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A Field Research on the Perceptions of Environmentalism in the

Local Anti Small Hydropower Stations Resistance in Turkey: The

Cases of Fındıklı and Şavşat Regions

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A Field Research on the Perceptions of Environmentalism in the
Local Anti Small Hydropower Stations Resistance in Turkey: The
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Türkiye'de Nehir Tipi Küçük Hidroelektrik Santral Direnişinde
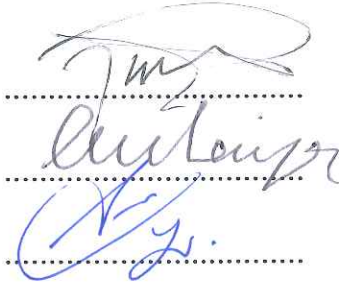Çevrecilik Algısı Üzerine Bir Saha Çalışması: Fındıklı ve Şavşat
Örnekleri

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ABSTRACT

This study primarily aims to describe the collective action frame evolved through the experiences of the activists of the anti small hydropower station (SHP) movements in Artvin, Şavşat and Rize, Fındıklı regions. The study also attempts to make sense of the frame analysis outcomes by referring to the works Alain Touraine and Alberto Melucci on new social movements as cultural transformers. The outcome of the study submits that the anti SHP movements offer something more than environmental conservation as a system transformer and having a potential impact on the modernization process of Turkey.

ÖZET

Bu tez çalışması öncelikle Artvin, Şavşat ve Rize, Fındıklı ilçelerindeki küçük hidroelektrik santral (HES) karşıtı toplumsal hareket içerisinde yer alan aktivistlerin deneyimleri neticesinde meydana çıkan kolektif eylem çerçevesini tanımlamayı amaçlar. Çalışma çerçeve analizi sonucu ortaya çıkan bulguları ise Alain Touraine ve Alberto Melucci'nin kültürel dönüştürücüler olarak ele aldığı yeni toplumsal hareketler üzerinden anlamlandırmaya çalışır. Araştırmanın neticesinde HES karşıtı hareketlerin egemen devlet söylemine alternatif modeller üreterek, yerel çaplı çevre korumacılığının ötesinde, Türkiye'deki modernleşme sürecine etkide bulunabilme potansiyeline sahip sistem dönüştürücü aktörler olduğu önerilmektedir.

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I am also grateful to my beloved Bengi Ruken Cengiz who had always been with me like a mentor, like a friend and like a lover. Her personal support and great patience at all times has been my lucky privilege. The proof reading made by Daniel Robinson has been invaluable on personal level, for which I am extremely grateful. I also share the credit of my work with the good people of Şavşat and Fındıklı who were extremely hospitable and warm.

Finally, I thank my parents, Gülten Tıkansak and Yalçın Tıkansak, my brother Emre Tıkansak and my dear aunt Nuran Koçak for supporting me throughout all my studies at University.

For any errors or inadequacies that may remain in this work, of course, the responsibility is entirely my own.

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OUTLINE OF THE STUDY

This study aims to elaborate the meanings and values developed through the mobilization process of the anti small hydropower plants (SHP from now on) movements in Fındıklı and Şavşat towns of Turkey. Historically the focus of environmental movements in Turkey has evolved from beautification and conservation motives to direct action against authorities' policies (state and private companies mainly) and struggles in the legal system.[1] Briefly looking at the local anti SHP movements one can see that the resistance has developed alternative cultural models as opposed to practices and implications of the adversaries on topics such as economic development, value of nature and collective identities.

The study is composed of three main sections. The first section includes a literature review of the social movements theories with a special focus on New Social Movements Theory (NSM) as covered in the works of Melucci and Touraine. Choosing NSM theory as the backbone theoretical approach in this study requires qualitative and interpretative methodological tools because the theory deals with meanings and symbols produced in the process of intercourse between actors. Although the anti SHP resistance has tangible demands, its significance stems from the way it diagnoses the problem, establishes strategic prognosis and creates collective identity. None of the social movement theories, except NSM theory practiced with collective action frame analysis, offers reliable platform for elaborating the essence of the movement. In NSM theory social structure and daily experiences of actors are understood in relation to other, rather than excluding each other. This

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[1] Another defining feature of environmental NGOs in Turkey is becoming more professionalized in time such as Greenpeace and WWF. Yet the degree of expertise proportionally overshadows the

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enables overcoming agent-structure dichotomy to a certain extent. In this study, the structure will be defined by referring mainly to the Turkish state's modernization policies in the fields of economic development and natural resource utilization, whereas perceptions of the activists will reveal the significance of agents. In other words, the study aims to catch the relationship between the agents and the structure at the very present time and depict a detailed analysis of this relationship by referring to the NSM theories. In this sense resource mobilization and political process approaches -by having intense focus on availability of opportunities and constraints of actors and structure respectively- can only help analysis of the emergence and outcomes of the movement in quantitative terms.[2] Furthermore these two approaches constitute a dependency relationship between the actors and the structure. NSM, on the other hand asks the question why do social movements emerge and develop in their particular condition, not in another way. In this way, compared to other approaches NSM offers a deeper stance for analyzing peculiarities of social movements.

The second section of the study covers the development of environmentalism in Turkey since 1980's. The post 1980 period symbolizes an apparent proliferation in the number of environmental movements in parallel with the increasing influence of neo-liberalism on the state policies. In the same period, liberal western countries were having a modernity transformation by realizing that technological perfection and limitless growth was a mirage in the risk society in which we live. The civil society have realized the seriousness of ecological degradation due to the devastating crisis

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[2] The earliest form of classical social movements approach, collective behaviour theory, is even out of context since it considers movements as irrational reactions of deprived actors that happen out of institutional behaviour. It has a psychological stance for understanding the emergence of collective action and for this reason it explains social movements as reflexive responses to some practices of institutional systems. In this context what matters is only the action and its reaction, thus meanings and symbols derived through mobilization are totally out of context for collective behaviour approach.

like Chernobyl and developed a critical and subjective stance to modernization. As the modernization concept was deriving new models, Turkish modernization remained rather static by prioritizing economic development without paying much attention to the environmental conditions and public will. At this point environmental movements hold a stimulating role of producing alternatives and criticisms that can influence the modernization practices in Turkey.

One of the basic characteristics of collective action according to NSM theory is its potential to transform the social values, meanings and power relations in the favour of the oppressed. In this respect, the third section looks at the collective action frames of the anti SHP movements in Fındıklı and Şavşat to understand the meanings and values attributed to fundamental concepts like nature, development, state and resistance by the activists. I developed a three step analysis for the collective actions frame by referring to David Snow and Robert Benford's list of core framing tasks, namely diagnostic, prognostic and motivational frames. The outcome of the action frame proved useful outcomes that can be analysed by using the ideas of Touraine and Melucci. The anti SHP resistance symbolizes nuances of a new modernity culture by proposing alternatives on ecological justice, political participation, identity and economic well-being.

Introduction

Environmental movements are a product of relatively newly discovered area of meanings and conflicts. Their significance stem from their ability to bring about once regarded normal issues in to the area of politics and make the meanings and terms that they encompass worth discussing. In that sense the very first thing to be carried to the zone of conflict is the "human-nature" relationship which in a broad sense, resembles the "chicken-egg" dichotomy with one exception; the chicken and egg are linked together with the conjunction "from", whereas the human and nature relation is evaluated with the curiosity of "is nature for the good *of* people or vice versa."

Although environmentalism cannot be considered as a one-dimensional normative concept and environmentalists have varying approaches to the issue, the overall tendency is prone to be for the good of nature. However, what is really new about the environmentalist perception is actually not taking human-nature relations in a contradictive way that fosters a never-ending conflict between things and meanings. What is rather preferable is a new holistic understanding not only in human-nature relationships but in the general operation of the system. This proposition may be regarded as at odds until the initially semantic discussion is carried to the concrete level via public demands and demonstrations. People struggle for systematic *change* even when their demand is the *preservation* of nature as the way it is. Thus the demand for change occurs at the level of perceptions, meanings and symbols that construct a human-nature relationship, although the visible struggle happens on a concrete policy level. When activists were campaigning for nuclear disarmament in 1960's, they were not only trying to stop the governments' initiatives for nuclear

weapons, but also creating a new literature of anti-militarism, alternative policies, resistance methods, new life-styles and above all a culture.

In this study the anti SHP resistance movements in Turkey will be discussed through the methods, meanings and symbols they instrument in order to construct and define their movement in particular, and environmentalism in general. Symbolic gains and the impact the movements made through/on the dominant mainstream structure, instead of the material outcomes of the movement are the subject of study. In this respect the actors' definitions and perceptions about their cause and themselves will be analyzed deliberately. Thus, what really matters is not the material goals, failures and achievements of the movements, but the process the movement develops and the experiences of the actors for two practical necessities. First, there is a difficulty in measuring quantitative data. I perceive social movements as processes rather than unexpected conditional responses of relatively deprived ones to oppressive conditions. Even though they may set tangible goals to be achieved, the movement evolves and creates micro models of political practices, organizational styles and collective identities, which are not that tangible and are far more important within the ultimate purpose of this study. These micro models constitute the symbolic value of movements well emphasized by New Social Movement theorists as one will see in this study.

Second, there is not a clear distinction between the means and the ends in social movements; the means themselves may synchronize with the aims, values and identities. Any collective action organization (means) with its existential peculiarity constitutes an alternative (ends). In this respect the case will be studied according to the specific meaning it contains and create in the course of movement and the interactions of the actors with it, thus it is felt necessary to grab the social movements

from an approach that touches the identity and actions of the actors and the scene they operate in.

Among all the approaches, which will be discussed briefly in up coming sections, new social movements theory (NSM) seems to be the most fruitful and convenient one for several reasons. First, NSM theories regard the identity as a central aspect of the movement formation. Class oriented Marxist theories do not provide adequate insight to analyze the collective actors of today[3]. Factors that lead to mobilization of actors are perceived to stem from the sentiments of actors such as belonging to a differentiated social group where members can feel powerful.[4] In its broad sense, identity that represents the characteristic of the social group gets affected by the factors of depravation and oppression, commonality of the problems and goals of the movement. In this new form of mobilization actors are likely to discover a subcultural orientation in response to the conditions they struggle for and thus they challenge the dominant codes of the system.[5] Touraine observes that the identity of the actor is devoted to define the character of the movement; not for manipulation of the self, but for enshrining it in a new sense of collectivity[6]. The individual identity is not regarded as separate from the collective identity of the movement; rather they are integrated as being supportive and complementary for each other. However, the emphasis on identity is not taken for granted for all social movements. Some of the movements are

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[3] Joen, Cohen. "Strateji ya da Kimlik: Yeni Teorik Paradigmalar ve Sosyal Hareketler'', in *Yeni Sosyal Hareketler: Teorik Acilimlar,* edited and translated by Kenan Cayir, Istanbul: Kaktus Yayinlari, p. 121.
[4] Poletta, Francesca and Jasper, James M. "Collective Identity and Social Movements''. *Annual Review Sociology.* 27 2001. pp.283-305.
[5] Johnston, Hank, Enrique Larana, and Joseph R. Gusfield. "Identities, Grievances and New Social Movements." *New Social Movements From Ideology to Identity.* Ed. Enrique Larana *et al.* Philedelphia: Temple University Press, 1994. 3-36.
[6] Touraine, Alain. *Modernligin Elestirisi,* translated by Hulya Tufan, Istanbul: Yapi Kredi Yayinlari, 2007, p.261.

strictly identity oriented such as ethnic, gay-lesbian and feminist movements while the environmental movements inclined to show various levels of concern with the activists' identity at supplementary level by often signifying it in the process of mobilization. The emphasis on mobilization processes around individual identities disregards the claim that social movements are abnormal instant responses. Also, it proposes the mobilization processes as the laboratories of identity formation. In other words NSM theory treats collective action not as an abnormality, but a part of modern life. Thus identity studies become inevitably necessary in order to understand what is formed as 'normal' and 'abnormal'.[7]

The second reason I chose NSM approaches as appropriate for this study stems from its emphasis on the role of actor. According to NSM theory and particularly Touraine (1985; 2002; 2006) social movements provide the individual, who has become merely a passive object visible only in election times for a moment, an opportunity to return back to the actual political sphere and redefine itself as a concrete political subject. Actors are seen as active participants that transform the movement while being transformed in response as they become mobilized. Touraine claims that the private life and culture has incorporated into the political arena and private life has become a significant part of 'public' more than ever.[8] In other words structural constraints on actor's private lives become a subject matter of collective struggle. In this process, social actors are speaking on behalf of themselves to preserve their freedom and the 'self' against the means of authority. The 'actor' returns to the social scene for claiming the 'self' in a defensive manner. The defensive

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[7] Gusfield, Joseph. "The Reflexivity of Social Movements: Collective Behaviour and Mass Society Theory Revisited." *New Social Movements From Ideology to Identity*. Ed.Enrique Larana *et al*. Philedelphia: Temple University Press, 1994. pp. 58-79.

[8] Touraine, Alain. *Return of the Actor: Social Theory in Postindustrial society*, translated by Myrna Godzich. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1988, p. 14.

character of the movement may be seen as conservation of what already exists and nothing new, yet it should be borne in mind that the innovation leads carrying the 'once' politically irrelevant and individually possessed issue to the zone of collective confrontation. This is highly apparent in the struggle of the local SHP movements in which actors come in to the scene to reclaim the nearby environment that has hitherto been defined personally with a romantic and pastoral cultural discourse or as a resource for development, and to carry the issue into ideological, legal and political spheres. The formation of social life depends on the cultural struggle of the actors to regulate the 'private' that is 'publicized' indeed.

Thirdly, new social movements offer a new understanding of politics. Bora states that, NSMs as a whole have brought a new understanding of politics by standing against the centralization and professionalization of making politics a privileged profession.[9] NSM theories capture the novelty in contemporary movements as the symbolic signifiers and transformers; both politically and culturally. Melucci, mentions about a great gap between the decision makers and civil society as one of the conspicuous problems of modern societies.[10] Civil society is provided with a limited array of options to make rational choices, yet are unable to create new options. Social movements function as new policy-making entities at a grassroots level that facilitate intense participation and alternative creations (social transformations and policy practices) of the activists. They occur partly outside of the political institutions because they are perceived as inappropriate avenues for change. As 'outsiders' of the dominant political system they organize around loose communities and use protest as a major method of confronting the power holders.[11] Besides creating micro forms of

[9] Bora, Tanil. "Yeni Toplumsal Hareketlere Dair Notlar", Istanbul: Birikim, May, 1990, 13. Pp. 49-53.
[10] Melucci, Alberto. *Challenging Codes: Collective Action in the Information Age.* New York: Cambridge University Press, 1996.
[11] Doherty, Brian. *Ideas and the Actions in the Green Movement.* London: Routledge, 2002. p. 10.

policy making structures at grassroots levels, NSMs also change the nature of the mainstream politics by challenging and disturbing the dominant codes of authority. According to Melucci NSMs do achieve this transformation in three ways; 1) By redefining the culture and types of organization NSMs bring modernization and institutional reform. 2) In relation to institutional reform there happens personal power shifts in formal institutions and there emerges new elites. 3) By causing cultural reformation in such terms of linguistic, sexual or emotional habits, there appear new behavioural and organizational patterns in society.[12] Although NSM theories keep the interest in symbolic values of the movements, it is still possible to observe the identity transformation, role of the actor and the political transformation as an outcome of NSMs empirically.

A Methodology Probing

This study hypothesizes that the local ecological movements do not only resist for the conservation of nature basically, but they also propose alternative sets of meanings that transform the system[13] and the individual. A literature review on the study of social movements was felt necessary in order to conceptualize the study. With an interpretative approach the meaning making and action-framing practices of two separate environmental movement groups will be analysed in a comparative manner by giving weight to the individual experiences and perceptions of activists.

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[12] Melucci, Alberto. "Toplumsal Hareketler ve Gundelik Yasamin Demokratiklesmesi." Istanbul: Birikim, 24 / April, 1991. p. 57

[13] In this study the system is used as a broad term that stands for the structure with its norms and institutions. The contemporary system is modern in nature, although the nature of modernity varies across time and space. In the context of cotemporary Turkey, neoliberalism holds an important position to locate the agents and the structure of the system along with the relationships among them. Thus in this study the system is used to stand for neoliberal modernity, with its dominant actors as Turkish state and SHP companies in this case, that seeks ultimate development through an increasing collaboration between the state and the private sector.

An inductive attitude provides a grander vision of the collective identity of the environmental movements at issue. I conducted several unstructured interviews in Şavşat and Fındıklı between July 10 and July 13, 2012 with movement participants in order to understand the following phenomena;

- o The individual motives for participation,

- o The conceptualization and perception of the movement and environment,

- o The definition of the problem and its effects on the life of activists,

In this study frame, analysis will be used as a major methodological tool. A deliberate social movement analysis requires understanding the explanations of meanings, values and ideologies made by the actors. The idea of collective action framing first introduced by Goffman and later developed further by Snow and Benford.[14] [15] Benford says that "The very existence of a social movement indicates differences within a society regarding the meaning of some aspect of reality"[16]. Framing processes function as bridging individual (and its associations) and group ideology, while empowering identities.

Frame analysis is necessary because social movements are not carriers of given ideas and meanings. Such ideas and meanings that tell us a lot about the social movements are constructed in the process of movement.[17] Collective action frames is the name of the product that differentiates meanings for the supporters and opponents. For Goffman frames are schemes of interpretation enabling individuals to locate,

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[14] Snow and Benford, "Ideology, Frame Resonance and Participant Mobilization." *International Social Movement Research.* Vol 1. 1988. pp. 197-217.

[15] Robert D. Benford, David A. Snow, "Framing Processes And Social Movements: An Overview And Assessment" *Annual Review of Sociology,* 2000, pp. 611-639.

[16] Ibid. p.626.

[17] "Ideology is generally portrayed as a fairly broad, coherent, and relatively durable set of beliefs that affects one's orientation not only to politics but to everyday life more generally. This conception holds whether one subscribes to a more general and neutral view of ideology or to a more critical view wherein ideology is seen as functioning to sustain existing class structures and relations of domination." Extracted from Snow and Benford (2000).

identify and label things in their life space and world at large. According to Snow and Benford "collective action frames are an action oriented set of beliefs and meanings that inspire and legitimize the activities and campaigns of a social movement organization." [18] Collective action frames are constructed to negotiate on the problematic issue to define and support it against the suggestions of the opposition side.

According to Snow and Benford (2000) there are three overlapping phases of collective action framings. The first is diagnostic framing, which is the problemization case that movements find sources to blame as opposition. At this phase the adversary authority's actions are labelled unjust and the implications of the authority that make the movement actors victimized are signified. The second task is prognostic framing. That is the phase that decisions on what's to be done, are made. It is in a manner, a planning phase. A movement's organization tends to differ from one another at this phase. Prognostic techniques and framing are strategic decisions. Although some organizations show parallelism in diagnostic framing, they may vary in their plans to achieve this. The third phase is named either as motivational or identity framing in which actors construct their distinctiveness in the manner of "us" against a particular "them". [19] According to Snow and Benford (2000) there are some basic features of collective action framing processes. The first one is *problem identification and direction* that enables action frames vary in an obvious way. A new form of collective action appears at this stage and differs from others by problemizing an issue in an alternative way and creating mobilization campaigns. The second variable is the degree of *flexibility and rigidity* or *inclusivity and exclusivity* that indicates the openness for new ideas and themes to be integrated into a movement

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[18] Benford and Snow, 1988.

[19] Pellow, David. "Framing Emerging Environmental Movement Tactics: Mobilizing Consensus, Demobilizing Conflict". *Sociological Forum.* Dec. 1999. p. 662.

culture. The third one is *variation in interpretive scope and influence* which simply refers to the area of interest of a movement organization. Some movement frames that contain a broad scope of interest in an inclusive way constitute "master frames", whereas others remain in a limited scope and derive movement specific meanings from master frames. The fourth variable is also the most deliberate concept that is namely *resonance.* It concerns the credibility, empirical and logical consistency of frames and actors.

The above given justifications for picking the NSM approach appropriately compels taking the actor into consideration as the centre of this study. As stated earlier, as a prevalent methodological choice in this study, in-depth interviews through open ended questions are conducted as major sources in order to expose the collective action frames, depict the actor profile and collective identity of the organization, whereas secondary sources such as related laws, documents and media coverage are also used especially to expose the government's stance towards the SHPs. Throughout the interviews I asked questions like "Why are you participating in this movement?", "What does the movement mean to you?", "What is the role of the river in your life?" and "How do you define the problem?" along with more specific questions that fit into the scene. If a theoretical justification, within the framework of New Social Movements literature, were required for choosing in-depth interviews and frame analysis as my primary methods, I would say that traditional approaches (Collective Behaviour and Resource Mobilization approaches namely) mainly focus on emergence of the movements and neglects the movements' development process and symbolic consequences (other than material gains). Whereas the development process of movements, in relation to emergence of actors (and their preferences), collective identity and choices of action, is the utmost priority in collective action

analysis in the NSM approach. Actually, culture and identity formation oriented NSM theories also do not have a particular concern in the outcomes of the movements, but definitely propose an invaluable insight regarding the development of the movement because NSM approach equates to the development of the movement, collective identity and meanings of the movement.

