Community-based Ecological Resistance: The Bergama Movement in Turkey

AYKUT ÇOBAN[1]

The Bergama community has resisted gold-mining activity in Turkey for more than ten years. First, the characteristics of community-based resistance movements are outlined in order to provide theoretical tools to be used in the analysis of the Bergama movement. Then are investigated how the elements of the Bergama movement, such as the perceived threat, the philosophy behind the struggle, the actors themselves, their demands, targets, strategies and tactics, are incorporated into a political project to defend and sustain the symbiotic relationship between the community and the environment. The paper also shows the ways in which the movement has expanded its geographical scale, and discusses its political and economic consequences for other local movements, capital accumulation and environmental conservation.

Fifteen years ago no-one could have imagined that a community movement in the Turkish town of Bergama would have such an immense impact, but it has become the largest scale and longest running ecological resistance movement modern Turkey has ever seen. It emerged in the early 1990s, has mushroomed since 1997 and continues to be on the national agenda today. The Bergama community has continued its struggle, just as the mining corporation and the state have insisted on putting the mine into operation. The present paper places the movement within the analysis of a conflict between two symbioses, between the community and the environment on the one hand, and between the corporation and the state on the other. The former symbiosis informs us of what the struggle is for, namely to sustain the symbiotic community–environment relationship. The latter symbiosis is what the activists oppose, namely the relationship between the Turkish state and the mining company. The activists' responses to the state–corporation symbiosis in this specific case have a bearing on the development of the movement itself.

Aykut Çoban is Lecturer in the Faculty of Political Sciences at Ankara University, Turkey. He was recently Leverhulme Trust Visiting Fellow in the Department of Sociology at Essex University, UK.

Environmental Politics, Vol.13, No.2, Summer 2004, pp.438 – 460
ISSN 0964-4016 print/1744-8934 online
DOI: 10.1080/0964401042000209658 © 2004 Taylor & Francis Ltd.

Community-based Resistance Movements

It is common in the literature on environmental movements to classify these movements according to aims, demands, definitions of the perceived threat, ideologies, actors, strategies, medium of action, duration over time, scope, location, organisational design, foes, the degree of radicalism, and so forth [e.g., *Carmin, 1999; Castells, 1997: 112–21; Finger, 1994; Freudenberg and Steinsapir, 1991; Gould, Schnaiberg and Weinberg, 1996: 1–4; Habermas, 1981; Martinez-Alier, 2002: 1–15; Kamieniecki, Coleman, and Vos, 1995: 319–31; Kousis, 1999: 172–75; Lohmann, 1995; Rüdig, 1995*]. However, even if, for instance, a community-based resistance movement and a local environmental movement seem to be devoted to the aim of local environmental protection (the criterion is 'aim'), it would be problematic to put both into the same category, without examining other features of these two movements such as strategy, tactics and organisational forms. It is noted that some problems may arise when the degree of institutionalisation[2] [*Scott, 1990: 34; Diani and Donati, 1999: 17–24; Jamison, 1996: 230–40; Staggenborg, 1997*] and the degree of radicalism [*Radcliffe, 2000: 143, 153–4; Castells, 1997: 114; Diani, 1995: 2*] are employed as criteria in any classification. Similarly, the criterion of the location of activism may become ill-defined as activists use a variety of actions both inside and outside the institutional procedures of the state [*Crossley, 2002: 164; McAdam, Tarrow and Tilly, 2001: 6–7*].

What the above view suggests is not that classifications of environmental movements in the literature are irrelevant, but rather that they are limited in their utility. The emphasis here is that classification criteria should not be employed independent of each other as if characteristic elements of a movement should be taken in isolation.[3] One way of overcoming these limitations is to reconsider classification criteria as being interwoven within the movement in question, as what gives a movement its distinctive characteristics is the specific combination of its features. The interrelationships between the elements of community-based resistance movements have not previously been elucidated in this sense, although some attention has been paid to community-based environmentalism [e.g., *Kousis, 1997, 1999; Szasz, 1994; Taylor, 1995; Thiele, 1999: 155–65*]. Therefore, the analysis undertaken in the following section is an attempt to clarify the distinctive characteristics of this kind of movement.

Community and Environment in Symbiosis

To start with, what is the concept of community, especially in its connection with the material world? Whitt and Slack [*1994: 21–2*] find that:

> An environment particularizes or contextualizes a community, situating it within and bonding it to both the natural world and the larger 'containing' society. ... [Communities are] conjoined to and interpenetrated by particular environments which they transform and partially construct and which in turn transform and partially construct them. Far from being mere passive backdrops or props in an essentially (or exclusively) human play, environments so conceived are the embodiment, or material extension of communities. ... Communities, then, are as much results as they are causes of their own environments. ... [C]ommunities and their constitutive environments are inseparable; they are the unit of development and change. All development is, for better or worse, co-development of communities and environments.

This interconnectedness and symbiotic relationship between community and the material world is the crucial point at which the specific combination of the constitutive elements of the community-based resistance movement can be seen. Demands, perceived threat, philosophy, actors, aim, targets, strategy and tactics are incorporated into the political project of defending and sustaining the symbiotic relationship between community and environment. In a similar vein, it is suggested that an analysis of collective action should combine actors and identities with the mobilisation process and forms of action because actors are not self-propelling entities with fixed identities but socially embedded beings who interact with other such beings at the sites of action where 'contentious politics does not simply activate preexisting actors but engages actors in a series of interactive performances' [*McAdam et al., 2001:56–7*]. So, we should look at the combination of demands, dynamics, mechanisms and forms of action in order to make sense of community-based ecological resistance.

The demands of the community do not develop solely around the idea of either 'save the environment' or 'save the community', but, instead, around both. Because community life and the environment are seen, not as two different, independent areas but as interwoven; an effort to protect the local environment is also an effort to protect community life and livelihood, and vice versa. Opposition to coal mining in eastern Kentucky in the US, for example, 'was motivated by people's love of the mountains and the tight connection between their way of life and land' [*Edwards, 1995: 47*]. In other movements against logging in Thailand [*Lohmann, 1995: 122*] and Malaysia [*Gedicks, 1995: 95–6*], against harmful industrial activities in Greece [*Kousis, 1997: 244–5*], and against the proposed zinc–copper mine in Crandon, Wisconsin [*Gedicks, 2001: 128–34*], activists emphasised the interactions between community and environment (particularly, the dependence of community life on clean water, clean air, forests, fish, birds and

land). As in all these cases (and in the Bergama case which will be discussed below), forms of environmental degradation are perceived as a threat to the community's way of life. This is seen as inseparable from the environment in the sense that the community lives with and within the environment. An emerging threat as such triggers a resistance movement committed to defending and sustaining the community's way of life. This common aim is then knitted around an understanding of the symbiotic community–environment relationship, as Anderson [*1994*] shows in her analysis of village movements in Central America. Put differently, philosophical reasoning has little, if anything at all, to do with either anthropocentric or ecocentric thinking. The activists in a community-based movement have a relational understanding of the human–environment relationship. It is quite different from dualist accounts in which the significance of either the existence of the environment, or that of the human being is reduced to the other [*Barry, 1999; Benton, 1989; Humprey, 2000*]. It is argued that community-based ecological resistance in the US [*DiChiro, 1998*], in Costa Rica and Nicaragua [*Anderson, 1994: 5*], in Thailand [*Lohmann, 1995: 125*] and in some Asian countries [*Kalland and Persoon, 1998: 3–5*] challenges both anthropocentric and ecocentric discourses.

