

LEARNING IN THE KAZ MOUNTAINS ENVIRONMENTAL SOCIAL
MOVEMENT

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MOVEMENT

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Thesis Abstract

Onur Seçkin, “Learning in the Kaz Mountains Environmental Social Movement”

The aim of this study is to explore adults’ reasons for participating in the Kaz Mountains Environmental Social Movement, learning experiences of them in the movement and sources of these experiences, and changes that occur on adults due to participating in the movement.

The sample of the study is formed through 16 people who have participated in the Kaz Mountains Environmental Social Movement. While three of these sixteen people are selected from among activists in the movement through the eligibility and purposefully, and other thirteen people are selected from among the villager participants of the movement again purposefully.

To collect data, the semi-structured interview form is developed by the researcher and it is implemented in three different villages in the April, 2008. The findings that are carried as a result of the analysis of interviews and informal observations of the researcher are represented, after they are grouped under the main and sub headings in terms of the aims of the study.

As a result of the study it is founded that Kaz Mountains Environmental Social Movement has provided the chance of accessing the knowledge and has prepared the way of it to the villagers who are in low educational level and in the lower income brackets and so where they are one of preferential part of the society in providing adult education activities. Furthermore it is founded that activists in the movement also gained learning experiences in many different topics through different activities

It is emerged that learning experiences due to participating in the movement are focused on the effects of gold mining, which is attempted to operate, on peoples’ environment and environmental pollution. Furthermore, adults have realized learning experiences related to the mining law and the olive law, effects of continuing of prospecting gold and operating gold mining on income level of the people, and other social movements. It is founded that, information meetings in the village and television programmes have been main learning sources in the movement where participants also have learned through demonstrations, panels, newspapers, visiting the other regions, and informal conversations among themselves.

Besides the learning experiences there have been some changes on participants both personally and interpersonally in the movement. The findings of development of self-confidence of the participants, increasing in sensitiveness to environment and nature, changes in thoughts about the other social movements and struggles, and new relationships with new people are emerged in the context of personal changes. Furthermore, the findings on the base of changes in interpersonal relations are grouped under the titles of general changes and changes in gender relations.

In the light of the findings of the study, it can be expressed that, in the case of Kaz Mountains Social Movement, social movements provide wide space in the context of acquiring learning experiences and positive changes on participants. This space also encloses elements which question adult education policies in the hegemony of the neoliberalism that have tried to fully attach adult learnings to market oriented issues.

Tez Özeti

Onur Seçkin, “Kaz Dağları Çevre Hareketi’nde Öğrenme”

Bu çalışmanın amacı yetişkinlerin Kaz Dağları Çevre Hareketi’ne katılma nedenlerini, bu hareket içerisinde neler öğrendiklerini, hareket içerisinde gerçekleşen öğrenme deneyimlerinin kaynaklarını ve yetişkinlerin bu çevre hareketine katılmalarından dolayı yaşadıkları değişiklikleri araştırmaktır.

Kaz Dağları Çevre Hareketi’ne katılan 16 kişi çalışmanın örneklemini oluşturmaktadır. Onaltı kişinin üç tanesi harekete katılan aktivistler arasından uygunluk düzeyi gözetilerek amaçlı olarak seçilirken, örneklemden onüç kişi harekete katılan köylü katılımcılar arasından amaçlı olarak seçilmiştir.

Araştırmanın amacına uygun olarak araştırmacı tarafından yapılandırılmış bir görüşme formu geliştirilmiş, bu görüşme formu üç farklı köyde, 2008 yılı Nisan ayı içerisinde uygulanmıştır. Uygulanan görüşmelerin analizi ve araştırmacının informel gözlemleri sonucunda elde edilen bulgular, araştırmanın amacı ve araştırma soruları çerçevesinde ana ve alt gruplara ayrılarak özetlenmiştir.

Çalışma sonucunda Kaz Dağları Çevre Hareketi’nin yetişkin eğitiminde öncelikli olarak tanımlanabilecek eğitim düzeyi düşük ve alt gelir grubuna dahil köylü katılımcılara, yaşamlarını doğrudan ilgilendiren bilgiye ulaşma şansını sunduğu ve bunun kanallarını açtığı görülmüştür. Bunun yanında hareket içerisinde bulunan aktivistlerinde birçok farklı alanda öğrenme deneyimleri gerçekleştirdiği görülmüştür.

Bulgular sonucunda harekete katılım nedeniyle ortaya çıkan öğrenme deneyimlerinin bölgede işletilmesi düşünülen altın madenin çevreye etkisi ve çevre kirliliği üzerinde odaklandığı görülmektedir. Bunun yanında harekete katılan yetişkinlerin, bölgede sürdürülen altın arama çalışmalarıyla ilişkili olan maden ve zeytin yasalarına, altın arama çalışmalarının devam etmesi ve madenin işlenmesi sonucunda ortaya çıkacak zararların gelir durumlarını nasıl etkileyeceklerine ve diğer sosyal hareketlere ilişkin öğrenme deneyimleri gerçekleştirdikleri görülmüştür. Hareket içerisinde köylerde yapılan bilgilendirme toplantıları ve televizyon programlarının en önemli öğrenme kaynakları olduğu görülürken, katılımcıların mitingler ve gösteriler, panel ve toplantılar, gazeteler, başka bölgeleri ziyaretler ve kendi aralarındaki sohbetler aracılığıyla da bilgilere ulaştığı bulgulanmıştır.

Yetişkinlerin hareket içerisinde öğrenme deneyimleri yanında, çeşitli kişisel ve kişilerarası değişiklikler de yaşadığı görülmüştür. Kişisel değişiklikler bağlamında, yetişkinlerin özgüvenlerinin gelişmesi, çevre ve doğaya ilişkin duyarlılıklarının artması, farklı sosyal hareketlere ve mücadelelere ilişkin düşüncelerde yaşanan değişim, farklı insanlarla kurulan yeni ilişkiler olarak ortaya çıkmıştır. Bunun yanında kişiler arası yaşanan değişimler ilişkilerde yaşanan genel değişiklikler ve toplumsal cinsiyet bağlamında yaşanan değişiklikler olarak gruplanmıştır.

Araştırmanın bulguları ışığında, Kaz Dağları Çevre Hareketi özelinde sosyal hareketlerin, yetişkinlere hayatlarını doğrudan etkileyecek öğrenme ve değişiklikler bağlamında önemli bir alan sunduğu söylenebilir. Bu alan aynı zamanda neoliberalizmin egemenliği altındaki yetişkin eğitiminin, yetişkin öğrenmesini tamamen piyasa odaklı konulara eklemleme çabalarına ilişkin bir sorgulamayı da beraberinde getirmektedir.

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For my dear mother

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CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

In this chapter, background of the problem will be presented and then, purpose and significance of the study will be stated. In the following chapter literature review of the study will take part. After the second chapter, the methodology of the study will be presented in the third chapter and findings of the study will be stated in the fourth chapter and in the last chapter of the study summary, discussion and conclusion part will be denoted.

Background of the Problem

Learning has begun to be one of the key concepts in our lives especially since the last quarter of the twentieth century, and it seems that it will continue to be one of the major concepts for a long time. Interest in learning has increased in the previous century due to the different reasons for various parts of the society. While the concept of “learning society” has become to be used frequently, people from each part of the society have accepted the importance of “learning from the cradle to grave” commonly, where this saying refers the concept of “lifelong learning.”

Learning, which has started with the birth of humankind, can be defined as “gaining permanent behaviors or changing of the old ones by the experience and environmental interaction of person” (Okçabol, 2006) in general. Today’s world and societies are results of accumulation of learning experiences of humankind from the first person to today’s billions of people. At the same time, learning experiences for each person individually begins with the birth of her/himself and continues over their lives, where this situation has begun to be called “lifelong learning” since the previous century.

Sources of learning for humankind are diversified through developments in technology and increasing in experiences and interactions of people with their environments and among themselves along the centuries. Schugurensky (2003) reflects this situation by the following words:

Content of learning of humankind today has ranged from survival needs to arts and crafts, from agricultural practices to child rearing, from health and cooking to astronomy and philosophy, from democratic governance to military practices, from the preservation of history to its critical interpretation, from accepting the status quo as 'common sense' to critically examining it (p.1).

Increased diversity and density in learning experiences of people also have attracted the interest of researchers, whose studies related to learning have raised in the previous century. Many scholars provided theories of learning, especially in the field of psychology and education of which several researchers around the world have accepted behaviorist, Gestaltist, cognitive and humanist approaches to the question of how the learning occurs, on the base of where they stand theoretically (Okçabol, 2006). Beside different approaches to the occurrence of learning, there are also studies to categorize basic types of learning that classification is mainly identified in terms of organization of the body of the knowledge learned and the primacy of teacher (Livingstone, 2001). Three main categories of learning that commonly accepted by researchers are formal, nonformal and informal learning. Schugurensky (2006) summarizes main characteristics of these types of learning with the following words briefly:

if formal education refers to the institutional ladder that goes from preschool to graduate studies, and nonformal education refers to any organized educational activity that takes place outside the formal education system (eg. short courses, workshops, professional development, etc.), then informal learning often becomes a loose category that encompasses 'anything else' that is not included in the previous two (p. 163).

In spite of the fact that learning has begun outside of organizational institutions and without teachers and, organized educational activities started with the birth of humankind, studies related to formal learning take a major part in education literature where nonformal education and informal learning studies are relatively new. However, literature related to learning nonformally and informally has been developing for several decades as well, especially due to understanding the importance of learning that spans over people's lives.

While formal education and learning are directly related to organized educational activities, highly hierarchic, and based on the authority of teacher and pre-established curriculum; nonformal education and nonformal learning seem to be more flexible than formal learning but they also refer organized educational programs outside formal school system. There may be teachers or instructors or facilitators and prescribed curriculum in nonformal education and learning as well. However, nonformal education does not generally demand prerequisites like formal education, but it can offer some types of certification similar with formal one. In addition to formal and nonformal learning, there is also informal learning that takes place outside the curricula of institution and organization, and may occur without teacher (Schugurensky, 2006; Livingstone, 2001). Nonformal and informal learning are subjects that are mainly related to the field of adult learning, where also experiences of children encompass these two types of learning. Since informal learning is not generally related to organized educational activities and apparent instruction, conceptual usage of the term informal learning instead of informal education seems an appropriate way of preventing conceptual confusion.

Nonformal and informal learning experiences of people has gained more value especially since the last quarter of twentieth century with the rising of the

interest into adult learning as a result of developments and new directions in economy, politics, technology, and culture. Increasing interest to nonformal and informal types of learning are directly related to global era and neoliberal economic politics of the nearly last thirty years. Two concepts, lifelong learning and learning society, especially which directly indicate those directly mark nonformal and informal learning experiences of people are redefined in the globalization era and new insights are included in widespread usage of these concepts. Schugurensky (2003) summarizes these developments as follows: “In the historical development of the concept of a learning society, with a focus on the late twentieth century, the progressive humanist tradition of the 1960s and 1970s is contrasted with the neoliberal approach of the 1990s” (p.1).

Although concepts of lifelong learning and learning society are not new, the frequency of referring these terms has definitely been increased in the last quarters of the previous century. Today the usage of these concepts are attached to market-centered and vocationally oriented conception of education in neoliberal approach while referring these concepts were attached with the lack of formal schooling, self realization of people themselves in social, cultural, economic, and political life, in the humanist tradition of the years 1960’s and 1970’s. However neoliberal approach considers lifelong learning and learning society concepts on the base of production efficiency, flexibility, adaptability, competitiveness, enterprising and other concepts related to global market dynamics (Schugurensky, 2003). Transition from the humanist tradition to the neoliberal approach has brought significant changes in the widespread perception of nonformal and informal learning as well.

Numbers of nonformal education activities are widespread around the world in recent years. Even though some providers have been well known places for

nonformal education activities for a long time, providers of these types of activities have diversified and numbers of them have increased in recent years. Non Governmental Organizations (NGO's), companies, municipalities, universities etc. are increasingly providing nonformal educational activities in current years. At the same time it is seen that, all these providers pay more attention to vocational courses which some of these areas offer social and cultural educational activities as well.

Informal learning spans over the life and forms the main part of total learning experiences of people during their lives. For instance, Canadian adults learn informally an average of 15 hours per a week. Informal learning of people is directly related to the experiences of people, which can be combined with employment, community, household works, interests etc. in their lives (Livingstone, 2000).

Nonformal and informal learning experiences are important since these give a chance to adults in terms of acquiring knowledge, skills, and abilities in various aspects of their life, beside and outside of their formal school experiences. The neoliberal approach perceives all types of adult learning in the way of global economic competitiveness project, and tries to shape learning concepts on the base of efficiency, flexibility, adaptability, and market dynamics. On the other hand, despite the hegemony of neoliberal approach to adult learning, there are some spaces and areas that adults gain new skills and abilities to facilitate their lives, to raise awareness of economic, political, cultural system which they live in and to know their rights. Social movements are one of these areas which effects of global neoliberal politics are significant factors in the occurrence of these movements.

Globalization era shaped by the neoliberal economy politics has not only brought the new perceptions to the learning concept, but it also restructured all economic, political, social, and cultural areas in each country. Health and education

and similar services that were considered as public rights in the previous form of the capitalism have begun to be redefined in the new globalized era. Privatization has been the main popular discourse while national economy politics have generally become depended on transnational/international corporations. Power and effects of transnational monopolies and companies have increased especially in developing countries that have depended on international organizations. Dependency policies and commodification and marketisation of social, cultural, environmental etc. areas have caused the rising of inequalities among countries and also people in each country.

One main aspect of neoliberal economy politics have been on environmental politics, where environment is commodified in the expense of threatening health and lives of people and destroying the nature. The national laws that have been changed in order to integration to the globalization period have brought the commodification of forests, mountains and opened these places to commercial operations of transnational, international and national monopolies. According to the Balta (1999) globalization turns the South into the object of North by dependency policies in environmental issues as well. This situation has been also valid in Turkey. As a consequence of national environmental politics under the pressure of international organizations, some laws have been changed through the integration process to neoliberal economy politics. Through these changes, monopolies and their sub companies gained important privileges that they can do harmful commercial actions which threaten both environment and health of people especially those who live nearby in action fields in Turkey. One can observe different aspects of these politics in different environmental topics. For example, many districts, forests, mountains, have been opened to operations of mining enterprises by the new mining law that

was accepted in the National Assembly of Turkey, in June 5, 2004, on the World Environment Day. Nowadays there are many districts all around the country and especially they are given permission for gold mining, in the expense of threatening the environment, health and the lives of people.