The Journey of This Study

Before moving to the academic content of the study I felt it necessary to briefly mention about the preparation and development process of this study for one basic reason. The greatest bulk of this study was the planning and evaluation of the field research process and its outcomes. Although it may seem as if the interviews took only four days, the academic preparation period to be able to evaluate the outcomes was a long and exciting journey.

In Stansislaw Lem's mind-blowing novel, *The Futurological Congress* we witness a distant future where science is used to create a virtual reality that at the utmost level is 'perfectly' totally away from the material reality. Only a couple of years before this virtual perfection took over the reality as we know it, the world was such a chaotic place and people, including great scientists, used to have long space trips for tens of years with the expectancy that 'all of the worst crisis may happen on earth when I am away'. But, this unavailing escape does not make the world a better place. The moral of the story depicts a world where science has lost bounds with reality does not make any real sense.

Since the first days of the literature review readings, I was paying considerable attention on how to use what I read on the field study in order to produce an overlapping balance between theory and practice. I frequently found myself

wondering about whether what I was reading has a provision in the field. Such a reading is dangerous in a way because it leads to a conditioned observation that causes a black and white mirage. In order to prevent the risk of over generalization I decided to utilize any kind of source that is related to the field of anti SHP resistance. Regarding the written academic materials on environmental movements in general and anti SHP movement in particular there is a deficiency in literature. Arsel and Adaman's (ed. 2005) book and Hamsici's book (2010) and article (Ugur Biryol ed. 2011) were quite helpful to have a general opinion about the movements. I also watched several documentaries on SHP resistance that give a vivid vision about what is actually taking place on the field.[20] These visual materials revitalized and encouraged me to embrace my study even in my most indifferent days. Another thing that helped me a lot for the preparation of field research was social media. I checked online media such as independent news sources as much as I can, almost daily. Even at the height of enjoying procrastination by killing time on Facebook I could get the news feed of social groups. I think this helped alot to be kept upto date, understand the narrative, find contacts and communicate with new people from the field.

However I established the final concrete links with the field through the help of the Green Party of Turkey, whom were supposed to be the other subject of this study but was later dropped, sadly because of lack of time and the burden of responsibility to make such a deliberate comparison. The members of the Green Party were the first interviewees of this originally planned comparative study. I conducted eight thoughtful and exciting interviews with the Greens which in total makes over 500 minutes. Sadly they could not be utilized for today, yet are being kept in reserve

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[20] *Bir Avuc Cesur Insan* by Ruya Arzu Koksal, *Sudaki Suretler* by Erkal Tulek and *Akintiya Karsi* by Volkan Isil, Ozlem Isil, Umut Kocagoz and Ezgi Akyol are only three of these visual material.

hopefully for future studies. But, I was lucky enough to get introduced to a couple of activists in Savsat who are acquaintances of a Green Party member.

When I was finally in the field, I first met with the representatives of Derelerin Kardesligi Plaformu (The Platform of the Fellowship of the Rivers, DEKAP) and learned the process in the region. Then I had random visits to public places such as cafes, fields and town squares to find people who consider themselves as activists. I even knocked the doors of houses at random. Although most of the people were quite helpful, sometimes people got suspicious of me whether I was a disguised representative of the state or the SHP company. They were right to be suspicious in a sense, considering the nature of my questions about why they find SHPs problematic and how they carry out the struggle. I realized that if there was a real spy, he would probably ask similar questions. So, I decreased the number of questions and made more general questions to let the interviewee speak more freely. I also changed the way I ask the questions such as asking only 'what does this struggle mean to you?' instead of arraying a series of questions such as 'why do you struggle?' 'how do you do it?' 'what is the problem' and so on.

After all is said and done, thanks to the four day field research in Savsat/Artvin and Findikli/Rize I gathered over forty interviews ranging in length from five minutes to more than an hour of which 26 of them are partly quoted in this study. I also met activists including two PhD students who were also doing field research and we shared great ideas, and most importantly I met face to face with my academic curiosity and felt it in my brain. When I sat in front of my laptop once again, I had a lots of unthought-of ideas compared to the very first days of the literature review period. It was not easy to collect all of the ideas in a logical order. I still see disunity between some of the parts and paragraphs, and lack of clarification for the reader. But

all in all, on my own behalf, I believe the outcome is a genuine study that can fill a humble gap within the social movements literature in Turkey.

I consider this study necessary and valuable in terms of pointing out the links between the ecological movements and the transformation of modernity in the context of Turkey. It is also important that I approached the modernity culture not only through the implications of the legal institutions, but also through the probable symbolic and tangible outcomes of the individual actions at local level. In a way, in response to the positivist and state centric approach that puts forward nation states as the accelerators of modernism, this study offers a cultural impact model that attributes a primary role to the social movements as being capable of transforming the modernity.

As a student of international relations whose dissertation is not that applicable for the IR discipline, I would like to have a final comment to put an end to this intermediate section. As a rather sociological study about the individual activist motivations on the local level, this thesis does not cover the influence of international institutions and norms on the process of movement mobilization. As a EU candidate country that strives to meet the environmental criteria, as implied through Water Framework Directive and Aarhus Convention, Turkish state has a challenging process ahead. Although Turkey has not ratified neither of these documents, the content and the potential implications of these norms should have implicit impact on the mobilization progress at some point. I personally did not observe much reference to the particular international norms among the activists, probably because I did not intend to do it that way. It would be an interesting topic to study the connection between the international water rights discourse and ecological approaches though.

I. LITERATURE REVIEW OF THE THEORIES OF SOCIAL MOVEMENTS

Academic interest on social movements has proliferated since 1960's as new forms of protests and issues emerged concerning environment, women rights and peace. Hitherto two mainstream approaches were named as Marxist tradition dominated in European academia, and collective behaviour approach that is influential in North-American tradition have been the essential grand approaches of social movements[21]. These two approaches considered falling short of analyzing the new movements. The reason, to put simply, for Marxism was having a narrow scope that explicitly elaborates social movements with economic and class oriented concepts. On the other hand, collective behaviour was briefly criticized because too much emphasis it put on the role of the agent while at the same time disregarding social movement as irrational reactions.

New theories on social movements partly developed to criticize and renew the understanding of novel labelled social movements. There are different approaches to study of social movements, which are heterogeneous and somehow complementary. One of the major differences between these new approaches (which are namely resource mobilization, political process and new social movement theories) appears in their level of unit analysis; either at agent or structure level. To point to the most defining features of these approaches; resource mobilization approach takes movement leaders into consideration as a unit of analysis at agent level whereas the political process model observes the phenomenon through structural changes at the

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[21] Offe, Claus. "Yeni Sosyal Hareketler: Kurumsal Politikanin Sinirlarinin Zorlanmasi, in *Yeni Sosyal Hareketler: Teorik Acilimlar,* edited and translated by Kenan Cayir, Istanbul: Kaktus Yayinlari, 1999. pp. 53-81.

macro level, such as modernization, globalization or industrialization. Apart from them, as a relatively later approach, New Social Movements tradition criticizes both of them and puts an integrative stance that considers both structural factors and the role of the agent. There is a mutually effective relation between the structure and agent. The agent is the active facilitator and the actor of social movements. The agent also has influence on transforming the structure and even creating a new social structure in a revolutionary way. On the other hand, changes in social structure explicitly or implicitly may trigger, construct and shape the social movements.

Throughout the following sections four basic approaches will be analyzed in comparison to each other, respectively as collective behaviour, resource mobilization, political process and new social movement theories.

A. Collective Behaviour Approach

Collective behaviour tradition defines social movements as a category within the greater concept of collective behaviour. Social movements are seen as an unconventional part of collective behaviour that is manifested as riots, revolutions or upheavals. Della Porta and Diani criticizes that collective behaviour approach sees the social movements as the sum of individual discontents reflected in a collective but irrational way.[22] Thus, collective behaviour approach confines as a psychological approach rather than a sociological one. Through a deliberate literature review, Hayriye Ozen observes that "collective behaviour approach first and foremost focuses on deprived and isolated people who are socially excluded and gradually gather around to empower themselves with a desperate need of belonging".[23] Apart from

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[22] Della Porta, Donatella and Mario Diani. *Social Movements: An Introduction,* Ornwall: Blackwell Publishing, 2006.
[23] Ozen, Hayriye. "Located Locally, Disseminated Nationally: A Discursive Analysis of the Case of Brgama Movement in Turkey", *PhD Thesis,* Ankara: Middle East Technical University, 2007, p 18.

these theorists Smelser has a more sociological and structural stance that sounds worth analyzing through the limited space of this study.

The collective behaviour approach focuses on the emergence and construction of new norms of social relationships and new meanings of social life. In this approach the framework of social movements is the appearance of a new construction of rights, of procedures, of norms, of beliefs. Social movements are seen as actions of collectives with a specified set of goals to be achieved. Collective behaviour approach considers the grievances, psychological discontentment, deprivations and prior general beliefs of the actors as the prerequisite for the emergence of social movements[24]. As stated by Lemonik Arthur, grievance is a way of articulating a problem faced by a collective and actually this grievance does not have to be in a given fashion and can possibly be altered for mobilization of a movement[25]. In this respect grievances and the dissatisfaction of individuals establishes the initial revenue of social movement and motivates mobilization of collectives to create new forms of social order, symbols and meanings. But, once the presence of grievances is considered as a constant phenomenon in society, it turns out that some other factors are necessary for the emergence of movements. According to Morris and Haring, in order to understand the rise of social movements through the collective behaviour model a deliberative focus on three interrelated statements is required; 1) Structural breakdowns are prone to end up with demands for social change –such breakdowns reveals the power asymmetries and social gaps in a society. 2) Psychological conditions of the activists should be considered as stimulators of movements – people's ability and eagerness to take action, which is effected by the structural

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[24] Smelser, Nail. *Theory of Collective Behaviour*. New York: The Free Press, 1963.

[25] Mikaila Mariel Lemonik Arthur. "Resurrecting Smelser: Collective Power, Generalized Belief, and Hegemonic Spaces". *Theory in Action.* Vol.2 No:4 2009, pp.29-45.

breakdowns, determine the course of the movements. 3) Common beliefs in a movement influences the direction of the movement.[26]

There are two forms of behaviour in a society; one is conventional or institutional behaviour that constitutes and maintains the social order and the other is collective behaviour that occurs when a dramatic breakdown takes place in the functioning of social order that is shaped around institutional behaviour. To put it in another way, on the one hand, there is institutional or organizational behaviour that is embedded in stability and order in society. This behaviour is defined in terms of rules that shapes modern society and simply unremarkable and totally internalized with regard to their function as stability and order maintainers. Uninstitutional collective behaviour, on the other hand, constitutes the essence of social movements. Social movements are performed by actors who do not get on well with their ascribed institutional behaviour. In this respect social movements are regarded as unconventional instruments for acquiring a better share from societal property defined in terms of access to decision making processes. Accordingly, society is regarded as a static entity confined to act in accordance with institutional behaviour. Thus, in this context collective behaviour approach has a quite positive stance in its understanding of society. People composing the society act in a linear basis to achieve the goal of modernity defined as homogeneous and rational by society. In the next paragraph I intend to look at the different explanations of changes in society and social structure proposed by Collective Behaviour theorists and attempt to criticize shortcomings.

The dilemma of collective behaviour approach stems from its dual perception of social structure and conventional behaviour. In other words, there arises the question of how could it be possible to maintain a stable social behaviour if it is confined to

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[26] Morris and Haring,1963, p. 11.

constant change by the subjectivity of the actors? Here at this point dilemma stems from considering social agents (subjective and unpredictable) and social order/structure (stable and institutional) as two separate and controversial concepts. In this framework, collective behaviour approach considers only the actor behaviour worth studying, but not the structure that is considered.

In his *symbolic interaction approach*, Herbert Blumer argues that social movements come into being in response to the uneasiness and dissatisfaction some people experience in the existing social order[27]. He is directing exclusive focus on the dissatisfaction and preferences of agents while disregarding the causes of problems embedded in the social structure. In other words his approach pays attention to personal relations and power relations in the social structure are neglected thoroughly. In this context the essential reasons behind the dissatisfaction of particular groups are defined merely by referring to the relative advantage of some agents compared to others.

In a similar vein, Smelser elaborates the role of strain and generalized beliefs of the actors to explain the concept of social movements. By definition, generalized beliefs refer to collectively held explanations of social phenomena.[28] Collective behaviour is guided by a "generalized belief" and this belief is the basis of uninstitutionalized mobilization.[29] Generalized beliefs may be novel forms of critique of the status quo and challenge the established system or traditional sets of meaning that challenge the transformation of the dominant system. Smelser argues that the degree of " structural strain" in a society is the other important variable that gives rise to collective behaviour and strain and generalized beliefs are the driving forces of

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[27] Cited in Ozen, 2007, p. 29.
[28] Lemonik Arthur, 2009, p. 34
[29] Morris, Aldon and Cedric Haring, 'Theory And Research In Social Movements: A Critical Review." *Political Behavior Annual.* Fall 1984, p. 20.

movements while organizations and leaders facilitate the process after being drawn in". [30] Structural strains or opportunities interact with the general beliefs of the actors and are most of the time accompanied by a precipitating event that triggers the mobilization process of actors to effect the established social control mechanisms. In Smelser's own words "..people under strain mobilize to reconstitute the social order in the name of a generalized belief."[31]

All in all generalized beliefs are regarded as tools for conducting the paths to the movement. The role Smelser attributed to the generalized beliefs is clearly apparent in his definition of collective behaviour as "mobilization on the basis of a belief which redefines social action".[32] This belief tends to be generalized by the similarities of the deprivations that individuals experience. In this respect generalized beliefs have a similar function to collective action frames, yet with some major differences. First, as opposed to collective action frames they are not negotiated, but expressions of common grievances. Second, they do not engage with counter generalized beliefs like counter action frames of structure. Finally, generalized beliefs have a diagnostic function of problemization and victimhood, yet it does not provide ground for prognosis and strategy development.

B. Resource Mobilization Theory

Resource Mobilization Theory defines social movements as a set of thoughts and beliefs that are transformed into action that foresees social change. A professional organizational structure and consistent leadership is claimed to be necessary unlike

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[30] It should be reminded that in his 1963 dated book Smelser includes panics, revolutions, lynchings and many other phenomena along with the political movements in his definition of collective behavior. Thus relevancy of his approach when applying to new social movements of today is questionable.
[31] Smelser, 1963, p. 17.
[32] Ibid. p.8.

collective behaviour approach. The collective behaviour model bases its assumption on aggrieved populations as the unique suppliers of required resources for the emergence of movements. It means that the members of a movement largely consist of those who are damaged from the grievances most, whereas if there are any outsiders in the movement they are minor exceptions who are not needed to be analyzed. In response to this assumption resource mobilization approach claims that there might be outsiders who provide greater resource for the movement thanks to a perception of movement as a part of larger struggle. Resource Mobilization theorists define social movements as "sets of opinions and beliefs representing preferences for changing some elements of the social structure and/or reward distribution of a society". [33] Mobilization is maintained through pre-existing organizations and integration of those who share the same preferences and who is concerned about the same topic. Oberschall (1973)[34] argues that participants of a movement are recruited "primarily from previously active and relatively well integrated individuals within the collective" as against the primacy given by collective behaviourists to the marginal and isolated individuals as the major components of collective action.

Maybe the most distinguishable feature of resource mobilization approach is the importance it attributed to the rationality of actors and movement. Resource Mobilization theories ignore the role of grievances and emotional motives of the actor for the sake of ultimate rationality. For instance, the altruism that may be seen in white men support for the black civic rights movement is not a totally rational and beneficiary driven way of participation, yet it still constitutes a significant part of the movement. This example shows that social movements are neither completely rationally motivated nor based on purely grievances and reactive emotional actions.

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[33] McCarthy, John D. and Mayer N. Zald, "Resource Mobilization and Social Movements: A Partial Theory", *American Journal of Sociology,* Vol. 82, No. 6, May 1977, p.1217.
[34] Cited in Hayriye Ozen, 2007, p. 24.

This also proves that relying on a single approach is not a satisfactory method in social movement analysis[35].

Opportunities and availability of conditions are regarded as factors of movement success. Since organizations (or actors as state vs activists) are given prominent emphasis, the relationship amongst them over the control of the resources should be taken in to consideration. They ought to be regarded not in isolation from each other but through the degree of cooperation and competition. All in all both antagonistic and cooperative actors structure a general frame of movements in society. Thus the approach focuses on formal organizations and availability of resources in order to understand the emergence of movements.

In contrast with collective behaviour approach, resource mobilization approach does not consider the grievances solely as the stimulators of social movements. Strain does not automatically lead to the emergence of collective action, otherwise it would be an approval of social movements as irrational reactions in response to the undesirable grievances. On the contrary, strain and grievances are constant features of society. RM argues that there are some other reasons that push people to participate in social movements. Theorists like Oberschall (1973) and McCarthy and Zald (1977) argue that only if actors mobilize themselves and the sources defined both in economic and non-economic terms then the movements occur. The competitive relation between organizations regarding the available options for accessing the resources is the subject of analysis in this tradition. Enrique Larana *et al.* points to the role of competition in movement analysis and the role of ideology is disregarded even when the labour movement is in question.[36]

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[35] Lemonik Arthur, 2009, p.32.
[36] Johnston, Hank, Enrique Larana, and Joseph R. Gusfield. "Identities, Grievances and New Social Movements." *New Social Movements From Ideology to Identity*. Ed. Enrique Larana *et al.* Philedelphia: Temple University Press, 1994. pp. 3-36.

Social movements emerge as the representative tools for the interests of politically excluded ones. Unlike collective behaviour approach, resource mobilization approach does not separate between the institutional politics and social movements. Social movements are thought to be operating within the existing political system, thus they are regarded as a normal component of a political system. This perspective bares a functional and semantic problem. Considering social movements without a distinction from constitutional politics undermines the claim that social movements function as a means to integrating excluded ones to the formal politics. In other words evaluating social movements and formal politics within the same semantic framework would demise the distinctiveness of social movements. Applying such a way of thinking, social movements can only be a means to increase the availability of resources for the ones 'who are already integrated into a formal system'. Such understanding causes one to miss the structural reasons behind why the formal system does not allow particular groups to be part of the system. The actors do not aim to challenge and reshape the system that can be more welcoming for outsiders. In this respect only some elements of the structure are subject to change for the benefit of excluded ones, whereas the exclusive character of the structure remains at large unchanged. There is a complex order of units of social movements within the structure. The order of social movements units are explained McCarthy and Zald who analyse social movement with an economics perspective and juxtapose such concepts as follows from larger to minor; *social movement sectors* composed of *social movement industries* which represent certain preferences for change. *Social movement organizations* on the other hand are the personified expressions of *social movements* that represent "preference structures". A social movement organization is a formal entity that defines the goals and preferences of social movements and function to

implement them.[37] In this respect a particular social movement represents preferences for changing of 'some elements' of social structure within[38].

All in all, when we think about social movements within the sum effort put by the composition of social movement industries, who are independent and tended to either compete or cooperate with each other on the same or different interest areas, we can observe a gradual structural change. But, on the other hand, considering social movements in an organizational structure and organizations as the institutional entities well integrated into the formal system causes an inadequate description of what is formally acceptable. Civic, ethnic or minority movements struggling for greater cultural and democratic representative rights on citizenry basis set a proper example for such cases. To what extend the Black Rights movement of 1960's in USA or Kurdish movement in Turkey can be regarded as parts of formal politics and who decides the formality of such movements? Such movements are obviously rationally driven and operationalize the available resources, yet even more obvious is that such movements are emerging and developing outside of the formal state system and as against the unegalitarian and harsh implications of the formal structure. It seems that rationalist resource mobilization approaches fall short in analyzing such dichotomies because it narrowly focuses on agent and movement preferences while neglecting the structural context in which movements emerge and cooperate.

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[37] MacCarthy and Zald, 1977, p.1218.
[38] Ibid, p.1218.

C.   Political Process Model

According to Goodwin, Jasper and Khattra "The political process model claims that social movements result when expanding political opportunities are seized by people who are formally or informally organized, aggrieved, and optimistic that they can successfully redress their grievances".[39] Political process model reflects the need to criticize and modify resource mobilization approach. As one of the major thinkers of political process approach, Charles Tilly argues that resource mobilization identifies "amassing or spending resources as the absolutely central phenomenon and to that extent distract attention away from power struggles…"[40]. Charles Tilly looks at the social movements as an extended process of struggle of those eager to get access to a political system. Here the focus is not particularly on agents but on the interactions between the power holders and the others lacking might in the course of making their demands visible. While resource mobilization looks at the availability of resources by referring to the agents' capabilities, political process models look at the political structure and the openness and opportunities it offers for the actors. Neither depravations of the actors as stated by the collective behaviour tradition, nor the articulation of resources as defended by the supporters of resource mobilization alone, but the political environment enable the opportunity for movements to emerge.

