diyerek. Bu karar geldiğinde bizi Erzurum'dan alıp Rize'ye bağladılar. Bu kez biz gidip Rize'de 2 ayrı dava açtık 2007 yılında. Rize'de 2017/51-52 sayılı dosyalardan o da iptal kararları verdi. Daha sonra 2008-2009 sonunda karar düzeltme aşamalarında tamamlandı ve ruhsat iptal edildi.

25. 2014 yılında Cerattepe'de keşif yapıldı...Keşiflere halkın katılımı sağlandı. 2014 yılının sonunda mahkemede duruşma oldu. O duruşma da çok büyük katılımlıydı...O davayı 283 kişiyle açmıştık. Duruşmadan bir ay sonra karar açıklandı, davayı kazandık. 2015'in ilk haftasında karar tebliğ edildi. Sonra karar temyiz edildi. Danıştay onu onayladı. Esasen Cerattepe'de madencilik yapılamayacağına ilişkin bir karar var elimizde. Bilirkişi raporu filan da önemliydi. Örnek kararlardan biri oldu... Nitekim mahkeme de o rapora uydu ve burada madencilik yapılamayacağına karar verdi. 2015'te nisan ayı sonrası

kararı temyiz edip yürütmeyi durdurma talebinde bulundular. Danıştay onu da reddetti. O dönem o kadar doğru bir karar vermişti.

26. Sonrasında şirket yeni ÇED aldık diye Cerattepe'ye çıkmaya çalıştı. Biz bir projeye karşı tepkimizi nasıl gösterebiliriz? En demokratik yoldan dava açıyoruz. Kırmıyoruz, dökmüyoruz, olay çıkarmıyoruz. Dava açıyoruz ve bunu da geçersiz sayıyorsunuz.... 2015 Temmuz'da 751 kişiyle ikinci dava açıldı. 2016 Şubat'ına kadar dosyada herhangi bir değişiklik olmadı.

27. Vurulduğumda çok ağladım devlet neden halkına böyle davranır diye. O sabah 4 sularında bir sesle uyandım. Gençler alanda nöbetteydi. Askerler benim evimle o alan arasında üç viraj var. Ben bizim evin oradan başlayıp iki viraja kadar polis ayak sesleri o gecenin sesinde. Ben o anda dedim ki bitti devlet bizi gözden çıkarmış... Bir ağlama başladı. Çocuklarınızı düşünüyorsunuz, geleceğinizi düşünüyorsunuz ve gerçekten bunları hak etmediğinizi düşünüyorsunuz... Gerçekten bu kadar nefret ben. Hayatım boyunca görmedim. Bunları yaşamak çok acı geliyor. Bir firma bunu kazanacak diye bu kadar insanı devletin gözden çıkarması çok acı. Çocuklarınızın geleceğini elden alması.

28. Devlet zor kullanarak her şeyi kırabilir. Silah çekecek hali yok kimsenin ama nihayetinde Cengiz İnşaat bir şirket değildi, bunu bir daha görmüş olduk. Öyle olunca da her şeyi yapabilme gücüne sahip bir grup. Bu insanlara bu yapılmamalıydı. En güzel lisanla anlattı bu insanlar. Küfretmediler, bir şey yapmadılar. Polisler küfürler ettiler kadınlara. Bu polise olan güveni de sarsıyor. Devlet dediğin şey güvenlik gücüdür. Bu insan diyor ki memleketimiz soyuluyor birincisi, ikincisi de biz burada daha yaşayamayız zengin değiliz şu yok.