However, people have begun to be organized and raise their voices against the negative and destructive economic politics of globalization over themselves and environment. People that have suffered from these political economies are united in political parties, unions, civic local initiations and NGOs and have initiated social movements to oppose neoliberal economic politics, and transnational, international, national monopolies and companies to protect their rights, lives, environment, and futures. Social movements are important in many ways where these are “universally understood by political scientists, sociologists and specific social movement scholars as powerful instruments of social, institutional and political change” (Hall and et. al., 2006). Important results of these movements can be seen especially in South America where that governments of many countries in this region, for instance Venezuela, Argentina, Nicaragua, Ecuador, were forced to have to change their neoliberal policies as a result of social movements.

Increase in the number of social movements and the amount of importance against the global politics, have also affected academic studies. As a consequence of this situation many researchers from different disciplines, explored different dimensions of social movements, during the last several decades. Particularly since the years of 1990's, there has been a proliferation of research and writing on social movements (Snow, Soule and Kriesi, 2004).

As consequences of neoliberal politics, environmental social movements have been one of the most occurred types of social movements. Due to negative

effects of global neoliberal economy politics over environment, people are initiating social movements all around the world as well as in Turkey. One of the most known environmental movements in Turkey is the Bergama movement that were initiated by activists and villagers around Bergama at the early years of 1990's and still continues weakly. The Bergama movement has affected other social movements especially movements in the environmental issues. One of the big transnational mining corporations' gold mining operations with using cyanide has been the fundamental reason behind of the Bergama movement. People initiated the social movement due to the fear of dying or being thrown out from their place at first, and the harms of mining to agriculture which is the basic income source of those people (Balta, 1999).

Kaz (İda) Mountains environmental social movement has been one of the most popular social movements in Turkey nearly for a year. There are many multinational and national companies that carry out their mining operations in this region nowadays (Öngür, 2007) and people initiated a movement against these commercial operations and they claim that mining operations have threatened their lives and futures. Especially cutting down the trees to open new paths for mining region in the village of Bahçedere which it is a part of the town of Küçükkuyu in the city of Çanakkale, have rised up this movement and people have begun to be organized around Kaz Mountains Preservation Initiative. Until today, this Initiative and other environment platforms have organized many activities, such as meetings, demonstrations, conferences, visitings etc. to bring up the issue and to make their voice heard by the public.

Since social movements have been the collective voice of people and powerful instrument of the change in different ways, they have also been one of the most important learning places for adults (Foley, 1999; Clover and Hall, 2000; Hall

and et. al., 2006; Finger, 1989; Welton, 1993). Social movements are important informal learning areas for both participants and nonparticipants, organized (nonformal) learning experiences also take significant part of learning in social movements as well. The content of learning in social movements;

may be technical (about how to do a particular task), it may be social, cultural, and political (about how people relate to each other in a particular situation or about what their actual core values are or about who has power and how they use it) (Foley, 2001, p. 71).

Leloğlu (2001) explored the specifications of environmental educational activities in the Bergama environmental social movement. As a result of the study she expresses that all interviewed people have some knowledge about cyanide and environmental problems and pollution as a consequence of gold mining through using cyanide. Leloğlu (2001) states that educational processes generated knowledge in the movement, and learning experiences of participants as a result of meetings and panels, visiting to other districts for experiential learning, and by mass communication tools as films, television, newspapers, and books. Leloğlu (2001) also emphasizes that another important result of the study were changes in the behaviors of people that participated in the Bergama social movement. Despite the fact that this study introduces important results associated with learning dimension of social movements, Leloğlu (2001) did not consider environmental problems and occurrence of the movement against to these problems in the frame of global political economies. On the other hand, effects of global economy politics learning concept in general, and how social movements generate counter conception of learning against to neoliberal approach are not discussed in the study as well.

However, concerning the importance of nonformal and informal learning experiences of adults in social movements are so important, there is a need for further investigations in the field of adult education. Old tradition in the field of adult

learning was giving importance to learning related to socio-cultural development and self realization of people in different paths. On the other hand, valuing learning mainly on vocational and market oriented issues has become new trend since the hegemony of neoliberal approach to the field. This situation makes learning experiences of adults in social movements more important, since people inside movements criticize political economic system that they live in. They get important skills and abilities that are directly related to their lives, and they get awareness of importance of protecting their environment, rights and, solidarity to cope with problems those threaten themselves commonly. All these properties of learning experiences make movements important areas for learning since that can present counter conception and perception of learning in the way of neoliberal political economy.

Statement of the Purpose

The purpose of this study is to investigate learning experiences of adults and sources and places of these experiences in social movements, and reasons for adults' participating in social movements and changes than occur on people due to this practice. In order to reach these purposes, the study will explore answers for the following questions in the case of Kaz Mountains Environmental Social Movement:

- 1) Why do adults participate in environmental social movements?
- 2) What do adults learn in social movements?
- 3) What are the sources of learning experiences of adults in social movements?
- 4) What changes occur on people due to participating in social movements?

Significance of the Study

This study may identify valuable learning experiences which can occur in social movements that are directly related to adults' lives and their futures. These learning experiences of adults in social movements could enrich the related literature in Turkey and assess the future studies about adult learning in different types of social movements. On the other hand such a study might show that learning experiences in social movements would challenge the perceptions of valued adult learning in the globalized era.

CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW

In this chapter literature review of the study will be presented. Related literature to adult learning, social movements, globalization and social movement learning will take part in this chapter.

Adult Learning

When does the learning start and end? The answer to this question is clear today: Learning begins with the birth of the person and it continues over her/his life through in many ways. Children begin to learn when they are born and continue to learn on the base of different life experiences in their lives.

The concept of learning has been one of the mostly used and popular concepts of our time especially since the last period of the twentieth century. In the lifespan of the person, the majority of learning occurs outside the formal settings of education. People learn outside the formal education, sometimes spontaneously, sometimes by intentionally (Okçabol, 2006). Formal education encloses education of children in general and out of formal schooling is considered in the frames of adult education usually. Nevertheless, education of adults has been carried out similar with the education of children for long years. However, expansion of studies in different disciplines of science in the previous century has provided awareness of difference between education and learning of children and of adults. Formal, nonformal and, informal learning are three main categories commonly accepted as learning types by researchers. In the next section, these categories will be described.

Formal Education and Learning

Livingstone (2001) classifies basic types of learning in terms of the organization of the body of knowledge to be learned and the primacy of teachers. Livingstone (2001) identifies learning formally;

When a teacher has the authority to determine that people designated as requiring knowledge effectively learn a curriculum taken from a pre-established body of knowledge and it does not matter, if it is in the form of age-graded and bureaucratic modern school systems or elders initiating youths into traditional bodies of knowledge (p.2).

In the same way, Mocker and Spear (1982) tell that learner has little control over the process through formal type of learning, and the decisions for “what will be learned” and “how it will occur” is not made by the learner. They give an example of learning in a lot of elementary and secondary schools, many forms of college and university degree programs, and military training as an example for formal learning experiences of people. Additionally Schugurensky (2000) states that formal education refers to “the institutional ladder that goes from preschool to graduate studies” and lists following features for this type of education:

- a) it is highly institutionalized;
- b) it includes a period called ‘basic education’ (which varies from country to country, and usually ranges from 6 to 12 years) which is compulsory, implements a prescribed curriculum --approved by the state- with explicit goals and evaluation mechanisms, hires certified teachers, and institutional activities are highly regulated by the state.
- c) it is propaedeutic in nature (in the sense that each level prepares learners for the next one, and that to enter into a certain level it is a prerequisite to satisfactorily complete the previous level)
- d) it is a hierarchical system, usually with ministries of education at the top and students at the bottom.
- e) at the end of each level and grade, graduates are granted a diploma or certificate that allows them to be accepted into the next grade or level, or into the formal labor market.

Okçabol (2006) classifies learning in terms of intention of both learner and teacher about learning. He states if both the learner and teacher participate in teaching-

learning activity intentionally and if the learning takes place in the school, this type of learning is considered to be formal learning (Okçabol, 2006).

Nonformal Education and Learning

Livingstone (2001) states that, “When learners opt to acquire further knowledge or skill by studying voluntarily with a teacher who assists their self-determined interests by using an organized curriculum, as is the case in many adult education courses and workshops” (p.2) people learn nonformally. Additionally Schugurensky (2000) maintains that, all organized short-term and voluntary educational programs outside the formal school system are considered as nonformal education, and is usually concentrated to adults. Moreover, Mocker and Spear (1982) indicate another dimension of this type of learning, and tell that, learner decides “what is to be learned” in this type of learning. Nevertheless, learner does not decide “how the learning occurs” according to them. Mocker and Spear (1982) state that individual has partial control over the method of learning in this type. What’s more, to Okçabol (2006), if both learner and teacher do participate in teaching-learning activity by intentionally and if learning occurs outside of the school, everywhere, it is named nonformal education.

Informal Learning

Informal learning engages researchers’ attention more in recent years. Some researchers considered informal learning as an inclusive term that consists of learning types as self directed, incidental etc. Nevertheless, several researchers

regard it as informal learning different from self directed or incidental learning and classify these types of learning in different categories.

For example Livingstone (2001) refers some differences between informal education or training and self-directed or collective informal learning. To Livingstone (2001), informal education or training occurs, if teachers or mentors instruct others without sustained reference to an intentionally-organized body of knowledge in more incidental and spontaneous learning situations. He suggests guiding adults in acquiring job skills or in community development activities like an experience. All the same, Livingstone (2001) considers all other forms of learning that occurs individually or collectively without direct reliance on a teacher or an externally-organized curriculum with the terms of self directed or collective informal learning. According to him, informal training distinguished from self directed informal learning only by the presence of some forms of institutionally- recognized instructor and the concept of informal learning comprised both previous two using (Livingstone, 2001). Okçabol (2006) classifies informal and incidental learning seperately as well. He suggests informal learning arises when one of the teacher or learner behave unintentionally. Even so, if the learning occurs out of intention of both teacher and learner, then incidental learning occurs (Okçabol, 2006).

Livingstone (2001, p.2) summarizes his classification of learning as in the following table (Table 1). However, he calls attention that drawing boundaries between these four types of learning can be very difficult.

Table 1: Livingstone’s (2001) classification of learning

		Primary Agency	
		Learner(s)	Teacher(s)
Knowledge Structure	Pre-Established	Non-formal education Further education	Formal Schooling Elders' teachings
	Situational	Self-directed learning Collective learning	Informal Education Informal Training

In addition to classifications of Livingstone (2001) and Okçabol (2006), Mocker and Spear (1982) assert that informal learning occurs, if the learner has control over “how the learning occurs”, but not over “what is to be learned.” Similarly, they classify self directed learning as a distinct category, that they tell it happens if an individual makes all the decisions over “how the learning occurs” and “what is to be learned” (Mocker and Spear, 1982). Schugurensky (2000) identifies informal learning as a residual category of nonformal learning and states that if anything is neither formal nor nonformal then it is informal. He deliberately uses the term informal learning and not informal education, since informal learning does not need educational institutions, institutionally authorized instructors or prescribed curricula. Schugurensky (2000) considers that informal learning consists of sub categories as self-directed learning, incidental learning and socialization and these different types of learning can be categorized on the base of criteria “intentionality and consciousness.” This classification is seen in the Table 2.

Table 2: Schugurensky's (2000) classification of informal learning

Form	Intentionality	Awareness (at the time of learning experience)
Self-directed	Yes	yes
Incidental	No	yes
Socialization	No	no

Schugurensky (2000) emphasizes, self-directed learning is both intentional and conscious, incidental learning is unintentional but conscious, and socialization also referring to tacit learning is unintentional and unconscious. He exemplifies these three types of learning in local politics as followed:

A group of neighbors wants to get their street paved, and then set out to learn collectively the different steps that they must take to influence municipal decision-making, reading documents, talking with councilors, meeting with leaders of other neighborhoods, etc. is self-directed learning. On the other hand, a group of neighbors participate in local democracy, and through this process they learn about municipal politics; although they didn't join the process with a learning objective in mind, they realize that they have gained new skills and knowledge that allow them to participate more effectively in democratic deliberation and decision-making is incidental learning. An the lastly, residents attend regular neighbourhood meetings in which the professional politician listens to demands and promises favor in exchange for votes; after many years of these practices, the culture of clientelism is rooted in both politicians and residents, but it is so ingrained in everyday practice that people assume that such is the only natural way to do politics is socialization or tacit learning.

Many researchers draw attention that informal learning experiences of people are little explored when it is compared with nonformal and formal learning experiences. Livingstone (2001) tells that, "it is clear that both adults' informal education/training and their self-directed informal learning have been relatively little explored to date and warrant much fuller attention from those interested in comprehending the nature and extent of adult learning" (p.4). Additionally, Foley (1999) marks the same issue,

with the critics of adult educators that “their time is taken up with teaching, curriculum development, administration, and, increasingly, with obtaining resources to keep programmes afloat” (p.45) and tells that they have paid little attention to informal learning experiences of adults.

Schugurensky (2000), states that learning informally can take place in any space; such as the workplace, the family, a religious institution, the community; it can occur at any age where many of this type of learning can occur individually or in a group of situations. Furthermore, he emphasizes that “Learners can use a variety of sources for their learning, including books, newspapers, TV, the internet, museums, schools, universities, friends, relatives, their own experience, etc” (Schugurensky, 2000, p.6).

Social Movements and Globalization

For nearly 30 years, era that we live in is identified by the terms of, “knowledge era, information era, learning era, and technology era” and also with other similar terms. All these terms mark the importance and popularity of the learning in this era, where using concepts of lifelong learning and learning society often can be seen as the main indicators for this situation.

Despite the fact that using lifelong learning and learning society concepts has been popular in recent years, this does not mean they are new concepts.

Schugurensky (2003) states;

Although much talk abounds today about the learning society, this is neither a new reality nor an original concept. Throughout history, all human societies have developed a variety of ways to manage, organize, and enable learning among their members within and outside educational institutions (p.1).

Beside the concept of learning society;

Lifelong learning, or its earlier version, 'lifelong education', has, for many years, been part of the popular rhetoric surrounding education, with the term being banded about by governments, international organizations, educationists and politicians so that a trendy flavour is given to their views on educational matters (Borg and Mayo, 2005, p. 204).

These two concepts, learning society and lifelong learning, particularly occurred in the literature of education during the years of 1960s and 1970s. Intellectual climate of these years, social movements and especially students movements all around the world, and the challenges and criticisms of formal education institutions and schools were the main factors that advanced the usage of these concepts in the literature of education (Borg and Mayo, 2005; Schugurensky, 2003). Hake (1999) states that,

The unanimous and almost unopposed return of 'lifelong learning' to the policy agenda in the late 1990s justifies to question as to 'Why now?' We need to pose here the question as to the emergence of lifelong learning in post-industrial society. This demands an analysis of the dynamics of what is now generally accepted in the literature as 'late modern society' (p.80).