A resistance strategy is forged by the organising idea of the 'rejection of the rejectors', to borrow Zygmunt Bauman's [*1998: 127*] phrase. This is because a community's demands are not generally taken into consideration by those states and corporations that make different claims about the same environment [see *Kousis, 2001: 133–5*]. The response of the community to the rejection is, then, to resist any attempt which threatens the community–environment symbiosis via the strategy of the rejection of the rejectors (I will elaborate on this below by employing Gramsci's concept of 'war of position'). For instance, the Penan people in Malaysia asked the government and logging companies to stop destroying the forest: 'if you decide not to heed our request, we will protect our livelihood' [cited in *Gedicks, 1995: 96*]. As the logging activity continued, the Penan people had to resort to direct action with a resistance strategy. This brings us to the question of the possibility of evolving from resistance to collaboration. Rather than oscillating from challenge to collaboration, it is a defensive, reflexive and *reactive* movement in response to a threat. The mobilisation evolves around the strong demand for a return to the earlier condition of the community's way of life. The target is not corporate or government policies to be influenced by means of alternative and innovative proposals or suggestions. This is the case with some environmental movements or organisations where activists want to participate in decision-making processes, in the *proactive* sense, in order to make policies and industrial operations environmentally friendly, or at least less destructive [cf. *Castells, 1997: 110–33*]. This sort of

target identification provides a basis for collaboration. However, the target of activists in community-based resistance movements is, instead, a harmful industrial activity itself (e.g., the cessation of the logging activity (Thai and Malaysian cases) or of the mining activity (Kentucky, Wisconsin and Bergama cases) or the annulment of the decision to build an incinerator (Greek case)).

Complementary to this resistance strategy are the tactics used. Various forms of tactics are employed in these movements [see *Marinez-Alier, 2003; Gedicks, 2001; Shiva, 1989; Lohmann, 1995; Taylor, 1995;* and the Bergama case below]. What is significant in tactical terms is that tactics are not used in a symbolic way, with a limited number of participants, but in a massive way, with the participation of a mass of community members, as in the Thai [*Lohmann, 1995*], Malaysian [*Gedicks, 1995*], Costa Rican and Nicaraguan [*Anderson, 1994*], Indian [*Shiva, 1989*], West Papuan [*Gedicks, 2001*] and Greek [*Kousis, 1997*] cases. In some types of environmental movements [e.g., Greenpeace, see *Brown and May, 1989: 13–15*], the symbolic direct actions of a few strongly committed participants based on the logic of bearing witness are testimonies against some forms of environmental degradation [*della Porta and Diani, 1999: 178–80*]. By and large, they are tools designed to exert pressure, via creating media attention, on governments or corporations to adopt a particular version of environmental protection. In contrast, direct actions by communities of resistance are organised to stop the members of the communities themselves from becoming victims of a specific industrial activity [see *Edwards, 1995: 47*] and are designed to demonstrate their sufferings. This clarification of the characteristics of community-based resistance movements will help shed light on the analysis of the Bergama movement below.

A Community Resisting Gold Mining[4]

The preparations for the Bergama gold mine started in the early 1990s. Eurogold, a multinationally-owned corporation, conducted test drilling in Bergama to investigate the structure of the earth. During the drilling, poisonous chemical substances contaminated the water, and caused illness among local children [*Abacioglu, 1997: 1*]. This incident produced a high level of suspicion about the Eurogold project. After holding meetings within the community and with academics invited to provide more information about the mine, local people found out that their means of subsistence, their local environment and animal species would be destroyed by the hazardous mining activity where tons of cyanide would be used to leach the gold and silver from the ore, tons of heavy metals would be left behind, and the dust arising from the crushing and grinding would contaminate the air and land.[5]

Indeed, the mining site is too close to human and animal habitation. The mining site is surrounded by 17 villages with a population of 11,000. The nearest village (Ovacik) is only 60 metres away. The area surrounding the mine is also home to a very significant population of fauna such as many bird species under international protection [*Erden 1995; Siki, 1995; Gemici, 1995*]. The area on which the community is most dependent consists of agricultural, vegetable and fruit fields, and olive, poplar and pine trees. According to the chamber of commerce of Bergama, the annual production of cotton, tobacco, tomatoes and olive oil in the Bergama district equals US$ 42 million [*Taskin, 1997: 67*], US$ 7 million higher than the total amount of the Eurogold investment.

Defending the Symbiosis

Heavily engaged in agriculture, the Bergama community is physically dependent on nature. In agricultural activities human labour 'is deployed to sustain or regulate the environmental conditions under which seed or stock animals grow and develop' [*Benton 1989: 67*]. From the community's point of view, the mining activity threatens the sustainability of these conditions. The Bergama villagers were very aware of their dependence on the environment. At a village meeting, a woman leader noted that 'thousands of people rely on this land that they are going to destroy, and you can see that human beings are somehow rooted in the land like plants'. One farmer also underlined the villagers' concerns about the mine: 'our land is very fruitful and more valuable than their gold, but if we do not hinder the poisonous project we all will die because they will turn this land into Arabian deserts' [in *Alevcan, 1998: 90–4*]. The main aim of the mining opponents thus appears to be to defend their livelihoods and nature against degradation or, as one farmer put it, 'to protect their homes, land and water' [*Turkish Daily News, 18 October 1997*].

One can observe the similarity between the Bergama case and other community-based resistance movements in terms of the activists' understanding of the community–environment symbiosis discussed in the previous section. The farmers' views cited above represent their understanding of the symbiosis. This is further illustrated by the Inscription of the 17 villages.[6] In May 1997, the villagers decided to place an inscribed stone panel in the village square in Camkoy stating the aims, views, determination, friends and foes of the movement. It reads 'those who value gold over life are cutting down trees and robbing the earth'. The local people, however, 'love life and the nature that is their life', 'they identify their lives with and protect all living things above and below the ground. For them, all things above and below the ground are as important as the air they breathe. They know that they cannot live without any of them'. In a different part of the world in San

Juan Ridge, California, participants at the Peoples' Gold Summit held in June 1999 declared their opposition to gold mining with language rather similar to that used in the Inscription text. The Manifesto [cited in *Martinez-Alier, 2003: 211*] resulting from this Summit helps us locate the Bergama case in a broader perspective. The Manifesto emphasises that 'life, land, clean water and clean air are more precious than gold' and 'destruction created by gold mining is greater than any value generated'. Recognising that communities' relationship to land is central to their identity and survival, it states that gold mining violates the right to life by destroying 'the spiritual, cultural, political, social and economic lives of people as well as entire ecosystems'. Obviously, both the Bergama villagers and Summit participants value life and components of life more than gold and point to the critical importance of the symbiotic community–environment relationships for present and future generations.

The community's spokespersons announced at a press conference [*Cumhuriyet, 15 October 1994*] that the mine was a threat to vineyards, olive trees, their children and the future and that they would not let it operate. Research carried out for Eurogold, to ascertain the views of the community about the mine, showed that more than 90 per cent of the respondents were against the mine [*ARAS, 1994: 58–61*]. In order to show the degree of the community's rejection of the mine to the state and corporation, the activists organised a referendum in the eight villages nearest the mining area, and all the participants (2866 villagers) in the ballot said 'no' to the mine. Almost all members of the community, children, women and men of all ages, have been active participants in the movement, as in other cases of community-based ecological resistance. Those villagers who were working on the construction of the mining site and did not oppose the mine, were isolated. The community condemned them as being 'Eurogold men', did not allow them to sit in the communal coffee houses, and broke off all social relations with them even when they were relatives [*Milliyet, 27 July 1997; Apolitika, 1997: 25–7*]. In August 2002, an argument between relatives holding different opinions about the mine led to a fatal incident where one villager was murdered and another seriously wounded, both of whom opposed the mine. For the villagers, the incident was another sign of the deleterious effects of the mine on community life, destroying the integrity of the community as well as the environment.