29. O süreçte maden şirketinin burada kurduğu uydurma dernekler oldu. Para vererek kurdurdukları dernekler var. Bizim Artvin Platformu Derneği diye... Ayda beş bin on iki kişiye... Bunlar işte bu toplumu bölsünler halkı bu mücadeleden caydırsınlar diye kurulmuş şeyler... Onun dışında bu mücadele ilk etapta kar sağlayacak gruplar var kamyoncular gibi. Bunlarla sürdürülen o sürecin tümünde sürdürülen ilişkiler, ikna etmeler var. Netice itibariyle yukarıya beton taşıyacak satacak lazım.
30. Yargının kararından sonra da toplumsal anlamda kırılmalar başlıyor. Daha önce siz başarılı olurken çevrenizde olanlar çok oluyor. Ama yenilgi zamanlarında çıkar grupları hemen terk ediyor. Burada üzücü olan şu. Şirkette iş ekmek kaygısıyla çalışanlar olabilir. Ama burada iş birliği yapan, mücadelenin ön saflarında yer almış, solda insanları seçerek iş birliğine zorluyor şirket. Bu süreçte şirket devlet ayrımı yok. Bu şirketin büyük ortağının kim olduğunu herkes biliyor. Bu durumda da hiçbir kamu idarecisi şirketin önünde duracak hiçbir şey yapmıyor. Her türlü kamu idaresi hizmetlerinde...
31. Ekonomik olarak da şu anda çarşıda olan şeylerle alakalı madenle bir problem yaşamıyoruz. Ben kişisel olarak söyleyeyim ben de esnafım maden teklifte bulunduğu zaman reddediyorum. Bir müddet sonra hiç gelmiyor...Ama madende çalışan aynı sektördeki adamlar ekonomik olarak büyümeye başlıyor. Benim onlarla rekabet gücüm azalıyor. Bir müddet sonra benim direnç gücüm kırılmayacaktır. Ben paramı kazanacağım ama rekabet şansım azalıyor. Yani ben artık ekonomik olarak büyüme şansımı kaybediyorum. İnsanların direnci kırılıyor. Yavaş yavaş herkes teslim olacaktır yani.
32. Herkes yaptığı eylemlerden, tuttuğu nöbetlerden insanlar ceza aldı. Bir dönem burada adım attırmamaya çalıştılar. Her türlü basın açıklamasını, protesto

hakkını, eylem hakkını...Türkiye’de birçok yerde yasak ama Artvin’de bir de OHAL içinde OHAL getirdiler. Cerattepe’yi de bahane ederek bütün muhalefeti söndürmeye muhalefetin hareket alanını kısıtlamaya dönük bir politika yarattılar burada.

33. O zamanın şartlarıyla şu anın şartları aynı değil. Şimdiki siyasi baskı, toplumsal baskı o zaman yok. O zaman [1990lar ve 2000lerin başı] dönemin valisinin verdiği fikirle bu dernek kuruluyor. Şimdiki valilerimiz halkın yanında olmaktansa şirketin yanında olmayı tercih ettiler. O sebeple de biz sağlam bir mücadele gösteremedik. Bürokratik anlamda bir desteğiniz olmazsa siz yerelde istediğinizi söyleyin o fikrin hiçbir geçerliliği olmaz. Yapılamaz. Bürokrasi önemli. Bizim arkamızda kimse yok. Milletvekilleri bize destek olmuyor.

34. Mahkeme karar vermiş. Bu şartlarda bu yaşam alanında bu maden olmaz. Ya Artvin ya maden demiş ve Artvin’den yana tavrını koymuş. Danıştay’da bu karar karara bağlanmış. Şimdi yani hani o şey muhabbeti var ya eski Türkiye. Eski Türkiye olsa tek adam düzeni olmasa diktatörlük olmasa yargının yürütmenin yasamanın tek bir elde toplandığı süreç olmasa hukuk zaten yine bizden yana. Hukuk bizden yana ve bu madenin burada olabilme şansı yok ama şu anda kapitalist mantığıyla ben ülkeyi şirket gibi yöneteceğim dediği için.

35. ... dernek yapmak istediği her şeyi yaptı. Söylemek istediği her şeyi söyledi, kimseden korkmadı, çekinmedi... Bu sıkıntı yaşayacağımız en büyük olaylar memurların katıldığı durumlar... [O zamandan beri] burada mücadeleyi kaybetmek üzere olduğumuzu söyleyenler sayımızın azaldığını söyler. Sayımız fikir olarak azalmıyor. Yani mobing uygulanan kişiler meydanlarda bulunamıyor. [Yine de] derneğin çabası güzel... Herkesi aynı anda aynı yerde

toplamaya çalışması, hoşuna gitmese bile orta yolu bulmaya çalışması, her fikre sıcak bakması, hoşuna gitmese bile iyi davranması bu mücadeleyi güçlendirdi. Bizim içinde bulunmamızı sağladı açıkçası.