It is not the availability of resources that foster the people for mobilization, but the political situation, namely political exclusion, that gives rise to unconventional tactics and actions. Yet, the opportunity for a collective to take action when the desirable structural conditions emerge is also dependent on some internal factors.

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[39] Goodwin, Jeff, James Jasper and Jaswinder Khattra, "Caught in A Winding, Snarling Vine: The Structural Bias of Political Process Theory", *Sociological Forum,* Vol 14, No:1, March 1999, p. 42.
[40] Cited in Morris and Harring, 1984, p.39.

Internal organization as the extension of common identity among members of the aggravated group should be well maintained beforehand [41]. Organization plays a crucial part in political process model because it facilitates economic, human resources and coordination of people in an effective way.

Along with the organization, mobilization comes as a vital factor. Mobilization refers to the process by which challenging groups acquire control over resources that make collective action possible.[42] The political process model makes an analysis of the connection between the pre-existing structures and resources of a group and the mobilization. It argues that most of the initial members of a social movement are the individuals who are already well integrated to pre-existing community structures. A proper integration of pre-existing group and mobilization process is a key to the generation of collective action. Yet, the existence of prior organization and mobilization of resources through this organization are only two of the three components of social movement to get started. Structural circumstances such as the degree of political repression can dramatically affect the fate of the movement. After all the political process model considers agents as rational entities who calculate costs and benefits accordingly. If the costs of political repression exceed the interests then it becomes less likely for a movement to take place.

The political process model values the strategic and organizational choices that movement leaders and organizations make. Additionally, this approach puts forward that there should be harmony between the organizational character, mobilization preferences, structural opportunities and the aims of the movement.

The political process model makes more sense for the participation of powerless groups to the formal system through integration, because it is more logical

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[41] Ibid, p.41.
[42] Ibid, p.41.

to define the structure as relatively more open and transparent. The relative advantage explicitly provided, thanks to the vulnerability of the political system. create the real advantage for the emergence of the movements, compared to deprivations and the resources the agents witness. Unlike resource mobilization approach, political process approach considers social movements at the outside of formal political system. Gamson states that political actors are either inside or outside of the polity[43]. Those who are inside the formal system are *members* with the given interest and rights, whereas those who are outside of the system are challengers and cannot enjoy the basic privileges in decision making processes that *the members* can practice. In this context in order to acquire the privileges that 'outsiders' demand the system should become vulnerable and open as a precondition for the involvement of the new comers. Changes in political context should be encouraging for new opportunities.

The central position that political opportunities held in political process approach indicates in an essentialist way that the agents have given interests to be realized and when the political system give them the opportunity, people will mobilize automatically. As rational actors with pre-given interests, agents are thought to be waiting for the proper structural shifts to realize their aims. Poletta opposes this idea by claiming that structures are objective entities monopolized by powerful ones to maintain power, yet against the political structure there is a culture that shapes the actors' perception of objective structure and enables protest to challenge the structure. Although, the opportunities and constraints of a structure are objectively given, the culture matters with respect to its potential to "impede actors' capacity to perceive the system's objective vulnerability"[44].

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[43] Cited in Ozen, 2007, p.29.
[44] Poletta and Jasper, 2001, p.66.

D. New Social Movements Theories

New Social Movements (NSM) theorists find contemporary social movements new in the sense that they foster participation of new actors in new types of conflicts that emerge through structural changes in a new kind of society. In this new type of society, information and culture are prominent values, thus two core concepts namely collective identity and meanings constructed by new movements are the focus of studies. NSM theory diverts its attention from the single organizations and develops a larger perspective of structural changes. The core question then turns out to be "why" do social movements take place from "how" do they occur.

Differing from collective behaviour approach, NSM theories posit that grievances in society always exist, so social movements are not exceptional phenomena in this context. However the constant existence of grievances does not guarantee that social movements will take place. Only at certain times and certain places do such grievances make sense and become social movements.[45] Besides this, some grievances occur at one time and place and this causes the emergence of collective action.

Unlike the old social movements, the focus of social contradictions is shifting from economic systems to the cultural field in new social movement studies. Economic, political and cultural clashes are all becoming one and consequently what was in the domain of individual identity, daily life and culture are becoming influential in determining the structure of the movements. As an integral determinant of the contemporary social systems, production and distribution of information transforms the system into a more complicated and risky way. Meanwhile the liberal flow of information requires the expansion of individuals' and groups' area of

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[45] Arthur, 2009, p.31.

freedom. Freedom is not being sought solely in a national sense, rather it encompasses local and international sentiments in the same pot, thus grassroots demands for democracy and autonomy overlaps with personal initiatives.

In the following sections works of two major contributors of New Social Movement Theories, Melucci and Touraine, will be elaborated in detail.

1. Melucci and Symbolic Role of Social Movements

With a constructivist perspective Melucci focuses on the process that actors emerge collectively. The time that actors and collective identities develop is also the time the movement starts to make change. The very existence of social movements indicates the presence of differences in society regarding the meanings and values. Melucci criticizes former theories of social movements by arguing that these approaches merely focus on the relationship between social movements and political structures, whereas the primary function of social movements in contemporary societies is producing and challenging the cultural codes.[46] All in all, a social movement by its raison d'etre constitutes a real challenge to the dominant narrative of the system. In this respect, power relations in society are shaped through social movements for or against changing or maintaining social structure in a specific way. Melucci defines a social movement as the "individual and collective reappropriation of the meaning of action that is at stake in the forms of collective involvement, which make the experience of change in the present a condition for creating a different

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[46] Melucci, Alberto. *Challenging Codes: Collective Action in the Information Age.* New York: Cambridge University Press, 1996a, p.9.

future"[47]. In this framework, Melucci defines the fundamental characteristics of new social movements as based on collective agreement with temporary uninstitutional memberships where collective aims and individual transformation overlaps through universality of symbolic demands.[48]

a. Post Industrial (Information) Society

Melucci argues that new social movements are "new" because they are products of a new kind of society, namely the information society (1996a, 1996b). One of the main characteristics of this post industrial society is the absence of a central power to enforce its will on the society in general. The end of the industrial society is symbolized with the end of conventional class conflicts between the workers and the industrialists. Moreover, the struggle for citizenship rights are not that prevalent since the excluded groups can also enjoy such basic rights thanks to the presence of human rights concept. None of these propositions can indicate that the conflicts are over; on the contrary they are diversified in numbers and can be treated in everyday life. What is left behind after the industrial man is an information society as a synonym for post industrial society. While the need for raw human power in production process decreases, Melucci observes there occurs an abundance and constant flow of information that is produced and consumed by society[49].

In information or post industrial society actors do not simply struggle for accessing the material wealth that they lack, but for producing knowledge and culture. Though indeed the culture itself is seen as an invaluable source that gives strength in a permanent power struggle of society. In this context social movements do not only

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[47] Melucci, 1996a, p.9.
[48] Melucci, Alberto. "The Symbolic Challenge of Contemporary Movements", *Social Research*, Vol. 52, no. 4, 1985.
[49] Melucci, Alberto. *The Playing Self: Person and Meaning in the Planetary Society,* New York: Cambridge University Press, 1996b.

challenge the logic of the operation of system, but also they are tools for integrating those socially excluded ones into the institutional system. In the mean time the codes of the institutional system are questioned and confined to a gradual change. In other words, the differences people have; different world views, preferences and definitions are replaced with what was once considered normal. Moreover, institutional democracy of modern states fall short of meeting the representation demands of highly diversified information societies where the distinction between public and private is blurred and minority demands are multiplied. This situation leads to the emergence of the idea of radical democracy that requires direct participation of people. The diminishing gap between public and private manifests itself in civil society and state relations as well. Throughout this increasing proximity of civil society with state, the purpose of civil society is to attain freedom and autonomy from the state.[50]

b. Orientations, Motives and Function of Social Movements

Melucci defines three types of orientations for collective actions in his book, *Challenging Codes*.[51] Some collective action involves *solidarity* and a sense of belonging to a social unit, while the others lack solidarity and happen on the grounds of aggregation of collective concerns. This latter type of collective action with lack of solidarity stems from the periodical institutional disabilities of meeting the social demands that eventually enhances social unrest. This approach disregards the autonomy of social movements and curtails them as merely a responsive process even to the expense of being irrational. Like collective behaviour theorists claim, these kind of collective actions are aggregated reactions of atomized individuals that can be

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[50] Vahabzadeh, Peyman. "A Critique of Ultimate Referentiality in the New Social Movement Theory of Alberto Melucci" *Canadian Journal of Sociology* Vol:26, 4. 2001. p. 615.

[51] Melucci, 1996a, pp. 23-24.

seen in panics, booms and crazes. A second approach considers the social movements as more like rational choice processes evolving around capabilities of resource mobilization and strategic choices that manifests themselves in organizational tactics and long-term aims. This second type surely stands as if a revision of resource mobilization and political process approaches. Actors who consider the same source as having some value either get into *conflict* or *compromise* over this source. Melucci criticizes this approach of reducing the collective action to sheer political movements and social movement organizations to interest groups. It is a partially true statement in a sense that every movement organization seeks to maximize its interest within given conditions and could be named as an interest group. Yet, the point that Melucci puts his objection relates to resource mobilization approach's inefficiency in explaining the cultural aspect of the movements, which personifies itself as identity formation in Melucci's approach. If we have an approach to identity both as a process and outcome of social movements, then cultural aspect of the movement should be taken into consideration for a precise analysis. Within this understanding Melucci develops a third approach that defines social movements as a *collective behaviour* that challenges the dominant codes of society. In this approach the power structure of the society is at stake not only in a political sense, but more precisely in terms of social formulations encompassing culture and identity as well. Melucci claims that systems have a *compatibility level* that indicates the extent of tolerance. Social movements may challenge this compatibility and system maintainers try to respond to the challenges without altering its structure for as long as it takes. Movements that are challenging the compatibility level are units of the third level; such movements are basically oriented for breaking the limits of system. All in all, all social movements at various degrees are based on solidarity, conflicting parties and potential to break the limits of

the system. Melucci states that such variables enable naming collective actions with different labels like deviance, regulated grievances or aggregated mass behavior[52].

Solidarity is in direct relation with the comprehensiveness of the collective identity that is formed in the process of social movements. Melucci defines collective identity as a "shared definition of the field of opportunities and constraints offered to collective action."[53] Identities, symbols and social relationships are increasingly more under control and influence in what Melucci calls complex systems for contemporary societies. The conflicts in complex systems arises from a contradiction; on the one hand information society is designed to enhance personal freedom for the sake of creating individuals with a specific self consciousness who are able to produce information. On the other hand, for the sake of social integration individual action must be manipulated and their ability to create alternative symbols and meanings must be under control[54].

Melucci's opinion about the actors in a movement is that the actors are temporary and partly anonymous subjects whose main role is 'symbolically' to *reveal the stakes*. In other words actors make things (meanings and symbols) visible and by doing this makes it easier to criticize and change them. Thus in this respect, new social movements are not only tools for enhancing the access to political opportunities, but the main drive is to have an impact on a system's cultural production. A mere political approach in this respect is inadequate.

In the analysis of social movements two core questions are raised by Melucci; what is the reason for initiating action and what does the action mean to the actors?[55] As a relevant case, Melucci looks at the global peace movement against the use of

[52] Melucci, 1985, p.795.
[53] Ibid, p. 793.
[54] Ibid, p. 796.
[55] Ibid, p.802.

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nuclear weapons in 1980s and he states that changes in military policies of states offer conjunctural opportunities for the emergence of mobilization. Besides, individual motives with a global sense of utopian peace enhance the effect of structural changes. But political opportunities, constraints and individual motives for peace cannot be adequate in understanding peace movements. Along with the unit level and the political structure analysis, a macro analysis of cultural patterns of system is needed. Like Benedict Anderson's role attributed to the media in creating *imagined communities,* Melucci draws a similar line and asserts that information society builds an artificially built social life by using all means possible –not only via media. In this complex society role of movements extends beyond the spatial and chronic meanings, which are peculiar to movement actors, and acquires a planetary symbolic role.

c. The Nexus of Political and Cultural

Increasingly after the 1980s social movements are not constructed on movement leaders and grand goals. They are almost invisible in the domain of conventional politics in a sense because their concerns are intensely embedded in the daily life of society, yet at the same time they spoke out about the differentiated and marginal motives (related to identity or not) against the manipulative policies of the system. The primary struggle of the new social movements is not for significant institutional and political changes consciously. However their impact on political institutions is undeniable. Although Melucci conceives the planetary symbolic challenge as the true intention of the movements, they still maintain the potential for change at a political level. He claims that the outcomes (success or failure) of new collective actions cannot be measured[56]. Movements' plain existence is a challenge to dominant codes of the system. But besides their symbolic values, movements

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[56] Ibid, p.813.

produce modernization, stimulate innovation and push to reform[57]. The process tends to conceive political outcomes eventually, such as leading to the emergence of new elites and institutional transformation. Collective action acts also as a *symbolic multiplier:* it challenges the operational logic of technocracy. It enforces apparatuses to justify their actions through reformation and modernization of political institutions. By struggling against the established power mechanisms, social movements compel the power holders to justify their claims in a responsive and defensive way. That makes power and its logic visible and additionally the weakness of its discourse too. Making power visible is an important political success since it is an effective way to discuss the validity of social norms and the visibility of social decisions as well as tangible development projects and political applications. Thanks to the social movements a new political space becomes possible between state and "civil society" as an intermediate *public space*. Their function is to make their causes publicly visible and stateable through conventional political decision-making apparatus. Yet, the movement itself keeps its authenticity and autonomy[58]. In this sense, the symbolic value of the movements and their political and transformative roles are nested in the same pot.

d. Rationality of Modernity as a Constraining Factor for Differentiated Identities in Melucci's Thinking

Like Touraine does in his acclaimed work on *The Return of Subject*, Melucci as well considers social movements as means to freedom. Social movements are

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[57] Melucci, 1991, p.59.
[58] Melucci, 1985, p.815.

meaningful only if they contain creativity and autonomy that can prolong the freedom of actors. Although Melucci does not make much comprehensive analysis of modernity unlike Touraine, he still considers ultimate rationality of modernism as a restricting feature against individual and collective self definitions. New social movements act in accordance with an attempt to fill the gap between rational authority mostly embedded in the state and civil society with personal freedom via enhancing the capabilities of grassroots democracy.[59] It enables the individual that has become merely a passive object visible only during election times for a moment, a process to return back to the actual political sphere and redefine itself as a concrete political subject. This redefinition process inevitably intervened with identical and cultural issues. The individual constructs his/her identity either by intrumentalizing it for the sake of the collective identity of the movement or the movement itself becomes a means to develop individual identity. Considering the modern feminist movement of 1960's as an example, in the former case the woman seeking visibility and an equal recognition in the society put forward her personal experience, complaints and claims as a component of a wider group thus contributes to construction of a general frame of feminist ideology, where as in the latter case she justifies her individual claims by referring to the norms and claims of this collective framework of feminism.

Contrary to the dualistic understanding of the classic social movements paradigms which regard social movements as temporary marginal responses to societal depravations and crisis, Melucci evaluates social movements within a continuity. In this respect social movements are not exceptional, but quite possibly

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[59] Melucci, Alberto. "Çağdaş Hareketlerin Sembolik Meydan Okuması", in *Yeni Sosyal Hareketler: Teorik Acilimlar,* edited and translated by Kenan Cayir, Istanbul: Kaktus Yayinlari, 1999.

expectable. They are constant rather than unusual. What is really unusual is taking the modernity as a project of uniformity with its uneven impact on the masses and environment for granted. Social movements should be regarded as a collectivity of efforts to problemize the issues those were once regarded as normal. Once this abnormality is realized issues such as gender, ecology or militarism become integrated into the sphere of controversion where individuals are directly concerned at a public level.

The strength of new social movements comes from its ability to explain how the actor's collective identity is established. Collective movements are not a "thing" and identity formation is a process. Thus the analysis should focus on the internal and external system of relations that form the movement and identity. The movements are social constructions in Melucci's understanding. Rather than as an expression of beliefs or impact of a crisis, collective movement is constructed as a collective investment.[60] It happens within an area of limited sources and constraints. But, neither the resources can be mobilized nor the constratints have meaning without considering the role of the actor. Melucci defines the social movements as systematic actions developed by aims, beliefs, decisions and exchange of ideas.[61] Thus it appears that collective identity is nothing but a common definition of an area of opportunities and constraints presented in collective action. The actor defines the conditions he acts within and rationalizes the constraints and opportunities embedded in these conditions. In this process of interaction the collective identity becomes a part of the aims and values and the way the conditions are problemized. This understanding makes clear the implicit relation between identity and social movements that leads to

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[60] Ibid.
[61] Ibid.

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struggle over control of cultural resources. Culture in itself becomes a political entity and the boundaries between symbolic value and political aims become less visible.

e. A Transition Section from Melucci to Touraine: Collective Identity and Solidarity

An actors' identity is quite a referential concept in new social movements studies. Older studies of social movements in sociology disregards the role of the actor and identity while focusing on the availability of constraints and sources in a society. New social movements on the other hand search for identity as a central aspect of movement formation. Identity oriented explanations of NSM theories devalues the materialistic and utilitarian approach of resource mobilization theories by embedding social movement participation not in individuals' material interest but in people's loyalties, obligations and identities.

Identity construction highly depends on cultural peculiarities whereas culture is defined by Touraine as "the sum of models and resources" that are controlled and managed by the social actors in a constant process of struggle.[62] Mobilization factors tend to focus on cultural and symbolic issues that are associated with sentiments of belonging to a differentiated social group where members can feel powerful; they are likely to have subcultural orientations that challenge the dominant system. NSMs are said to arise "in defence of identity." Melucci asserts that; "what individuals are claiming collectively is the right to realize their own identity: the possibility of disposing of their personal creativity, their affective life, and their biological and interpersonal existence".[63] Individuals seek out new collectives and produce "new

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[62] Touraine, 1988.
[63] Melucci, Alberto, "The New Social Movements: A Theoretical Approach." *Social Science Information*. 19, 1980, 199-226.

social spaces" where novel life-styles and social identities can be experienced and defined. The novelity does not necessarily mean brand new forms of identity, but rather the flourishing of already existing ones through the struggle of the oppressed actor against the opponent.

There are multiple definitions of identity with varying emphasises on separate features. Johnston *et al.* defines identity by referring to the agreed upon definition of membership, boundaries and activities of the group.[64] Holland *et al.* defines collective identity of a social movement as "participant's shared sense of the movement as a collective actor —as a dynamic force for change- that they identify with and are inspired to support in their own actions".[65] According to Melucci "collective identity is an interactive and shared definition produced by several individuals and concerned with the orientations of action and the field of opportunities and constraints in which the actions take place." It is built through shared definitions of the situation by its members and it is a result of the process of negotiation. By this process of interaction, negotiation, and conflict over the definition of the situation, and the movement's reference frame, members construct the collective "we." [66] By combining the fundamentals of all three definitions we can conclude that *collective identity is a negotiated field of definition that provides its members an empowered sense of belonging and a rationale of action for making social change.*

Johnston *et al.* warns social movements students about three difficulties in making empirical analysis of identities[67]. First of all, collective identities of any movement are predicted entities that are constantly interpreted by referring to

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[64] Johnston et al, 1994, 3-36.
[65] Holland, Dorothy, Gretchen Fox, Vinci Daro. "Meaning Making in Social Movements: Social Movements and Collective Identity: A Decentered, Dialogic View", *Anthropologic Quarterly,* 2006, p.97.
[66] Johnston et al, 1994. p 15.
[67]Ibid, p.15.

individual and collective identity. Thus they tend to be biased and open to multiple interpretations. Second, collective identity is never static and changes without cease, so it is difficult to make reliable analysis since it is an never ending process. Thirdly, identity creation and maintenance show different practices and reference points, by different segments of the movement, at various phases of movement. Pressure of ideological fragmentations in the German Green Party during the 1980s between *Realos* (Realists) and *Fundis* (Fundamentalists) is a case in point.[68] In this case the Fundi segment of the German Green Party were in discord with Realos regarding the embracement of deep green values and coalition with other parties. I conceive these risks are mostly stemming from approaching a major identity as a combination of minor pieces. Collective identity is never a sum of individual identities; if it were so it would be a highly heterogeneous and vague concept.