Popularity of these two concepts in recent years really marks the diversity and density of learning experiences over the lives of people especially due to fast and advanced developments in technology. Since the birth of humankind, learning needs and experiences are diversified in such a level that what people learn and need today are not the same as a hundred, even ten years ago. On the other hand, this popularity definitely related to political economy of the era that we live in as well. Today, concepts of lifelong learning and learning society are dressing up new clothes on the base of changes in economy and politics in the global era that was shaped by neoliberalism. Liberal, humanistic and radical understanding of the concept of learning society in the years of 60s and 70s has gained new insights "during the 1990s as a part of the neoliberal discourse on privatization, the neoconservative discourse on individual responsibility and the retrenchment of the welfare state from

public education” (Field 2001; cited in Schugurensky, 2003). Similar changes occurred for the concept of lifelong learning. For instance, the study by Lengrand in 1970, namely “An Introduction to Lifelong Education” published by UNESCO reflects the conception of the learning in these years. Lengrand (1970), states that;

Education was not about ‘having’ but about ‘being’, and that it should be synonymous with culture and not an asset to be gained. From this standpoint of self-realization, the true subject matter of education is to assist learners in ‘becoming’ at each different stage and in varying circumstances of their lives (Cited in Schugurensky, 2003, p. 2).

The movement of writers on lifelong education and learning society associated with UNESCO and humanist tradition seemed to have died out in the late 1980s and at the beginning of 1990s (Borg and Mayo, 2005; Schugurensky, 2003). On the other hand, re-emergence of these concepts with new dresses, “has to be seen against the backdrop of a world economic system characterized by the intensification of globalization and the emergence of the neo-liberal ideology” (Borg and Mayo, 2005, p. 208). Lifelong learning has become to get different content and it has been alienated from its philosophical roots and turned to be taken part by economic content since these years. Globalization era and making dependent educational and cultural process to capital has an important impact on the occurrence of this situation (Okçabol, 2006). Okçabol (2006) emphasizes that “Anymore, in using of this concept there is a privilege of increasing production and earning instead of privilege of human” (p, 22). All social exchanges should be regulated by the market according to the neoliberal discourse and “it tends to conceive learners only as producers and consumers, with little concern for their role as active, critical and informed citizens” where the concept of learning society based on (Martin, 2000; Cited in Schugurensky, 2003, p.4). To Hake (1999);

Changes in employment practices lead toward the flexibilization of employment with fixed-term contracts, part-time work, and reduced rights to training. This generates an emphasis on employability, which is predicated upon the willingness of employees to accept individual responsibility for investing in education and training. They are increasingly expected to do this on their own time and at their own cost” (p, 84).

Due to lifelong learning and learning society concepts underlines learning and pedagogy that occur outside the domains of formal learning institutions in general (Borg and Mayo, 2005), changes in the conception of these concepts have included new insights to adult education and learning as well.

While learning is shaped on the base of neoliberal political economies in the globalization era, effects of these policies on people also created counter for adult learning. Many social movements around the world have occurred as results of effects of global, neoliberal politics on people in recent years. Social movements are one of the important issues of the last years which take the interest of researchers as well, especially in the different branches of social sciences as sociology, politics, psychology, and also education. Social movements are important sites for nonformal and informal learning experiences of adults where learning experiences in social movements create knowledge that challenge neoliberal economy politics as well.

One can find different definitions of social movements in the literature, where all of them enclose some common points. It will be nice to start defining the social movement with a poem by Marge Piercy namely “What is a Social Movement?” “It goes on one at a time/ It starts when you care/ To act, it starts when you do it again after/ They said no/ It starts when you say we and know what/ You mean, and each/ Day you mean one more” (Cited in Hall and et. all, 2006, p.6).

Walters (2005), South African scholar and activist over the past twenty-seven years, says that social movements are voluntary associations of people and organizations within civil society, which “rise and fall in response to particular

social, economic, ideological, and political changes and issues often driven by the state or the market” (p,54). For Boggs (1986), social movements are part of attempts to secure genuine democracy, social equality, and peaceful international relations in the history against the imperatives of exploitation and domination (Cited in Brandenburg, 1997, p. 6). Snow, Soule and Kriesi (2004) indicate that social movements as social forms where collectivities give voice to their grievances and concerns about the rights, welfare, and well-being of themselves and others. According to them people engage in various types of collective action that dramatize their grievances and concerns and demand that something to be done about them. Hall and his colleagues (2006), summarize their thoughts about social movements as, despite all their diversity, range of political intension and locations, social movements are people “working together to make a change in the communities, the regions, the nations or the worlds they inhabit” (p.5).

Social movements are defined by different scholars in different ways and all definitions have some common points as it is seen. After the analyzing enormous variety of European and North American literature, Porta and Diani (1999) state that, most of social movement scholars share mainly the following four characteristics of movements: “informal interaction networks; ... shared beliefs and solidarity; ... collective action focusing on conflict; ... use of protest” (Cited in Hall and et al, 2006, p.6). Furthermore, Snow, Soule and Kriesi (2004) included three or more of the following axes are the bases of social movements: “collective or joint action; changed oriented goals or claims; some extra or non-institutional collective action; some degree of organization; and some degree of temporal continuity” (p.6). Besides, Welton (1993) indicates that collective identity, an antagonistic relation to

an opposed group and a normative orientation are the main characteristics of social movements.

Cain (1998) emphasizes that social movements shape values, beliefs, legislation and, institutions, and they play a crucial role in the contemporary society. According to Walters (2005), “people prepare for change or resistance to it by challenging or confirming the ways in which they think and feel and act politically. Their moral or counterhegemonic work may become the common sense of an era” (p.55) due to participating in social movements. Importance of these dimensions of social movements makes the issue popular also among researchers, where we can see this situation in the way of proliferation of research and writing on social movements during the past several decades, and particularly during the 1990’s (Snow, Soule and Kriesi, 2004).

There are many theories related to social movements especially in the field of sociology, those try to explain, especially why and how social movements occur. Brandenburg (1997) states, “the study of revolution, social movements and various forms of collective action is about two hundred years old- the ideological sources of social movements however are somewhat older” (p,23). According to many social movement scholars, Karl Marx and J.J.Rousseau are two important and most influential ideologists in the field of socio-political movements. Additionally, Brandenburg (1997) emphasizes that from 1850 to 1968 Marxist theories dominated the field, where functionalist theories rose up to share the stage from 1950. To Walters (2005)

Social movements have a long history around the world, for example, within anticolonial struggles, among peasants and workers, the urban poor, black people, and women. Oppressed and exploited people have fought back against their harsh material realities through collective organizing. Many social movements have historically organized around class-related issues (p.54).

Negative and destructive political economy of globalization over people and environment, increased the number of social movements in recent years, where people have begun to be organized and rise their voices through these movements. People who are unhappy with the consequences of economic politics of globalization united in political parties, unions, civic local initiations, and NGO's to oppose neoliberal political economy, transnational, international, national monopolies and companies to protect their rights, lives, environment, and futures.

Neoliberal policies which are seen in the entire world since the 1970s showed its effects especially after the years of 1980s in Turkey. Two important events in 1980, new economic decisions in January 24, and Military Coup D'etat in September 12, have been cornerstones of this process. January decisions were the structural economic transformation programme that was starting point of the application of neoliberal policies and it was seen the remedy to overcome the worldwide crisis in the years of 1970s. Then, the military took the power in September 12 and destroyed opposite movements to these policies, and began to implement neoliberal economy policies easily.

One main effect of the global era both around the world and in Turkey has been in terms of environmental politics. Capitalist globalization era has an important impact on the increasing of environmental problems and social movements against to these problems. Clover (2005) emphasizes that both human value and the value of the rest of nature are depended to the values of a world market that perceives everything as a commodity through the globalization era. In the same way, Magdoff (2002) tells;

Pollution of water, air, and soil are natural byproducts of production systems organized for the single goal of making profits. Under the logic of capitalist production and exchange, there is no inherent mechanism to

encourage or force industry to find methods that have minimal impact on the environment (p.1).

According to Clover (2005) globalization era has created massive ecological imbalances of unprecedented proportion since it has increased competition, production, marketing, privatization, and deregulation.

Dealing with environmental problems was regarded as the interest of people who are well educated and with higher income status for long years (Cited in Leloğlu, 2001). On the other hand, all around the world, both in developing and developed countries there are local environmental social movements which encompass people from each socio economic status and deal with environmental problems threatening their lives, incomes, and settlements etc. in recent years. People began to come together and form environmental social actions against to big corporations, all around the world, which threaten their lives and close environment especially since the years of 1990's. To Hill (2003);

Globalization processes have generated considerable concern within the environmental justice movement. Many of the institutions and apparatuses of globalization, including transnational corporations and multilateral financial groups such as the World Bank (WB), the International Monetary Fund (IMF), and the World Trade Organization (WTO) have been accused of fostering ecologically and socially destructive development in less technologically developed countries (p.33).

Balta (1999) states that, globalization turns the South into the object of North by dependency policies in environmental issues as well. According to her, since the globalization affects environment in the way of exporting unhealthy technologies to the South, environmental movements those occurred in the years of 1990's directly or indirectly challenge this dimension of globalization. Balta (1999) draws attention that,

This development also shows the transition from environmental movements of the years of 1960s, that was a type of new social movement form and

moved on the base of ‘protection of nature’ theme, to environmental grassroots environmentalism of poor world where these movements have based on ‘protection of human’ and ‘environmental justice’ themes (p.46).

Effects of globalism on environmental politics and costs can be clearly seen in the field of mining. In the globalization era, new mining laws have come up, and these changes enabled the access of the foreign capital and multinational companies to mining sources of countries, where these are especially developing countries. More than 130 countries have adopted new mining laws since the years of 1980s when the main popular discourse of global politics have been the privatization of public mining sector and providing many privileges for companies in this process (Tamzok, 2003; Öngür, 2007a).

The most important change in the field of mining in Turkey has been in the 2004, ironically on the World Environment Day, June 5, through the changing of the mining law. This new law, namely, “Mining Law and the Law for making Change in Other Laws” have brought changes for ten different laws as well and provided important priorities to multinational companies for mining and prepared the way of huge damages to nature and environment. Forests, national parks, special keeping districts, natural and cultural protected areas, tourism districts, water field and some other districts are opened for mining with this law (Cangi, 2006). The government of Turkey aimed to abolish all obstacles for mining operations by the new law in 2004, where the law consisted of also taking out mining operations out of environmental effect evaluations reports. Nowadays there are many commercial mining operation districts all around the country where especially gold mining actions continue in the expense of threatening the environment, health and the lives of people.

Increased harmful effects of the global capitalist politics on environment have given rise to environmental movements in Turkey as well. The Bergama

environmental social movement has been emerged at the beginning of the years of 1990s and has been one of the most important social movements in the history of Turkey. The fundamental reason behind this movement has been, Eurogolds', one of the big transnational mining corporations, gold mining operations through using cyanide in a region that is very close to many villages. The main factors which mobilize people who live in Bergama were the fear of dying or being thrown out from their place at first, and harms to agriculture that the basic income source for those people (Balta, 1999). This movement which still continues has come up all around the country. After stating that Bergama is the place of resistance point of people whose priorities are "the life" Cangı (2005) states that Bergama is the laboratory of the new world policy or system, what it brought and what it destroyed concretely. He describes this movement as following:

There have been many sample events and many preliminaries in this struggle. This was the sample social struggle, where this village action never has acted with violence and it has taken the interest and support of the entire world. They have conducted, sample forensic struggle and gotten sample court decisions (Cangı, 2004).

There are many environmental social movements in different regions of Turkey and all these movements are affected from the Bergama movement. Nowadays, there are different social movements opposing to mining operations all around Turkey such as in Uşak, İzmir, Artvin, Balıkesir, and Çanakkale (Cangı, 2007). Kaz Mountains Environmental Social Movement is one of the movements that are affected from the Bergama movement and popular actual social movement around Turkey, nearly for a year. This movement especially has lifted its' effect after the establishment of the Kaz Mountains Preservation Initiative. This group was formed after the beginning of mining operations through cutting down trees in one of the closer villages, Bahçedere, in Küçükkuyu and after this situation was figured in the press. By the

establishment of the Initiative through enclosing people from all parts of the society, activists have begun to explore the details of the gold mining operations in the region and have formed relationships with other environmental groups that especially run activities in closer regions. Through the leadership of this group and other platforms there have been many information meetings, panels, demonstrations, and other activities in the Kaz Mountains region to stop mining operations. One of the most effective activities of these groups in the region was the panel in October 6, 2008 in Küçükkuyu which more than one thousand of people participated. This meeting has been one of the cornerstones of shaping of the movement in the region, and after this meeting, activities related to opposing mining operations in the region has been accelerated. Another important activity in the Kaz Mountains region to make people voices' heard was the big central demonstration in Çanakkale, which nearly 20.000 people participated in this demonstration. Furthermore, coming together of seventeen municipalities in Çanakkele and Balıkesir and the establishment of the "The Unions of Municipalities Kaz Mountains and Madra Mountains" in November, 2007 against to gold mining operations along these two mountains have been important milestones in the chronology of the struggle. Kaz Mountains Preservation Initiative continues its' activities in the region through collaborating with many other groups as Çanakkale Environment Platform, Aegean Environment Platform, South Marmara Environment Foundation, and Kaz Mountains and Madra Mountains Platform.

Social Movements and Adult Learning

Many researchers in the field of adult education state that social movements are one of the most important learning sites for adults (Foley, 1999; Clover and Hall, 2000; Hall and et. al., 2006; Finger, 1989; Welton, 1993). Even though nonformal and

informal experiences of adults in social movements are very important, it has not been much investigated yet. Social movement learning is a concept that is relatively new in the education literature and research (Rogers, 2006). However, learning in social movements is one of the issues that catches adult education scholar's interest in the field, in recent years. In the 2005 International Encyclopedia of Adult Education, the index containing several hundred references to adult learning associated with social movements (Hall et. all, 2006). Holford (1995) asks the question of "why the notion of social movement has had so limited an impact on adult education theory" and answers this question mainly by two ideas. He suggests that, "social movement theory has until recently evolved outside the sociology of knowledge and that this has limited its interface with adult education discourse" and "adult education's own decline as a movement has deflected attention away from the theoretical significance of social movements in adult education" (Holford, 1995, p.96). Eyerman and Jamieson (1991) clarify this situation with the claim that sociology of social movements focuses on what movements do and how they do it and not on what its members think, and missing something fundamental. They state knowledge is seen to be largely outside the sociologists' areas of competence (Cited in Hall et. all, 2006).