36. ... dernek içerisinde ilk başlarda biz şöyle bir şey yaptık. Bu mücadelenin bir partinin, bir grubun, bir görüşün siyasi mücadelesi değil. Bu Artvin halkının çıkarı, yaşam mücadelesi olduğunu topluma bunu anlattık ve burada eğer bir siyasi partiye dayandırsaydık, bir görüşün mücadelesi diye eğer lanse etseydik bunu baştan kaybetmiştik. Bizim mücadelenin uzun süre devam etmesinin nedeni geniş kesimlere bu mücadelenin benimsetilmesi, yani bu mücadelenin yaşam mücadelesi olduğunun kabul edilmesidir.

37. YAD kendisinin siyasi bir mekanizma olmadığını belirterek örgütlenme yapıyor. Çevre konusunda en doğru olanın da bu olduğunu düşünüyorum çünkü 16 Şubat'ta Cerattepe eylemi başladığında orada solcular varken sağcılar da vardı. Bunları es geçemeyiz. Şu anki duruma bakarsak soldan da satan oldu sağdan da.... Ama o gün eylemde ülkücü çocuklar da vardı. YAD'ın başarılı olduğu nokta budur bana göre. Toplantılar yapılıyor. Bazen tüm STK'lar tüm partilerden temsilciler çağrılıyor. Bu son şeyde [maden çıkmaya başladıktan sonraki dönem] sadece AKP yok. Çağrılıyor ama gelmiyor. MHP'den de yönetimde bir kişi vardı o da artık MHP istemediği için yönetimden çıktı. YAD ortada olduğunu her zaman söyledi "Çünkü bu mücadele siyasi bir mücadele değil." diyerek bunu sağladı.

38. 1980'lere kadar yaratılan aydınlanma kültürü, bu ilerici toplumsal iklim 12 eylül döneminde inanılmaz bir toplumsal örgütlenme ve güç yarattı. İlerici bir dalga yarattı. O dönem en güçlü örgüt Dev-Yol'du. Dev-Yol, Türkiye'deki en kitlesel sol hareket. Dev-Yol'un Ankara'dan sonra en fazla sanığının olduğu il

Artvin... Bu Artvin'in başka bir tarihi olduğunu gösteren bir şey. O dönem devrimci yolun bu kadar iyi örgütlenebilmesinin nedeni çalışma tarzı. İnsanlarla birebir temas kurmasıydı... Doğrudan insanların karşılaştığı ve yaşadığı sorunlar üzerinden planlı programlı bir çalışmayla çok kısa zamanda çok sıkı bir örgütlenmeye sahip olabilmışlerdi o dönem. Tabii 12 Eylül darbesi oldu ve o insanlar bir anda buharlaşmadılar. Tabii bir sürü insan hayatını kaybetti -çok nitelikli insanlar o dönem hayatlarını kaybetti- bir sürü insan başka illere göç etmek zorunda kaldı...ama tabii ki buharlaşmadılar, bir kısmı Artvin'de yaşamaya devam etti. En azından yarattıkları o kültür yaşayabilmiş. Direniş kültürü, örgütlenme kültürü... Mesele dönüp dolaşıp Cerattepe'ye geldiği zaman da Artvin'e daha önce gelmemiş gitmemiş sermayedarların buradaki toprakları ele geçirmesine karşı bir direniş kültürü yarattılar.

39. Meşrulukla militanlığı bir araya getiren farklı örgütler üzerinden farklı insanlar bir karar veriyordu ve ona göre bir eylem tarzı oluşturuluyordu. Bir de güven duygusu fazlaydı. YAD'ı şeffaf bir süreç, o şeffaflık, o insanları farklı farklı insanlara açma, farklı farklı kesimlere hem içerideki hem dışarıdaki Artvin'in hem köyleriyle hem siyasi partiyle, derneğiyle, muhtarıyla oradan insanları direnişin bir parçası haline getirebilmek aslında önemli bir meziyet isteyen bir durumdu.

40. Bunu mümkün kılan Artvin'in sosyolojik yapısı. Burada siyasal ilişkiler de çok keskin değildir. Bir de YAD'ın hassasiyeti çok önemli. Biz de o derneğin unsurlarındanız. Yaptığımız toplantılarda da soldan sağdan muhtarlardan derneklere kadar hepsi vardı. O toplantılarda da dilimize söylemimize çok dikkat ediyorduk. Daha çok çevre merkezli bir dil kullanıyorduk. Siyasal dil kullanmaktansa güncel hayatımızı ne kadar etkileyip etkilemeyeceğiyle ilgili

bir dil kullanıyorduk o sırada da ortak noktayı yakalıyorduk. Kimseyi incitmemeye özen gösteriyorduk. Bunun hata olduğunu düşünenler olsa da bence değil. YAD bu çizgiyi hep korudu.