The effectiveness of collective identity in any group depends highly on the sense of solidarity it creates among members of the movement. Saunders (2008) measures the role of solidarity in its isolation from external influences by creating a sense of weeness. According to her, collective identity is important in social movement studies because it helps the emergence and development of the movement.[69] In this sense collective identity is both a process and the outcome of the movement. Porta and Dianni assert that as "a process it is tended to differentiate one particular group from another by creating a sense of "weeness" and solidarity".[70]

As the solidarity in an organization gets stronger the us and them dichotomy between the movement organizations grows bigger. Saunders stresses that solidarity is

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[68] Burchell, Jon. *The Evolution of Green Politics: Development and Change within European Green Parties.* London: Earthscan, 2002, 226. For further reading on European Green Party Politics see: Talshir, Gayil; *The Political Ideology of Green Parties From the Politics of Nature to Redefining the Nature of Politics*, London: Palgrave McMillan, 2002.
[69] Saunders Clare. "Double-Edged Swords? Collective Identity and Solidarity in Environment Movement", *The British Journal of Sociology*, Vol. 59, 2. 2008, p. 229.
[70] Porta and Dianni, 1999, p.85.

related with the degree of differentiation of the organization from the external system.[71] Alienated values of the organization in relation to the outsiders create a strong sense of belonging for the participants. However solidarity or a comprehensive identity is not a must for organizations, even without them people can be spurred into action. Furthermore, the absence of a strong solidarity can contribute to the fostering of collaboration between different organizations by eradicating the features that separate one from another[72].

2. Touraine: The Actor Has Turned with a New Definition of Modernity

The single most remarkable contribution Touraine made in the study of social movements is his attempt to identify the social movements with the actors themselves.[73] In Touraine's perspective social movements are equivalent to social actors. Such a proposition is put forward to overcome the duality between structure and agent. Social movements are also the subject of sociology. Touraine has a quite complex understanding regarding the role of the actor in relation to social movements. He constitutes a deeply interpenetrated structure of actor and social movement. He suggests in his article to exclude the notion of society from the analysis of social life and replaces it with the subject.[74] The centre of analysis should be social movement that is personified in the form of subject. This why the 'actor has returned'; to narrow the gap between the self and the system in an interdependence mechanism of social movements and exist together with other subjects as equal (access to same resources and rights) and different (freedom to enjoy being different).

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[71] Saunders, 2008, pp. 229-231.
[72] Ibid, p. 250.
[73] Touraine, Alain. *Birlikte Yasayabilecek miyiz?* Translated by Olcay Kunal, Istanbul, Yapikredi Yayinlari 2005, p 131; 2007, p.260.
[74] Touraine, Alain. "Toplumdan Toplumsal Harekete", *Yeni Sosyal Hareketler Teorik Acilimlar,* ed. and trans. Kenan Cayir, Istanbul: Kaktus Yayinlari: 1999, p.42.

In Touraine's understanding, struggles are taking place at an individual level. People rearrange their ethics and norms by referring to their own individuality and recognizing the difference of the other.[75] As stated earlier, culture is understood as a system of resources that social actors compete to control and manipulate. Social movements do struggle to control this cultural area. The struggle of industrial society was held between the labour and the entrepreneur. They were both the central actors. Both sides have similar cultural inclinations, yet they compete to shape the industrial culture through different cultural forms.[76] Class oriented struggles was a characteristic of industrial society but modern society that is called as "post industrial society" by many new social movement students or as "programmed society" as preferred by Touraine.[77] Today there are new cultures and new actors struggling for the control of historicity. According to Touraine it is not relevant to speak of a dual class system in confrontation to each other in the information society. The classes are fragmented into many pieces, thus the field of confrontation has spread through various segments of life. Contemporary societies' conflict is not 'only' between the capitalists and the labour over the means of production, but the woman versus man in household, pro-abortion supporters versus conservative believers, online content 'sharers' versus copyrights, etc.

a. Three Levels of Movements

Touraine proposes three levels of units in social hierarchical order. The highest level is historicity, which means the total sets of cultural modes in society,

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[75] ibid, p 43.

[76] ibid, p 43.

[77] It should be noted that there is considerable opposition to this dualistic society perception arising mainly by Marxist thinkers. See Eagleton's work *Why Marx Was Right?*

and actors at their ultimate purpose struggle to control and reproduce it.[78] The second level is institutional level that enables actors to practice their cultural motives through political terms and institutional reforms. Third is the lowest level that responds to organizational change. Movements can occur at each particular level with established purposes, but an ideal level would follow an hierarchical way that foresees organizational establishment, integration in to institutional level to make political decisions and finally challenging control over the cultural environment that includes cognitive, economic and ethical change at level of historicity.[79] All in all cultural models of society are challenged at historicity level.

Touraine offers a separate category for political movements as conflicts at an institutional level that seeks political force. These are movements taking place at institutional level and they decisively seek for ruling power. Organizational movements are on the other hand stand for achieving collective interest of particular groups, thus cannot fully stand for social movements.[80] To draw a statement out of these suggestions, social movements are separate from institutional and organizational movements since they seek control of cultural aspects of society and they are capable of transforming the social system. By ascribing such a central role of transforming society, Touraine puts social movements as the main subject of sociology. The central role of social movements as socially constitutive and transformative actions make Touraine's approach one of a kind in social movements literature.

b. The Role of Historicity

Touraine utilizes the concept of historicity to analyse the scene of social movements. The remarkable aspect of historicity offered by Touraine in the following

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[78] Touraine, Alan. *Return of the Actor: Social Theory in Post Industrial Society.* Mineapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1988, p. 40.
[79] Ibid.
[80] Touraine, 1985, p.761.

way; "the capacity to produce an historical experience through cultural patterns, that is, a new definition of [relationship between] nature and man".[81] Historicity, by its very nature, is a term that reflects possession of power and control, thus historicity is under the control of ruling groups. On the other hand, the others can challenge the historicity by enabling self-definition of themselves and their culture without relying on the external definitions and impositions of the ruling group. It should be borne in mind that the historicity or the cultural models are not 'solidly established at the centre of society"[82]. Alternative historicities are produced in the collective memory and experience of the people that challenges the products of central model of state namely. All in all, historcicty is the source of the central struggle in any given society.

c. A New Kind of Politics Beyond Struggle for Resource Control

Like Melucci, Touraine also defines the actors as temporary and anonymous units. Actors are individual subjects that prove their existence on public sphere through self realization against the enforcements of authorities[83]. Their roles in society is to declare the existence of a problematic concern and make it visible to bare eyes. In this respect, the actor does not struggle for determined material goals or concrete participation in the political system. The power cannot be narrowly defined as taking over the control of state ruling. On the contrary the struggle takes place in every aspect of life and the real purpose is not material success but achieving visibility in the public sphere. The essence of struggle is to prove the various forms of self-existence - either by asserting novel identities or defending the tradition- in response to modernity's project of uniformed citizen whose peculiarity is trivialised

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[81] Touraine, 1985, p. 778.
[82] Touraine, 1988, p.41.
[83] Touraine, Alan. 'The Subject is Coming Back'. *International Journal of Political Culture and Sociology*, 2006, p. 202.

by the technocratic rationality. Through this process politics derives new meanings and appearances.

The narrow definition of politics namely as distribution of values among society under an official authority[84] is replaced by the daily struggles taking place in microspheres. In this framework the anti war activists demand for states' nuclear weapon disarmament; alternative medics reject drug cartels monopoly over biodiversity; Afro-Americans fight for the right to go to the same restaurants where Anglo-Saxons go whereas the ecologists goes against the states and corporations to prevent the rivers from getting exhausted at the expense of modernization and economic interest. Considering all these groups individually and in isolation from each other shows no evidence for a systematic transformation whereas approaching them as components of a greater historicity struggle shows a macro level resistance system. If we are to handle the aims of these demands a need for a new definition of politics becomes inevitable. This new political understanding defends individual and local against centralism with a global approach. It is a politically poly-vocal phenomenon based on constant opposition that is away from institutionalism and favours politicization of personal that is structured in response to the nexus of individual and collective identity.

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[84] D. Easton cited in Pinar Uyan Semerci Gençlerle Birlikte Siyasal Alanın Sınırlarını Düşünmek: Günlük Yaşam, Aileler ve Özgürce Karar Almak. *Gençler Tartışıyor Siyasete Katılım, Sorunlar ve Çözüm Önerileri,* İstanbul: TÜSES, 2008, p. 174

d. Return of the Actor and the Modernity Revisited

Modernization is deviant in the sense that it embraces rationality and objectivity as the *zeitgeist* at the expense of wasting moral and subjectivity by devaluating the latter two. At some quarters modernity is offered as the triumph of rationality over the subjectivity. Modernization may have disregarded the subjectivity of religion and morality, yet it integrated the two worlds of objectivity and subjectivity respectively as rationality and morality under the formation of nation state and the global system it exists within[85]. The crisis of modern society should not be searched in regular political crises, but with the rise of the idea of individualism that attaches every single component of the society the task of maintaining social order through established institutions. An individual is absorbed into daily limited choices that are proposed by the authorities. His / Her rationality can only be defined and measured in terms of global and national norms that serve for maintenance of modernity's social order. Personal choices are reasonable only as long as they match with the general tendencies of modernity. In other words, "the dream of modern subject is the achievement of complete control of her surroundings"[86]. Consumerist individual is a restricted illusion of subject and at the same time is a personified micro-replica of today's modernity; a modernity that is perverted and enslaved to the unquestionable superiority of autocratic objectivity.

Despite the semantic confusion that appears at first glance, the concepts like individual, self and subject are standing on the opposite corners in Touraine's thinking. [87] The Individual in this framework is a product of social control mechanisms and is not free from the obligations of institutions. Modernization only

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[85] Touraine, 2007, p. 226.
[86] Arsel, Murat. "Reflexive Developmentalism? Toward an Environmental Critique of Modernization". In *Environmentalism in Turkey Between Democracy and Development,* edited by Fikret Adaman and Murat Arsel. Aldershot: Ashgate, 2005, p. 15.
[87] Touraine, 2007, pp. 295-310.

brought the emancipation of man from subjective external constrains such as religion and despotic rulers, yet it caused the supreme glorification of science and rationality that is materialization of self-endorsement. The ultimate premise of modernization was to diminish the strains over self realization of person and thus leaving the person to be his own master, but the process ended up with a high loyalty to the rational functionalism that passivize the subject as self.

Touraine points to the triumph of the globally applicable concept of capitalism as the signifier of the end of social principles. Political regulations are no longer relevant at the down of utmost unregulated economic system.[88] In other words everything solid is melting into air faster than ever, including the subject. Speaking of concrete lines of normal, abnormal or marginal has become ever harder than before. For instance fashionable environmentally sound concepts like green technology and sustainable development are becoming matters of confrontation as a deceiving discourses. Escobar asserts that "in the sustainable development discourse, nature is reinvented as environment so that capital, not nature and culture, may be sustained".[89] In this context, where the distorted discourses are abundant, the actor's own experience and subjective reasoning becomes a reliable source to make sense of the world. What is important for the actor is to develop an autonomous product of selfness and defend it in an ever-changing world. In an unregulated and uncontrollable social world any external influence might either be a threat or advantage in development of autonomous personal life.

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[88] Touraine, 2005, pp. 77-85.
[89] Escobar, Arturo. "Constructing Nature: Elements for a Poststructural Political Ecology". In *Liberation Ecologies: Environment, Development, Social Movements,* edited by Richard Peet and Michael Watts. New York: Rotledge, 2002, p. 49

e. Looking At The Role Of Subject

In his book *Nation Civil Society and Social Movements,* Oommen [90] approaches to the social movements in their relation to various types of modern states and their changing role globally. Traditional approaches that regard social movements as abnormal phenomena may become confused between the meaning of social movements and social policies. Both these terms in a traditional approach may serve as conflict management and system equilibrium maintainer tools. According to Oommen, one significant difference between these concepts appears as, while the social policies are institutional and so normal measures for achieving social coherence, social movements are abnormal events though both of them serve the same end of system stabilizing.

The classic approach regards social movements as the sum of efforts to enable social change. Yet, this understanding is valid for police states where restrictions implied by the state to the deprived ones. However as the states rely more on welfare policies the division between the civil society and state ought to be narrowed. Bureaucracy, which was once an agent of status quo, becomes a controllable instrument of development and change.[91] As the welfare gets more into social regulations for citizens what once was regarded as private becomes a public issue, thus becoming politicized.

As the welfare state develops through further intensified social policies that seek support for poor and deprived ones in heterogenizing societies the unit of social policy shifts from individual to collective level. Regarding the environmental movements on a global context, modernization and development are encountered with

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[90]OOmmen, T.K. *Nation Civil Society and Social Movements: Essays in Political Sociology* , New Delhi: Sage Publications, 2004, pp.180-230.

[91] Ibid.

alternative forms of sustainable development partly due to the efforts of ecological movements since late 1960s. Here, in this case the shift from individual to a collective level and homogeneity to heterogeneity takes place on a global scale due to the formations of a capitalist system in two ways. First, the individual causes of ecological groups once at state level are spreading and influencing their counterparts in different parts of the world. Thus modern environmentalism becomes a collective value as struggles and factors of oppression spread across borders. The process leads to a formation of collective consciousness, learning and experience sharing. Concurrently as the national homogeneity that foresees unity in values and aims is forestalled thanks to globalization, whereas a new kind of global heterogeneity replaces it. The state is no more the only unit of oppression. As the actors multiply on a global scale a central figure like state is leaving the stage for an unregulated global economy. Eventually, the oppression as the domestic hegemony tool of state is replaced by consent as a planetary hegemony constructed by capitalism. The implicit, yet strong authority produced through consent creates an illusion of selfness and it overshadows the subject. By referring to the sustainability concept, the process in which social movements participate recklessly, causes sustainability to become a collective value exceeding state boundaries as a more diverse group struggle for policies that considers sustainability as a valid developmental condition within the ecological perspective. Yet, it should be noted that individuality is not sacrificed for the sake of collective good, on the contrary individual references turn into vital particulars of social movements.

II. ENVIRONMENTALISM AND MODERNIZATION IN TURKEY

A. Development of Environmentalism in Turkey Since 1980s

Development of environmentalism in Turkey can be understood in parallel to the modernization process. In this sense different periods in the history of Turkish Republic indicates different perspectives of environmentalism. The period starting from 1980s signifies a neo-liberal modernization. Throughout this period, state acquired a new identity as an accelerator of private enterprise in all domains including energy, mining and water management. In the energy sector, the state has promoted big dams and nuclear power plants whereas responsibility for smaller projects is allocated for private entrepreneurs. In the political sphere, the conditions were contradictory. On the one hand, the military coup of 1980 caused the diminishment of civil society practices of all kinds. The oppression in the air naturally influenced the development of environmentalism as well. The lack of opportunity to practice democratic rights prevented environmental demands being claimed freely.[92] On the other hand, the relative apolitical character of the environmentalism compared to ideological movements of pre 1980 period was making environmental movements less dangerous and tolerable for the system.

Several environmental organizations have established post 1980s period with varying area of interest. Some of them were single issue organizations whereas some

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[92] Duru, Bulent. "Cevre Bilincinin Gelisim Surecinde Turkiye'de Gonullu Cevre Kuruluslari". Ankara Universitesi Sosyal Bilimler Enstitusu Kamu Yonetimi ve Siyaset Bilimi Kent ve Cevre Bilimleri Anabilim Dali Yuksek Lisans Tezi, Ankara 1995, p. 54.

others had a wider array of activity such as the Izmir Environmentalist Lawyers Group who provided legal support on landmark cases in several locations such as the Akkuyu nuclear power plant and Bergama gold mining resistances through the 1990s. Problems stemming from outsiders' unaccountable abuse of lands and local frustration triggered in response set the scene for social movements of the late 1980s and early 1990s. Many local resistance cases have emerged in different parts of Turkey consecutively such as Gokova (1986) and Aliaga (1989-92) thermal plants, SHP projects in Firtina Valley (starting from 1999) and gold mining activities in Bergama (1991-1999)[93]. Cigdem points out the significance of energy related environmental movements of the early 1990s as contributing to the politicization of environmentalism by attracting and receiving the support of politically conscious groups and organizations with no previous environmental experience such as labour unions and professional chambers[94]. Environmental movements of the period also show evidence of the emergence of new types of policy-making practices and grassroots democratization.[95] Unofficial public plebiscites in Aliaga (1989) and Buyukeceli village (1999) conducted respectively by the Green Party and Greenpeace Turkey indicate that environmental movements have developed alternative participatory strategies that defy state's unilateral decision making authority.

In the second half of the 1990s professionalization had become a signifying aspect of environmentalism in Turkey. Global environmental NGOs established their branches in Turkey such as Greenpeace and WWF.[96] Such professional organizations transformed the scene of environmentalism in terms of organizational style, expertise

[93] Adem, Cigdem. "Non-State Actors and Environmentalism". In *Environmentalism in Turkey Between Democracy and Development,* edited by Fikret Adaman and Murat Arsel. Aldershot: Ashgate, 2005. p. 75.

[94] Ibid, p. 75.

[95] Sahin, Umit. "Turkiye'de Cevre ve Ekoloji Hareketleri Uzerine Notlar: Aliaga Zaferinden, Vatan Topragi Soylemine", *Birikim,* Temmuz 2010.

[96] Duru, 1995, p.72.

back up and means to fundraising. Through these organizations, environmentalism became an area of expertise and carrier opportunity in a way. For instance, WWF Turkey has been intensely cooperating with the corporate world since 2001 and assisting them through social responsibility projects and sponsorships in order to fundraise and accelerate transformation in conventional business making practices[97]. In a similar vein, national organizations have been established, which have close intervals with the corporate world, such as ÇEVKO (Environmental Protection and Packaging Waste Recovery and Recycling Trust) and TEMA (the Turkish Foundation for Combating Soil Erosion, for Reforestation and for the Protection of Natural Habitats). These organizations, especially ÇEVKO, have emerged as a result of popularization of environmental issues in public and in order to embrace the environmental degradation as a problem of mistakes in consumption patterns[98]. As a method, such organizations choose to increase the awareness of consumption habits with a technocratic stance instead of criticizing the system as a whole.

Adem identifies at least two targets of environmental movements in Turkey: first, they aim to put pressure on public authorities to create political outcomes. Second, they seek out ways to increase public consciousness and to derive support for their cause.[99] The most basic two features of post 1980 environmentalism in Turkey was avoidance from over politicization and focusing on issue-based activism mostly limited to one place. Energy policies of state and activities of mining companies are triggering factors that lead to politicization of unconcerned citizens. In this sense this period symbolize the bloom of environmental movements of different kinds. As one can see, environmental and ecologist struggles in Turkey are mostly limited to the

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[97] http://www.wwf.org.tr/page.php?ID=94 accessed on 12.06.2012, 17:19.
[98] Nohl, Arnd-Michael, "Turkiye'de Hukumet Disi Orgutlerde Ekoloji Sorunsali". *Birikim,* Ocak-Subat, (57-58), 1994, p. 25
[99] Adem, 2005, p. 81.

fields of energy, mining, transportation and tourism. These economic fields had become the engines of economic development and modernization, yet at the same time they brought about environmental degradation. In this context, an introduction to modernization practices of Turkey since the 1980s in relation to neo-liberal economy practices in water and energy issues is necessary.

B. Neo Liberal Modernization with Respect to Water and Energy Policies

Modernization discussions date back to late 18th century nation state formation period in Europe. The model citizens were needed for the healthy functioning of nation states. These citizens have been created by referring to the modernization norms. Rational and enlightened people of modern state had to act in harmony as a unity with state as one can see in modern utopias and dystopias of 20th century. This rational unity was not exclusive to citizens and state. Modernity also asserts that technology should be in harmony with nature in order to avoid unexpected natural risks. However, history is not barren in terms of failures of maintaining harmony.

The criticism made here does not aim to slander the concept of modernity. Rather I assume that the possibility of maintaining the modernity that is monopolized by state is unlikely no more. Modernization adapts reformative mechanisms on different phases to prove its legitimacy. Arsel makes a distinction between two consecutive types of modernization. Accordingly,

the first modernization assumes that the progressive application of scientific principles and technological innovations can lift an entire society out of economic poverty and provide full security from natural and artificial risks and hazards, second modernization finds that unchecked economic growth through increasingly difficult to control technologies upsets the ecological

balance of the planet, creates new human made risks that gives rise to a sense

of insecurity and threaten the very accomplishments of first modernization.[100]

The first phase was symbolized with the belief in the possibility of achieving ultimate

control over technology and nature. Yet, when it is realized that control and

calculation are not enough to abolish risks, it became apparent that mastery is

impossible. Then comes the second phase of modernity. Second modernization

process in Europe is accelerated by a new sense of risk understanding fostered by

Chernobyl crisis and lead to criticism of political economy by "problematization of

the key institutional complexes, capitalism, industrialism, administrative and military

power"[101].

Looking at Turkey within this context provides ground for various

explanations. Rapid economic development has been one of the major indicators of

modernization in Turkey as a way to catch up with the advanced industrial economies

of Europe. Such economic development instinctively requires exploitation of natural

resources in the name of national progress[102]. Development projects of various kinds

are perceived as non-risky and necessary by Turkish state. For instance, SHP projects

are promoted by the Minister of Forestry and Water Works as 'the guaranty of clean

electricity'.[103] The projects are also seen as means to diminish the risks of river floats

and climate change, so 'it is irrational to resist against these projects'.[104] Risk factors

stemming from different projects have been considered as insignificant by state elites

at different periods.[105] In this context, the state holds a position that asserts that the

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[100] Arsel, 2005, p. 30.