Foley (1999) emphasizes that "some of the most powerful learning occurs as people against to oppression, as they struggle to make sense of what is happening to them and to work out ways of doing something about it" (p.2). According to Crowther and Shaw (1997) social movements are "explicitly educational and contribute to the creation of a critically informed public through the dissemination of ideas, values and beliefs which are in opposition to the status quo" (p.267) and these dimensions of movements makes them important sites for adult educators. They

emphasize that social movements provide sources for significant and sustained collective learning experiences, and the individual experiences. Additionally, Eyerman and Jamieson give a central and creative role of learning processes in social movements and they use the term “cognitive praxis” to describe social movement learning. They refer to “the creative role of consciousness and cognition on all human action, individual and collective” through the usage of the term cognitive praxis (Cited in Hall et. all, 2006). Speech of R. H. Tawny in the Fiftieth Anniversary of the English Worker’s Education Association in 1953, took the cares to significant relationships between social movements and education as well. Tawny tells that “All serious educational movements in England have also been social movements” (Cited in Clover and Hall, 2000, p.3). Moreover Brandenburg (1997) asserts that education can be both determinants to mobilize people participating in social movements and key strategy into strength their membership or promote collective action for social movements. To Kilgore (1999), understanding learning in social movements needs not only a concept of the group as a learner and constructor of knowledge, understanding of the centrality of the group’s vision of social justice that drives it to act in the larger social, economic, and political field of meaning making is critical to look social movement learning as well. Kilgore (1999) emphasizes “A vision of social justice and the means to achieve it are primary components of learning in social movements” (p.200).

Beside learning experiences of people who are active participants of social movements, some researchers draw attention to, learning that takes place by people who are not directly participating as members of a given social movement (Hall et al, 2006). To Clover and Hall (2000), “social movement learning refers to: a) learning by persons who are part of any social movement; and b) learning by persons outside

of a social movement as a result of the actions taken or simply by the existence of social movements.”

To Walters (2005), knowledge is produced through debates over meeting agendas, the planning of meetings, campaigns and demonstrations, and exchanges over strategies and tactics in social movements. Finger (1989) thinks that experiential learning, learning through consternation, holistic learning, and identity learning are emerging from social movements. Cain (1998) states that social movements include, “learning technical information, skills, how interest operate in society and identity” (p.46) and participants also change their attitudes, beliefs and values due to participating in social movements. Additionally Foley (2001:71) states that, the content of learning in social movements; “may be technical (about how to do a particular task), it may be social, cultural, and political (about how people relate to each other in a particular situation or about what their actual core values are or about who has power and how they use it)” (p.71).

To Hill (2003), environmental popular education is a key element in the environmental movements and most often takes place where there are environmental dilemmas. He states this type of education is based on experiences of the people and results in the local creation of meaning through the aim of transforming unacceptable conditions in people’s lives. Besides, Stromquist (2002) states that;

Environmental justice education is employed in several ways in the debate on globalization, including to increase people’s awareness of the impacts of globalization on everyday life, and to highlight ways to remediate the negative impacts of globalization on education itself (Cited in Hill, 2003, p.33).

Hill (2003) asserts that adult education play a primary role in building environmental democracies where it is achieved through principles of environmental

protection, human rights, social justice, participatory decision making, and active citizenship.

Related Studies to Social Movement Learning

Qualitative case study is one of the mostly used research methodology to explore learning experience of people in social movements, that provides investigating movements in detail, through caring various elements and detailed its' context (Rogers, 2006).

Australian scholar Foley (1999) identifies learning experiences of adults in different social movements. He examines learning in a campaign to preserve rainforest remnant in the Terenia Creek, in Australia and states that, learning of activists in this campaign were significant in two related ways, at first, in the campaign, activists acquired new skills and knowledge, and on the other hand, another dimension of learning is related to “conscientisation” and “perspective transformation” (Foley, 1999). He states that, in the way of first dimension, activists developed considerable expertise in rainforest ecology, understanding of the state, and its agents as public servants, politicians, judges, and skills in working with and acting it. Foley (1999) tells that, activists acquired understanding and skills considering the mass media, developed skills in building democratic forms of organization and taking direct action through this campaign. Furthermore, Foley (1999) states that, “the experience of the campaign challenged and significantly altered the campaigners’ understanding of the world” (p.39) respecting the conscientisation dimension of learning in social movements. He tells that activists learned they could “expertise, build new forms of organization, take action and change things” as well (Foley, 1999, p.39).

Rogers (2006) explored the learning experiences in a group, namely the Frente Civico in Defence of Casino in the Jungle in Mexico that tried to prevent the destruction of community cultural heritage site due to commercial operations of one of the transnational company. Rogers (2006) investigated the learning experiences of the Frente Civico members, citizenry of the city, including the tourists, and lastly other social movements and people who have actively supported and expertised the movement of Frente Civico. Rogers (2006) both explored non formal and informal learning experiences of the people, through using Schgurensky's informal learning classification, that informal learning encloses self-directed and incidental informal learning and socialization. Rogers (2006) stated that, people learned about movement-related issues, skills, strategies, critical analysis, and hope due to participating in this social movement. She emphasized that there was significant learning in all classified groups, where these learning experiences were organized and intentional and informal as well. Rogers (2006) summarizes the learning experiences of the participant in the movement as following:

issues were about the environment, art history, land-use laws, archaeological areas, urban development, and preservation of culture, among others; skills included forming and organizing a movement, communication, public speaking, documenting and presenting information, as well as many others; the strategies learned related to learning about effective actions and strategies by prior movements, using non-violent direct actions, learning by movement members on how and where people learn, how to engage the legal system, and how to use media; learning critical analysis involved learning how to analyze government propaganda and rhetoric and constructing counterarguments, analyzing power structures and how to shift them, analyzing current and desired forms of democracy, analyzing the reasons for their success and failures as a movement, and analyzing the interconnections between issues; hope was learned through the realizations that it is possible to confront the government and other major social powers and impact the decisions that they make, learning that there is value in becoming involved in a struggle for a just cause, and learning the value in movements working together and learning form each other (p.107-108).

Moreover, Cain (1998) described learning experiences among participants in two grassroots groups that they were trying to remove toxic and low-level radioactive waste from their neighborhood. Cain (1998) used Habermas' knowledge classification which encloses instrumental, communicative and emancipatory knowledge, to organize findings of the study. According to the findings of this study, residents of two neighborhoods learned each type of knowledge in Habermas' classification. Residents learned about the specifics of the contamination, about government and legal process, superfund legislation, and about protest and organizing strategies that are considered as technical or instrumental knowledge. To Cain (1998), one of the groups which have fewer resources, perceived different strategies than the other group members that have greater resources. Besides, Cain (1998) states that, each group learned different instrumental knowledge where these learning experiences linked to participants' class and gender position. Cain (1998) identified different types of communicative knowledge among members of the group as well. To Cain (1998) in both groups, "emancipatory learning about power included discovering system of power, how the federal and state government agencies were using their power, and what kind of power the residents could develop and wield" occurred.

Leloğlu (2001) explored the specifications of adult education activities in the Bergama environmental social movement. To Leloğlu (2001), educational quality of Bergama social movement was evaluated as powerful and adult education activities that had a significant effect on the success of this movement. Leloğlu (2001) states that all interviewed people have knowledge about cyanide and environmental problems and pollution as results of gold mining by cyanide. She emphasizes that knowledge generated through the educational activities in the

movement. Leloğlu (2001) asserts that learning experiences of participants were produced through the meetings and panels, traveling to other districts for experiential learning, and by mass communication tools such as films, television, newspapers, and books in the Bergama movement. In addition to learning experiences, Leloğlu (2001) states that there were changes in behaviors of people participating in the movement. She summarizes these changes as following: development in self-confidence, increasing in sensitivity in terms of environmental problems, decreasing in prejudices and inconfidences that had been between the people from different ethnic and belief roots before. Leloğlu (2001) adds that participation in the movement has forced the social status of the women, and provided some changes in the way of equality among women and the men. To Leloğlu (2001), knowledge that was generated through participating in the movement considered socio-economic and ecologic conditions.

Since the study of Leloğlu (2001) brings important findings considering social movement learning, it does not provide relationship between occurrence of social movements and globalization. Even as Leloğlu (2001) considers this movement as a civil disobedience of people, and does not discuss, effects of globalization on the perception and conception of adult learning and effects of social movement on learning comparatively.

Besides the study of Leloğlu (2001), there are some more studies related to the Bergama movement that they are not directly focused on educational dimensions of the movement but enclose some related issues. Balta (1999) in her study, namely “The Environmental Grassroots Movement in Bergama”, tried to categorize this grassroots movement and explored the effects of this movement on the transition of political consciousness and gender relations. Balta (1999) states that the Bergama

movement forced participants to modify behavioral patterns on political thought and gender relations. She expressed that the main motivation of people to participate in the movement was the fear of being obliged to go out from their homeland and especially women played an important role during their struggle. On the other hand, she emphasized that since women participated in the movement actively they could not stick out in the institutional spaces of the movement.

In the study of Gezgör (2001) namely *Spill Over Effect of Environmental Consciousness: The Bergama Environmental Movement in Turkey*, she declared that villagers in the movement widened their knowledge and promoted environmental sensibility. To Gezgör (2001) when the Bergama movement focused from local to national level, its concerns broadened from cyanide to the problems of nuclear power stations, human rights and democracy as well. According to Gezgör (2001), participating in the Bergama movement also brought some changes on democratization process and people were enlightened to stand up their rights and encouraged participating in the decision making process.

Kılıç (2002) investigated the characteristics of the Bergama movement in his study. In this study, it is stated that the Bergama movement was an important struggle in the ways of environmental consciousness and protection of environment. According to Kılıç (2002) actions of the citizens in Bergama had provided remaining the interest of public to environmental problems and helped the functionality of democracy.

Altunok (2000) analyzes the development and actions of the Bergama movement on the base of concepts of civil disobedience, new social movement and, ecology movements in his study. According to him, participants had begun to question modern, liberal consumption patterns, and technology, concurrently with

the expanding of participation in the movement. Altunok (2000) emphasized that active participation of the women to the movement had changed social structure of the village positively as well.

Anbarlı (1999) explores the effects of non governmental organizations to the political power in the case of the Bergama movement. According to Anbarlı (1999) major element in the Bergama movement had been the active participation of the women. Despite the fact that the Bergama movement could not affect the political power, Anbarlı (1999) emphasizes that gaining and benefits of the movement are accepted through different part of the society.

İleri (2006), in her study, “The Story of A Transition: The Organization and The Reception of the Bergama Movement”, analyzes the “how the mass media interpreted the movement and the transformation in the reflections of the media about the movement” (p.116). According to İleri (2006), the local people in Bergama began to protest mining operations in the 1995, after a period of consciousness on the dangers of gold-extraction with cyanide at the beginnings of the 1990s. She emphasized that the press aimed to reflect the movement in different ways on the base of the agenda of Turkey and tried to express the struggle to the politics of development. İleri (2006) claims that the press reduced the movement to only an environmentalist one and ignored the villagers’ struggles for their basic rights such as right to live and protection of habitation.

CHAPTER 3: METHODOLOGY

The study is a descriptive qualitative case study that explores learning experiences of adults and places of these experiences in social movements, and reasons for adults' participating in social movements and changes occurs on people due to this practice. On the base of these aims, the study will explore the answers of the following questions in the case of Kaz Mountains Environmental Social Movement.

- 1) Why do adults participate in environmental social movements?
- 2) What do adults learn in social movements?
- 3) What are the sources of learning experiences of adults in social movements?
- 4) What changes do occur on people due to participating in social movements?

In the following section, population of the study and the sample selection, development of interview form and implementation, and the analysis of data will take part.

Population and Sample Selection

Population of the study is people who have participated in the Kaz Mountains environmental social movement. Sample of the study constitutes 16 movement members 13 of which are villagers and 3 of them are activists from Kaz Mountains Preservation Initiative.

Sample of the study is selected purposefully from among both male and female participants of the Kaz Mountains Environmental Social Movement.

Participants in the movement consist of basically two groups of people. First group is the activists who initiated this movement as a part of the Kaz Mountains Preservation Initiative and the second group is villagers who are living in the villages that are close to mining region or nearby.

Two female and one male activist are initiators of Kaz Mountains Preservation Initiative are selected on the base of eligibility. During the selection of activist samples, one of the activists in the Kaz Mountains Preservation Initiative and the head of one of the villages in the region helped the researcher where the researcher met them before. In addition to these three activists, 13 villagers are selected purposefully and through snowball sampling technique from among the people who actively have participated in the movement. Researcher identified these villagers with the guidance of the same people who helped in selecting activists. According to their expressions and with the guidance of them villager samples are selected from three different villages, Bahçedere, Boztepe and the Nusratlı. After activists and the head of the village introduced villagers to the researcher, the researcher asked villagers if they want to participate in the research after presenting the aims of the study. The sample of this study is bounded with 16 participants since the researcher reached the data saturation by this number of participants.

Development of the Interview Form and Data Collection

Research data is mainly gathered through a semi-structured interview form which is implemented by the researcher to all participants in the study. In addition to data come from interviews, observations, and informal negotiations are used as a supporting data of the study as well.

In the development stage of the form, the researcher benefited from similar studies both in Turkey and in other countries. The researcher also benefited from information that acquired through informal dialogues with participants of the movement in his visiting Küçükkuyu in December, 2007. Through utilizing these studies and generating other questions, final form of the instrument is shaped. Besides demographic questions, other questions related to initial thoughts of people about the mining operations in the region, reasons for their participating in the movement, learning experiences of adults in the movement and sources of them, and changes occurred on people due to participating in the movement are asked to participants of the movement through the interview form (See APPENDIX A and APPENDIX B).

Application of Interview Forms

The researcher interviewed 16 villagers and activists who live in three different villages and in Küçükkuyu, and accepted participating in the study during two days in April 2008. The researcher carried interviews with villagers while one of the activists or head in one of the villages were present, because of contacting, with villagers is hard without such people the villagers know. Furthermore, especially to make interviewing with female villagers easier, the researcher conducted interviews with a female peer together. Face to face in-depth interviews took about between 25 minutes to 2 hours where these interviews are tape recorded by the permission of interviewees. Especially interviews with female villagers took less time when it is compared with both male and female activists and male villagers.