41. Şu haritaları işaretliyor hocalar. Cevher stok alanı. Tumba sahası, açık işletme sahası falan filan...Onları işaretliyorlar oradan anlıyoruz yani...Onları veriyoruz hocalara onlar oradan haritalandırma yapıyorlar. Diğerleri kendi alanlarında şöyle olursa şöyle olur. Herkes kendi alanında görüşlerini belirtiyor. Ona göre de hem mahkemelere hazırlanıyoruz hem bilimsel raporlar oluşturuyoruz. Başka türlü olmuyor yani...Basit anlatıyoruz. Anlattığımız bu esasında. Bununla görünce yani görseli kullanınca ezbere anlatmaktan daha etkili oluyor. Dolayısıyla bu çok başarılı bir çalışma oldu. Kapı kapı gezdik. Elimize bunu alıyoruz, falan yerde gün var falan bahçede toplanmış kadınlar bizi bekliyor. Mahalle mahalle elimizde bununla...Bunun arkasını çevirmedik böyle gezdik. Yolda giderken de birisi sorarsa cevap veriyoruz. Öğretmen arkadaşlara anlattık ilk önce. Hangi dili kullanacağız ne söyleyeceğiz, ne anlatacağız...

42. Ormancılar derneğinin katkısıyla uluslararası imza kampanyası yaptık. Her gelen bürokrata gidip anlatıyorduk. Ekolojik yapıyı, neden burada olmaması gerektiğini bilimsel verilerle anlatıyorduk. Bunları yapabilmemiz için de bu bilim insanlarının yıllar içerisinde buraya gelip inceleyip bunları raporlandirmaları gerekti. Onların katkıları olmasaydı bunları yapamazdık. Esasında bilim insanları çok fazla sayıda değil. Onca üniversitemiz var ama çoğu kılını kıpırdatmıyor. Sesleri çıkmıyor, bilim insanı demek üzüntü veriyor. Doğru bildiğini aktarması gerekir ama onu toplum yararına kullanmıyor. Yani üç maymuna döndüler...Gerçek bilim insanları elin taşın altına koyuyorlar,

onlar da çok az. 2006'da Artvin Orman Fakültesinin rapor yayınlaması önemli bir örnek. Bunu yaptılar, akademik kuruldan da geçirerek bunu yayınladılar ve biz de onu mahkemede kullandık?

43. Benim hafızamda şey yer etmiş. 98 senesinde Kafkasör'de Zülfü Livaneli konseri yapılmıştı, teması da “Madene Hayır”dı. Ben 6 yaşındaydım o dönem. Yine ben 6-7 yaşlarındayken bütün dükkanlarda “Artvin’in Yeşili Solmasın, Madene Hayır!” stikerları görüyordum. O da kafamda yer ediyordu. Madenin kötü bir şey olduğuna dair bir hafızayla büyüdüm aslında. Şehirdeki o kodlardan şey oluştu yani burada yetişen Artvinli bir genç madenin kötü bir şey olduğunu aslında anlıyordu etrafındaki etkinliklerden, afişlerden ötürü. Ben de o dönem büyüyen bir gencim. Bu madenin Artvin’e zarar vereceğini, Artvin’i yok edeceğini o yıllarda öğrenmeye başlıyordum.

44. [Başlangıçta Kazdağları Kardeşliği diye bir oluşumumuz vardı]..Bayramiç’te bu [ağaç] kesiminden bir yıl öncesi her on beş günde bir ya da ayda bir toplanıp altın madenciliğinin geleceği, sondajların yapılacağı, buraların hep ruhsatlandırıldığına ilişkin konuşuluyordu...Son on yıldır buraya yerleşmiş, burada yaşayan çevre hareketlerinden olsun, kadın hareketinden olsun pek çok hareketten gelen insanlar var. Bunu da kullanarak haklarımız neler, ne yapabiliriz üzerine konuşmaya başlamıştık. Sonra birden bu drone görüntüleri ortaya çıkıp orası patlak verince dışarıdan insanlar gelip Balaban’da nöbet tutulmaya başlandı. O zaman çok büyük bir şehirli kitle oraya akın etti. Nöbette kalanların da çoğu dışarıdan ve şehirlerden gelmiş kitleydi. Ama biz yerelde zaten bunu adım adım başlamıştık bir şekilde. Haliyle hareket, bu Kazdağlarıyla ilgili hareket de biraz şehirli oldu.