[101] Arsel, 2005, p. 17.

[102] Arsel, 2005, p. 19.

[103] http://ekonomi.milliyet.com.tr/eroglu-hes-ler-elektrigimizin-sigortasi/ekonomi/ekonomidetay/25.03.2012/1519822/default.htm

[104] http://www.yesilekonomi.com/heslere-karsi-cikmak-tamamen-sacmaliktir

[105] On 29 May 2012 Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdogan stated that threat factors on nuclear energy are abolished. The nuclear plants are not like what they were 30 years ago. Prime minister Tayyip Erdogasn statee that "Just because Japan had an uneven event (*Fukushima Accident*) it does not make

risks can be minimized through mastery in projects. Such a stance fits in to the first modernization phase. In response, environmental movements in Turkey are developing a problematization of the projects. By doing this, the environmental movements hold an oppositional stance against the mastery thesis of state and contribute to transformation from the first phase of modernization to the second stage.[106]

If we define the interaction process between adversary parties as a stimulator of modernity transformation, then the institutional structure, as the arbiter of the field of interaction, should be well understood. The influence of neo-liberalism in the state, economy and civil society relations is apparent on institutional structure too. Different from the liberalism's logic that minimizes state's influence on private actors and market, a neoliberal logic provides closer encounters between the state and private sector. The state actively catalyses the private actors' participation in public projects. The line between the public and private, state and companies becomes blurry as the collaboration between two parties increases. Turkish state's hydropower policies is a fitting example since the private sector is authorized as the major financer and operator of hydropower projects thanks to the implementation of new laws such as Electric Market Law No. 4628 (2001) that established a competitive electricity market. [107] This privatization oriented neo-liberal policy is also apparent in the 2010-

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sense to ignore the humanity in total" (http://www.cumhuriyet.com.tr/?hn=341464). In a similar case former Minister of Industry and Commerce, Cahit Aral drank a glass of tea produced in Blacks Sea Region in front of the cameras on April, 26 1986 following the Chernobyl disaster to downplay the disaster's possible effects on tea fields and human health.
[106] According to Arsel (2005), only serious challenge to rapid development perspective of state has derived from environmental movements. In Turkey, Kemalist ideology dominates the modernization idea and various ideological groups ranging from socialists to Islamic fundamentalists have not proposed a challenging alternative to idea of 'development through rapid economic growth'.
[107]Madde 1 – Bu Kanunun amacı; elektriğin yeterli, kaliteli, sürekli, düşük maliyetli ve çevreyle uyumlu bir şekilde tüketicilerin kullanımına sunulması için, rekabet ortamında özel hukuk hükümlerine göre faaliyet gösterebilecek, mali açıdan güçlü, istikrarlı ve şeffaf bir elektrik enerjisi piyasasının oluşturulması ve bu piyasada bağımsız bir düzenleme ve denetimin sağlanmasıd

2014 Strategic Plan of Ministry of Energy and Natural Resources that asserts the objective of utilizing 'all' water potential of Turkey for energy production by the year 2023; the 100th anniversary of the Turkish Republic[108]. In addition to the institutional documents, a statement made by the Prime Minister Erdogan on January 31, 2010 on a press conference provides a sense of the influence of neo liberal mentality on state policies. In the statement, Erdogan indicates that they will govern the state like a company.[109]

A rather positive –yet, critical at the same time- interpretation to neoliberalism of Zulkuf Aydin asserts that neoliberalism has a potential to enable civil society "to force the state to become more responsive, accountable and transparent" in its actions[110]. However the state, as the powerful side with decisiveness capability, approaches the demands of civil society in a selective way by embracing those compatible with its interest while excluding the others challenging its authority. Although the neo-liberalization wave has initiated a democratization process since 1990s, enabled proliferation of NGOs, and lead to 'to and fro' improvements regarding the restrictions on minority and religious rights, such developments were

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Madde2/a Tedarikçi: Elektrik enerjisi ve/veya kapasite sağlayan üretim şirketleri, otoprodüktörler, otoprodüktör grupları, toptan satış şirketleri ve perakende satış lisansına sahip şirketleri,
Üretim faaliyeti gösterebilecek tüzel kişiler: Özel sektör üretim şirketleri, Elektrik Üretim Anonim Şirketi ve bağlı ortaklıkları, Elektrik Üretim Anonim Şirketinin yeniden yapılandırılmasıyla oluşan diğer kamu üretim şirketleri ile otoprodüktör ve otoprodüktör gruplarıdır.
[108] "Enerji talebinin karsilanmasina iliskin uzun vadeli plan calismalarimizda, Cumhuriyetimizin yuzuncu yili olan 2023 yilinda yerli kaynaklarimizin tamaminin, yenilenebilir enerji kaynaklarimizin ise azami olcude kullanilmasi, enerji arzinda cesitlendirilmenin artirilmasi ve nukleer enerjinin 2020 yilina kadar olan donemde elektrik enerjisi uretim kompozisyonuna dahil edilmesi, bu suretle bugune kadar uc temel unsur uzerine (komur, dogalgaz ve hidrolik) oturtulmus olan enerji sektorumuzun mimarisinin yeniden dizayn edilmesi, boylelikle disa bagimliligin ve ithalat faturasinin azaltilmasi hedeflenmistir." *Enerji ve Tabi Kaynaklar Bakanligi2010-2014 Stratejik Plani.* P.22
[109] "TEKEL iscilerinin sorularini yanitlarken Erdogan'in agzindan su minvaldeki sozler dokuluyor: "Devleti sirket gibi yonetecegiz."Hamsici, Mahmut. *Dereler ve Isyanlar.* Notabene Yayinlari, Ankara: 2010. P. 14.
[110] Aydin, Zulkuf. "State, Civil Society, and Environmentalism". In *Environmentalism in Turkey Between Democracy and Development,* edited by Fikret Adaman and Murat Arsel. Aldershot: Ashgate, 2005. p. 54.

intended to keep pace with the demands of bourgeoisie[111]. In other words, any opposition that possesses a potential to challenge the capital accumulation would face to exclusion and marginalization.

A special look at the current situation on utilization of water for energy production and the social reaction it creates offers a clearer picture of neo-liberal modernization. The neoliberal transformation of the state policies leads to fostering of private participation in energy production and distribution. With the active involvement of private sector, the natural energy sources acquire a commoditized value. Nature turns in to a governable source regardless of its intrinsic value. Consequently water, as a commoditized entity, remains unprofitable and useless unless it is utilized for energy production. Other alternative roles of water such as for ecological balance and agriculture use are devalued. Işlar argues that privatization process leads to exclusion of alternative framings of water and nature, in an attempt to champion particular reproduction and distribution practices that highlights energy utilization and national interest discourses[112]. This type of exclusion indicates a lack of political and social recognition of local communities and sets a problem of injustice.[113] More precisely a dominant framing of water utilization confined to hydropower production undermines the preferences and practices of local communities. The most apparent case of this undermining occurs through transfer of water rights from local people to private companies. Işlar reconciles privatization of water rights with the water grabbing practices that are neo liberal in nature[114]. In the

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[111] Aydin, 2005, p. 60.
[112] Islar, Mine, "Struggles for Recognition: Privatization of Water Use Rights of Turkish Rivers, *Local Environment: The International Journal of Justice and Sustainability*, 17: 3, 2012a p. 319
[113] Ibid, p. 319.
[114] Islar defines the privatized hydropower projects in Turkey as a matter of 'water grabbing' and indicates three dimensions of the concept: the projects lead to privatization of water usage rights; diversion of water from its natural river beds and significant change on the lives of agrarian local people; and reconstruction of rights and policies on official level to make privatization process achieved smoother (Islar, 2012b, p.379).

case of Turkey, a perspective of rights suggests that water usage rights of ordinary people are based on customary practices and laws that lacks clarification. For instance, Articles 751 and 756 of the Civil Code indicate that "surface and groundwater resources cannot be owned but are subject to user rights which are granted for beneficial use only, such as domestic and agricultural use, fishing, hydropower generation, industry, mining, transportation, medicinal and thermal uses".[115] The ambiguity here stems from the term beneficial use. In cases where the benefit of two groups clash who has the priority on what grounds?

Local people have been the traditional users of the water, yet they lacked legal awareness until the SHPs had impact on people's daily practices with water. The lack of legal framework on the behalf the people's rights empowers state to reallocate water rights for the use of companies. By establishing a legal framework on energy, Turkish state legitimizes the privatization of water through producing legal entities such as water use rights agreements. This agreement conducts the conditions of hydro energy production between SHP companies and the State Hydraulic Works (DSi) of Turkey.[116] However, local people have no such legal framework to defend their traditional water use rights. Thus, local struggles come up as a way to claim the water rights. As Işlar puts it "Local struggles emerge not only to protect their environment and livelihoods, but also to gain recognition to legitimize their uses of water and make their voices heard in the public realm".[117]

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[115] Kibaroglu, A. and Baskan, A. 2011. Turkey's water policy framework. In Kibaroglu, A.; Scheumann, W. and Kramer, A. (Eds), *Turkey's water policy: National frameworks and international cooperation*, pp. 3-25. Berlin, Germany: Springer. Cited in; Islar, 2012b, p.380

[116] http://www2.dsi.gov.tr/ska/ska.htm

[117] Islar, Mine. Privatised Hydropower Development in Turkey: A Case of Water Grabbing? *Water Alternatives*. Vol 5. Issue 2. 2012, p. 384

C. The Post Materialism Notion in Anti SHP Movements

The picture depicted above tells that it would be difficult to claim that Turkish modernization has a similar development line with the Western example. The first modernization's ideal, which considers the technological perfection and unlimited development as rationally possible and necessary for the well-being of society, has lost its validity due to the massive environmental degradation. The second modernization as put forward by Arsel (2005) has been achieved thanks to the new political-economy criticism made reciprocally by state and civil society (particularly green movement) in liberal western countries. This institutional reciprocity made the process relatively unproblematic and caused consideration of green movements as something unique to the post-material societies in a western sense. What is meant by the post material society in basic sense is the middle class, well educated urbanites[118] People in post-material societies have changed their social motivational priorities and seek to find the ways to meet more sophisticated cultural needs, rather than the basic needs.[119] In a sense post-materialist civil society have noticed the harms of material greed and have initiated the second modernization phase in a relatively institutional way by getting integrated in to the political structure.

When we look at the Turkish case we come across with two suggestions. Firstly, institutional structure falls short in meeting the interests of different segments of society. The system overvalues the energy and development needs and it leads to emergence of an institutional structure that prioritizes the interests of private energy sector. The discrimination in the institutional structure also finds ground on dominant

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[118] Pierce, John C. "Culture Politics and Mass Publics: Traditional and Modern Supporters of the New Environmental Paradigms in Japan and the United States." *The Journal of Politics,* No: 49, 1987, p. 49
[119] Inglehart, Ronald. *The Silent Revolution: Changing Values and Political Styles Among Western Publics.* Princeton University Press, 1977. p.41

political narrative that ignores the grassroots demands. Secondly, the institutional injustice and weakness of representativeness lead to emergence of grassroots movements as necessary actors to transform the system from outside. In a sense the Turkish state's narratives and practices justify the continuity of the first modernization whereas the social reactions stand closer to the idea of second modernization. Lack of institutional cooperation and interaction between state and civil society attributes social movements a role to transform the modernization process while struggling for resistance. As we will see in the next section the local anti SHP movements that struggle for highly 'material' issues like ecological balance, water rights, economic interest and culture do not fit in to post-material society depiction. Yet, the anti SHP movement in its authenticity has a similar function with their western counterparts in terms of influencing the modernization process.[120]

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[120]Actually relatively modest self –sustainability that is apparent in the life styles of local activists can be defined as a sort of post materialism. In this view, ideas of local activists can stand for an alternative definition of post-materialism that is against to conventional reductionist stance, which refers to the material satisfaction of urban middle class.

III. SOCIAL ANALYSIS OF THE ANTI SMALL HYDRO POWER PLANTS RESISTANCE

The SHP projects in Turkey have skyrocketed in recent years upon the government's decision to utilize potential hydropower energy at utmost level until 2023, the 100th anniversary of Turkish Republic. The state declared that 'our waters are flowing idly' and 'the period that Turks stare blankly to the water' should be over. According to the ruling elite's perspective, waters had no productive value in their current conditions in nature. Furthermore, a new definition of Turkishness as someone who knows the value of water was needed. When local people who have been in close interaction with the water for hundreds of years got suspicious on whether this process serves for selling the water rather than production of energy, government made further comments: "We are not selling the waters, but the water use rights". By implementing a neoliberal governance model, the state favoured dominance of private entities in energy production and distribution. Accordingly, companies from different sectors acquired the rights to use water for 49 years by winning the project auctions conducted by the State Hydraulic Works of Turkey. This was another novelty for people. It helped people understand that rights can be bought and sold by the state. Since that day grassroots resistances at local level have started on different valleys and villages of Turkey. Today there are more than 170 SHP projects have been planned only even in a small city like Artvin and around 20 of them are currently active or under construction. In Black Sea region there are about 700 projects in total.

In the following chapter of this study, the life space struggle of grassroots movements in two different locations of Eastern Black Sea Region of Turkey, Artvin/Şavşat and Rize/Fındıklı, will be elaborated in three interrelated steps. Firstly

an attempt to analyse the collective action frames constituted by individuals and social movement organizations will be performed. Through the frame analysis, I aim to understand the ways of problematization of the issue, the probable solutions to it and motivations of actors to take action. The reliability and representativeness of the recognized collective action frame is of elementary importance for the health of the following steps. Secondly, I will look whether a self realization of subject, i.e. *return of the actor* occurs in anti SHP movements in Touraineian sense is possible and how the subject has an impact on alternative historicities of Turkey. Although these movements set a concrete challenge to state authority, the noticeable loyalty of the people to the state makes this claim doubtful. However, the dualities of modernism such as urban and rural identities, agricultural economy and industrial development, and local and national interests set a real challenge to the subjects' life styles and make this claim noteworthy. Thirdly, I will focus on the relation between the collective action frame and the symbolic challenge concept as developed by Alberto Melucci. Here I will draw out how the symbolic value of the movement can have an impact on system transformation tangibly. I assert that the emergence of collective identity around the value of river set a symbolic challenge that carries system transformation potential.

A. Collective Action Frame of Anti SHP Movements

Frames are defined as "schemata of interpretation that enable individuals to locate, perceive, identify and label occurrences within their life space and the world at large. By rendering events or occurrences meaningful, frames function to organize

experience and guide action, whether individual or collective."[121] Snow and his colleagues mention about the importance of frame alignment for the successful mobilization of collective action. In frame alignment processes social movement organizations (SMOs) try to link or align their cause with the cognition of non-mobilized people.[122] Although this distinction between social movement organizations and non-mobilized people appeals to many cases, in which established SMOs aim to capture people's support, anti SHP movements constitute a different case. In SHP resistance movements SMOs are not the primary institutional and decisive actors, but the activists themselves mobilize the movement on grassroots level. For that reason the collective action frame developed by individuals is more reliable. As one can see in the frame analysis on the following paragraphs, despite the minor divergences on the perceptions of individuals, the preliminary goal of the movement is basically to prevent the construction of SHPs. This basic reactionist premise does not necessitate a unique well-established organization that aligns certain values with people's cognition. The demand to resist always comes from the people at grassroots level, whereas various organizations such as local associations and platforms use these demands as legal entities to represent and mobilize people.

1. Diagnostic Frame

Snow and Benford make a distinction between three kinds of frames. They name these three steps as "core framing tasks".[123] The cohesion among the three frames determines the success of mobilization. The initial framing process leads to establishment of diagnostic frame that works for "identification of a problem and the

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[121] Snow, A. David, E. Burke Rochford, Jr., Steven K. Worden, Robert D. Benford, "Frame Alignment Processes, Micromobilization, and Movement Participation" *American Sociological Review*, Vol. 51, No. 4, 1986. P. 464 (pp. 464-481)
[122] Ibid. p.464.
[123] Snow and Benford, 1988, p.202.

attribution of blame or causality."[124] In anti SHP movements there is a variation in terms of problematization and attributing causality.

On the problematization phase multiple dimensions appear as threat. SHP projects cause several reactions among people to resist. The outcomes of the field study I conducted reveal that the problem is primarily prevention of access to water. When interviewees were asked *what is the main problem with SHPs?*, most of the responses started with phrases like *if this water is gone...* This indicates that people are convinced that their access to water will be denied due to SHPs. Yet, although the primary concern of people is the access to water, there is a variance in people's and organizations' attributions of causality. Access to water is denied both in legal and technical terms. Legally, the problem is to transfer the water rights for the benefit of the companies. Technically the water access is prevented due to the operation principle of the SHPs that are taking the water from the streambed, captivating it inside the pipes for long distances or carrying it to other areas. For instance a SHP project, which has not been realized yet, necessitates carrying the water of Çağlayan river of Fındıklı over the mountains and release it again in to another river in Arhavi, Artvin.

In Şavşat the leading organization carrying the struggle is Şavşat branch of Derelerin Kardeşliği Platformu (*The Rivers' Fellowship Platform*. It will be called as DEKAP from now on). The Şavşat branch of DEKAP was formed in 2008 after a series of meetings with the participation of over seventy individuals and legal entities including mukhtars, mayors and all of the political parties[125] that have branches in Şavsat. In the beginning Şavşat DEKAP started the mobilization with a petition against construction of SHPs. They gathered 10,000 signatures and delivered it to the

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[124] Ibid. p.199.
[125] In time AKP and MHP retreated. CHP provided support partly. Erkan. Personal interview by Osman Tikansak. Savsat, 11 July 2012.

local authorities and the companies holding the licenses. Şavşat DEKAP organized meetings with participation of experts on SHPs at various places including party buildings, people's houses, coffee houses, schools and mosques. In May 2010, Şavşat DEKAP organized two panels in town to conduct a large anti SHP protest meeting. By mobilizing people in each village, the largest protest meeting in Şavşat's recent history took place with the participation of over 4,000 people.

Representatives of Şavşat DEKAP describes the problem from a perspective that criticizes neo-liberalism. In this perspective, capitalism commoditifies water as a source of capital accumulation. People's right to water is dismissed by privatization of water rights. This process leads to dramatic changes in social structures too. Erkan from Şavşat DEKAP who is also an old leftist partisan expresses his opinion:

> On a broader sense it is a system problem. The capitalist system seeks for
> new production facilities to overcome its own crisis... The real problem is
> the expansion of privatization of the natural areas. Companies are attacking
> on these areas to increase their profit. The natural areas are now under the
> siege of capitalist companies. Through this siege country side and peasants
> will be eliminated (Erkan).

On the other hand, local activists do not frequently use the anti capitalist terminology in problem definition phase. The locals tend to concern with issue-oriented matters that effect their life such as ecological degradation, economic practices and life style bonds with water. But it would be deceiving to separate anti capitalist and issue-oriented yearnings as two separate phenomena. On the contrary, these two approaches feed and support each other, considering the neo-liberalism's imperative claim on daily lives of people.

Some of the activists define the problem primarily by referring to sentiments of ecological awareness. The activists both in Şavşat and Fındıklı have already

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experienced uneven impacts of environmental degradation. For instance, large dams located in Artvin have significant climate change effects on people's close environments. Likewise, Chernobyl disaster's long-lasting impact on soil, animal and human health still holds a vibrant vision on people's memories. Other recent local environmental problems such as base stations, agricultural soil pollution and nuclear power plant projects resonate on people's mind when they are asked about their complaints with SHP projects. Such consecutive incidences lead to experienced ecological awareness on people's minds. Regarding the SHPs, people complain not only about humans' rights to water, but of all the entities within the ecosystem. Long kilometres of water supply canals (closed pipes) divide the natural living space and passages of wild animals like bears and boars. Activists worry that, because of the pipe lines animals deprived of access to food and other supplies. Eventually the animals look for alternative ways, get closer to residential areas and encounter with humans.