Every new step by the corporation in the process of setting up and operating the mine (i.e., whenever the community perceived the threat to itself and nature moving one step closer) engendered rage among the members of the community and re-ignited the resistance movement. They felt caught in a trap, as one farmer put it at a community meeting, like 'a frog in the mouth of a snake'; 'we urgently have to find the way out because it is Doomsday for us, we have to stop it coming about'. The early mobilisations

took the form of meetings and panels in the village coffee houses, picnics in the fields, press releases and press conferences. Actions gathered momentum when the potential threat became reality with the progress in production preparations. In 1996, Eurogold commenced construction by cutting down as many as 2500 olive trees for the open pit operation. A crowd of 5000 people blocked the main road connecting two big cities, Izmir and Canakkale, for 6 hours on 15 November 1996. Their actions continued in different forms including demonstrations, marches, sit-ins at the mining site, petitions, lobbying activities, picnics, festivals and days of planting trees. One of the biggest actions took place when farmers heard that 21 tons of cyanide had been brought to the mining site. Some blocked the road connecting the mine to the main road to check whether any more vehicles carrying cyanide were going to arrive so that they could stop them while others were occupying the site. The governor of the city of Izmir came to the site to negotiate with the protestors. They insisted that the only subject for negotiation was the demolition of the plant. In the end, 36 farmers who were believed to be the ring-leaders of the action were arrested.

Although both men and women have been involved in the movement, it must be noted that from the outset the motors and the most determined participants have been women. A spokesman [*Engel, 1998: 222*] points out that 'they organised the villages falling behind in the fight by visiting the women there whose subsequent participation encouraged men to join the movement more actively'. Women's leadership is usually the case for community-based movements in different parts of the world from India [*Forcey, 1996: 74–6; Shiva, 1989: 67–77*] to Brazil [*Campbell, 1996*], Spain [*Brú-Bistuer, 1996*] and the United States [*Gedicks, 1995: 105; McAdams, 1996; Szasz, 1994: 152*]. Indeed, it is not surprising to find women at the forefront of these movements because of their socially constructed roles in the community–environment symbiosis. Women as food producers as well as food providers [*Elliott, 1996: 16–7*] are especially concerned about any damage to nature not least because, although it affects all, it indisputably hits women most by placing additional burdens on those who are linked to the production and reproduction of the economic life of the community [*Lorentzen, 1995: 60*]. It is also the case in Turkey, as two social anthropological studies have shown, that the problems faced by farming households place extreme pressure on women [*Morvaridi, 1993; Onaran-Incirlioglu, 1993*]. Related to this is the fact that women bear the brunt of childcare. It is because women are disproportionately more responsible for child rearing, that any cause of malnutrition (e.g., a decrease in wealth caused by environmental deterioration) and sickness (e.g., contaminated water, poisoned soil) among children adversely and directly affects women's lives. In the Bergama movement, women raised the question of an increase in the

number of miscarriages caused by the explosions at the mining site. And it was usually the women who linked the issues of a clean environment and the future of their children [*Ulkede Gundem daily, 8 October 1997; Abacioglu, 1997: 13*]. It was they who emphasised that the destruction of nature would mean the destruction of food sources, livelihood and everyday processes of survival, and vice versa.

Confrontation Between Two Symbioses

The issue of gold mining in Bergama manifests a conflict between two symbioses. On the one side there is the symbiosis between community and environment, and on the other the symbiosis between state and capital. The Bergama movement can essentially be considered as a challenge to the politics of the latter. Various aspects of capital–state relationships are discussed in theories of the capitalist state [e.g., *Holloway and Picciotto, 1977; Jessop, 1990: Poulantzas, 1978; Wood, 1981*]. Suffice it to say here that 'state and corporation exist in a sort of symbiotic relationship, with each needing the other. Every state requires capital accumulation within its territory to provide the material basis of its power. Every corporation requires the legal conditions for accumulation that the state provides' [*Taylor and Flint, 2000: 190*]. Others have considered the positions of social movements vis-à-vis the state and corporations in general terms [e.g., *O'Connor, 1998, 164–71, 306–10; della Porta and Diani, 1999: 196–213; Tarrow, 1996*]. The main objective of this section is to show in a specific case, first the relationship between state authorities and the corporation as one of the indicators of the symbiosis, and then the responses of the Bergama movement to it.

Promoting foreign investments in general and gold mining in particular has been part of the neo-liberal policies pursued in Turkey since the 1980s, to attract capital inflow regarded as an effective device for economic growth and societal welfare. Eurogold, the multinational corporation holding permits for gold extraction in 119 different areas of the country [*Maden Isleri Genel Mudurlugu, 1996: 16*], was promising wealth [*Sivrioglu, 1999; Yigit, 1997: 18–9; Eurogold, no date*] and had the backing of the state. The state's public support for the corporation provides evidence of the relationship between the state and the corporation. President S. Demirel sent the corporation an official letter stating that the problems that the corporation encountered would be resolved and public order was to be brought to the region [*Zaman, 29 June 1997*]. Similar declarations stressing that the mining activity was to go ahead were made by the Prime Minister and ministers [*Cumhuriyet, 11 February 2000, 14, 15 and 23 June 2000; Hurriyet, 23 June 2000; Turkish Daily News, 14 and 23 June 2000*]. One member of parliament accused the Minister of Energy of 'acting as an agent of the corporation' [*Ozay, 1995: 28*]. 'We have

learnt in the struggle,' as a farmer describes their concept of the relationship, 'whether the state is on the side of the people or that of capital. How much democracy you get depends on how much money you have' [*Ercan and Dirim, 1999: 54*]. This relationship has remained unchanged since the issue has arisen despite the fact that different presidents have held the post of head of state, several different governments have ruled the country, and the shareholders of Eurogold have changed five times since its establishment in 1989.[7] A similar relationship can also be seen between the multinational corporation and the state of its home country, Australia; the Australian Ambassador to Turkey confirmed his government's support for the corporation at a press conference [*Zaman, 22 June 1997*].

Despite the political backing, one of the difficulties the corporation faced was the Turkish courts' disapproval of the mining activity, which appeared as a result of the community's judicial struggle against the state–corporation relationship. The judicial struggle started when a group of 794 Bergama villagers brought the case to court. As it had been the Ministry of the Environment which, in response to Eurogold's demands, had issued an act according to which there were no health and environmental drawbacks to constructing and operating the mine, the villagers petitioned against the ministerial act at the administrative court (File nos. 1994/501 and 1994/643). At the end of the 4-year long judicial process, the final ruling emphasised that the ministerial act was in violation of the rights to life and the environment stipulated in the constitution (the decision of the Council of State, no. 1997/2312, 13 May 1997).