45. 2015 yılında buraya taşındım. Çevre mühendisliği okudum ama hiçbir zaman o işi yapmadım. Buraya gelmeden önce İstanbul'da beyaz yakalı olarak çalışıyordum. O zaman da atalık tohumların izini sürüyordum. Gezi sonrasında partnerimle beraber kırsalda yaşama hayali kurmaya başladık. 2014 yılında işimden istifa ettim. Buraya taşındığımızda 2 yıl Çamtepe köyünde yaşadık. [Orada yaşarken] baraj, termik santral, maden ocakları, taş ocakları gibi önemli çevre sorunları olduğunu fark ettik. İstanbul'da yaşarken bunlar dikkatimizi çekmiyordu. Bahçedere'den bir arazi aldık. Bizim aldığımız arazinin olduğu alana 2007 yılında maden sondajları yapıldığını öğrendik. O dönemki mücadeleyle oradaki proje durmuş sonrasında. Bizim mücadeleye [Kirazlı ve diğerleri] katılma sebebimiz yaşam alanını koruma zorunluluğu oldu.
46. Zaten doğayla birlikte yaşama amacıyla buraya gelmiştik. Sonrasında köyümüze yakın bir yere Alamos Gold'un Çamyurt altın madeni projesi geldi. Köydeki bilgilendirme toplantısına biz de bu neymiş diye gittik. Yaklaşık 2 buçuk sene oluyor... Orada öğrendik altın madeninin ne olduğunu, yaratacağı yıkımı... Çevre derneklerinden insanlar gelmişti, onlar anlattı. Baktık pek kimse harekete geçmiyor ne olacak... Öyle başladık biz de mücadeleye. Önce bir neyin ne olduğunu öğrenme dönemi geçti, sonra nasıl mücadele edeceğimizi konuştuk... Sosyal medya hesapları açtık. Dava süreçlerini takip ettik. Bir sene sonra yine aynı şirketin Kirazlı'daki maden için izinleri çat çat verildi ve orası iki buçuk ayda ağaçları kesildi bir kısmın, üst toprak sıyrıldı.
47. Öncelikle ben kendi adıma sağlıklı bir çevrede yaşamak istiyorum. Bu bölgeye gelirken bu niyetle geldim. Akdeniz'de yaşıyordum. Sağlıklı ve sessiz bir çevrede yaşayayım diye... Ama ne yazık ki şu anda yaşadığım yer için bir tehdit olduğunu gördüm bu projelerin. Bu tehdiye karşı benim de

verilen mücadelede yer almam gerekiyordu bir vatandaş sorumluluğuyla. O nedenle içerisinde yer aldım.

48. Sarıkız benim kutsalım sayılır. Haliyle bu dağlar benim için çok başka anlam ifade ediyor. Değil altına hiçbir şeye değışeceğim... Benim için buranın ruhani hali çok değerli. O yüzden de artı bir sorumluluk hissediyorum. İkisi de katlanınca tabii bu mücadeleden başımızı kaldıramaz hale geldik. Tabii kadın hareketinden daha az görünürlüğüm ve katkım oldu. Şimdi de bir şekilde ekofeminist mücadele yürütmeye çalışıyorum... Türkiye’de kadın hareketiyle -şu son aldığımız darbelerle- ekoloji hareketini birbirinden ayrı olarak görmüyorum. Birisi yaşam alanını savunuyor, yaşam hakkını savunuyor... İkisi de bizi var eden şeyler.

49. Üç dört kişinin orada çadırda kalması macera boyutu. O şekilde yürümüyor bu iş. Bizim mücadele tarzımız bu değil. Orada hayatta kalmak gençliğin bir tercihi. Bizim planlamamız bu değil. Gelip bir yerde 10 yıllık mücadele varken onun üzerine konmak olmuyor. Mücadelenin özüne o inmiyor. İstanbul’dan gelip buradaki mücadeleyi yönetemezsin. Siyasi kimlikle bu iş olmaz.