> All these natural beauties will be gone if they build the SHPs. Salmons and
> all wild life; grizzlies, boars, wolfs all will be gone. When animals, reptiles
> and insects cannot reach to the water captivated within pipes, they will come
> to our houses. A couple of days ago I saw a scorpion inside the sink of my
> bathroom. **Do you think it is because of the SHP?** Of course it is. (Hasan)

A large group of the interviewees also refer to the role of water on the economic activities of people. Majority of the activists in the region carry out subsistence farming. The condition of soil and array of products differ in two regions I visited. In Şavşat region the weather is drier. So, people rely on direct use of irrigation water for the products like potato, beans and corn. In Fındıklı region on the other hand, humid climate and deliberate state policies made tea production the mainstay of people. Tea production requires rain fed agriculture. In this sense

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people's complaints about absence of water includes a decrease in precipitation rates –due to lack of evaporation of captivated water- as well as deprivation from access to irrigation water. Lack of agricultural water means disability to make a living and eventually may lead to migration of people. People who rely on livestock breeding also fear that it will be a problem to bring their animals next to rivers for drinking water. There are also rather daily complaints people make. For instance, due to the decrease in the flow of the river people cannot use the corn mills set next to rivers. As mostly self-sustainable societies, such mills are popular tools for people to produce their own bread. The idea of paying for bread that once they used to produce is an annoying dependency for most of the activists. 50 years old Lale from Meydancık says:

> We used to catch salmon fishes in the river… SHPs affect our source of living. You cannot irrigate the fields especially in summer when the riverbed gets drier. Our corn mill does not work anymore. You need to go longer distances for using other mills. We used to grind the corn and make bread for ourselves. Now we even have to pay for bread. If you do not have a job, you will not be able to buy it and go hungry. (Lale)

In a similar way 75 years old Eşref says:

> This water is our money and our bread; the water means everything for us. They cannot get a single drop of water here. I am seventy-five and about to pass away, but what will my grandchildren do here? Will my grandchildren go hungry and water thirst? What if they do not go to university and find job? (Eşref)

Cultural and emotional dependency on water sets another challenge for people. Life style and daily activities of the locals have shaped through proximity to water. Since the mainstay of the people in the region is agricultural production, SHP

projects also possess threat to activists' economic life styles, namely as peasantry. Mehdi from Fındıklı Derelerini Koruma Platformu (*The Platform of Conservation of Fındıklı Rivers*. It will be called as FDKP from now on) says that SHP projects also degenerate the peasant identity. If the projects are realized without considering the locals' life styles they may eventually lead either to migration of peasant people to big cities or make them dependent to industrial, big scale farmers as wage-labors in the long term.

The problem is also related with the feeling of being mistreated by the state. The activists feel being deceived due to the state's policies that give priority to companies' interest while disregarding the importance and value of water for the local people. Interestingly, majority of the people who are conservative and quite loyal to the state are upraising against state maybe for the first time in their lives. Privatization of water rights appears as the sore point of people who consider themselves self-sacrificing citizens. The feeling of being mistreated and cheated was quite overwhelming for the people of Kocabey Village of Şavşat who quite recently got informed that a SHP will be built in their village. On 11th July 2012 an anti SHP festival in Kocabey Village was organized. A couple of weeks ago a community foundation called Kocabey Sahra Koruma Vakfi (*Kocabey Association of Conservation of Wilderness*. KOSAV will be used from now an) based in Ankara gets informed that a SHP project was tendered on Laşet River that flows through the village. Then the association decided to organize this festival on a large green field just outside of the village. Among the invited speakers there was a professor of environmental engineering, who is also an activist, to give a speech about the environmental impacts of SHPs and share her activism experiences; there were two lawyers to inform people about the legal process of SHP projects, and finally two

representatives of DEKAP were also there in order to underline the necessity of mobilization and direct action. Approximately five hundred local people were there for the first time to get informed about what was the situation. Hüsniye (59), a retired social insurance institution worker living in Istanbul, but planning to move back to her village, explains her disappointment with state:

> We did not do anything to the state to deserve this mistreatment. If we are a unity (as nation) then the State should look after us...How will you consider if one seize something belongs to you? Why can't we go to their land and seize something belongs to them? Where is our state? Do not we have a state? If there is no state then we don't exist too! Why do they come here in times of elections then forget about us later on?! ...The water should flow freely. That's what we expect from the state. I say, if state does not care about this, this people are not for the state anymore! This is my last word: We are for the state as long as the state is for us. If the state does not stand for us then we do not stand for the state! (Hüsniye)
>
> Is there anything good made by the state in this village? We made our road, school, mosque with our own capabilities. We make all these with the contribution of people living in big cities. There is no state. In Artvin's Şavşat district there is no state. On what grounds and rights are they coming to cut the trees that we grow like our kids and take away our water? On what rights do they rent out whose water? (Emel)

Furthermore, the state's discourse on overcoming the energy dependency through SHP constructions is not satisfying. Despite the energy dependency narrative seems like having reliability; the intentional drive behind the SHP projects is not fulfilling this narrative.

> The country obviously needs electricity but we think the projects in this region will have more costs than benefits. We are seriously worried with the

fact that water use rights and control of the water basin will be given to the

company. (Ayhan)

Water is not rented only for energy production. They give away drinking,

agricultural and waste water to the companies for 49 years. (Mehdi)

Moreover, anti SHP movements pose a challenge to strong state tradition in Turkey in an unconventional way. Accusation of the state leads further to reconsideration of state's authority. To what extend can the state step in to the nature's balance? It is believed that by promoting these projects state exceeds it's authority because SHPs damage the nature and lives of citizens. The following statement indicates that on ecological issues activists prioritize rights of the ecosystem while the state policies are discredited as unjust.

As long as red scaled salmon lives here, as the government do you have a

right to destroy this river? Secondly, there are 375 irrigation canals on this

valley. These canals give life to valley here. How can you cut off these

canals; the vital veins of valley? (Orhan)

To conclude, it appears that activists put the blame on state as the responsible party for the emergence of the problem. An unequal treatment by bestowing the privilege of the SHP companies with reference to the energy need constitutes a problematic narrative. Thus the problematization is directed both as a critique of state policies and physical impact of the projects on people's life and nature.

2. Prognostic Frame

Prognostic framing looks for the ways to achieve a solution in order to get rid of the diagnosed problem. In this phase of framing task, I focused on the methods of struggle developed by the activists to stop the realization of SHP projects. Yet, before moving in to the details of the resistance methods I would like to emphasize that the interviewees not only mentioned the ways to overcome the SHP projects but also proposed alternative creative statements to meet the energy demand. Some of the alternative approaches were for the construction of SHPs in a technically and ecologically superior way such as using open canal systems instead of closed pipes or developing an Archimedes' screw mechanism on a small area of river instead of carrying the water for long distances. There were others who oppose the SHPs completely and proposing other alternative methods.

> We know about the energy need, but there are other ways to do it. We also know there is a great wind potential on these mountains and coal underneath as more productive and powerful ways to produce energy in larger sizes.
>
> **Would you be ok with a coal mine then?** Coal mine is in the underground. But if it damages the nature; forests and mountains we would definitely be against it. It is not possible to say ok to any project that damages the nature. (Ayhan)
>
> There are alternative energy sources like bioenergy. Bioenergy could be very useful for peasant societies. You can produce bioenergy from animals' manure. Solar energy, wind energy; they are all available. But if you still insist on SHPs it is ridiculous! In this sense, it is very understandable for conscious people to uprise. (Halil)

Another alternative is to decrease the electric leakage stemming from old open transmission wires. According to the Chamber of Electrical Engineering total electricity leakage in transmission and distribution process equals to 17,8% of total energy consumption of Turkey by the end of 2009.[126] Mehdi states:

> If these people really want energy we show them the ways. I am a science teacher served this country for 26 years. Open transmission lines get oxidized and rusty. The electricity lines in Fındıklı have not been renewed for more than forty years. There is around 17-30 % energy leakage due to lack of maintenance. If they need energy they should take care of the transmission wires first. By simply changing energy saver lamps on street it can save 15% energy. (Mehdi)

Such alternative propositions can be called as counter frames –as opposed to the state's frame of energy policy- with potential to mobilize consensus between adversaries. These new forms of frames can enable consensus instead of conflicts. But the effectiveness of collaborative framing depends on equal power in decision making between the activists and state ostensibly.[127] Such equality does not seem to exist in the SHP projects because the public opinion is not considered in the process, then the conflict determines the nature of the relations. Eventually the legal measures and the direct action come up front as the two dominant methods of the struggle.

a. **Legal Measures**

Technical solutions proposed by the activists cannot go beyond than being sheer right-minded suggestions. Some of the activists underline the role of legal process in the courts to prevent the construction of SHPs. These activists state that

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[126] TMMOB Elektrik Muhendisleri Odasi, *Enerji Verimliligi Raporu,* Ankara 2012.
[127] Pellow, David N. "Framing Emerging Environmental Movement Tactics: Mobilizing Consensus, Demobilizing Conflict". *Sociological Forum.* Vol: 1, No:4, 1999. P. 659.

protest action is useless unless the legal gains are achieved. Basically, you cannot resist forever without having tangible legal achievements that can guarantee your rights. Supporters of legal struggle are mostly middle class domestic migrants who have affiliations with community associations in big cities like Ankara, Istanbul and Bursa. I observed that male domestic migrants working in big cities have lesser substantial dependency on water, thus they make milder and hesitative explanations about the direct action whereas affirming the effectiveness of legal struggle.

> **Have you ever encountered with gendarme or police forces while defending the river?** People here never come across with gendarme. Our protests are without "stone or stick" (militant). Our struggle is done with "pen and table" (legal). (Hasan)

The direct action hesitation is also widespread among local conservation associations established in cities by the expats. These associations are defining their purpose by using statements like protection of nature and promotion of local culture. As legal entities, they tend to conduct awareness raising meetings and establish networks with political elites. Thus, they hesitate to politicize the movement in a radical manner. The following quotes belong to the members of two local conservation associations respectively as KOSAV and Meydancik Culture Association:

> **What will you do from now on for resistance?** Lets put it another way. Resistance may be for later processes. Instead of resistance we want to declare our anxiety for now.
>
> **What methods will you use then?** We'll use law.
>
> **Protests?** Of course. These are also legal.
>
> **What about methods like pitching camps in construction yards or blocking the way of the companies like local people do elsewhere?** We

believe that reason, science and law will prevail and win. We will always

follow law and never act against the law. (Ayhan)

You should go to Ankara ant talk to expert people there if you want to

know how to struggle with this.

But, I want to learn about the locals' opinions. The struggle cannot be

achieved with local people. Because local people here are easy to be

deceived. When they prioritize their interest and property there occurs

divisions. The right thing is to do conscious struggle through law. The

struggle is stronger out of here. Because the courts care only about the

reports of legal experts and academics. (Murat)

Although the legal struggle is tough, there are instances of successful

processes. In Meydancık town of Şavşat four of the six SHP projects were cancelled

thanks to the effective legal process. Hakan Ruhi (62), a retired high school teacher

living in Ankara had actively participated in the legal struggle to stop the SHPs in his

hometown. He is among the founders of Platform of the Papart Rivers established in

2008. He explains the legal process in Meydancık as follows:

The company conducted an information meeting in Meydancık about the

project. After the meeting we made research about the SHPs in general, the

region and the project in particular. We found a lot of shortcomings

especially considering the region's ecological richness with the help of

academics from universities. On 17th September 2008 the Ministry of Forest

and Environment approved the construction plans of four SHP projects

(Cuneyt 1-2-3-4) here. Then we sued the project. Later on legal experts came

here for investigation and realized that Environmental Impact Assessment

(EIA) report was prepared so shallow and this project would cause massive

damage here. The court cancelled the EIA report and decided to stay of

execution. Meanwhile the region is declared legally as natural protection

zone (NPZ)[128] by Trabzon Regional Council of Cultural Entities. On those days it was forbidden to make construction in NPZs. This time the company carried an objection against the NPZ decision to Rize Administrative Court by claiming that NPZ decision was politically oriented and the region had no recognizable natural qualities to be protected. We (locals) became party to the case for the sake of preserving the NPZ statue. On June 13th 2011 legal experts came here once again to check the NPZ's reliability. Eventually they prepared a report to keep the NPZ statue of the region... For now we cancelled the projects, but it is a long lasting struggle. (Hakan Ruhi)

Legal struggle supporters have serious concerns with the legal system's reliability for several reasons. First of all, the laws are fluid and changing overnight before they are realized. Ambiguity caused by the structure of legal system offer movement of freedom for companies. For instance, the natural protection zones and national parks were untouched zones until 29th December 2010. On that day with a law amendment on Renewable Energy Sources Code's article 6094 these protected zones are opened for the energy production with the condition of using renewable methods including hydro energy.[129] A very recent case makes the legal process much less reliable. According to the amendment made in the 3rd executive reform pack on July 2, 2012 it is no longer possible to achieve the stay of execution until the defendant party gives a response to the stay.[130] This gives the defendant party an extra six months to precede its construction operations. Bearing in mind that an average SHP construction takes one and a half year, a company can make significant progress of construction in that time period. Secondly, in some instances SHP constructions

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[128] SiT Alani

[129] "Milli park, tabiat parkı, tabiat anıtı ile tabiatı koruma alanlarında, muhafaza ormanlarında, yaban hayatı geliştirme sahalarında, özel çevre koruma bölgelerinde ilgili Bakanlığın, doğal sit alanlarında ise ilgili koruma bölge kurulunun olumlu görüşü alınmak kaydıyla yenilenebilir enerji kaynaklarına dayalı elektrik üretim tesislerinin kurulmasına izin verilir."

[130] Kalan, Bedrettin. Personal interview by Osman Tikansak. Şavşat (Kocabey), 11 July 2012.

keep going illegally despite the stay of executions and decertification. Most of the lawsuits are held against the mis-evaluations of EIA reports. EIA reports are prepared to measure a project's impact on nature and what to do to minimize this impact. But most of the projects somehow get a report of "EIA is not required". According to the web page of Ministry of Environment and Urban, since the EIA regulation was enacted in 1993, 38656 EIA decisions have been made. 2336 of them are "EIA positive" reports that allow the concerned practices to take place and only 32 of them are "EIA negative" decisions. Whereas 35865 of the applications resulted with the statement, "EIA is not required".[131] These figures indicate that EIA issue is most probably evaluated with lack of deliberateness. Finally, lawsuit expenses cost too much for ordinary citizens and low-budget associations especially considering the fact that most of the time there are more than one SHP projects on a valley and each project requires separate lawsuits. According to Hakan Ruhi a single case costs around twenty to thirty thousand Turkish Liras including the costs of lawyer and legal experts. In some cases people have to sell their property or animals to carry on the case.[132] In this sense, a holistic legal struggle becomes fruitless and uneasy.

b. Grassroots Direct Action

All things considered, grassroots resistance comes up front as the most comprehensive and effective aspect of the struggle. Grassroots resistance includes many strategies such as awareness raising and discussion meetings, informal plebiscites, petitions, protest meetings and festivals, valley guarding camps and direct intervention to SHPs' construction activities in the valleys. Grassroots actions provide

[131] http://www.csb.gov.tr/gm/ced/index.php?Sayfa=sayfaicerik&icId=448
[132] http://www.radikal.com.tr/Radikal.aspx?aType=RadikalDetayV3&ArticleID=1066799&Date=19.10.2011&CategoryID=77

better mobilization, public visibility, dynamism and direct participation to the movement. There are even some instances of direct action on a spontaneously individual level:

> I had been sued and judged for nineteen different cases on high criminal court because of defending the water personally.
>
> **What happened?** First the company employees came here and put flags on land to indicate the route of SHP channels. I chased nine company employees here with a hatchet in my hand.
>
> **With what excuse did they sue you?** They accused me for interference to the company's work.
>
> **Did it take place on a collective protest?** I made a self-protest on my own. Nine persons were painting private-registered lands of people. I struggled to stop them. I was alone. How can they do this here? This is our land! (Orhan)

In some of these cases, there also occur struggles between SHP activists and company representatives with the involvement of the gendarme and the police forces.[133] A similar case happened in Meydancık in 2010 when people blockaded the road to prevent SHP company's construction vehicles pass by. The gendarme interfered the people and arrested some women activists of blocking a public road illegally.[134]

Information meetings in order to raise the people's awareness and discuss the effects of SHPs are conducted with participation of academics, lawyers and NGO representatives. Meetings take place anywhere available such as coffeehouses, mosques and gardens of people's houses. In these meeting slide shows are presented to inform people about the construction methods and operation principles of the SHPs, legal process and what results are expected to take place. After this information

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[133] http://www.evrensel.net/news.php?id=16869
[134] Hakan Ruhi. Personal interview by Osman Tikansak. Meydancık, 10 July 2012.

session, what is to be done about the situation is discussed on a free ground among the local people with wide range participation from different segments of society. Grassroots movement is above the political parties and ideologies. The conventional politics that is dominated by political parties is not favoured as representing the movement. Erkan from Şavşat DEKAP explains the advantage of acting above the parties as a grassroots movement:

> This resistance movement enabled a new democracy tradition by gathering different political stances together. You can't bring different people from different parties normally. Now we learn a lot of things from each other and experience a mutual transformation. It is an open democracy relation. We learn through experience that you can't find in a political party. **Where do you conduct the meetings?** Everywhere; in party buildings, unions, association, open air, houses, coffee houses, mosques. For instance, once the Imam of the mosque let us use the mosque for meeting after the Friday prayer. We invited people and made slide show presentation (Erkan).

The activists say this is not about politics and they do not want any political group to be a part of their movement. Yet, what people are doing is purely political indeed. The grassroots activities create a new language of politics to decide on "who gets *water,* when and how?" (Harold Lasswell). Water's central position in the life of region fosters people to act together regardless of ideological differences. Beyza Üstün, a professor of environmental engineering at Yildiz Technical University, is an active participant of SHP information meetings nationally. We met at the anti SHP festival in Kocabey Village and she expressed her thoughts about the local characteristics of the anti SHP movements:

> I describe the local dynamics as the struggle of valley people… There are political differences among them. Some consider themselves rightist,

nationalists while the others are socialist who have not stood together before. Those people started to collaborate against SHPs, thermic plants and nuclear plants. But in longer term, without a common ground on political principles how long will it survive? It should be observed. I have some suspicions. Because 'buts' (excuses) and "alternative suggestions" are more abundant in right wing groups who have no problem with state. I mean alternative consents and giving up the struggle is more likely in these groups. Munzur Koruma Kurulu (Munzur Conservation Council), for instance have a different background. Reistance network in Dersim is getting integrated to Kurdish Independence Movement. It has a different political background. Struggles against "integration of nature in to capital accumulation" is newly integrated in to their field of struggle. Their resistance will probably last longer because they are extremely vulnerable to the construction of SHPs, which they name as security walls in the region. The projects are aiming to separate the cultural and social structures in the region. People in Black Sea on the other hand cannot give up easily because the social structure is deeply integrated to water. The water means culture, habits, way of living, the meaning of life space for them.

So, despite the conservatism and loyalty to the state the struggle is strong? Yes it is, because the state that they trust too much has now touched to their water and life. Thus now a political ground is emerging there. (Beyza Ustun)

Fındıklı region is a perfect example that shows effectiveness of direct action at grassroots level.[135] Since 2007, people have been mobilized almost spontaneously. The locals do not let company representatives to enter the town even for negotiation.

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[135] Although the direct action concept associates with radically active intervention methods such as construction yard invasions or road blockades, I also include grassroots meetings, plebiscites and demonstrations in this category since all of these methods require direct participation of spontaneous activists who yearns for a change in the ongoing policies.