The government authorities did not implement the ruling. The corollary of no governmental action having been taken to stop Eurogold's operations was that the community had recourse to direct action in order to force the authorities to come into line with the law [*Ozay, 1997: 25*]. For instance, on the last day of the period given by the law for putting the ruling of the court into practice, thousands of people gathered alongside the barbed-wire fence surrounding the mining site and stayed there until noon of the following day to protest against the government authorities. Actions of civil disobedience also took place. The villagers refused to participate in the population census of 30 November 1997, although failure to participate was an imprisonable offence. They argued that it was pointless for citizens to obey rules when the state failed in its duty in not closing the mine despite the court order and the people's opposition. Through these actions, the community asked the state authorities to execute the requirements of the judgement. Although the authorities were still reluctant to act in accordance with the judgement, they had to seal the plant in early 1999. The plant was ready to operate as of 1997 according to the plant manager [*Milliyet, 27 July 1997*] but could not do so because of the local resistance.

However, the corporation and the government remained determined to start gold extraction. In early February 2000, it was revealed that the Turkish president and prime minister had directed a government-commissioned report, recently carried out by a publicly funded research institute [*TUBITAK, 1999*], to the Ministry of Energy. The ministry was asked to act in accordance with the report which suggested that the mine improved its safety standards and that to get it operational was in the nation's interests. In response to this, more than a thousand villagers marched the 10 km from the mining site to the town of Bergama taking their livestock with them. In April 2000, the under-secretariat of the prime minister instructed the six related ministries to carry out the necessary work in order that the corporation could go ahead and operate the mine.[8] This prime ministerial statement noted that it was a foreign investment under international arbitration review according to the new Turkish arbitration legislation [see *Çoban, 2002*]. It argued that preventing the mining activity would deter other foreign companies from investing in Turkey. Following the instructions, ministries issued permits for a 'one-year trial production' and thereby the corporation commenced gold extraction. These developments brought about renewed judicial struggles as well as renewed protest actions, such as protest marches, road blockades, and demonstrations in front of the plant and on the Bosphorus Bridge for the second time. A 300-kilometre protest march, which started in the village of Ovacik and ended in Canakkale, was organised. More than 60 villagers walked along the Izmir–Canakkale highway for 8 days in November 2000. In the suits filed against the permits, the administrative courts[9] ruled that the health and environmental risks of the mine had not been eliminated; therefore, the ministerial permits attempting to overturn the 1997 court ruling in practice could not be considered as being in compliance with the rule of law. Instead of implementing the rulings, the Council of Ministers made a 'principle decision' allowing the corporation to continue mining. As a result, despite the court decisions the production in the mine continues while the villagers' struggle goes on in the court and on the streets.

Placing it in the confrontation between the two symbioses helps eschew flawed accounts of the movement. One may observe that one set of actions was against the state which endorsed the mining activity while other actions were against the corporation to force it to stop its mining activity and to leave the area. When taken separately, the result is an interpretation of the movement as either an anarchist movement against the state or a people's movement against multinationals.[10] Not only do these interpretations single out only one element of the movement (target of actions) and overlook the combination of its elements, but also they are misleading in terms of the strategy of the movement. As we have seen, community members mobilised and used all their resources – production tools, livestock and mostly their

bodies – when holding demonstrations. In their struggle, the community turned into a weapon and the locality became the trench of the resistance. To borrow Gramsci's concept, this is a 'war of position', 'fought by huge masses who are only able to endure the immense muscular, nervous and psychic strain with the aid of great reserves of moral strength' [*Gramsci, 1971: 88,* also see *229–43*]. Its strategy has not been an offensive in the form of a 'war of manoeuvre' aiming at the destruction of the enemy (state and/or corporation) by breaching and then infiltrating its front. Instead, it has been a resistance strategy embedded in a 'war of position' in the local trenches where the community's struggle against the destruction of the symbiosis between community and environment started. The community has resisted the patterns of the state–corporation relationship as these have represented a different understanding of the local environment. From the perspective of the corporation and the state, in having gold reserves the local environment has become an object of capital accumulation and economic growth. It has been a target area for capital flow. Here, the emphasis has been on the economic benefits of the gold extraction and the mine which was stated to be environmentally friendly despite the rulings of the courts. If so, what these patterns represent in environmental terms is an understanding of the local environment, within which the main concern is the degree of extraction and exploitation of natural resources regardless of the negative consequences. This view of the environment is very different from that held by the community. The conflict is between two different understandings of the local environment. Thus seen, it would not be erroneous to suggest that the struggle of the community is a 'counter-hegemonic' struggle employing a war of position. This is not in the sense of an engagement, in the witness-bearing attitude with the production and introduction of a 'counter-hegemony' in the realms of environmental ideology, ethics, values and beliefs, but in the sense of the protection of the lived experience of a 'counter-hegemonic' process based on a specific form of the community–environment relationship.

From the Local to the National and International Domains

Diani [*1992*] emphasises movement networks of informal interactions between individuals, groups and organisations as a main defining factor of a movement. This view suggests that protest events or collective actions do not necessarily lead to a movement if there are no informal interactions and inter-organisational linkages between these events/actions and other groups, actors and organisations. In the absence of interactions, activists fail to generalise the single, isolated conflict, and 'fail to turn their own specific themes into an issue which is perceived as relevant by society at large, thus attracting support from other organisations and institutions, or from public opinion' [*Diani, 1995: 5*]. Thus seen, it is important to show the interactions,

exchanges, shared beliefs and solidarity bonds in the Bergama case[11] in which the local campaign has generated a sustained movement and the local conflict has become a public issue.

The development of the Bergama movement relied mainly on the activism of the peasants, their leaders and local resources, as the elected mayor of Bergama pointed out in an interview [*Abacioglu, 1997*]. Some of the movement's leaders were 'traditional leaders', already respected and influential characters in village life, while others (especially women) emerged from the actions themselves. Local resources were mobilised to conduct collective actions. The individual contributions of the villagers covered the financial costs of extra-local actions. It is also important to note, however, that different events and actors were connected to one another within the Bergama movement. Professional groups and organisations (e.g., organisations of engineers, architects, doctors and lawyers, trade unions, associations of academics) provided technical assistance and detailed information on the environmental impacts of the mine and judicial procedures. The reports carried out by these organisations were used to contradict the views in favour of mining. An important actor in the movement was the municipality of Bergama under the rule of mayor S. Taskin. The municipality compiled and disseminated information about Eurogold, its project and the impacts of gold mining world-wide on communities and nature. It organised dozens of panels, meetings, radio and television programmes and petition campaigns. These activities provided substantial means for the diffusion of information and, more importantly, helped establish links between various groups of actors such as villagers, academics, experts, trade unionists, human rights activists, members of professional organisations, members of the Union of Turkish Bars, etc. An important channel for inter-organisational interactions was the Bergama environmental committee. It consisted of representatives from the municipality, the local trade union organisations, social democratic and socialist parties, as well as delegates from each village sub-committee of the 17 villages [*Engel, 1998: 221–2*]. After proposals for collective actions were discussed in the sub-committees and village forums, the committee took final decisions, organised the actions, and tried to obtain support from other organisations and groups. Indeed, there was cooperation between Bergama activists and diverse organisations/environmental groups. In response to the invitations extended by community spokespersons on every relevant occasion such as protest actions, press conferences and interviews published in newspapers, various groups of actors showed their solidarity by paying a visit to the villages, participating in village protest actions, or organising protests in their home towns. 'Committees of hand-in-hand with Bergama' were formed by various organisations and environmental groups in several towns. These committees

organised protest actions against the mine in Izmir and Istanbul. The Izmir committee organised a long march from Izmir to Bergama with the participation of environmental groups and members of the Platform for Democracy, involving trade unions, professional groups and organisations, civil rights organisations and some political parties. Members of these groups and organisations also took part in the villagers' 300-km protest march in November 2000. The Izmir committee recently organised a solidarity gathering in the town of Bergama, with the participation of the members of more than 30 different groups and organisations based in Izmir. Bergama villagers established personal contacts in these protest actions and meetings. They participated in demonstrations, organised by various groups of actors held in the capital in 1999, against the international arbitration bill that inserted some provisions of the proposed Multilateral Agreement on Investment into Turkish law. A recent meeting also provides an example of shared views and ties between the Bergama activists and various organisations. The movement's spokesperson, representatives from associations of academics, women's organisations, professional organisations, and lawyers came together to discuss possible actions to stop the mining activity. They decided to visit the head of state, the speaker of the Turkish parliament and the prime minister to ask that the court ruling be carried through, and also threatened massive demonstrations through their organisations and trade unions if governmental authorities took no action [*Evrensel daily, 2 December 2002*].