Furthermore, the researcher interviewed two villagers as well, but these interviews were not used in analysis since demographic characteristics of these

villagers were lacking. These villagers refused interviews at first that they told “they do not believe the meaning of it.” They were assured by the researcher later for the interviews, but getting demographic characteristics of them could not be possible.

Analysis of Data

At the first step of data analysis, tape recorded interviews are transcribed. After transcription of interviews, answers of each participant listed under the related questions and through content analysis method major and salient common themes determined for each question. After this process, responses of samples are grouped under the related themes.

CHAPTER 4: FINDINGS

Findings of the study will be summarized under the following sub headings:

demographic characteristics of participants, participating in the movement, learning in the movement, and the changes on participants that occurred due to participating in the movement.

Demographic Characteristics of Participants

Activist participants of the study are symbolized by AP and villager participants of the study are symbolized by VP to protect their identity. In each quotation, they will be presented with these symbols.

There are three activists (APs) and thirteen villagers (VPs) in sample of the study (Table 3). The first activist AP1 is a 50-year-old woman who is married and has one child. She lives there for five years and came from outside of the region. She and her husband are both educated people and is a university graduate. AP2 is a 42 - year-old woman, married and, has two children. She lives there for 12 years. She is graduated from vocational high school and she is a housewife. Her husband is an educated man. AP3 is a 43-year-old man, married and, has one child. He is from the region but he is not living in his birth place for the last 12 years. He is a university graduate and both producer and seller of olive. His wife is a housewife.

The first villager subject VP1 is a 62-year-old woman married and has one child. She lives there since she was married. She is a primary school graduate (five years) and a farmer but also she sells their harvests in places such as bazaars. Her husband is a farmer. VP2 lives there since she was born. She is a 55-year-old woman, married, and has one child. She has not attended any school and is a farmer

and producer of olive. Her husband has the same job. The third villager subject VP3 lives there for 19 years. She is 58-year-old woman, married, and has two children. She has not attended any school and is a farmer, and producer of olive. Her husband is a building crafts man. VP4 lives there since he was born. He is a 62-year-old man and is not married now, and has two children. He had attended to five-year primary school but has no diploma. He is a farmer and producer of olive. VP5 lives there since she was born. She is a 57-year-old woman, married, and has no child. She is graduated from primary school (five years) and is a farmer, and producer of olive. Her husband has the same job. The sixth villager subject VP6 is a 43-year-old man. He is a primary school graduate (five years) and a farmer, producer of olive, and also has a cafe in the village. VP7 lives there since he was born. He is a 43-year-old man and not married. He is graduated from primary school (five years) and he is head of the village and also producer of olive. VP8 lives there since he was born. He is a 62-year-old man and is married, and has two children. He is graduated from primary school and a farmer, and producer of olive. Her wife also has the same job. VP9 lives there since she was born. She is a 59-year-old woman, married, and has two children. She is graduated from primary school (five years) and a farmer, producer of olive. Her husband has same work. VP 10 lives there since he was born. He is a 72-year-old man, married, and has two children. He has not attended any school and is a farmer, and producer of olive. Her wife also has the same job. VP11 lives there since he was born. He is a 60-year-old man, married, and has one child. He is graduated from primary school (five years) and is a farmer, and producer of olive. Her wife also has the same job. VP12 lives there since he was born. He is a 61-year-old man, married, and has one child. He is graduated from primary school (five years) and a farmer, and producer of olive. Her wife also has the same job. VP13 lives there since

he was born. He is a 71-year-old man, married, and has one child. He is graduated from primary school (five years) and a farmer, and producer of olive. Her wife also has the same job.

Table 3: Demographic characteristics of the sample

Participant	Sex	Education level	Occupation	Years *	Marital Status	Children **
VP1	W	Primary School (5 years)	Olive producer	62	Married	1
AP1	W	University	Civil engineer	5	Married	1
AP2	W	Vocational High School	Housewife	12	Married	2
VP2	W	No school	Olive producer	55	Married	1
VP3	W	No school	Olive producer	19	Married	2
VP4	M	Primary School (5 years-no diploma)	Olive producer	62	Divorced	2
VP5	W	Primary School (5 years)	Olive producer	57	Married	-
VP6	M	Primary School (5 years)	Owner of coffee shop and olive producer	43	Married	***
AP3	M	University	Olive producer and manager	12	Married	1
VP7	M	Primary School (5 years)	Head of the village and olive producer	43	Single	-
VP8	M	Primary School (5 years)	Olive producer	62	Married	2
VP9	W	Primary School (5 years)	Olive producer	59	Married	2
VP10	M	No school	Olive producer	72	Married	2
VP11	M	Primary School (5 years)	Olive producer	60	Married	1
VP12	M	Primary School (5 years)	Olive producer	61	Married	1
VP13	M	Primary School (5 years)	Olive producer	71	Married	1

* shows years that participants live in their residences.

** shows number of children

*** There is no information.

Participating in the Movement

Some questions of the interview form are related to participating in the movement. Initial thoughts of participants when they first heard about gold mining operations, reasons for participating in the movement, practices of participants in the movement, their anxiety or fear due to being in the movement, and thought of participants in the way of success of the movement are asked to participants.

Initial Thoughts about Gold Mining

Interview had started with this first question: “What did you think when you first heard about gold mining operations around your environment?” The majority of the participants of the study (9 participants out of 16) stated that miners did not say they would mine gold in the region when they came the village first. Related to this issue prominence expressions as following:

VP4, [They did not tell us at first that they would mine gold. They told that they would mine silver, copper etc. Later on, they began to mention about the gold]¹.

VP8, [They did not tell at first. We learned afterward through asking questions]².

Additionally, some participants stated that, they welcomed miners at their first visit to their village. The subsequent passage is from one of the participants' expressions. VP11, [When they came at first, we conducted these people (miners) well. They all talked about positive things. They said that mine would provide job opportunities for unemployed people and this situation would provide new income for the village. They talked about there would be employees who work in the mine,

¹ “İlk bize altın demediler, gümüşmüş, bakırmış öyle dediler. Sonradan altına dönüştü iş”

² “İlk önce söylemediler, sonradan sorular sorarak öğrendik”

and they will use trucks of the villagers for transportation business as well. They said that they would provide incentives and credits to villagers to make villagers owners of trucks. They did not talk anything about the harm of mining for villagers. They brought cookies to us when they visited the village, and we welcomed them as well as you]³.

Participants stated that they confronted mining operations when they learned miners will mine gold. The majority of the participants expressed that they thought about poisoning of cyanide when they heard about gold mining operations that have started in their region. They thought that gold mining would contaminate their drinking waters that reach to the village from the mining mountains and their environment, and vegetable gardens etc. Following voices from participants' expressions: VP1, [I first thought that our water would be poisoned]⁴. VP4, [We thought that we would be poisoned by cyanide and we could not live here]⁵. AP3, [We have gardens in that location, I first thought about them. We worried about them]⁶. VP7, [I first thought about the environment. I thought that our water resources and olive gardens will be destroyed]⁷.

Expressions of participants to this question show that learning experiences have an effect on their initial thoughts. They stated that they have first realized harms of mining to their environment through asking questions to the authorities of the mine company at their visit to the village. Besides, informal conversations of

³ “İlk geldiklerinde bunlara biz iyi davrandık. İyi yönlerini söylediler. Burada işsize iş çıkacağını söylediler. Bu çevreye bir para kaynağının akacağını söylediler. Çalışan olacak, kamyon kullanılacak, onlara teşvik, kredi verilecek gibi söylentiler oldu. Ama zararlarından hiç bahsetmediler. Ya buraya gelirken, hep tatlılar filan getirdiler, hepimiz iyi davrandık onlara, size nasıl davrandıysak onlara da öyle iyi davrandık”

⁴ “İlk önce suyumuzun zehirleneceği aklıma geldi”

⁵ “Siyanürle zehirleneceğiz, burada yaşayamayacağız diye düşündük”

⁶ “O mevkide tarlalarımız var, ilk onlar aklıma geldi. Öyle bir endişe yaşadık”

⁷ “İlk düşündüğüm şey çevre oldu. Su kaynaklarımız, zeytinliklerimiz gidecek diye düşündüm”

villagers among themselves and with people from the outside of the village have provided some information about the harms of the mining with cyanide.

Reasons for Participating in the Movement

To explore the motivation of participants to participate in the movement the question of “how did you decide to participate in the movement?” is asked. According to expressions of participants, especially cost of gold mining with cyanide to their vital needs as water resources, weather and income that comes from olive and vegetable gardens, have been major reasons for their participation in the struggle. Some of the statements as following: VP2, [We have feares that our houses would be demolished and our waters, gardens and foods would be poisoned]⁸. VP3, [We have all things here. We thought that foods would be poisoned and we were frightened. These are our mountains, our slopes, and we live here]⁹. VP5, [Olive gardens are our livings, what we will do if these would be disappeared]¹⁰. VP6, [The main issue here is we are the people whose main income are olive gardens in this homeland. If you cut down these trees here, there is no income here. And so there will be no holder for us to live here]¹¹. VP12, [We participated in this struggle through thinking prospective damages]¹². VP13, [What will we leave the next generation if the weather and water

⁸ “Evlerimiz yıkılacakmış, sularımız, bahçelerimiz, yiyeceklerimiz zehirlenecekmiş diye korktuk”

⁹ “Herşeyimiz burada, yiyeceklerimiz zehirlenecek dedik, korktuk. Dağımız, bayırımız bizim, burda yaşıyoruz”

¹⁰ “Geçimliğimiz zeytinlikler, bu geçimimiz elimizden giderse ne yaparız”

¹¹ “İşin özünde, bu memlekette biz zeytincilikle geçinen insanlarız hepimiz. Sen bu zeytin ağacını da burda öldürürsen, hiç geçim kaynağı kalmıyor burda, burada bizi bağlayan bişey kalmıyor”

¹² “Gelecek zararları düşünerek, bu mücadeleye katıldık”

of this homeland removes. We are coming close to the end of our lives; we finished seventy percent of it. But what will happen to our children and their future]¹³.

Also a fear of going out their village due to mining operations is also stated as a reason for participating in the movement by some of the participants. VP4, [I do not want to leave this place, where can I go, where can I live? What will I do in the city? When we heard that this is poisonous, we said that “we will be poisoned here and can not live here”]¹⁴. Besides, one of the three activists in the sample stated that “she thought participating in the struggle is a civic duty for her.”

Participants’ Actions in the Movement

Upon the question of, “what types of actions have you done in the struggle?” is asked to the participants to explore the state of being active of participants. All three activists in the sample stated that, they have been included in the movement since the beginning. All of them have served in organizing educational activities, meetings, and demonstrations as a difference from villagers in the sample. They also have been active in the process of creating mail groups, organizing networks for interactions, and as presenters in educational activities. Furthermore, they have served as a representer of the Kaz Moutains Preservation Inittitative group in providing interactions with local authorities and associations, and meeting and dealing with visitors from outside of the town.

Expressions of villagers show that there is a difference among male and female villagers in the way of participating in actions related to the movement.

¹³ “Havası suyu giderse, herşeyi giderse bu memleketin, biz gelecek nesle ne bırakabiliriz? Biz hadi yüzde yetmişini bitirmişiz hayatın. Ee ondan sonrası çocuklarımız, geleceğimiz ne olacak”

¹⁴ “Ben burayı terketmek istemiyorum nereye giderim de yaşarım. Şehirde ne yaparım. Biz bu zehirli diyince, tamam dedik biz ondan sonra, zehirleneceğimizi, burada yaşayamayacağımızı düşündük”

According to statements of male villagers, besides they participated in information meetings in the village, majority of them also participated in meetings and demonstrations outside of the village, in the town or the city. Some quotations from men villagers as following: VP4, [I participated in all demonstrations. Also I attended meetings]¹⁵. VP10, [I participated in all meetings. Also I went to Çanakkale two times to participate in a demonstration. Demonstrations were very nice and crowded]¹⁶. VP13, [We participated in demonstrations. I could not attend the second one because I was a bit sick. Even I went to Muğla]¹⁷.

On the other hand, according to expressions of female villagers, they only have participated educational activities in the village. Some passage from their phrases as following: VP2, [We participated in a meeting. Also we have been telling people when they ask something. I did not participate in any demonstrations]¹⁸. VP5, [I attended meetings in the village. I negotiated people in this area]¹⁹. VP9, [I am not interested in demonstrations and so, I attended meetings in the village and listened utterances]²⁰.

Participants' Anxieties or Fears

To investigate feelings of anxiety or fear of participants due to participating in the movement the question of "Did you have any fear at the beginning of participating in this struggle and how did you deal with this situation?" is asked. The majority of the participants stated that they did not have any fear due to participating in the

¹⁵ "Eylemlerin hepsine gittim. Toplantılara katıldım"

¹⁶ "Toplantıların hepsine katıldım, 2 sefer Çanakkale'ye gittik. Hepsine. Çok güzeldi, çok kalabalıktı"

¹⁷ "Mitinglere katıldık. İkinciye gidemedim, rahatsızdım. Ben hatta Muğla'ya bile gittim"

¹⁸ "Toplantılara katıldık, bir de insanlar sorunca anlatıyoruz. Mitinge filan gitmedim"

¹⁹ "Köydeki toplantılara gittim. Burdaki insanlarla görüşüm"

²⁰ "Eyleminen neyim zorum yok. Buradaki toplantılara filan gittim, söylenenleri filan dinledim"

movement. VP1, [I am not afraid of anything other than God]²¹. VP6, [No, I did not have any fears]²². VP4, [We never thought about fears. If you are united, miner can not say anything to you. They can not say, come and side with us]²³. VP7, [We have standed to lose nothing. I did not have any fears or thoughts about fear]²⁴. VP8, [No I did not any fears, I am against to it. It will remove me from my homeland. Even so, birds also struggle if someone tries to remove them from their nest. Is it bad if I fought for my country, for my homeland? They should be afraid of us]²⁵. VP13, [No never, we did not have any anxiety; it did not come to our mind. Each citizen has the right of struggle for their rights in the borders of the law. We thought about these and we did not have any fears]²⁶.