50. Bu arada pandemide cezalar kesildi. Pandemi öncesinde valilik yasakladı ormanda kalmayı. Aslında gayet yasal bir hak, ormanda da kalabilirsin protesto hakkını da gerçekleştirebilirsin, doğanı da koruyabilirsin... Ormanda kalmak yasak diye başladılar ceza kesmeye. ...Her gün drone etrafımızdaydı... Ondan sonrasında en büyük cezalar pandemiyle geldi. Artık kıştı. Şirket çalışmadığı için çok büyük bir kalabalığa da ihtiyaç yoktu orada. Pandemide de “Tamam.” dediler, “4 kişi kalmışken çıkın burayı boşaltın yoksa tahliye edileceksiniz” dediler. “Yok.” dedik, “şirket orada, onları çıkarmıyorsunuz niye bizi çıkarıyorsunuz, onlar çıkınca biz zaten gideceğiz” dedik. Sonrasında para

cezaları yağmaya başladı... 2 ay kadar biz orada 4 kişi kaldık. O arada Çanakkale’de hiçbir yerde ormana çıkmak yasak değildi. Sadece bizim nöbet alanımızın başında bir yol var iki başında jandarma bekliyor tüm gün. Gelmek isteyeneye yasak deyip almıyorlar. Orada bizi yalnızlaştırmaya çalıştılar. Sonra yasaklar kalkınca nöbette olan insanlar geri dönmek istedi. Her gelene ceza yazmaya başladılar. Toplamda 100-150 kişiye 650 bin lira filan ceza kesildi. Hala ödüyoruz...Zaten itirazını yaptık adliyede. Hacizler, banka blokeleri filan başladı. Dayanışma kampanyasıyla 200 bin lira gibi topladık. Hala cezaları ödüyoruz.

51. [Balabanlı tepesinde nöbet eyleminin başladığı günün] yıldönümünde, Alamos Gold ruhsatı olmamasına rağmen hala oradaydı. Buna dikkat çekmek ve nöbetin yıldönümünü kutlamak istedik. Bu neden Pazar günü [Balabanlı tepesindeki] nöbet alanında olacaktık. Cumartesi günü bir basın açıklaması yapacaktık. Basın açıklamasına bir buçuk saat kala polis basın açıklaması yapamayacağımızı, valinin yasakladığını söyledi. Bir arkadaşımız megafonla basın açıklamasına izin verilmediğini söyleyince [güvenlik güçleri] megafonu elinden aldı. Büyük bir alkış vardı. Hiçbir uyarıda bulunmadan bizi gözaltına aldılar.

52. Şu ana kadar bir başarı var. Şirketin ruhsatı yenilenmedi. Nöbette kamuoyu baskısı dolayısıyla hiç çalışmadılar. İki ayda orayı o hale getirdiler ve sonrasında hiç çalışmadılar nöbetten sonra. Bu bir başarı ama bitti mi bitmedi. Tekrar gelebilirler. Biz tekrar nöbet tutmaya gidebiliriz. Polisiyle jandarmasıyla biz oradan sökebilirler. Ormanın korunması gerektiğini, paradan daha önemli olduğunu bir nebze de olsa insanlara anlatabildik gibi geliyor bana. Daha çok anlatmamız lazım.