Inter-organisational connections helped to make the local conflict a national and international issue. From the outset, the Bergama committee and leaders of the community tried to attract public attention so as to move the issue from the local to the national domain. To do so, a number of protests were organised. One of a series of visits to the capital Ankara, 700 km away, in order to lobby MPs, was made by more than a thousand farmers in 26 coaches. To express their suffering at the national level, a group of 150 farmers travelled the 500 km to Istanbul and blocked the traffic on the Bosphorus Bridge which connects Europe to Asia by chaining themselves to it. All these actions and almost all their local protests were faced with strong police action, usually ending with arrests. However, they also attracted the attention of the national media, and thereby that of the public. Collective actions also raised international awareness of the issue. As a way of protesting against the then German partner of Eurogold, dozens of farmers applied to the German Consulate in Izmir for environmental asylum on the grounds that they would not encounter the same threat to their lives in Germany. At the same time, demonstrations were held by Bergama-born people living in Germany in front of the Berlin branch of the Dresdner Bank, one of the financial backers of Eurogold's investment but

also a signatory to the UNEP declaration on the environment and banks. Bergama's mayor established relations with environmental organisations including the London-based Minewatch, the Washington-based Mineral Policy Centre, the Germany-based FoodFirst Information and Action Network (FIAN), Amici della Terra (the Italian branch of Friends of the Earth), and the Green Party in Germany. Correspondence with these organisations provided access to the experiences of other communities struggling against mining activities around the world. The attempt to obtain support from international organisations paid off. FIAN and Amici della Terra launched petition campaigns demanding that the Turkish government forbid the mine from operating.[12] Communications with the German Greens opened up a channel from within which international pressure on the Turkish and German governments was generated. As a result of an initiative by the Greens, the European Parliament adopted a resolution[13] on the Bergama mine, which called on the German government to oblige German companies to comply with German and EU standards abroad, and on the Turkish government to ban the use of cyanide in mining. From 22 different countries, 2000 young people gathered for a meeting of the world's youth in Bergama for 10 days in August 1998 in order to support the movement by performing art, music, theatre, and holding discussions on the subject of multinational corporations.

There were also exchanges with other local communities facing similar threats of environmental destruction by mining companies in Turkey. Farmers paid visits to villages such as Tavsanli, Lefke, Demirkaynak, Efemcukuru and Havran to set up links providing solidarity bonds as well as to share experiences. Behind the support for other communities lies the idea that the Bergama struggle is for humankind and nature, as one of the movement's women leaders said: 'I'm in the fight not for myself but because I love my vicinity, my country and all human beings'. Similarly, one of the movement's spokespersons emphasised the same broad ideal: 'People have always thought that we were protesting only for ourselves. We are against the cyanide-leaching method in general. We want to inform people about this method. They use the same system ... they cut down the trees [in Bergama and everywhere that they are in operation]' [*Turkish Daily News, 18 October 1997*]. When Eurogold was, in the face of the community's strong protests, obliged to remove 18 tons of cyanide from the mining site and took it to the state-owned Tavsanli silver mine to be used there, the Bergama villagers took a stand against this by holding a demonstration in front of the Tavsanli mine. They also became involved in a world-wide, cyberspace protest action against the use of cyanide in mining in December 2000. Communities from various countries took part in the action coordinated by Greenpeace. Around 600 Bergama villagers sent e-mail messages to more than 100 government

representatives who were holding discussions at a UN meeting in Johannesburg on limiting permanent organic pollutants.

It is clear, from the evidence showing the informal interactions, shared beliefs and solidarity between Bergama activists and various groups/organisations, that despite its emergence at a particular place over a specific issue, the Bergama movement has not been confined to the local. It has broadened in scale and scope from 'no cyanide in Bergama' to 'no cyanide in the country and on Earth'. Connections with various groups/organisations and exchanges with other communities provided the movement with scientific, political and social support. Showing solidarity with other sufferers consolidated its position in the public's eyes, underlining that it was not a struggle for Bergama alone but for all people and nature.

The expanding of the movement towards the national and international domains has been not only because the context of the conflict transcends the local scale with respect to where the investment decision is made and permits are granted, to how government policies accommodate the corporations, to how governments are keen to attract capital influx as a part of 'national economic development targets', to how related national regulations have an impact on the migration of mining corporations, and so on. The actors involved in the conflict (the local community, local government, various groups and organisations, the state, the multinational corporation, home governments accommodating the corporation in the host country, and the national judicial system) are another indicator of the wider context of the issue. The broadening towards other scales is also because acting nationally and internationally, as well as locally, and forging national and international alliances has a substantial impact on the success of local movements [*Rootes, 1999: 298–9*]. This is to say that the national and international scales of action cannot be written off in the manner of local-scale romanticism or an idealisation of locality that may result in parochialism. As far as the Bergama movement is concerned, important aspects of its success are, among other things, related to the recognition of the linkages between the international, the national and the local; the community's extra-local direct actions; the forging of connections and solidarity with other local movements and national/international environmental groups and organisations; and the use of national legal proceedings. One should, after all, avoid overestimating the significance of the international scale of action that may result in global parochialism as a result of overlooking the local and national spheres of ecological struggles. The local scale of action is of importance as it is there that the determined opposition of a local community emerges. This then provokes us to think about the symbiotic community–environment relation. Above all, the success story of the Bergama movement rests heavily on the struggle waged in the local trenches and the mobilisation of the local community.

Conclusion

This article has examined the fight waged by the Bergama villagers as a manifestation of the characteristics of community-based ecological resistance movements. These were sketched out in the opening section by focusing on the incorporation of the constitutive elements of collective action into the politics of the community–environment symbiosis. Similarly, in the analysis of the Bergama movement specific attention has been paid to the role of the interdependent relationship between community and environment in interrelating the demands, targets, philosophy, strategy and tactics of community-based activism. As the mining activity was perceived as a threat to the community's interdependent relationship with the environment, the objective of the struggle was to defend and sustain this relationship. Massive participation of community members in collective action showed the degree of resistance against the destruction of the relationship. Like other similar movements, the Bergama resistance developed around the demand for the cessation of the harmful activity and a return to the earlier conditions of the community's way of life. As in other cases of community-based activism, the philosophical reasoning of the struggle was based on a relational understanding of human–nature interactions, away from the anthropocentric–ecocentric cleavage. As we have seen, the actors promoting the mining activity (the corporation and state) held a very different view of nature as a raw material to be used in the process of capital accumulation. Placing the Bergama movement in the confrontation between the community–environment symbiosis and the state–capital symbiosis, this article has shown that the mining conflict has thus been between two different understandings of human–nature relationships.