The SHP company attempted many times to go there but people stopped them by gathering at the entrance of village centres, throwing eggs and hitting with sticks to company cars. Sixty seven year old retired engineer, Refik tells how they struggle in Fındıklı:

> **How did the struggles began here?** It starts spontaneously. The ones on the side of people and nature start the struggle spontaneously. If you have the love and ability, it starts.
>
> **What kind of activities do you carry on?** Any kind. It starts with monitoring. The SHP companies come here covertly; in night and morning. We monitor the strange cars coming here and catch them at some point to learn their intentions. People should be watchful. As long as people do not want it, they cannot do it. Not only legal ways can work, people should rise up including leftist, rightist and ones on the middle. It is about common good. (Refik)
>
> We established the movement here on three pillars: science, law and people. Yet, in 2007 we predicted that science cannot solve our problems and law may change against us. Today, really only the grassroots pillar remains. If people resists and lies in front of the machines we can do it. (Mehdi)

In Fındıklı, the lead representative of the struggle is Fındıklı Dereleri Koruma Platformu (FDKP). In 2007 when the SHP project was pronounced local NGOs, mukhtars and concerned citizens initiated a discussion period that lasts more than two weeks. Eventually people were divided into two groups. On the one side, there were the ones who are against any kind of SHPs and dams in Turkey. The other group were more moderate and favouring dams against SHPs. In time, the second group disappeared. The remaining group established an assembly with 35 entities and persons

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including political parties, NGOs, 22 village mukhtars and 6 neighborhood mukhtars. This assembly evolved in to FDKP. On March 22, 2007 the World Water Day the Platform announced its principles and published a declaration that indicates their opposing will against any kind of construction including SHPs, industry yard or a five star hotel that can harm the valley. Then the public meetings started in each village at random places. Several visits made to other towns where SHPs are actually built in order to observe SHPs impact, learn from other people and support them. Mehdi, one of the founders of the Platform describes the basic features of the movement and platform in Findikli:

> Every segment of the society should be included because everyone breathes the same air, drinks the same water. We do not get financial support from anywhere. It's totally voluntary... [If you want to achieve] You should approach every entity with the same manner. Do not distinguish between people or groups. Remain at an equal distance to anyone and give them equal right to speak. They will trust you. For instance, at the beginning we were a couple of leftist friends mobilizing the people. In time as the struggle got sharpened some representative friends from AKP and MHP started to take themselves away from the meetings. Then people got suspicious by calling and blaming us leftists. But the Platform did one right thing. It put forward its principles; never lied, always told the truth, did the right things legally, always referred to the Constitution's Article 56. Thus, if you shout here today; "Let the Rivers Flow Freely!" there gathers five hundred people immediately. People cherish the movement. Ok, the leftists do it, but AKP and MHP supporters walk along with you. If you do this you are successful. This country does not belong to any political parties. (Mehdi)

3. Motivational Frame

The motivational frame describes the rationale of action. It is supposed that people participate in social movements to claim their interest, which motivates them for mobilization. In anti SHP movement, water is at the centre of life in ecological, cultural and economic terms. Any threat to access to such a vital entity causes a *spontaneous and responsive* motivation to resist for preserving the interest in water. People are motivated to avoid the threat to their life space and to legate a healthy environment to younger generations. Accordingly, the movement has a moral duty to predict the benefit of future generations and other creatures living in the same space as well as preserving the heritage of the elders:

> I have five kids and a small field here. If you take my property away what will I do? How will I feed my kids? I am either going to shoot you or someone else to takeover your money to feed my kids. That's why people become terrorists. When you get starving, you have no hope and you do this sort of things. If you take my water, my blood, how will animals and I live? (Arif)

> If you take away our water, nothing will be left. Both humans and animals will be devastated. (Makbule)

> If we lose this water there will be no village or people. (Hüsniye)

> If we give our water, whole village will be dried. Our grandparents brought this water to our village. (Benusen)

Likewise, younger people reconcile the condition of water with the future of next generations. When I asked a twenty-three years old university student Erhan, who was grown up in Fındıklı, what motivates him to take action, he asserted that it is to

make next generations to enjoy the river too. Although this young activist was planning to work as a physical education teacher in somewhere out of his village, he feels an ethical obligation to protect the river. With a broad sense of ecological awareness he feels responsible for other rivers elsewhere:

> **What do you think about the struggles at other places?** We have the same point of view for every river. But the people over there should be conscious like us. We can't protect all the rivers. They should resist like us. In some of the places people do not even care; especially the men. But here, women and men all resist together. Everyone is so sensitive about the issue. If someone hears a basic rumour about SHPs, all of a sudden 200-300 people gathers at the place. Everyone says 'I could enjoy the beauty here and want my kids to see it'. (Erhan)

These statements show that river constitutes a role in defining one's identity geographically. A primordial engagement with the river attributes a symbolic value as a component of identity. It resembles the antiquity claim of national identity in a sense; *the river has been there all this time and it must prevail for the future generations.* Absence of river means annihilation of self for many of the activists. This is why the motivational framing is also called as identity framing by Pellow.[136]This task is the phase where activists define who they are. Defining "we" is also possible through putting against some "they". Thus, it is necessary to mention about the opponent's frames to understand the motivation and identity of the activists. Regarding the SHP process, the opponent's motivation is to decrease energy dependency by utilizing the domestic water sources. At first glance, the state proposes this motivation as a positive step for enabling national interest. However, there occurs either a conflict of interest (national vs. local) or lack of conviction

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[136] Pellow, 1999, p.662.

about the reliability of the state's motivation. The following statement made by sixty-four year old local woman participant of Kocabey festival indicates a bit of both causes:

> The electricity produced here will cause 3-5 times bigger damage than its benefit. We came back here after long years, because this land is our ancestors' heritage. My kids could get education thanks to these lands, stock breading and water. I can live here with candlelight, but not without water.
>
> **Who is responsible for this?** Our leaders and state of course! We are not against the state but it should protect our rights. (Hurmet)

To understand better the people's response to state's motivation of utilizing water sources for national interest I asked people's opinion about the following statements made by ministers and prime minister.

➔ **What do you think about the prime minister's statement of** *"our waters flow idly?"*

> Water never flows idle. It has a lot of benefits locally. You cannot make agricultural production without water. People benefits from the water. Does the blood flow idly in your veins? (Refik)
>
> He may be right. Turkey is encountering with threat of drought. Instead of selling this water to Israel or elsewhere state can get our water in to big reserves in Ankara for drinking. (Ümmü)

➔ **Prime minister says** *"we are not selling the rivers, we are giving the water use rights"*

> They are both the same. It is like selling the honour. Some people among us, spies and supporters, are also selling their honour. Even the ants living in your living space are part of your honour because you benefit from them. (Refik)

➔ *"Those resisting against SHPs are traitors who do not want Turkey to develop"*

How can it be possible? It has nothing to do with development. (Ümmü)

We are not traitors. We are struggling to save our country. Our life
depends on river. Like fish lives in water; we are the same. (Arif)

As suggested before new social movements are also identity movements. I
will focus on the identity issue through the following sections, but here there is a need
to make an introduction in order to understand the role of identity as a factor of
motivation. There are two types of actively involved actors at local level. The first
group is urban migrants who stay only for a part of a year in their hometown.
Especially in Şavşat region, with greater migration rates due to occupational
necessities, one can observe the sentiments of migrants who have been planning to
turn back to their hometown in their retirement. With a yearning to hometown, local
activists expect to find the authenticity and recreational aspects that they left behind
long years ago. The others in the second group, who accommodate on the land
permanently, have a stronger attachment to the land and river since any option that
proscribes their usual life styles is perceived as a threat to their existence. Life style of
people has evolved within this space and water is an indispensable part of it. Thus,
although losing access to water constitutes an identity crisis for both the migrants and
locals, they experience the problem in different ways. For the former group the
problem is more emotional and abstract. It is rather a moral duty of respecting the
ancient will of the elders and their own memories. The latter group of the locals, on
the other hand, is motivated to preserve their identity of the very present time. In this
sense, they feel obliged to maintain their life styles, in terms of not only culture but
also economical practices as well. However, one should bear in mind that these

subjective observations are not strictly static, rather people's motivations are pervious and similar motivations can be found in both of the groups.

Another interesting motivation for people is derived from the national independence war narrative. Ümit Şahin claims that this anti-imperialist and nationalist narrative has been one of the characteristics of the local movements in Turkey since 1990s.[137] It has become normal to blame multinational companies as invaders who strives for controlling Turkish territories and natural sources. According to Şahin this anti-imperialist tendencies in local environmental movements date back to Bergama movement in 1990s in which the local villagers identified the resistance with national independence war of Turkey. This tone has been a model to the succeeding local movements including the anti SHP movements. However, in anti SHP movements the anger is not directed only towards the foreign investors, because most of the SHP investors are Turkish companies. During the field research, a couple of times I heard people claiming that the SHP companies are foreigners. Every time someone complained about the companies' country of origin I asked in response; 'would it matter if they were Turks?' and every time I was answered; 'no, it would not'. However, still an enemy and resister dichotomy is detectable in anti SHP movements:.

> We are not anarchist or terrorists. But we will use all necessary legal and
> physical measures. Like our ancestors washed these trees around with their
> blood we will do whatever is needed. Because we want to transmit this
> natural beauty to our grand children as the way it is now. (Emel)

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[137] Şahin, Ümit. "Turkiye'de Cevre ve Ekoloji Hareketleri Uzerine Notlar: Aliaga Zaferinden, Vatan Topragi Soylemine", *Birikim,* Temmuz 2010.

We are on the 'aisle' now, soon we will move to 'highway' with shovels and diggers in our hands and fight! My granddad used to tell me stories of wars against Russians on this land. Now it is our turn. We can fight against the state for our water if we need to. (Feride)

It is no more possible to settle the problem by referring to the legal rights. All of the laws and legal entities are becoming partisan/pro-government. In this country, every institution is getting in the service of hegemons. People should rely on their own resistance. Just like this people stick up for themselves in Independence War, we should resist in the same way. We are not referring to 'constitutional and democratic rights to intimidate them'. They use democracy for their own interest. People can only struggle with its self-power. Actually, even the international laws do not make much sense to us. The opinion of EU is obvious like USA. These games do not make sense. (Halil)

The idea of water dependency on companies creates a connotation between anti SHP struggle and the independence war of Turkey on people's mind. The companies' and "collaborators'" overall image on people's mind resembles an imperialist invader. This depiction of the company leads a self-perception of land's guardians on activists' minds. In this way, direct action method with a patriotic motivation acquires legitimacy whereas laws are losing credibility on people's minds. There occurs another mindset that devalues civic institutions and notions like constitution and representative democracy.

4. A Multidimensional And Holistic Collective Action Frame

A social movement frame is not necessarily needed to be homogeneous. Even in the same social movement organizations different opinions can exist on one topic. Overall, collective action frames are shaped through individual cognitive judgements of people. In anti SHP movement for instance, there are those who are totally against construction of SHPs (with the notion of privatization of water) in any place, but there are also others who think SHPs can be built with superior and ecologically sound technical skills in other places (with the notion of ecological conservation). Further, some fractions within the anti SHP movement favour legal process as the primary method for struggle and approve legal action only, while others (more experienced ones) primarily lean on grassroots action primarily due to lack of trust to the legal system.

The problem has multiple facets revolving around access to water. From an environmental angle, the problem is not a matter of cutting a couple of trees during the SHP construction process. Rather, the activists worry that, in longer-term removal of water from its natural place will cause an ecosystem imbalance that effect the lives of all creatures. On the other hand, the socio-economic concerns set the other pair of the problems. Demise to humans' access to water has technical and legal reasons. Captivation of water inside the pipes for long distances or legal restrictions on access to water are setting problems against the maintenance of life styles in economic and cultural terms.

The interviewees' stories bring me to a position to assert that methods of struggle vary according to the conditions. In Şavşat region legal measures are more

effectively used for two reasons. Firstly, legal measures turn in to a necessity once the company starts its operations without encountering direct opposition. In Meydancık district for instance, there was no oppositional awareness at initial stages so that two SHPs could easily be established. The other four projects were cancelled in the process mostly through the legal struggle on courts. Secondly, legal struggle is preferable when there is not enough mobilized human presence permanently. Both Meydancık and Kocabey villages of Şavşat are sparsely populated especially during winter. Although expats living in big cities are stubbornly against the SHP projects, they cannot guard the water all year long. It is likely that in this case too, a few representatives of local associations carry the struggle on legal level with the financial support of expats. The direct action option, on the other hand, seems more effective in order to carry on a complete and continuous struggle. However, direct action requires more dedication and effort. If the majority of the people from different ideological spheres, ages and sexes are not mobilized all the time, the struggle confines to fail. A third insignificant method is a compromise between the parties for meeting the so-called energy need through technical solutions. Yet, the current conditions stand for an on-going frustration between the state and the people due to the imbalanced representativeness on the side of the activists. Therefore, a collaborative frame based on consensus is not likely.

Regarding the characteristics of motivational frame, it can be said that people's emotional and material ties with the water create a reactive and defensive upsurge to take action. The possibility of losing access to water means a loss of honour. People claim primordial rights on water and consider the SHP projects as a direct threat to it. In this sense, their living space struggle does not require comprehensive justifications. The condition of being accused as 'traitors who prevent

idly flowing waters to be utilized' do not make much sense because the activists think that they are the ones who knows the value of the water best.

Işlar's article suggests that neoliberal policies developed in Turkey in recent years lead to the redefinition of water's productive use, access and rights. This process also caused "marginalization of rural communities and undermining of alternative framings of nature".[138] Overall, it is possible to draw a master frame of anti SHP movements by combining the features of three framing tasks. A certain definition of the anti SHP movement frame could be like the following: *Anti SHP resistance problematizes the hydropower development policies of Turkish state as restrictions of water rights on ecological, economical and cultural grounds. The movement relies foremost on grassroots defying of people, who are mobilized through semi-institutionalized networks such as platforms and local associations, in order to perform direct action and decision making without totally neglecting the legal means too.* By relying on this definition a schematic depiction of the collective action frame of anti SHP movements emerges in the following way.

Diagnostic Frame (Problematization)	State's restriction of water rights and access to water
	SHPs' medium and long term ecological impact
	SHP's Impact on economic activities and daily life of people
Prognostic Frame (Methods)	Technical solutions in collaboration with state (ineffective)
	Legal ways (difficult and partly effective)
	Direct action (effective with good mobilization)
Motivational Frame (Movement Identity)	Defence of living space
	Primordial rights claim on water
	Moral duty to protect the rights of future generations

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[138] Işlar, Mine, "Privatized Hydropower Development in Turkey: A Case of Water Grabbing?" *Water Alternatives,* Vol 5, Issue 2, 2012, p. 376 (376-391)

B. Fictionalizing Touraine's Historicity and Transformation of Modernity with respect to Anti SHP Movement

Rapid economic development regardless of social and environmental peculiarities is a determining aspect of modernization history of Turkey. The dominant modernization model imposes on people that economic development and national interest should be the primary principles of social life. Thus, the nature and individual interests can be devoted in order to achieve these principles. This statement shows only one side of the historicity in Turkey. Yet, historicity or the cultural models are not "solidly established at the centre of society".[139] Alternative historicity projections are produced through the cultural patterns of societies and social movements utilize these cultural patterns for influencing the historicity. In this sense, social movements speak out alternative types of development, nature-man and citizen-state relations. In this respect, it is possible to analyse the anti SHP movement's historicity claim with respect to transformation of modernity in Turkey.

Social movements according to Touraine are representing the struggles of the subject to declare its difference (subjectivity) without neglecting the equality with others. The subjects of a social movement "point out the social management style of cultural sources and models."[140] In this respect, if we consider that water possesses multiple values, including the economic and cultural ones, then the anti SHP movements are influential actors of cultural transformation. I suggest various valuations of water determine the social management style of it. There emerge two different models of river management that can be detected essential to Turkish State and anti SHP movements. The dominant party, the Turkish State (or system) treats the

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[139] Touraine, 1988, p. 41.
[140] Touraine, 2005 p.124-125.

valleys as all equally valuable; as sources of energy, but not different; as if all the rivers are same, as long as you can produce energy. We can call it as a *'market oriented utilitarian model'*. In response to the state's management model, anti SHP movements propose another equality and difference criteria. In this framework the rivers, humans and all other natural creatures have equal ecological rights. Yet, the rivers are also different in themselves relative to the ecosystem they flow. The peculiarities of each river bring about alternative cultural management models. These peculiarities shape the economic and cultural activities of people living in the same ecosystem. The outcome of this kind of interaction is the emergence of multiple *'culture and rights oriented management models'*. At the root of the difference between two management styles lays two different cognitive approaches to the river. The state approaches the rivers as 'objects to be utilized', whereas the anti SHP movement considers the rivers as 'dependable subjects'. The following statements of the activists give some idea about the alternative management models of the activists:

> Here not only the humans live. Here also live plants and animals that give life to human. People resisting here also speak on behalf of these creatures. (Mehdi)

> Clean water is the right of every living creature and nature, not only humans. It is million times more precious than oil. For Fındıklı people nature and globe is universal. We try to protect the forests in the same way. All of the forests are ours, earthlings'. When a forest in Greece or in Amazon gets fire we feel sorry, because it affects the ecological balance. Our globe used to be known as blue planet, now it turned to yellow one. This is understood by scientists when they look from space. When we inquire, we understood that we experience a disaster. We have to stop it at some point. (Halil)

The question is; how can these cultural management models influence the historicity and transformation of modernity? Touraine's modernity concept is also sectioned into two models namely as industrial modernity and neo modernity. The first modernity that is equated with industrial culture was an objectivist one.[141] The first model used to predict that perfection was not only possible, but inevitable through the progress in science and technology. However, the political and ecological crisis of the 20th century showed that this prediction was neither easy, nor inevitable. Now there is a 'cultural mutation' taking place and leading to the emergence of a new modernization "where man and nature are different, yet complementary".[142] The second modernization i.e., neo modernity or cultural mutation has started in 1960's when countercultural movements replaced the labour movements. This date coincides with first realizations of limits to growth and industrialism's devastating impact on nature. According to Touraine today there is a need for an opposition against 'the system'[143] that can carry the cultural transformation.[144] Touraine points out to the actors of opposition as follows:

> I believe the new oppositional forces are subjectivism and the ecological
> movement: The "I" versus mass culture, the individual who defines
> himself in his own terms; and the ecological groups which define the
> limits to the transformation of nature by science and technology.[145]

Touraine claims that ecology as a new discipline emerges along with the new modernity. Ecology righteously argues that human should find his place in eco-

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[141] Touraine, Alain. "Neo Modern Ecology". *Nonprofit Quarterly*. Fall, 2004. p.129.
[142] Ibid. p.129.
[143] Instead of 'the system' Touraine puts 'the communication elites' in the center of power holders as having the capability to define the society's image of itself by producing the language, symbols and images (Touraine, 2004). I prefer instead 'the system' as a broader concept including the state, the capital and the media as well; since the property relations among these actors are not anymore strict in a neo-liberal dominant world.
[144] Touraine, 2004, p. 132.
[145] Ibid.

system instead of dominating it. By considering nature as a holistic system rather than an object of exploitation, ecology promises a distinctive culture for nature and human; a culture of 'living together' equally with all existing differences between human and nature in Tourainean sense. But, Touraine finds ecology problematic by asserting that ecology favours irrationality as the exact opposite of the failed rationality of industrial modernization. The claim of ecology suggests nothing more than an advice of going 'back to the primitive' so to speak. Such an understanding sounds like a total dismissal of the notion of modernity. Yet, Touraine does not lean towards the idea of rejecting modernization. Otherwise, he thinks, we would have to accept the irrational despotism of nature. Rather, modernization is having a 'cultural mutation' and evolving into something that lets subjectivity –man's capacity to be the author of his actions- to take place.[146] But, Touraine does not explain what changes the subjectivity will bring. Instead of an elaborate depiction of the outcome of the process, Touraine settles with claiming that man can create a culture through individual and natural transformation through practices of mindful creativity. Progress will remain in this phase of modernization through a 'well-balanced trio' that is emerged after an update of 'subjectivity' in addition to the former notions of 'rationality and science'. Yet, how to make sure that rationality and science are balanced, since it failed once in the first phase of modernization? In Murat Arsel's article, a new criticism of political economy that problematizes "the key institutional complexes, capitalism, industrialism, administrative and military power" was the signifier of neo-modernism.[147] I believe such criticism requires the emergence of the subject to transform the mentioned institutional complexes that consider both human and nature as objects. In this respect Touraine claims that "reason must be checked by the

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[146] Ibid. p. 220.
[147] Arsel, 2005, p. 17.

concept of human rights, while technological-scientific power must be checked by ecological rights" in order to maintain the 'well-balanced trio' of neo modernization.[148]

Ecological rights hold a transformative role here as the ways to protect our life spaces against destruction. Environmental movements, by being the promoter of ecological rights, also have influence on the second modernization. Local anti SHP movements are not exceptions at least on symbolic level to exemplify this trend for several reasons. The subjectivity effort of the activists to realize themselves as influential actors, who yearn for making decisions on their lives, is a case in point. The anti SHP movement stands for an effort to increase the influence of public will on state policies in a deeper way. The following quotation from a local activist does not match well with Touraine's view with respect to importance of mindful progress because it gives consent to the continuity of the current conditions:

> **Who is responsible for this situation?** The primary responsibility belong
> to our representatives; the assembly. We choose them. They should
> protect our rights first.
>
> **If these projects realized it will affect the economic life. What sort of**
> **economic development would you expect from the state?** I just want
> him to not to take away our current capabilities. We do not need its
> further assistance. (Makbule)

I think the quotation above should not be read as if anti SHP movement does not have any potential to offer alternatives, i.e. 'mindful creativity' to the monolithic projections of SHPs. As we have seen in the prognostic frame section, the anti SHP activists have many alternative suggestions for energy utilization. On the other hand, this statement is valuable because it heralds a novel public will for the emergence of

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[148] Touraine, 2004. p. 130.

the subject. The state is expected to be primarily as a guarantor of rights. The ultimate rationality of state, which claims knowing what is best for individuals, is losing validity through the anti SHP movements. The monolithic modernity and development premise of the state is not favoured in a way. This situation is also related to the state's long felt distance and indifference to the region. Such remoteness has lead people to keep their identity authentic and self-reliant. In other words, such self-reliance is a result of an awareness of being isolated Through the resistance process actors discover the self realization of their identity and emerge as political actors. The lesser the expectancy of people stemming from the state's remoteness and marginalization of the rural, the more suddenly this isolation turns in to an opposition.

However, the modernity transformation potential of this opposition is not readily available because isolated and responsive features of the opposition cause lack of political awareness. If the movements confine on local level with a 'not in my backyard' (NIMBY) mentality that pays little or no attention to the SHP projects in other regions, then the notion of 'self' overwhelms the rather altruist notion of the 'subject'. If this was the case, then the dominant narratives such as energy need, development and national interest would be acknowledged by the movement at large. As far as I observe, anti SHP movements principally overreach the idea of NIMBY. The collective action frame that criticizes SHP projects for being harmful to human and ecological rights shows that anti SHP movements go beyond the mere defence of life space and turns into a system criticism. I also believe, this system critique contributes to the settling of the second modernization in Turkey. However deficiencies in mobilization process and lack of common political ground set obstacles against the self realization or subjectification of the movement to push the limits of transformation. Prof. Beyza Ustun mentions about the potential of the

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movement to land on anti-capitalist grounds with the effort of nation wide half institutionalized networks among the platforms.