53. Şu an çok sıkışmış bir durumda olduğumuzu düşünüyorum. Bu sadece madencilikle ilgili değil, Türkiye'nin genel olarak siyasi durumuyla ilgili. Çok yoğun bir baskı var. Şu an Kazdağları'nın neredeyse yüzde 70'inin ruhsatlı bir alana dönüştürüldüğü bir yapıdan bahsediyoruz. Her yerden sondaj haberleri geliyor. Kazdağları'nın tümünü yok edecek bir proje var. Cengiz bir ayağı Alamos orada... Çok güçlü bir ağ... Bir yerde kaybetmeye başladığında aslında her yerde kaybedecek o yüzden çok sıkı durmak gerekiyor. Hareketin hukuksal zeminde kazanılmış hiçbir şeyi tanımadıkları için ÇED iptal davalarını bile bozdurabildikleri için hukukun üstünlüğü lafta kaldığı için işimiz zor. Daha hukuka dayalı bir anlayışla yürütülüyor olsak bir sıkıntı olmazdı. Biz hukuksal mücadelemizi verip kazandığımız anda bir oh çekerdik. Ama şu an öyle bir durumda değiliz. Hukuku da tanımıyorlar.... Yapılmamış ÇED'i yapılmış gibi gösteriyorlar...Hukukun işlememesinden kaynaklı çok büyük bir tıkanma var. İkincisi o kadar büyük bir toplumsal baskı kurdular ki insanlar sokağa çıkıp hakkını aramakta epey zorlanıyor. Yöre halkını harekete geçirememek de bunla ilgili...Bence en kritik nokta. Adaletsizlik burada başlıyor, hukukun geçerli olmaması alınan kararların uygulanmaması madencilikte bizim elimizi çok bağlayan bir şey. Çok çabalıyoruz ama hukuk olmadığında tıkanıyor. Tabii ki toplumsal baskı oluşukça orada bir şeyler olacak. Amacımız buradaki sesi hiçbir zaman susturmamak, hala bunu yaymaya çalışıyoruz.

54. Bu komite kent konseyi çatısı altında oluştu, içinde belediye başkan yardımcıları vardı. Buradaki nöbeti ve çevre hareketini ormana zarar vermeden organize etmeye çalıştık. Nöbet boyutu büyük bir eylemdi ve görkemli geçiyordu. Bu nöbeti de başlangıçta bu komite organize etti

belediyenin de desteğiyle. Sonrasında her yerden insanlar katıldı. Artvin’den, Munzur’dan, Aydın’dan.... Yurtdışından destekler geldi. Çanakkaleliler de katıldı.

55. Nöbet başladı. Aslında biz ve birçok dernek iş birliği yaparak bu nöbetin başlamasını örgütlemiştik. Kampanyalar yapıp yükseltmiştik. Nöbet tutmaya devam ettik. Ege Marmara Belediye Birliği çağrısıyla nöbete gelmişti insanlar. Fazıl Say konseri sonrasında onlar nöbeti bitirme kararı aldılar.... Sonra nöbeti bitirme kararı aldıklarında bir ayrışma oldu. Sonrasında onlarla yolumuz ayrıldı ama onun dışında nöbette olanlar Kazdağları Kardeşliği, Kazdağı Koruma Derneği, Çan Çevre Derneği hep birlikte devam ettik. Ekoloji Birliği filan orada kalmamızı nöbetin devamlılığını destekledi.
56. Nöbetin devam edip etmemesinde kırılmalar başladı. Bir kısım nöbete devam etmek isterken bir kısım da “Burada artık durmamızın bir anlamı yok, Çanakkale merkeze inelim orada nöbet devam etsin.” diyordu... Fazıl Say konseri sonrası olan süreci söylüyorum. Balaban tepesi Alamos Gold’un indirmeyi düşündüğü bir tepe. Orada bulunmak mevzi olarak önemli... Her gün yürüyüşler yapılıyor, insanlar geliyor... Orası kazanılmış bir bölge ve kaybedilmemeli diye bakılıyordu. Bu süreçte çok ciddi tartışmalar yaşandı. Israrla diğerleri “Burayı bırakmamız gerekiyor, burası artık bitti, aşağı Çanakkale merkeze ineceğiz.” dedi. Su ve Vicdan Nöbetini başlatan gruptan bahsediyorum. Dışarıdan gelenler, bizim gibi Bayramiç’ten oraya gidenler orada kalınmasını tercih etti. Haliyle çatışma o zaman başladı.
57. Türkiye yapısında bir araya gelme sorunu var. İnsanların çok derdi var. İnsanlar her derdini dillendirmek için tek bir sorunu kullanıyor. Örneğin, Kürt sorununun, vejetaryen olmanın vb. oradaki nöbetle, mücadeleyle ne ilgisi

vardı? Neden yereldeki insanlarla hareket etmiyorsun? Yerelin mücadelesi çok önemli. Bizim orayı planlarken herkese çağrı yapıp her yerde çadır kurun demememiz lazımdı. O konuda Cerattepe’yi örnek alabilirdik; ama biz onların yaptığı organizasyon yapısını kuramadık. Aynı zamanda iş bölümü de yapamadık. Her şey 15 kişinin üzerine kalınca olmuyor.