It is therefore difficult for either side in the conflict to negotiate the issue in order to resolve it through making compromises. The first reason for this lies in the reactive characteristic of community-based resistance movements. The aim of participants in the Bergama movement was not to make the mining activity environmentally friendly by taking part in the decision-making process or through negotiations in a proactive sense. They reacted to the presence of the activity itself and asked for the demolition of the plant. Related to this is the second reason which arises from the nature of the issue (the sustaining of the community–environment symbiosis). In negotiations, could any community that values trees and whose way of life is dependent on trees, offer or accept the suggestion that *X* minus *n* trees should be cut down instead of *X* trees? No matter to what degree it is possible to reduce the risk, from the community's perspective the mining activity has, one way or another, detrimental effects on the community's relationship with the environment. Again, the only option left is that the mining activity has to

stop. So too there seems to be little option for those who own or promote harmful industrial projects. Are not the negotiation options limited for those who extract gold in the face of community resistance to the mining activity itself? They can either reject the community's demands and carry on the project, or cease the activity because of the resistance. In this context, both sides in the conflict have persisted in their positions, rather than attempting to cooperate. As we have seen, the actors in the struggle have, however, forged various cooperative links and solidarity relationships with national and international organisations/groups and exchanges with other local communities, which has helped to expand and consolidate the position of resistance.

The significant effects of the Bergama movement can be seen at both the local and national levels. Some aspects of community life have been changed within and through collective actions. The struggle has politicised the community in such a way that almost all the villagers who had not previously participated in any political action became activists. Some of them had not been to the capital before but went there to hold demonstrations. The active participation of women in the struggle has also changed some forms of the patriarchy-laden character of women's role in community life, from excluded and passive agents playing a socially given role at homes and in the fields to the most determined and determining actors of the movement, creating roles of their own. The movement has had wider implications at the national level too. As we have seen, using local resources, which is a factor in the accumulation of capital, is not isolated from the nationwide patterns of state–capital relations, or from the community opposition to the deployment of these patterns at the local level. In fact, the fight is not merely about a single mining site as 560 permits to mine gold and other precious metals had already been granted to multinational mining corporations. The movement, then, turns out to be a watershed. If the movement fades away or the corporation is allowed to carry on its activities in Bergama regardless of local resistance, mining activities in other sites will escalate. The Bergama movement, therefore, has significant consequences for other local oppositions that have arisen in other mining sites. Not only has the Bergama resistance provided an example for other communities facing gold mining, it has also brought the originally site-specific issue to the national agenda where gold mining has become a hot political issue. The Bergama movement has not ceased. It tends to gather momentum whenever there is a new manoeuvre on the other side of the conflict. Ultimately, no matter whether it wins or loses it has already made a difference.

NOTES

1. This paper was written whilst I was in receipt of a Visiting Fellowship from the Leverhulme Trust, award number F/00123/D, in the Department of Sociology at Essex University, UK. I would like to thank three anonymous reviewers for their useful comments on the earlier version of this article.
2. According to Kriesi [*1996: 158*], the type of movement itself tends to affect the development of its organisational structure. In a similar vein, Kousis [*2001: 130–2*] notes that as grassroots environmental activists are more radical in their demands as well as action tactics they avoid the 'institutional route' and 'remain more confrontational'. For the political consequences of the institutionalisation of environmentalism, see Eder [*1996*].
3. This point is well developed in some works on ideology, in which it is argued that what characterises an ideology is not simply its elements in isolation but the articulation of these elements. See Laclau [*1977: 99–111*].
4. The data for the Bergama case are drawn from a variety of sources. The main data source was five Turkish newspapers (*Cumhuriyet*, *Hurriyet*, *Milliyet*, *Turkish Daily News* and *Zaman*), which were searched daily between November 1996 and January 2003. The mayor of Bergama (S. Taskin, who held the post between 1989–1999) gave access to the archive of the municipality of Bergama, and the lawyer of the community (S. Ozay) gave access to his personal archive. Informal interviews with the lawyer, the representative of the mining corporation, civil servants working for the municipality and state employees provided useful information. I also obtained publications, reports, official papers, and incoming and outgoing correspondence from relevant agencies and governmental bodies.
5. The detrimental effects of the Bergama mine are noted in technical terms in many studies, e.g., Hicdonmez [*1997*]; Mendilcioglu, Tuncay and Onogur [*1995*]; TMMOB Cevre *et al.* [*2001*].
6. The text of the Inscription together with a copy of the decision of the village local government body, the Council of Camkoy, was released in early May 1997 as a press release.
7. In early 2001, the name of Eurogold was changed to that of Normandy after the Normandy Poseidon Group of Australia bought the corporation. Since March 2002 the mining giant Newmont has owned the corporation after taking over Normandy Poseidon.
8. Circular no. B.02.0.MUS.0.13-263, 5 April 2000.
9. The decisions of the Izmir 3, Administrative Court, file no. 2001/401, 10 January 2002, and the Izmir 1, Administrative Court, file no. 2001/239, 23 January 2002.
10. See *Apolitika* [*1997*]; www.spunk.org/texts/places/turkey/sp001775/index.htm; and www.oz-gurluk.org/dhkc/pub/bergama.html, accessed 20 June 2000.
11. In other cases of community-based environmentalism, exchanges and alliances were also forged with local, national and international environmental groups and organisations. See Gedicks [*1995: 97, 105*]; Gedicks [*2001: 97–102*]; Gould *et al*. [*1996: 42–81*]; Kousis [*1999: 185–6*]; Martinez-Alier [*2002: 100–31*]; Szasz [*1994: 71–6*].
12. The fax messages by FIAN-International dated 18 October 1994, and by Amici della Terra dated November 1994, to the municipality of Bergama.
13. The resolution of B4-0410/94, *Minutes*, no. 184.976, 17 November 1994, pp.80–81.

REFERENCES

Abacioglu, A. (1997), 'Bergama'yi Kadinlar Tasiyor', *Cumhuriyet Dergi*, 20 July 1999.

Alevcan, S. (1998), *Altin Bergama Demokrasi*, Ankara: TMMOB Cevre Muhendisleri Odasi.

Anderson, L. (1994), *The Political Ecology of the Modern Peasants: Calculation and Community*, Baltimore and London: The Johns Hopkins University Press.

Apolitika (1997), 'Bergama Dosyasi', No.6, pp.18–32.

ARAS, Arastirma Tanitim Halkla Iliskiler Limited Sirketi (1994), 'Ovacik Altin Madeni Projesi Yore Halkinin Egilimleri Arastirmasi', Ankara, mimeo.

Barry, J. (1999), *Rethinking Green Politics,* London: Sage.

Bauman, Z. (1998), *Globalization: The Human Consequences*, Cambridge: Polity Press.

Benton, T. (1989), 'Marxism and Natural Limits: An Ecological Critique and Reconstruction', *New Left Review (I)*, No.178, pp.51–86.

Brown, M. and J. May (1989), *The Greenpeace Story*, London: Dorling Kindersley.

Brú-Bistuer, J. (1996), 'Spanish Women Against Industrial Waste: A Gender Perspective on Environmental Grassroots Movements', in Rocheleau, D., B. Thomas-Slayter and E. Wangari (eds.), *Feminist Political Ecology: Global Issues and Local Experiences*, London: Routledge, pp.105–24.