Furthermore, one of the three activists stated that, he has some anxiety, one of them stated she had some fears but she has overcome it, and the other activist stated that she had not any fears but she is aware that there are some risks for people that participated in such a movements. Following statements are from activists' expressions: AP3, [Of course, I have had some anxiety since people behave in different ways for their benefits. For example, Necip Hablemitoğlu was killed in Bergama. We still have such anxiety. I think about, whether they give information to miners that I told? Does he transcribe this information? I am in doubt also about you. Since I participated in this struggle I began to be charrier. Miners provide a lot of

²¹ “Allah’tan başka hiçbirşeyden korkmam”

²² “Yok bir korku yaşamadım”

²³ “Hiç düşünmedik. Birlik olduktan sonra, madencinin birisi gelipte, arkadaş gel bizden yana ol diyemez”

²⁴ “Zaten kaybedecek birşeyimiz yok. Hiç öle bişey aklıma gelmedi bi düşünceye de kapılmadım”

²⁵ “Yok heç korkmadım, yine de karşıyım. Beni yuvamdan edecek. Kuş bile yuvasından edilecek olsa mücadeleyi eder yani. Ben vatanım için mücadele ettimse, ben yuvam için mücadele ettimse, kötü bişey mi? O korksun benden”

²⁶ “Yok heç öle endişe etmedik, aklımıza gelmedi. Çünkü her vatandaş, hukuken hakkını aramakta serbesttir. Bunları düşünerek, korku verilecek, tehdit edilecek filan korkumuz hiç olmadı”

money for this situation in the sake of their profits]²⁷. AP2, [Since my husband has a public job and this struggle is based on politics in some way, I had a fear. I thought that “is it dangerous for the job of my husband”. But you can not live with a fear. I said myself, “who cares, if something happens we have a field, olive gardens, we will not famish”. I thought that if we die, lets die with struggle. Who can do anything, there are many things that occur in Turkey. We also observed that there is a huge support around us, media, public, universities are supporting us. We dealt with a fear through this support]²⁸. AP2, [We did not have, but we were aware of risks of participating in such a struggle and what can people have in these types of movements]²⁹.

Two villagers stated about their anxieties due to participating in the movement but they have overcome it. VP5, [While I was in mountain, I thought that “if I go ahead more, and they see us, do I tangle?” Do they cut me, since I oppose mining operations? I thought and analyzed these possibilities. But now thanks to M., I do not have such a fear. She says, what can they do, and now I do not have any fears. As I said, at first I had a fear but I overcame it]³⁰. VP12, [While we were going to the demonstrations we had a fear at first. But when we went there we overcame it.

²⁷ “Tabii biraz çekince bende de oldu. İnsanlar çıkarları için çok boyaya bürünüyorlar ya. Mesela Bergama’da Necip Hablemitoğlu öldürüldü. Bu çekinceleri halen yaşıyoruz. Ben düşünüyorum ki, acaba benim verdiğim bilgileri maden şirketine verir mi, deşifre eder mi? Ben sizden bile şüpheleniyorum. Bu mücadele içersine girdikten sonra, daha temkinli olmaya başladım. Madenciler bu işe çok fazla para ayırıyorlar, çıkarları uğruna”

²⁸ “Eşimin kamu görevi olması, bu işin biraz da siyasete dayanması, biraz korku yaşattı. Eşimin işine bişey olur mu diye düşündüm. Ama korkuyla da bir yere varılmaz. Ya dedim, boşver. Doktorluk yapmasa da tarlamız var, zeytinimiz var yine aç kalmayız dedim. Ben de dedim ki, neyinden korkacam ya, mücadele ederek ölelim. Yani kim ne yapacak, Türkiye’de neler oluyor da neler bitiyor? Baktık ki etrafta bir kuvvet var, basın, halk, üniversiteler bizden yana korkuyu böyle de yendik”

²⁹ “Yaşamadık, ama bu tür mücadelelere giren insanları nelerin beklediğini de tabii göze alarak mücadelenin içine girdik”

³⁰ “Dağdayken dedim çok ileri gidersekte görülürsek, bir iş başıma gelir mi diye ben bu düşünceyi yaşadım. Keserler mi filan beni diye, altın aramaya karşı çıktığım için ben bunu inceledim böyle. Artık M.’nin sayesinde yaşamıyorum o korkuları. Ne olur filan diyo bana o, yaşamıyorum artık. Ama ilkten yaşadım, şimdi yendim o korkuyu”

We have been affected in demonstrations. We are being there as right, and we did not disquiet anyone there]³¹.

Thoughts about Success of the Movement

To explore thoughts of participants about success of the movement, the following question is asked: “What do you think about the success of the struggle?”

Expressions of participants show that some of them are hopeful about preventing operations of miners. Additionally, some participants are doubtful in terms of stopping mining operations. VP1, [I am hopeful if the opposition continues]³². AP2, [I believe that we will be succesful. I think that it is stopped any more. We struggled here and we will continue until we die]³³. VP13, [God willing, we will show them we are right in everywhere]³⁴.

Following expressions reflect about some suspects. AP1, [We have become hopeful for this side of the Kaz Mountains but this process will continue, and the government will not retreat and continue to provide licenses for the backside of the mountains, and the other regions of Turkey. Struggle must continue and must be directed to the mining law. The solution is in the power and in getting the power]³⁵.

AP3, [Mining operations should be stopped since it is against the constitution, the

³¹ “Giderken korku çekince yaşıyorduk, ama oraya gidince öle bişey kalmadı. Etkileniyorduk, mitinglerde. Biz haklı olarak ordayız, araya öle biri karışıpta bir huzursuzlukta çıkarmadık”

³² “Karşı çıkılmaya devam ederse umudum var”

³³ “Ben bu mücadeleyi başaracağımıza inanıyorum. Artık durdu gözüyle bakıyorum bu meseleye ben. Biz burda mücadelemizi verdik, vereceğiz, ölene kadar da vereceğiz”

³⁴ “İnşallah biz her yerde haklı çıkacağız”

³⁵ “Kazdağlarının bu yüzü için biraz umutlandık ancak Kazdağları'nın arka yüzünde, Türkiye'nin diğer yerlerinde bu sürecin süreceğini, hükümetin kesinlikle geri adım atmayacağını, ruhsatları vermeye devam edeceğini düşünüyorum. Mücadelenin devam etmesi ve maden yasasına yönelmesi gerekiyor. Çözüm aslında iktidarda, iktidarı ele geçirmekte”

environment law, and against the special position of this place. But how can you rely on something in Turkey, can you give a guarantee? Also there is no public benefit in Bahçedere, definitely there is no. But if you ask until when you will struggle; I will hand over this struggle to my children also]³⁶. VP8, [God willing, we will not give permission for mining operations. We will not give permission for Kaz Mountains is punctured and the Golf is poisoned. But I do not know, they have sold the country, they can sell these mountains. I do not know, what laws order, how they command?]³⁷ VP5, [I do not know, opposite side would be powerful? But we struggle]³⁸. VP11, [Yes I believe our struggle will be successful. But what does the government do? If they say “we will open mines” definitely, we can not oppose the government by guns. But we will do, what ever we can, demonstrations etc. We will put our voices on public. If necessary we will sleep there in the tents]³⁹. VP9, [I do not know, we believe laws, upper places, and justice. We think that, they will do something for us and we are waiting the support of them]⁴⁰.

Learning in the Movement

In this part learning experiences of participants due to participating in the movement will be presented in the light of expressions of participants. Three questions of the

³⁶ “Hukuki olarak durması gerekiyor, anayasaya, çevre yasasına, buranın özel konumuna aykırı. Ama Türkiye’de neye güven var, siz bunu garanti edebilir misiniz? Kamu yararı da yok Bahçedere’de, kesinlikle yok. Ama mücadele nereye kadar, ben bu işi çocuklarıma da bırakmak istiyorum”

³⁷ “İnşallah bu iş olmayacak burda, bu Kazdağını deldirmeyecik, bu körfezi zehirlendirmeyecik. Ama ne bileyim ki, Türkiye’de satmışlar ki bu dağları da satmışlar. Yasalar neyi emreder de nasıl emreder onu bilmem”

³⁸ “Karşı daha güçlü gelir mi bilmiyorum. Ama mücadele veriyok”

³⁹ “Evet ben inanıyorum, bu mücadelemizin başarıya ulaşacağına. Ama tabii, hükümet ne yapar, illede açacak derse biz burda topla tüfekte, bunlara karşı gelecek durumumuz yok. Ama biz elimizden gelen mitingleri yapacağız. Sesimizi duyuracağız. Gerekirse orda çadıra girip yatacaz”

⁴⁰ “Bilemiyorum hukuklara, daha büyük yerlere güveniyoruz, adaletimize güveniyoruz. Belki bizim için birşeyler yaparlar diyoruz yani, destek bekliyoruz”

interview form are directly related to learning experiences of participants in the movement. These questions are, “What do you think about your learning experiences in the struggle? What have you learned?”, “Do you have any information about other environmental social movements? Did you learn anything from these movements?” and lastly, “How did you get these learning experiences, through which ways?”

All of the participants stated that, they learn many things related to different issues. It is possible to group learning experiences of participants in the following titles: Learning related to environment and environmental problems, learning related to some laws which directly affect the gold mining operations in this region, learning related to effects of mining operations to the level of income of people and lastly learning related to other movements.

Learning Related to Environment and Environmental Problems

The majority of participants stated that they learned that gold mining will be harmful for their environment. All participants expressed that they were not aware of what is cyanide before and they learned this chemical, its role in gold mining operations and affects of it on environment, all organisms in nature, and people through the struggle. All of the participants affirmed that due to using cyanide in the process of gold mining operations, their water resources, their cultivated and other lands, olive gardens will be poisoned. Besides, they stated that this process will also affect people and animals, since mentioned sources are the main areas that living organisms use. Following passages are from the expressions of the participants: VP1, [I learned that environment will be damaged. I learned what cyanide is and how it becomes harmful

on the environment, humans and animals]⁴¹. VP2, [We learned that our environment will be poisoned and we can not live here]⁴². VP4, [I learned that cyanide is a poisonous matter and if we continue to stay here, we will be poisoned and forced to escape from this place]⁴³. VP5, [I learned that this process is harmful for people, nature, environment and the olive gardens]⁴⁴. VP6, [They (activists) told the cyanide was a poisonous waste and it is harmful for the health of people and nature to any people, also people who did not attended any school]⁴⁵. VP7, [We learned that our environment would be damaged, diseases would appear, and that cyanide was a poison]⁴⁶. VP13, “[I did not know before that there was a poisonous matter namely cyanide. I mean if someone shows me and say this is cyanide, and it is poisonous, I would not know. Now when I heard about cyanide, poison flashes in my mind]⁴⁷. AP1, [Why Kaz Mountains are so important, we understood better today. Also we learned the harms of this process to environment]⁴⁸.

Learning About Mining Related Laws

Besides environment and environmental problems, some participants expressed that they learned something related to laws that directly affect the mining operations in the region. AP1, [I learned depredation of international companies in the field of

⁴¹ “Çevreye zarar verileceğini öğrendim. Siyanürün ne olduğunu, çevreye, insanlara, hayvanlara ne gibi zararları olduğunu öğrendim”

⁴² “Çevremizin zehirleneceğini, buralarda yaşayamayacağımızı öğrendik”

⁴³ “Siyanür zehirleyici bir madde onu öğrendim, burda kalırsak zehirlencez, kaçmak zorunda kalcaz onu öğrendim”

⁴⁴ “İnsanlara zarar verdiğini öğrendim. Doğaya, çevreye, zeytinliklere”

⁴⁵ “Siyanürün zehirli bir atık olduğunu, insan sağlığına veya doğaya zararını milletin kafasına, hiç okula gitmemiş insana dahi anlattılar yani”

⁴⁶ “Çevremizin bozulacağını, hastalıklar olacağını, siyanürün zehir olduğunu öğrendik”

⁴⁷ Daha önce siyanür diye zehirleyici bir madde olduğunu bilmiyordum. Yani bana siyanür, zehirli birşey deseler gösterebilirler, birşey bilmezdim daha önce. Şimdi siyanür dedikleri zaman ilk aklıma zehir gelir”

⁴⁸ “Kazdağı'nın niye önemli olduğunu bugün daha iyi gördük. Yaşanan sürecin çevreye zararlarını öğrendik.”

mining. I learned how the process of gold mining operates. And the cost of gold in the market took my attention more]⁴⁹.

VP4, [They give only percent two, they give you 2 of 100 kilos of gold on the base of the law]⁵⁰. VP13, [The government threatens big income for the sake of taking only two percent from foreign countries. Even they will give that two percent, if they say “we pan the gold”. It is so nonsense. We learned such issues in the struggle]⁵¹. AP3, [The law of olive, the law of mining, operations running contrary to constitutional charter. I understood these in the struggle]⁵². VP12, [We learned something about laws]⁵³.

Learning Related to Income

Participants also answered the question about effects of mining process on their income. VP2, [If they mine gold, who buys our fields, gardens. We learned that they will be of little value]⁵⁴. VP8, [We learned that, richness below ground does not correspond richness over the ground]⁵⁵.

Learning Related to and from Other Movements

Other environmental social movements and struggles also asked participants if they know about them and have learned from them. In accordance with answers of the participants it is observed that while activists know about other movements in the

⁴⁹ “Maden alanında uluslararası şirketlerin yağmasını, altın arama işlemlerinin nasıl yürüdüğüne dair şeyler öğrendim. Altın piyasada kaç para oldu, o daha fazla dikkatimi çekti”

⁵⁰ “Yasalara göre yüzde 2 veriyorsa sana, 100 kilo altından iki kilo veriyorsa”

⁵¹ “Azından birçok geliri tehdit ediyor devlet, dış ülkeden alacağı yüzde ikili paraya. O da çıktı derse verecek sana, bu kadar da olmaz. Bunları da hep buralarda öğrendik”

⁵² “Zeytincilik yasası, maden yasası, sürecin anayasaya aykırılığı. Bunları anladım”

⁵³ “Yasalarla ilgili kimi şeyler öğrendik”

⁵⁴ “Altın işledikten sonra, kim alır, tarlamızı bağımızı. Bunların para etmeyeceğini öğrendik”

⁵⁵ “Toprağın altındaki zenginlik üstündeki zenginliği karşılamıyor”

country, villagers know especially about their close environment. Followings are passages from expressions of the activists: AP1, [It is contacted with Artvin Cerattepe, İnay and EGEÇEP]⁵⁶. AP3, [There is different information in the internet related to this issue, we have got them. Information reaches us from water reservoirs in İzmir, thermal power plant in Artvin, Uşak and etc. We learn from newspapers as well. We heard about happenings in Bergama]⁵⁷.