"[In this sense] local movements should not be underestimated. Yet, they are naïve because of lack of political ground. On the other hand, they achieved many things. First of all, they established the fellowship of valleys. It is very important. In my opinion, this can be a global phenomenon within the repertoire of social movements. But, whether this movement last longs is another thing. It should be well observed. In my opinion if is to carry on, the mobilization structure should be established on class and political grounds. But three years ago we could not even speak about such a possibility. Nobody would believe us. Today when you visit the villages you meet local people who use directly the word; 'commodification'. You witness that people talk from an anti-capitalist perspective. You witness that they know everything well."

All in all, anti SHP movements is one, but not the only one, of the actors who can have an influence on transforming the modernity by claiming alternative historicities. Principally it has a potential to challenge the system at least on symbolic level because it allows the emergence of the subject who declares autonomy to determine her life. In the next section I will look at what does the symbolic value count for transforming the system and what is the identity of the subject that emerges through the anti SHP movement by referring to Alberto Melucci.

C. Searching For The Identity Of The Subject And Symbolic Value Of Anti SHP Movements With The Guidance Of Melucci

The primary task of the social movements according to Melucci is to challenge the dominant codes of society by staking out a claim to management of culture. Social movements practice this challenge by producing new symbols and meanings. Depending on the opportunities and constraints of the system, these new meanings and symbols have the potential to transform the system. The symbols challenge the system in two levels. On the symbolic level movements set challenge to dominant codes of the system through the mere existence of their demands. This transformation on the dominant codes gradually influences the political level and leads to institutional reform and emergence of new elites.

Symbolically social movements challenge the compatibility levels of the system by producing alternative meanings. At the initial stages the dominant narrative of the system resist against these alternatives by promoting the long established norms of modernity. In anti SHP case we observe that the state insists on economic growth and national interest narratives. I observe that high majority of the locals have no serious problem with the development notion or national interest since most of these people are conservatively loyal to the state. But, this loyalty does not constitute an obstacle against the existence of a problematic compatibility level between the state and the civil society. Since there are many forms of relations between the state and civil society, there are naturally various types of compatibility levels at stake, which give reason to social movements. In the anti SHP case, the compatibility condition breaks down on the topic of nature and human relations, which has multiple dimensions.

At first glance the state's will to produce energy and economic development don't seem problematic to people until they face with the costs of it on nature they depend on.

> An engineer can prepare a beautiful SHP project in terms of technique. It can be perfect and compatible with nature. This is not the problem. Furthermore our objection is not against the production of energy from water. We object to giving up water rights for 49 years. This was the first point. The second point is; the state or responsible ministries do not detect the environmental peculiarities and specialties prior to the project development. Every river, every ecosystem is different from each other. These differences demand real attention (Erkan).

One of the principal points that compatibility is challenged in anti SHP movements is the notion of rights. SHP projects propose that right to water can be commoditised for the good of overall national interest and growth. Anti SHP movements, on the other hand, struggle to demand the rights not only of the people, but also of the other creatures that depend on water. This demand of 'rights of nature' combined with the similar trends arousing from other segments of the society can contribute to development of new language of rights in long term. This process has the potential to enforce lawmakers to improve the array of rights by including not only the rights of humans, but nature as well. The collapse on the compatibility level of rights discourse also causes criticism of the authority of the state. The activists question the extent to which the state can interfere with the ecosystem. During the field study, I observed that activists refer to the Turkish Constitution's articles number 17 and 56, which respectively assert "everyone has right to protect and develop their material and spiritual entities" and "everyone has a right to live in a healthy and

balanced environment".[149] The state is accused of abusing these laws through promoting SHPs.

Regarding the identity issue, the anti SHP movements show variance in the number of identities both for people and nature. This issue is highly complementary with Touraine's concept of subject. On the previous section we saw that anti SHP movement approaches to the rivers as subjects by realizing their peculiarities and features. In addition, the intimate relation of the locals with the water causes identification of self with the river. Many of the interviewees claim that their life would be meaningless without the water:

> **What does the river mean to you?** It's life, heaven and everything. (Nadir)
>
> **How would you describe the problem with SHPs?** It is a problem of waterlessness.
>
> **Is it an environmental problem, rights problem or an economic problem?** It is more like an economic problem rather than an environmental problem. When there is no water there will be no tea which is our source of living. Migrations will start. Then neither my role as mukhtar, nor the school over there or my granddad's grave there will have a meaning. (Cavit)
>
> This is our land. We are destined to die on this land. Money has no nation. People having a lot of money can move to their mansions in Miami, France, live there and have water resources. But for next generations and us, here water is a must. As villagers that's what we think. (Halil)

Furthermore, water as the primary input of agricultural production is vital for the permanence of peasant identity. Peasantry should not be considered merely as a profession, but an identity. Unlike people working in cities, agrarian people have

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[149]TC Anayasa, http://www.tbmm.gov.tr/anayasa/anayasa_2011.pdf

deeper relations between their economic activity and life styles. Alienation to economic activities is at minor level due to the active participation in every phase of production and dependency to the soil as the only way of living. In this sense, the rivers stand as a component of the collective identities of people. Since anti SHP movements are life space struggles in basic sense, then the defence of vulnerable rivers turn in to a collective identity struggle. At this point, the compatibility breakdown between the activists and the state regarding the human-nature relations steps in again. Melluci asserts that "movements question society on who decides on codes, who establishes rules of normality and what is the space for difference?"[150]. As suggested earlier, the logic behind the SHP projects tends to consider the rivers merely as sources of energy and activists as traitors. Thus it implicitly means that the best citizen (as the opposite of traitor) is the one who admires SHP projects. This logic apparently is a compelling one that confines human-nature relationship to a zero-sum game. Anti SHP movements symbolize an objection to this compelled definition of human-nature relations and promote alternative meanings and values.

At political level social movements have impact on transformation of power holders since they enable oppressed ones to integrate into ruling mechanism through successful movement processes[151]. But for the anti SHP movements such a statement does not reflect the reality. It is partly because of a conscious choice of the anti SHP movement to remain outside of the party politics. But it also results from the restrictions of the system. The concrete actors cannot actually be part of the impervious system, they rather act as influence groups to make their concern visible and integrate the very idea of their cause to the mainstream politics. In this sense, anti SHP movements cannot make a radical transformation of the system and its actors in

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[150] Melucci, 1985, p. 810.
[151] Melucci, 1991, p. 59.

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short term, rather they influence the political manner of already integrated actors regarding the environmental cause in positive sense. According to the study of Nature Association (Doga Dernegi) that covers the environmental policies of four parties currently in parliament: (AKP, CHP, BDP and MHP) only BDP is strictly against the projects, whereas AKP and MHP eagerly support the construction of more SHPs and CHP considers SHPs as sustainable energy resources that should be used wisely.[152] In this regard political impact of the movement declines while the symbolic value becomes the primary focus of analysis. However, anti SHP movements have a significant political impact in terms of enabling alternative policy making models that respects the planetary norms of democracy. Grassroots meetings and informal plebiscites are good instances for the emergence of a new language of democracy that can moderately influence the state policies. Erkan from Savsat DEKAP, who considers himself a leftist, explains the impact of democratization process in a manner that replaces the revolutionary imagination of Marxism:

> Why do not we operationalize alternative energy sources like solar energy but using these subversive methods instead? The problem is about the structure of less developed countries. Such countries know that it is difficult to compete with developed countries by relying on solar energy or other alternative ways, so less developed countries mistreat their natural resources for capital accumulation. We have our capital accumulation process in a violent way just like the 18th century colonizer states period –by subversive methods. This is really bad. However, a society can democratize its state through these struggles. You do not have to change the state (structure) but you can democratize it. If a society can make claims for the water and defeat the companies through struggles, the

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[152] http://www.dogadernegi.org/partiler-cevre-sorunlarin-fransiz.aspx

state will have to change its legal base and structure accordingly. This is

the democratization and civilization of the state. (Erkan)

All in all, Touraine's claim on the return of the subject and Melluci's theories on symbolic impact of the movements are apparent in many ways in anti SHP movements. The case in analysis has the potential to influence the modernization process and transform the system by challenging the human-nature relations. The SHP projects lead to a denial of basic rights and public will. They impose a monotypic nature-human relationship and ignore subjective possibilities. This monolithic imposition spreads on various levels and defines water as an energy source and humans as lacking the ability to make decisions on their lives by predicting that the state knows the best for everyone. Different demands on water use are suppressed under the national interest narrative and imbalanced industrial development is imposed as the only reliable choice. As a grassroots movement, anti SHP resistance is against the dominant monolithic definitions. The resistance is an example of public realization of differences and equalities nationwide.

Anti SHP movements put forward alternative cultural management styles by ascribing at least two meanings to water. Firstly, water is an indispensable part of the ecosystem and is equally the right of every component within the system. Secondly, water is a part of the individual and collective identities of people. Close daily interaction with water and economic value of it for agrarian societies attributes water a role of identity signifier. For those who are not peasants, including the expats going to valley only in summer, the river bears memories as part of the identity. Referring to Melucci once again; "a collective identity is a shared definition of the field of opportunities and constraints offered to collective action: 'shared' means constructed and negotiated through a repeated process of 'activation' of social relationships

connecting the actors."[153]. This field of opportunities is defined mostly by locating water into the centre. The actors activate their constructed social relationships with water either through daily interactions or by revitalizing their memories in order to realize themselves and collective identity.

Although the alternatives meanings produced by the activists are not novel in a sense, since they largely suggest continuity of traditional life styles without a change, they produce alternatives by getting marginalized. As the traditional life styles step into a field of contestation, it derives a new narrative based on ecological rights and modification of peasant identity as political actors who demand autonomy on their lives. This challenge should not be underestimated especially in the case of Fındıklı where there is serious support for the governing party[154], yet SHP representatives –from both the companies and local administration- are not even let in town for conducting EIA meetings. Though at this stage of resistance tangible political outcomes are not easy to be detected other than the short term legal gains, the real impact of anti SHP movements is its ability to make the implications of the ruling order visible and enforces it to justify itself by responding to people's demands. It is not measurable to detect the movement's impact on transformation of modernization, but as an influential grassroots movement, it will surely play its inherited role in one way or another.

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[153] Melucci, 1985, p. 793.
[154] According to the figures of the previous general election held on 11 June 2011 AKP received %49.7 of the votes in Findikli and followed by CHP with %38.8 and MHP with %6.08. A similar result took place in Savsat where AKP got %46.4, CHP %37.8 and MHP %8.09.
Source: http://secim.haberler.com/2011/

Conclusion: The Creativity of the Local; New Definitions of Political Participation, Ecological Justice and Economic-Well Being

A rough examination of the environmentalism history of Turkey brings us to the point that environmental movements have radicalized in parallel to the neo-liberalization ,of the state since 1980s. At the initial stages, the environmental movements were identified with urban middle class. But this trend has changed in mid 1990s when in Bergama district of Turkey the local people triggered a grassroots resistance movement against the gold mining activities of a company. Today the anti SHP movements are the bearers of this trend not only at local level, but also through establishing networks of communication on a broader ground. The locals, who actually face the problem, mobilize the anti SHP movements. No one but the locals themselves achieved the mobilization, made decisions, conducted protests. In time, they established semi-institutionalized networks of platforms. Findikli Derelerini Koruma Platformu has been a unique case as the first instance of local platforms and setting the framework for a nation wide organization: Derelerin Kardesligi Platformu.[155] Through the local branches, the Platform provides a voluntary logistical and organizational support. It establishes information networks by actively using the social media channels. By creating an alternative media with the efforts of local people, the platforms make the resistance visible to the public on national scale. The platform also achieves mobilization of expats in cities by collaborating with fellow

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[155] The anti SHP resistance lead the way to the discussions of water rights issues on civil society. Many other organizations such as Turkiye Su Meclisi, Karadeniz Isyandadir Platformu, Suyun Ticarilestirilmesine Hayir Platformu and Su Hakki Campaign approach the issue from different, yet interconnected ways. Some of these groups focus primarily on knowledge production with academic claims to increase public awareness, while the others do it by making reference to the international organizations and norms. Yet, all of these groups call for action and mobilization via different methods. Although there are other organizations who support the movement from the cities, DEKAP is the only organization that have local representatives. Since this study aims to analyse the movement on local level, I did not feel a need to introduce the other organizations.

countrymen associations established by the expats. DEKAP functions more like a remote steering committee whereas decisions are made at local level.

The influence of the organizations and methods of struggle vary from region to region, yet the grassroots direct action is the most dominant method of the resistance. Although the legal measures are used in some of the cases, it is an unreliable and difficult method of struggle. Unlike the legal measures, the direct action enables mobilization of masses in a quicker way. The outcomes of the direct action are sudden and tangible, but require more human effort and solidarity to maintain the long-term gains. Direct action methods such as protest events, public declarations, plebiscites, construction yard invasions, not allowing the company representatives to enter into villages and sabotaging the EIA meetings give resistance the opportunity to encounter the adversaries and manifest determination. In this respect not only the SHP investors, but also the government stands on the opposition side by embracing and supporting the projects.

AKP government has put on the projects as state policies by participating at the opening ceremonies of the projects through ministers and mayors. Although the beneficiary of the projects was the private sector, the government support to the projects cause further identification of the state as the responsible party. This neoliberal step of the government has caused a disappointment on the side of the people who are known to be so loyal to the state. The feeling of being mistreated further marginalized people and gave the movement a momentum to have a greater influence on the system. This social marginalization unintentionally caused movements to turn into something more than environmental conservation resistance. Despite its potential to influence the system, I still prefer to call the movements as life space resistances because the local features reflect a micro replica of the greater

system. Calling the movement as local life space resistance does not mean to underestimate its potential on larger scale. As a multi dimensional case, anti SHP resistance combines people's concerns about political participation, ecological justice and economic well-being.

The life space resistance indicates a will for autonomy on policy decisions those directly affecting the life of the locals. Any damage made on the lives of people resulted from the SHP projects are justified by the greater national interest that demands energy independence and stronger economy. As a product of realist approach to international relations, national interest conventionally stands for the strategic interests of the state. As a state-centric concept, it is associated with maintaining security and having relative superiority to other states. However, what is called as national interest by the central authority is challenged by the anti SHP movements' redefinition. Accordingly, the movement indicates a will for a human centric and local definition of national interest that looks after the well being of people. After all, the nation, as the sum of individuals bond to the state by the notion of citizenship, is not an abstract term. The SHP projects spread over the whole country have serious impact on the citizens who are the components of the nation. The movements suggest that decisions that are vitally affecting the life of the locals should not be made promiscuously from the centre. Thus, the movement suggests that there is need for a new definition of national interest with better representativeness. In order to meet the interests of greater number of citizens, a more autonomous and representative decision making system on local level appears as a need. Actually, the demand for local autonomy is not only a politically correct good will gesture; the resistance already practices direct democracy through the open meetings where the strategies and the problems regarding the movement are discussed.

Although a will for autonomy on local policies indicates political motivation for action, the activists abstain from describing the movement as political. I assert there are several interrelated reasons for this tendency. First of all, perception of politics is widely associated with political parties in people's mind. Consequently, politicization of the movement associates with involvement of the political parties in the struggle and people do not show much faith in parties by regarding them 'all same' including the ones they vote for. This avoidance from the political parties is also caused by the perception that ideological politics separates people and weakens the resistance. Most importantly, politics may divert the focus of struggle. It is feared that other political interests may get involved and can shade the real purpose of the movement. However, still a leftist prevision is still apparent since from the initial stages of the movement. Middle-aged leftists activists of 1970s take an active role for the mobilization and setting the language of the movement. Yet, although this leftist narrative benefits the leftist terminology to analyse the essence of the problem, it abstains to use it that much for the mobilization of the movement. This is a conscious choice to broaden the array of activists from different ideologies. In this regard, the movement does not rely on a well-defined ideology like any other example of new social movements. Instead of an ideology, the identity holds the function of mobilization. This identity is an expression of shared habits and beliefs of people. The river, by holding a central role on daily practices of people, is an important determiner of the identity. No matter which political ideology is preferred by an individual, the central role of water in daily life and identity encourage people for mobilization. With an increasing awareness, environmental problems are understood as political concerns in a new fashion outside of the party politics, due to the close encounter with the dominant codes of the system. The collective identity of the movements is manifested

in the new kind of politicization of people for achieving social transformation and maintaining alternative life styles and cultures.

The local notion of the resistance also gives it a chance to practice an alternative model to conducting human-nature relations with a new language of rights in an ecologically sound manner. On symbolic level, the movement prove that 'another law system is possible'. On practical and political levels, this alternative proposition has the potential to go beyond the local limits, influence the awareness of citizens and reform the state. As Adaman and Arsel put forward, local environmental groups have the ability to increase awareness on environmental issues and pressure state to act in accordance with the laws and legal system.[156] In the process, the public demand for sustainable practices in development policies increases. In this sense, the movement shows ability to transform the modernization practices. Turkish modernization has been dominated by the state's technocratic rationality that glorifies growth at any expense while ignoring the demands of civil society and local peculiarities. It is possible to trace the signs of a subject oriented, new kind of modernity through the resistance movements. Despite the socially uncompromising and non-inclusive structure, such resistance movements symbolically challenge the compatibility levels of the system and cause reformative change.

The activists also have serious concerns about the impact of SHPs on local economic activities. Martinez-Alier develops the concept of 'environmentalism of the poor' to analyse the features of the ecological movements of the third world. Accordingly, the poor mobilize through social movements in order to defend "the material interest in the environment as a source and requirement for livelihood"[157]. Furthermore, in Martinez-Alier's model, rights of other species and future generations

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[156] Adaman, Fikret, Murat Arsel, "Conslusion", In *Environmentalism in Turkey Between Democracy and Development,* edited by Fikret Adaman and Murat Arsel. Aldershot: Ashgate, 2005. p. 297.
[157] Martinez Alier, Joan. *The Environmentalism of the Poor*. Cheltenham: Edward Elger, 2002. p. 11.

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do not receive much concern. I think the latter claim would be too reductionist and shallow to be applied to resistance movement in Black Sea Region. As far as I observe although the younger male activists tend to define the problem from an economic perspective, whereas the older people and women have a rather ecological stance adorned with romanticism and nostalgia, it is not reasonable to claim that economic concerns overwhelm the ecological ones especially considering the high level mobilization among the elders and the women. The condition of being poor or impoverished cannot be defined only in material terms. Living space of people contains other sources of value that gives spiritual satisfaction and makes a holistic understanding of welfare overreaching the economic well-being. The activists in Black Sea Region tend to mention the economic value of water without skipping its importance for other species and future generations in a consecutive manner.

As concluding remarks I would like to underline that the social reaction caused by the development projects should be closely observed in the following days. The ecological and social impacts of the SHP projects will be more apparent in longer term. Not only in Black Sea region but in every part of Turkey thousands of SHP projects are planned and they will eventually lead more reactions in local sphere. In this study, I tried to analyse only two of them by looking at the individual reactions of the locals. The issue can be analysed by applying different methods from multiple disciplines. After all, the anti SHP movements reflect a good example of the motto of the social movements of the twenty-first century: "think globally, act locally" by practicing the planetary notions of ecological rights and democracy to implicitly influence the peculiar case of Turkish modernization.

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List of Interviewees

No	Location	Name	Sex	Age
1	Şavşat	Erkan	Male	55
2	Şavşat (Meydancık)	Hasan	Male	58
3	Şavşat (Meydancık)	Lale	Female	50
4	Şavşat (Meydancık)	Eşref	Male	75
5	Şavşat (Meydancık)	Orhan	Male	56
6	Şavşat (Meydancık)	Murat	Male	60
7	Şavşat (Meydancık)	Arif	Male	57
8	Şavşat (Meydancık)	Hakan Ruhi	Male	62
9	Şavşat (Kocabey)	Hüsniye	Female	59
10	Şavşat (Kocabey)	Emel	Female	46
11	Şavşat (Kocabey)	Ayhan	Male	58
12	Şavşat (Kocabey)	Beyza Ustun	Female	-
13	Şavşat (Kocabey)	Makbule	Female	60
14	Şavşat (Kocabey)	Benusen	Female	70
15	Şavşat (Kocabey)	Hurmet	Female	64
16	Şavşat (Kocabey)	Feride	Female	65
17	Fındıklı	Mehdi	Male	53
18	Fındıklı	Halil	Male	58
19	Fındıklı	Refik	Male	67
20	Fındıklı	Erhan	Male	23
21	Fındıklı	Arif	Male	74
22	Fındıklı	Ümmü	Female	37
23	Fındıklı	Nadir	Male	81
24	Fındıklı	Cavit	Male	48