Campbell, C. (1996), 'Out on the Front Lines but Still Struggling for Voice: Women in the Rubber Tappers' Defense of the Forest in Xapuri, Acre, Brazil', in Rocheleau, D., B. Thomas-Slayter and E. Wangari (eds.), *Feminist Political Ecology: Global Issues and Local Experiences*, London: Routledge, pp.27 – 61.

Carmin, J. (1999), 'Voluntary Associations, Professional Organisations and the Environmental Movement in the United States', *Environmental Politics*, Vol.8, No.1, pp.101–21.

Castells, M. (1997), *The Power of Identity. The Information Age: Economy Society and Culture*, Vol. 2, Oxford: Blackwell.

Crossley, N. (2002), *Making Sense of Social Movements*, Buckingham: Open University Press.

Cumhuriyet, 15 October 1994, 11 February 2000, 14, 15 and 23 June 2000.

Çoban, A. (2002), 'International Arbitration, Sovereignty and Environmental Protection: The Turkish Case', in Biermann, F., R. Brohm and K. Dingwerth (eds.), *Proceedings of the 2001 Berlin Conference on the Human Dimensions of Global Environmental Change: Global Environmental Change and the Nation State*, Potsdam: Potsdam Institute for Climate Impact Research, pp.217–25.

della Porta, D. and M. Diani (1999), *Social Movements: An Introduction*, Oxford: Blackwell.

Diani, M. (1992), 'The Concept of Social Movement', *The Sociological Review*, Vol.40, No.1, pp.1–25.

Diani, M. (1995), *Green Networks: A Structural Analysis of the Italian Environmental Movement*, Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.

Diani, M. and P.R. Donati (1999), 'Organisational Change in Western European Environmental Groups: A Framework for Analysis', *Environmental Politics*, Vol.8, No.1, pp.13–34.

DiChiro, G. (1998), 'Nature as Community: The Convergence of Environment and Social Justice', in Goldman, M. (ed.), *Privatizing Nature: Political Struggles for the Global Commons*, London: Pluto Press in association with Transnational Institute, pp.120–43.

Eder, K. (1996), 'The Institutionalisation of Environmentalism: Ecological Discourse and the Second Transformation of the Public Sphere', in Lash, S., B. Szerszynski and B.Wynne (eds.), *Risk,Environment and Modernity: Toward a New Ecology*, London: Sage, pp.203–23.

Edwards, B. (1995), 'With Liberty and Environmental Justice for All: The Emergence of Challenge of Grassroots Environmentalism in the United States', in Taylor, B.R. (ed.), *Ecological Resistance Movements: The Global Emergence of Radical and Popular Environmentalism*, New York: State University of New York Press, pp.35–55.

Elliott, L. (1996), 'Women, Gender, Feminism, and the Environment' in Turpin, J. and L.A. Lorentzen (eds.), *The Gendered New World Order: Militarism, Development and the Environment*, New York: Routledge, pp.1–34.

Engel, B. (1998), 'Demokrasi Deneyimi ya da Turkiye'nin Yuzaki', in Alevcan, S., *Altin Bergama Demokrasi*, Ankara: TMMOB Cevre Muhendisleri Odasi, pp.218–23.

Ercan, S. and O.D. Dirim (1999), 'Bergama, Siyanur, Altin ve Siyasal Yansimasi', *Agackakan*, No.34, pp.49–55.

Erden, U. (1995), 'Dava Konusu Yasam Ortaminda Peyzaj (Cevre) Mimarligi Ilkeleri Isiginda Durum Tespitiyle Ilgili Ara Rapor' (Expert Report presented to the Bergama Court of First Instance, dated 22 February 1995).

Eurogold Madencilik A.S. (no date), 'Ovacik Gold Mine' (leaflet).

Evrensel daily, 2 December 2002.

Finger, M. (1994), 'NGOs and Transformation: Beyond Social Movement Theory', in Princen, T. and M. Finger with contributions by J.P. Manno and M.L. Clark, *Environmental NGOs in World Politics: Linking the Local and the Global*, London: Routledge, pp.48–66.

Forcey, L.R. (1996), 'The Indian Women's Movement, Ecofeminism, and the Politics of Peace', in Turpin, J. and L.A. Lorentzen (eds.), *The Gendered New World Order: Militarism, Development and the Environment*, New York: Routledge, pp.71–82.

Freudenberg, N. and C. Steinsapir (1991), 'Not in Our Backyards: The Grassroots Environmental Movement', *Society and Natural Resources*, Vol.4, No.3, pp.235–45.

Gedicks, A. (1995), 'International Native Resistance to the New Resource Wars', in Taylor, B.R. (ed.), *Ecological Resistance Movements: The Global Emergence of Radical and Popular Environmentalism*, New York: State University of New York Press, pp.89–108.

Gedicks, A. (2001), *Resource Rebels: Native Challenges to Mining and Oil Corporations*, Cambridge, MA: South End Press.

Gemici, Y. (1995), 'Flora Hakkinda Bilirkisi Raporu' (Expert Report presented to the Bergama Court of First Instance, dated 9 February 1995).

Gould, K.A, A. Schnaiberg and A.S. Weinberg (1996), *Local Environmental Struggles: Citizen Activism in the Treadmill of Production*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Gramsci, A. (1971), *Selections from the Prison Notebooks* (ed. and trans. Q. Hoare and G.N. Smith), London: Lawrence and Wishard.

Habermas, J. (1981), 'New Social Movements', *Telos*, No.49, pp.33–7.

Hicdonmez, S. (1997), 'Bergama'da Siyanurle Altin Uretimine Neden Karsi Cikiyoruz?', *Agackakan*, No.31, pp.69–76.

Holloway, J. and S.Picciotto (1977), 'Capital, Crisis and the State', *Capital and Class*, No.2, pp.76–101.

Humprey, M. (2000), '''Nature'' in Deep Ecology and Social Ecology: Contesting the Core', *Journal of Political Ideologies*, Vol.5, No.2, pp.247–68.

Hurriyet, 23 June 2000.

Jamison, A. (1996), 'The Shaping of the Global Environmental Agenda: the Role of Non-Governmental Organisations', in Lash, S., B. Szerszynski and B. Wynne (eds.), *Risk, Environment and Modernity*, London: Sage, pp.224–45.

Jessop, B. (1990), *State Theory: Putting the Capitalist State in Its Place*, Cambridge: Polity Press.

Kalland, A. and G. Persoon (1998), 'An Anthropological Perspective on Environmental Movements', in Kalland, A. and G. Persoon (eds.), *Environmental Movements in Asia*, Richmond: Curzon, pp.1–43.

Kamieniecki, S., D. Coleman and R.O. Vos (1995), 'The Effectiveness of Radical Environmentalists', in Taylor, B.R. (ed.), *Ecological Resistance Movements: The Global Emergence of Radical and Popular Environmentalism*, New York: State University of New York Press, pp. 316–33.

Kousis, M. (1997), 'Grassroots Environmental Movements in Rural Greece: Effectiveness, Success and the Quest for Sustainable Development', in Baker, S. *et al*. (eds.), *The Politics of Sustainable Development: Theory, Policy and Practice Within the European Union*, London: Routledge, pp.237–58.

Kousis, M. (1999), 'Sustaining Local Environmental Mobilisations: Groups, Actions and Claims in Southern Europe', *Environmental Politics*, Vol.8, No.1, pp.172–98.