Furthermore, especially male villagers expressed something about this issue, particularly about their environment. VP4, [People talk about it, they are also in danger, I also support them. It is not important, where they are come from? If they come, it can be from Edirne to Van, I give them my signature to support the opposition to mining. In Bergama, chicken died as well, people showed pictures of animals with two heads. People who came here said us that people in Bergama have been divided so much, they advised us not to be divided and not to sell our fields. In Bergama, through paying more money which is above the value of vilagers' fields, they have been befooled people. Neighborhoods of the village have been destroyed there. Water zone has come to the end there]⁵⁸. VP8, [I heard something about Bergama before, they were marching to protest. I do not know they were alone, or they could not announce their voices. If people like you have not supported us, this place would also be like Bergama. Miners bought fields, they gave money to people there at first. Also it happened in Balya 70 years ago. Frogs are still dying there. The

⁵⁶ “Artvin Cerattepe, İnay, EGEÇEP’le ilişki kuruldu”

⁵⁷ “İnternette bu konuda şeyler var, heryerden değişik şekillerde geliyor. İzmirdeki su havzaları, Artvin’den, termik santralden, Uşak’tan şurdan burdan geliyor. Gazetelerden şurdan burdan da öğreniyoruz. Bergama’da yaşananları öğrendik”

⁵⁸ “Söyleniyorda, onlarda tehlikedeymiş, onlara da destek veririm. Nerden olursa olsunlar, Edirne’den Van’a kadar, gelsinler imza toplamaya veririm, maden için. Bergamada, tavuklar bile etkilenmiş, iki başlı filan şeyler gösteriyor. O Bergama çok bölünmüş zamanında, buraya bize gelenler çok söyledi. Bize bölünmeyin dediler. İlk tarla satmaya kalkmayın dediler. Senin tarlan var mı, var, 20 yapacak yerde fazla vermiş, çoğunu kandırmış öle. Köyün civarı bitmiş. Su mıntıkası bitmiş tamamen orda”

population has decreased from 35.000 to 1.500]⁵⁹. VP10, [Bergama could not have been succesful. They have been succeeding in court, but mining operations have continued. This situation has demoralized us, we have been disappointed. Miners do not care court decisions, how can they do this? Thanks to this region (gulf) they supported us very much. They have encouraged us very much]⁶⁰. VP11, [People from Bergama struggled very much. They walked around our village barefoot, naked. They walked to Çanakkale, İstanbul. But now we do not know, why we did not walk, protest with them? There had been no people who had provided the consciousness us about this situation at that time. Maybe we were thinking that, what is the problem with the mining operations, let miners operate. What can be happen? We were not aware of cyanide was a poison or gases spread from mining were harmful at that time. And so we did not support them. When I think about them now, I feel that, we had not supported them. I am asking myself why we did not we support them. Why did not we march with them? The answer is our unconsciousness]⁶¹ VP12, [Image of that region as a desert or as a bog affected us very much. Bergama is close to here, we heard about it. On Fridays, they go along here with shorts. We thought that what the problem of these people is? Now we understand that they had a problem. We also heard about close places as

⁵⁹ “Bergamayla ilgili duyduyduum önceleri, yürüyüş yapıyorlardı, adamlar yalnız mı geldi, kimseye duyuramadılar mı? Sizler gibi insanlar olmasaydı burayı da Bergama’ya çevirirlerdi. Arazileri almışlar evveli, sağa sola para vermişler. Balya’da 70 sene öncesinde olmuş. Halen kurbağalar ölüyor. 35 binden 1500 e inmiş nüfus”

⁶⁰ “Bergama muvaffak olamamış, mahkemeyi kazanmış ama neticede devam etmiş. Bu moralimizi kaçırıyor, bu bizi biraz hayal kırıklığına uğrattı. Mahkeme kararlarını dinlemiyomuş, nasıl olur bi mahkemenin kararı dinlenmez. Sağolsunlar bu körfez bizi çok destekledi. Biz çok cesaret aldık ondan”

⁶¹ “Bu Bergamalılar çok mücadele verdiler. Yaya geçtiler, yalınayak çıplak, Çanakkale’ye İstanbul’a kadar yürüdüler. Ama o zaman, biz niye katılıp yürümemişiz onlarla. Bu bilinci bize veren kimse çıkmamış yani. Ama bu neye gidiyor, bu maden işlensin burada. Belki de öle düşünüyorduk. Ne olacak ki? Ama bu siyanürün, ya da ordan çıkan bir gazın çevreye de bir zararı olacağını biz bilmiyorduk yani, onun için, öyleydi. Bugünden baktığımda, Bergamaya destek olmamışız biz, niye olmamışız sorusu geldi bana. Biz onlarla neden beraber yürümemişiz, bilinçsizliğin yüzünden yürümemişiz”

Bayramiç]⁶².VP13, [I have felt bad about them. Miners also have gone there too and they did something as our region. They have cheated with them. What a pity for Bergama]⁶³.

Female villagers generally did not give related answers about this issue. Only two women activists and one of the villagers stated about this issue: AP2, [There have been struggles in other places like Bergama as well, but they had been alone. There have been some negative situations as German foundations' works, etc. As far as I can see, they struggled but could not do things. People have struggled here without thinking any benefits, profits, and dearly, directly for Kaz Mountains differently from there. I wish there would not be such things and everyone had been united and the problem had been solved. I think that maybe our struggle will solve also their problem]⁶⁴. VP5, [For example, they showed Bergama, Çan, and some other places. There is a Doyran village here. There was a mining there, silver was operated. People at the age of this man died there. How many young people died there? These situations also horrified people. I learned these]⁶⁵.

⁶² “Oraların öyle çöl görülmesi, bataklık görülmesi bizi çok etkiledi. Bergama yakın onu duyduk. Cumaları burdan geçtiler baktık, böyle kısa pantolon, ne bunların başı zorları diye. Demek bir dertleri varmış. Bu Bayramiç filan yakın yerleri duyduk”

⁶³ “Onlara da hep üzüntü duydum. Eskiden bizim gibi oralarada girmişler, onları da aldatmışlar. Yazık olmuş bu Bergamaya”

⁶⁴ “Diğer yerlerde mücadele etmişler ama (Bergama filan gibi) oradakiler yalnız kalmışlar. Orda bişeyler dönmüş, Alman vakıflarıyla filan çalışmalar bişeyler dönmüş oralarda. O yüzden mücadele etmişlerse de pek birşey yapamamışlar benim anladığım. Buradaki fark, insanların hiçbirşey gözetmeden, menfaat, çıkar ilişkisi gözetmeden, canı gönülden, yürekten, direk Kazdağları için mücadele etmeleri. Orada da keşke, böyle şeyler olmasaymış da herkes birlik olasaydı da, o zaman çözüleseydi. Belki bu bizim mücadelemiz onların da problemlerini çözecek diye düşünüyorum”

⁶⁵ “Mesela Bergama’yı gösterdiler, Çan tarafını, şurayı burayı gösterdiler, anlattılar bize. Doyran köyü var burda birde, orda maden vardı, kurşun işlendi. Bunun yaşındakiler bütün öldü burada. Kaç tane genç öldü orada, orası da korkuttu milleti. Bunları öğrendim”

The Sources of Learning Experiences

All participants of the study stated that they learned many things especially through meetings and programmes in television channels. Furthermore, activists expressed that they learned from newspapers, visiting some other regions, and visiting from some other regions, panels, demonstrations. Also two of activists stated that they also learned from the internet.

While the majority of male villagers stated that they learned from newspapers, panels, demonstrations, and visiting other regions, the majority of female villagers only referred meetings in the village and televisions as learning sites. None of the female villager stated that they learned from newspapers, visiting other regions and only one female villager stated that she learned from the demonstrations in the town or the city. All interviewed villagers expressed that visual videos and photos showed in meetings in the village are one of the effective learning tools for them. Also participants' expressions refer that informal conversations among themselves and with visitors are important learning sites for villagers.

The following quotation from one of the activists: AP3, [I have got message from everywhere about the issue. If you focus on that, you can get message from everywhere. We learned from television, newspapers, public and experiences of community. We have got information from the internet, so we have got from everywhere. We learned from friends around us, group meetings. We learned from questions and answers of them]⁶⁶.

⁶⁶ "Heryerden mesaj aldım o konuda. Kafa oraya odaklanınca heryerden mesaj alırsınız. Yani televizyondan öğrendik, gastelerden, halktan, onun tecrübelerinden öğrendik. İnternette kaptık, heryerden bir mesaj aldık yani. Çevreden arkadaşlardan, grup toplantılarından öğrendik. Verilen sorulardan öğrendik. Ondan sonra verilen cevaplardan öğrendik"

Following statements are from villagers: VP12, [We learned from television, newspaper, meetings, panels and, through watching films]⁶⁷. VP3, [We learned from meetings, televisions, and conversations]⁶⁸. VP7, [We learned form meetings and newspapers. Many people came here. University staffs came here. Both pro-miners and environmentalists came here. We learned also from television]⁶⁹. VP8, [We watched televisions and learned. Also newspapers wrote what we did here. But especially we learned form television channels. We learned panels and meetings as well]⁷⁰. VP11, [We followed everything. We interviewed all media, we listened and followed. Meetings, televisions, interviews with visitors]⁷¹.

Changes due to Participating in the Movement

Changes arise from participating in the movement can be categorized in two titles: Personal changes and changes in interpersonal relations. In the way of personal changes, participants stated different types of changes on themselves. These can be ranged as, development of self confidence, sensitiveness to environment and nature, changes in their thoughts related to other movements, new relationships and collaborating with people from different parts of society. Besides, under the title of changes in interpersonal relations, findings of changes among people in general and changes in men-women relationship due to participating in the movement will be presented.

⁶⁷ “Televizyonda, gazetede, toplantıda, panellerde, filmlerde izledim”

⁶⁸ “Toplantılardan, televizyondan, sohbetlerden öğrendik”

⁶⁹ “Toplantılardan, gazetelerden öğrendik. Gelen üniversite hocaları, baya bi insanlar geldi, maden yanlısı olanlar da geldi, hem maden hem çevre yanlısı olanlar geldi. Televizyondan öğrendik.”

⁷⁰ “Televizyonlarda gördük öğrendik. Gasteler de bizim ne yapıp ettiğimizi burda yazdı çizdi. Asıl iş tv kanallarından öğrendik bunları. Paneller, mitingler”

⁷¹ “Herşeyini takip ettik, gastelerde bütün medyaya röportaj yaptık, dinledik, takip ettik. Toplantılar, televizyonlar, gelen gidenlerle röportajlar”

Personal Changes

Development of Self Confidence

Besides informal observations of the researcher, some participants directly expressed something related to the development of their self confidence through interviews.

Some passages from participants' sayings in the following: VP1, [I am proud of myself, since I contirbuted this struggle, I gave a signiture and I have been in that places]⁷². AP2, [I have been in different social activities and donative actions before.

But nothing has made me so excited before this struggle. If someone tells me "bind yourself to tree for this struggle", I could do it, I could die for it]⁷³. VP2 [We have been proud of and happy, when they said; "gold mining will not be operated"]⁷⁴.

VP5, [I felt as if I woke up]⁷⁵. AP2, [I learned being together here. If we become single heart and wrist here, there is nothing that we can not do in Turkey. I learned this here]⁷⁶. VP12, [We have felt people from the Gulf region close to us. Feeling that there are people around that are supporting us have increased our self-confidence]⁷⁷. VP8, [I felt very happy in the demonstrations due to there are many

⁷² "Kendimle gurur duyuyorum, yardımcı olduğum için, imza verdiğim için, oralarda bulunduğum için"

⁷³ "Daha önce de çeşitli sosyal etkinliklerde, yardım faaliyetlerinde bulunmuştum. Ama hiçbirşey bana bunun kadar heyecan vermedi. Bana bugün git kendini bağla ağaca deseler, bağlar ölürüm"

⁷⁴ "Altın aranmayacak denince bir gurur duyduk, sevindik"

⁷⁵ "Sanki uykudan uyanır gibi uyandım"

⁷⁶ "Ben elele olmayı öğrendim burada, Tek yürek olmayı, herşeyde, tek yürek tek bilek olursak, Türkiye'de yapamayacağımız şey yok. Ben bunu öğrendim"

⁷⁷ "Körfezi biz daha yanımızda hissettik, bize de sahip çıkan insanlar oldu çevremizde bu bizim kendimize güvenimizi artırdı"

people who are against the mining operations. We felt that we are not alone and there are many people like us]⁷⁸.

Sensitiveness to the Environment and the Nature

Many participants in the study stated that they have been more sensitive for the environment and the nature after participating in the movement. VP11, [People are changing as they become conscious. You are thinking about your environment]⁷⁹
VP7, [When we do something, the first thing that flashes our mind is the environment]⁸⁰.

VP8, [Nowadays I feel Kaz Mountains more beautiful than the past. People were talking about its flowers, plants etc. Now we have understood its value]⁸¹.

VP11, [After participating in the demonstrations our environmental consciousness has developed]⁸².

Changes in Thoughts Related To Other Movements

Participating in the movement has affected and changed interests and thoughts of participants about other social movements or demonstrations etc. VP1, [I am listening to the news related to other struggles more carefully compared to the past

⁷⁸ “Mitingde, bi sevinç içinde hissettim kendimi, bu kadar millet buna karşı geldiği için. Bizim gibi insanlar çokmuş yani, yalnız değilmişik, mutlu olduk”

⁷⁹ “İnsanlar bilinçlendikçe değişiyor yani. Çevreyi düşünüyorsun”

⁸⁰ “Yapmış olduğumuz işlerde artık çevre aklımıza geliyor”

⁸¹ “Kazdağları şimdi daha güzel geliyor, söylürolardı bana çiçeğinden böceğinden, binbir bitkisinin olduğundan. O zaman biz dağın kıymetini bildik”

⁸² “Mitinglere katıldıktan sonra bizim çevre bilincimiz gelişti”

and they catch my interest more]⁸³. AP2, [Participating in the struggle has provided many things to us. There are people in different justice struggles. We should also support them. Not only in the mean of mining, in every aspect]⁸⁴. VP5, [I was watching those people on TV before, but I did not care them so much, since I did not have such problem. But now I think that they also struggle for their rights like us. I think in this way and I support them. I was not aware of what they do before, why they protest something. I was thinking about it. But now, I thought that those people are right, since we had lived such problems]⁸⁵. VP7, [Now I think differently about them. I had not participated in such a demonstration before]⁸⁶. VP8, [They are right to the last. Any people did not sell Tekel for 80 years, how do you sell it? We were supporting Tekel employees, also Telekom employees. This is our country; we will not give up this country to them. Will this country be a colony? So we were supporting, Tekel, Telekom employees and now we are against mining. We all support such struggles]⁸⁷. VP10, [I did not care them before, maybe I was opposed to these people. When we lived similar problems, we got information. We were uninformed before. For example, now I want police not to hit these people. After

⁸³ “Geçmişe göre haberleri daha ilgiyle dinliyorsun, daha dikkatini çekiyor, başka yerlerdeki mücadeleler”

⁸⁴ “Bu mücadele bize çok şey kattı. Başka mücadelelerde onların da haklı şeyleri var. Onlara da destek olmak lazım, maden değil sadece, her yönden”

⁸⁵ “Eskiden ben onları televizyonda görüyordum ama, başıma gelmediği için pek kafama sarmıyordum. Ama şimdi bu maden konusu çıkınca, o insanlar da bizim gibi hak arıyor yani. Onu düşünüyom, onlara destek olduğumu düşünüyom. Ama ilkten ben köyde yaşıyordum, bişey görmüyordum, anlamıyordum. Bunlar niye geziyo, bunlar niye böle yapıyo diye düşünüyordum. Ama bu olay şimdi bize patlayınca, insanlar haklıymış diye düşündüm”

⁸⁶ “Daha farklı bakıyorum. Daha önce hiç öle bir eyleme katılmamıştım”

⁸⁷ “Yerden göğe kadar haklılar. 80 senesine kadar bir Tekel kurulduğundan bu yana satılmamışta, sen nasıl satan bu Tekeli, biz Tekel işçilerinin yanındayık, Telekomcularında yanındayık. Bu ülke bizim, biz bunu onlara teslim etmeyecik. Nereye verek, sömürge mi olalım. Bunun için biz Tekel’de de varık, Telekom da da varık, madende de varık. Hepsinde de varık”

joining those meetings, things are changing. Knowledge is very important]⁸⁸ VP11, [Everyone struggles for their rights. I am supporting all these demonstrations. I feel myself with them]⁸⁹. VP12, [We were watching some demonstrations and telling “what is the problem of these people.” Now maybe some people think about us in the same way. Now, we are supporting people who struggle for their rights]⁹⁰. VP13, [I support the struggle of these people dearly. Compared to the past, these struggles interest me. If I have a possibility, I would participate in the demonstrations of these people. I feel that these people are right. We could not think in this way in the past. When we lived such problems, we have begun to think]⁹¹.