58. Dışarıdan gelenler/İstanbullular komiteye girmek istediler. Ancak, buna izin vermedik. Bana göre, çevre hareketleri yerelden ilerlemeli ve organize olmalı. Biz dışarıdan gelenlerin orada ısrarla nöbet tutmak istemesine karşı nöbeti şehre taşımak istedik. Buna karşı çıktılar. En sonunda ne oldu? 3 kişi kaldılar, onlar da polislerce götürüldü.

59. Ben Fazıl Sayla gittim ve kaldım... Onda da sıkıntılar olmuştu. Su ve Vicdan nöbetinden ayrı yapılan ilk forumdan itibaren vardım. Ayrı ayrı forum yapılmıyordu öncesinde ama o esnada nöbeti devam ettirmek isteyenler ayrı bir forum düzenledi. İlk kopma orada oldu. Sonra Su ve Vicdan nöbeti kendi koordinasyon ekibiyle başka yerde toplandı. Bizim yanımıza gelip “Biz nöbetten çekiliyoruz, siz de çekilin, burada sizin güvenliğinizi sağlayamayız.” diye direktifler vermişlerdi...Onlar çekildiler. Belediye kendi çadırlarını aldı. Oradaki tuvaletlerdi, banklardı, oturma yerleriydi hepsini aldı nöbet alanından. Orası sadece dışarıdan gelip çadır atıp oraya yerleşen ya da bizim gibi Bayramiç ve yakınlardan gelen insanlarla kaldı...Orada zaten büyük bir kopma oldu. O dakikadan itibaren de “Nöbeti biz başlattık biz bitiririz orada nöbet tutanlarla bizim bir ilişkimiz yok.” gibi söylemler oluşturarak dışlama ötekileştirme hali başladı. Bu zaten bütün sürece de işledi. Sonraki süreç de bu ikilik üzerine kuruldu.

60. Kirazlı büyük bir coşkuyla başladı bir sürü insan geldi... Onun gürültüsüyle birçok ihale geri çekildi. Yeni maden alanları veriliyordu, geri çekildi. Bu güney tarafında bir madenin ÇED olumlu kararı iptal edildi, normalde olmaz. Başka yerlerde başka nöbetler başladı. Ağacı korumakla ilgili bir fikir yükseldiğini düşünüyorum. Bir sürü yerde umut oldu. Direnebiliriz, kurtarabiliriz gibi... O kadar yükselmiş şeyi bırakıp onu düşüremezdik... Onun sorumluluğunu da taşıdık... İnsanları da umutsuzluğa düşüremezdik. Onun için de devam ettik bir yandan... Bütün o nöbet süreci boyunca da Türkiye'deki diğer hatta yurtdışında başka yerlerle de sosyal medya üzerinden dayanışma içinde olduk...Oralardaki insanlar da dayanışma mesajı gönderdiler buraya. Başka şehirlerde Kazdağları için eylemler yaptılar. Güzel bir birleşme hali var aslında.
61. Maddi destek, yiyecek-içecek desteği yapıldı. Ekonomik anlamda esnaf olarak desteğimiz oldu. Her şey eşit olarak dağıldı. Bu şu görüşündür denmedi. Eczaneler ilaçları verdiler... Biz çok anlamayız o işlerden. Sıkıntılı oldu. Çünkü neyle karşılaşacağımızı az çok biliyorduk. Ama onların bize yapacağı muameleyi hiç bu şekilde hayal etmemiştik. Onu da eczacılar hallettiler... Çok işimize yaradı yani. Önümüzü görmemizi sağladı. Fırınlar ücretsiz ekmek sağladı. Herkes elinden geldiğince bir şeyler yaptı. Bazıları da mecbur kaldı.

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Figure 1. A map of the declared mining areas in Artvin (YAD, 2021). Reprinted from *Madencilik Sektöründe Kamu Yararı ve Altın İşletmeciliği: Artvin İli ve İlçelerine Ait Maden Ruhsat Alanları* (p.40), by Yeşil Artvin Derneği, 2021. Copyright 2021 by YAD. Reprinted with permission.

Figure 2. A map of the declared mining areas in Mount Ida region. Reprinted from *Kaz dağları Yöresinde Madencilik* (p. 25), by TEMA, 2020. Copyright 2020 by TEMA. Reprinted with permission.

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