Kousis, M. (2001), 'Competing Claims in Local Environmental Conflicts in Southern Europe', in Eder, K. and M. Kousis (eds.), *Environmental Politics in Southern Europe: Actors, Institutions and Discourses in a Europeanizing Society*, Dordrecht: Kluwer, pp.129–50.

Kriesi, H. (1996), 'The Organisational Structure of New Social Movements in a Political Context', in McAdam, D., J.D. McCarthy and M.N. Zald (eds.), *Comparative Perspectives on Social Movements: Political Opportunities, Mobilizing Structures, and Cultural Framings*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp.152–84.

Laclau, E. (1977), *Politics and Ideology in Marxist Theory: Capitalism, Fascism, Populism,* London: New Left Books.

Lohmann, L. (1995), 'Visitors to the Commons: Approaching Thailand's ''Environmental'' Struggles from a Western Starting Point', in Taylor, B.R. (ed.), *Ecological Resistance Movements: The Global Emergence of Radical and Popular Environmentalism*, New York: State University of New York Press, pp.109–26.

Lorentzen, L.A. (1995), 'Bread and Soil of Our Dreams: Women, the Environment, and Sustainable Development – Case Studies from Central America', in Taylor, B.R. (ed.), *Ecological Resistance Movements: The Global Emergence of Radical and Popular Environmentalism*, New York: State University of New York Press, pp.56–69.

Maden Isleri Genel Mudurlugu (1996), 'Altin Madenciligi', Ankara, mimeo.

Martinez-Alier, J. (2002), *The Environmentalism of the Poor: A Study of Ecological Conflicts and Valuation*, Cheltenham: Edward Elgar.

Martinez-Alier, J. (2003), 'Mining Conflicts, Environmental Justice and Valuation', in Agyeman, J., R. Evans and R.D. Bullard (eds.), *Just Sustainabilities: Development in an Unequal World*, London: Earthscan, pp.201–28.

McAdam, D., S. Tarrow and C. Tilly (2001), *Dynamics of Contention*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

McAdams, C. (1996), 'Gender, Class and Race in Environmental Activism: Local Response to a Multinational Corporation's Land Development Plans', in Turpin, J. and L.A. Lorentzen (eds.), *The Gendered New World Order: Militarism, Development and the Environment*, New York: Routledge, pp.51–69.

Mendilcioglu, K., H. Tuncay and E. Onogur (1995), 'Bilirkisi Raporu' (Expert Report presented to The Bergama Court of First Instance, dated 23 May 1995).

Milliyet, 27 July 1997.

Morvaridi, B. (1993), 'Gender and Household Resource Management in Agriculture', in Stirling, P. (ed.), *Culture and Economy: Changes in Turkish Villages*, Huntingdon: The Eothen Press, pp.80–94.

O'Connor, J. (1998), *Natural Causes: Essays in Ecological Marxism*, New York: The Guilford Press.

Onaran-Incirlioglu, E. (1993), 'Marriage, Gender Relations and Rural Transformation in Central Anatolia', in Stirling, P. (ed.), *Culture and Economy: Changes in Turkish Villages*, Huntingdon: The Eothen Press, pp.115–25.

Ozay, S. (1995), *Insanligin Ortak Orospusu: Altin*, Izmir: S.O.S. Akdeniz Dernegi.

Ozay, S. (1997), *Bergama'da Bir Yurttas Hareketi*, Bergama: Bergama Belediyesi Kultur Yayinlari.

Poulantzas, N. (1978), *State, Power, Socialism* (trans. T. O'Hagan), London: New Left Books.

Radcliffe, J. (2000), *Green Politics: Dictatorship or Democracy?*, Basingstoke: Macmillan Press.

Rootes, C. (1999), 'Acting Globally, Thinking Locally? Prospects for a Global Environmental Movement', *Environmental Politics*, Vol.8, No.1, pp.290–310.

Rüdig, W. (1995), 'Between Moderation and Marginalization: Environmental Radicalism in Britain', in Taylor, B.R. (ed.), *Ecological Resistance Movements: The Global Emergence of Radical and Popular Environmentalism*, New York: State University of New York Press, pp.219–40.

Scott, A. (1990), *Ideology and the New Social Movements*, London: Unwin Hyman.

Shiva, V. (1989), *Staying Alive: Women, Ecology and Development*, London: Zed Books.

Siki, M. (1995), 'Fauna Hakkinda Bilirkisi Raporu' (Expert Report presented to The Bergama Court of First Instance, dated 14 February 1995).

Sivrioglu, I. (1999), An interview with I. Sivrioglu, Eurogold Mining Management Director, published in the *Turkish Daily News*, 20 May 1999.

Straggenborg, S. (1997), 'The Consequences of Professionalization and the Formalization in the Pro-Choice Movement', in McAdam, D. and D.A. Snow (eds.), *Social Movements: Readings on Their Emergence, Mobilization and Dynamics*, Los Angeles: Roxbury, pp.421–39.

Szasz, A. (1994), *EcoPopulism*: *Toxic Waste and the Movement for Environmental Justice*, Minneapolis and London: University of Minnesota Press.

Tarrow, S. (1996), 'States and Opportunities: The Political Structuring of Social Movements', in McAdam, D., J.D. McCarthy and M.N. Zald (eds.), *Comparative Perspectives on Social Movements: Political Opportunities, Mobilizing Structures and Cultural Framings*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp.41–61.

Taskin, S. (1997), *Bergama'da Siyanurle Altin Olayi* (2nd edition), Bergama: Bergama Belediyesi Kultur Yayinlari.

Taylor, B.R. (1995), ‘Popular Ecological Resistance and Radical Environmentalism’, in Taylor, B.R. (ed.), *Ecological Resistance Movements: The Global Emergence of Radical and Popular Environmentalism*, New York: State University of New York Press, pp.334–54.

Taylor, P.J. and C. Flint (2000), *Political Geography: World-Economy, Nation State and Locality* (4th edition), Harlow: Prentice Hall.

Thiele, L.P. (1999), *Environmentalism for a New Millennium: The Challenge of Coevolution*, New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press.

TMMOB Cevre-Jeoloji-Kimya-Metalurji Muhendisleri Odalari (2001), ‘Bergama-Ovacik Altin Isletmesi Girisimi Konusunda TUBITAK-YDABCAG Uzmanlar Komisyonu Raporu’nun Elestirisi’, Ankara, available at: www.geocities.com/siyanurlealtin/yazi/2002/tubitak/index.html.

TUBITAK (1999), ‘Eurogold Ovacik Altin Madeni: TUBITAK-YDABCAG Komisyon Degerlendirme Raporu’, Istanbul, available at: www.geocities.com/siyanurlealtin/belgeler/tubitak.html.

Turkish Daily News, 18 October 1997, 14 and 23 June 2000.

Ulkede Gundem daily, 8 October 1997.

Whitt, L.A. and D.S. Slack (1994), ‘Communities, Environments and Cultural Studies’, *Cultural Studies*, Vol.8, No.1, pp.5–31.

Wood, E.M. (1981), ‘The Separation of the Economic and the Political in Capitalism’, *New Left Review (I)*, No.127, pp.66–95.

Yigit, E. (1997), ‘Turkiye’de Altin Madenciliginin Ekonomik Boyutlari’, in Onal, G., E. Yuce and S. Karahan (eds.), *Turkiye’de Altin Madenciligi: Potansiyel, Ekonomi, Teknoloji, Yasal Boyut* (2nd edition), Istanbul: Yurt Madenciligini Gelistirme Vakfi, pp.15–26.

Zaman, 22 and 29 June 1997.