New Relationships with New People

As a change, some subjects stated that participating in the movement provided them meeting with new people. Besides, some participants expressed that they have been together with people who have very different thoughts. Followings are passages from expressions of the participants: VP1, “Yeni insanlarla tanıştık” [We have met new people]. AP1, [We have come together with people from different parts of the society, this situation has been a important changing. We have come together with

⁸⁸ “O zaman hiç şeyim yoğudu önceden, belki karşı da geliyodum o zaman. Canım yandıktan sonra bu işlere. Bilgi edindik, bilgisizidik. Vurmamasını istiyorum mesela polisler, düşüncelerim değışti. O toplantılara gittikçe bu işler değışiyor. Bilgi, bilgi, bilgi, çok önemli”

⁸⁹ “Herkes bu hakkı olan şey için çıkıyor, şey yapıyor. Ben hep o mitingleri destekliyorum. Yanında hissediyorum”

⁹⁰ “Bazı mitinglere bakıp, ne bunların başının zoru diyoduk. Şimdi bize de öyle diyen vardır. Hakkını aradığını görene biz destek oluyoruz”

⁹¹ “Ben onların o şekilde mücadele etmelerini, candan yürekten destekliyorum. Eskisine göre, daha dikkat kesiliyorum. Hatta elimden gelse hemen oraya katılmak istiyorum. Haklı görüyom. Eskiden düşünemiyoduk, başımıza geldiğı zaman düşündük”

people from different professions, from villagers to olive grovers and with different political thoughts]⁹².

Changes in Interpersonal Relations

Findings for changes in interpersonal relations will be categorized in two different titles: First one is changes in general among people relations and the second one is changes between men and women or in other words in gender relationship.

Changes in Relationships in General

Since the majority of the participants stated that participating in the struggle has made people closer to each other and developed relationship among people some of them also referred some negations. AP2, [At the beginning, politicians have never come together here before. Heads of the villages have come together as well, I enjoyed it. Besides, being together of associations. Now if the subject is mining operations they all come together. People are united more when it is compared to the past]⁹³. VP2, [Everyone has been united and has warned each other. They supported each other, is it possible to struggle with one person? When they said cyanide, people all have come together and opposed]⁹⁴. VP11, [We had good relationships here before, but now it is better]⁹⁵. VP7, [Relationships among people are very nice. They come together more in the struggle. People, who were angry with each other, at least

⁹² “Çok farklı kesimlerle birarada olduk, o önemli bir değişim oldu. Köylüsünden zeytincisine kadar. Farklı politik bakışlardan insanlarla biraraya geldik”

⁹³ “En basitinden, burada siyasetçiler hiç biraraya gelmedi. Çok hoşuma gitti birde, köy muhtarlarının biraraya gelmesi. Bunun yanında derneklerin birleşmesi. Şimdi ama konu maden olunca hepsi geliyor. İnsanlar daha da kaynaştı”

⁹⁴ “Herkes birlik oldu, birbirlerini uyardılar, böyle yapalım diye. Destek oldular, bir insanın olur mu? Siyanür deyince burda herkes tek yumak oldu, karşı çıkmaya başladı”

⁹⁵ “Bizim burda zaten ilişkilerimiz iyiydi ama daha da iyi oldu yani”

came together and talked, discussed]⁹⁶. VP8, [We stick to each other more.

Neighborhood villages learned cyanide is a poison as well. We also establish relations with them, we went to the meetings and they came also]⁹⁷. VP10, [People supported each other]⁹⁸. VP13, [People have come here from Tekirdağ to Ardahan. Thanks to them, they broadcasted from here and gave them to the media]⁹⁹.

Furthermore, some participants expressed following passages related to some negations in the way of relationship among people. AP1, [Some negations that occurred in Bergama harmed that struggle very much, even it also damaged Kaz Mountains struggle. Since doubts to the people who come from outside of this region decreased but it is not abolished exactly]¹⁰⁰. VP4, [People are supporting each other now but all people are not the same. Maybe some of them are trying to show themselves opposed to the mining now]¹⁰¹. VP5, [Villagers excluded people who told mine should be operated. They also excluded people who want to work in mine. Besides, people who are opposing to mining operations developed better relationships compared to the past]¹⁰². VP6, [People have begun to dislike people who supported mining]¹⁰³. AP3, “[There are people in the drilling area. Someone helped these people. And so villagers excluded these people. They defend themselves by saying that miners will provide income for us etc. As though, if the miners come

⁹⁶ “Çok güzel insanlar arasındaki ilişkiler. Mücadele içinde daha fazla yanyana geldiler, kaynaşma oldu. Önceden dargın olanlar en azından biraraya gelip konuşabildi, tartışabildi”

⁹⁷ “Daha fazla birbirimize tutunduk. Civar köylerimiz bile öğrendi bunun artık zehir olduğunu. Onlarla da ilişki kuruyoz, toplantılara gittik geldik”

⁹⁸ “İnsanlar birbirine sahip çıktı”

⁹⁹ “Tekirdağ Ardahan’dan adamlar geldi buraya. Sağolsun yayın yaptılar, medyalara verdiler”

¹⁰⁰ “Bu Bergama sürecinde yaşanan olumsuzluklar, oraya çok zarar verdi, buraya da çok zarar verdi. Buranın yabancılarına yönelik olan kuşkular belli ölçüde yenilmiş olsa da, halen tam olarak atılmış değil”

¹⁰¹ “İnsanlar birbirine tutunuyor. Ama beş parmağın beşi bir değil. Şimdi öle görünüyö olabilirler”

¹⁰² “Maden çalışsın diyen insanlara karşı çıktı köylü, hissedilen bişey bu insanları dışlamak oldu. Madene çalışacam diyen kişileri dışladılar. Buna karşı duranlarda kendi aralarında daha iyi oldular tabi muhakkak”

¹⁰³ “Altını isteyen kişileri seven insanlar, sevmez oldu”

here they would provide something people. Skepticism is increased very much, it is turns into a paranoia here, and it set persous by the ears]¹⁰⁴.

Changes in Gender Relations

The questions of “what do you think about participation of both women and men in this struggle together” and “According to you has this situation made any change in relationships among women and men” are asked to the participants to explore the effects of participating in the movement on gender relations.

All participants stated that participation of men and women together in the movement is a positive situation and they support this. Also two activists expressed that unity in the struggle has made positive effects on increasing of womens’ visibility socially. On the other hand, one of the women activists stated that they have been in difficulty to join women to the struggle. Besides, the state of all men states that they support participation of their wives in the movement, out of the one of villagers, women have not participated in any demonstration out of the village. And expressions of participants show that, limitations that prevent being more active in the struggle have affected women at first. VP1, [If it is beneficial, I do not think whether the person is the man or the woman. I go and sit with them, I do not hesitate. Why do I hesitate from people in my village? I also tell the women who do not participate in the struggle that this is wrong]¹⁰⁵. AP1, [This struggle should be together. In open meetings women do not talk much since there are also men in the

¹⁰⁴ Boztepe’de kişiler var, sondaj sahasında. Birisi yardım etmiş işte, gelen gidene. Onlarda haliyle köylüyle ters düştüler. Bana ekmek verecek bilmem ne, bunlarda şey yapıyorlar. Sanki maden gelince burda ekmek verecek şey yapacak. Kuşku çok yoğun, bu paranoyaya dönüşüyor, halkın barışı bozuluyor”

¹⁰⁵ “Yarayışlı bir şey varsa, hiç birşey düşünmem, kadınmış erkek varsa giderim yanına otururum, hiç çekinmem. Kendi köyümün insanından niye çekineyim. Katılmayan kadınlara yanlış olduğunu söylüyorum”

meetings. You should organize separate meetings for women. If there are problems in the way of providing togetherness, you should shape the struggle according to this situation. Essentially the sense of protecting and preserving nature is more on women when it is compared with men. It is possible to say that, women have been more informed in this process. Separate meetings, informings have made them more conscious about why they are in the struggle. I am sure that there have been important changes on women in Kaz Mountains Preservation Initiative through this process. Some women who I met were not attending meetings before, but now they are attending]¹⁰⁶. AP2, [I think this struggle has made women socially more visible. For example being of S. with us has been a good example for other women. Actually women are socially active here, but women can not go in front in such a struggle. But women as S., N., triggered other women where women thought that they are coming from out of this town and struggle for our homeland. We are coming from here, why we do not? In villages women supported the struggle more than men. In televisions and media, women consciously go in front and are interviewed. Some people said that “this is our village, this is our nature. We have standed guard for the years we do henceforth”. I think husbands of these women have become happy actually, they said that “bravo my wife, she could say such things”, this is a reality. Besides, women

¹⁰⁶ “Bu mücadelenin birlikte olması gerekiyor. Açık toplantılarda erkeklerin olmasından dolayı kadınlar çok fazla söz söylemiyor. Kadınlara ayrı toplantıların düzenlenmesi gerekiyor. Bir araya gelemiyorlarsa siz ona göre, mücadeleyi şekillendirmelisiniz. Kadınların doğalarına sahip çıkma, suyuna sahip çıkma, havasına sahip çıkma şeyi daha fazla. Kadınların esasında bilgilenmeleri daha çok arttı denebilir. Ayrı toplantılar, bilgilendirmeler bu işi neden yaptıklarını da daha iyi bilmelerine neden olmuştur. Bu süreçte, Kazdağı Koruma Girişim Grubu’nun içindeki kadınların yaşamlarında eminim daha büyük değişiklikler oldu. Daha önce tanıdığım bazı kadınlar, daha önce toplantılara gelmezlerdi, şimdi geliyor”

who can not do as these women supported them. They said, “I can not say, say such things”]¹⁰⁷.

VP2, [Men talks seperately, we talk seperately. They do not interfere and are not angry with us. On the contrary, they have been proud of us]¹⁰⁸. VP4, [Colloboration makes people powerful. Children, women and, men, everyone should oppose the mining. Not only I wil die, she will die as well]¹⁰⁹. VP5, [Our women do not get behind; they have been active in the struggle]¹¹⁰. VP6, [Women oppose before us. They oppose, and then we know and go behind them]¹¹¹. VP7, [Men and women are all equal in the village. Some developments have certainly occurred in this struggle. If we were not in the village, they welcomed visitors. While men are in coffee house they also sit in a part of the place. Also men of the village correspond normally being of women in the struggle]¹¹². VP8, [Of course I support women. They had taken blankets from their children and had blotted out over bullets to protect them from wetness in a war. How I do not support these women? War or opposing mining, it is also a war. I also want to get my wife but there is no car. I

¹⁰⁷ “Oldu kadının daha öne çıkması. S. hanımın aramızda olması örneğin, burdaki kadınlara da örnek oldu. Burdaki hanımların sosyal aktiviteleri iyidir aslında, evinin ağasıdır diyim. Ama böyle bir mücadelede kadınlar çok fazla ön plana çıkmıyor. S. hanımın, N. hanımın öne çıkması diğer kadınları da kamçıladi. Bu sefer dediler ki, bak dışarıdan onlar geldi, memleketimize sahip çıkıyorlar. Biz buralıyız, biz niye yapmayalım. Köyde erkeklerden çok kadınlar destek verdi. Televizyonlarda, basında filan kadınlar kendileri özellikle öne çıktı. Röportajlarını yaptılar, “bu köy bizim, bu doğa bizim, biz senelerce bekçiliğini yaptık bundan sonra da yaparız” diyen kadınlar oldu. Erkeklerden çok kadınlar oldu. Eşleri de sevindiler aslında, bravo ya benim hanım da böyle şeyler söyleyebiliyormuş diyenler oldu yani, bu bir gerçek. Ön plana çıkamayan hanımlar ön plana çıkan hanımları desteklediler arkadan. Ya bak iyi ettin, ben söyleyemiyorum, sen de bunu söyle diye”

¹⁰⁸ “Erkekler ayrı konuşur biz ayrı, onlar bize garışır mı. Heç gızarlar mı, dahacasına kurur duyarlar”

¹⁰⁹ “Bir elin nesi var, iki elin sesi var. Çoluğu çocuğu, kadını erkeği herkesin karşı çıkması lazım. Bi ben ölmeyecem o da ölecek”

¹¹⁰ “Bizim kadınlar pek geride durmaz. Bu mücadelede etkin oldular”

¹¹¹ “Kadınlar bizden önce karşı çıkıyor. Kadınlar karşı çıkıyor, bizimde haberimiz oluyor, biz de geliyoz arkasından”

¹¹² “Bizde eşit zaten köyde herkes. Tabi bu mücadele içersinde gelişmeler oldu. Biz köyde olmadığımız zaman gelenleri onlar karşıladılar, konuştular. Erkekler olduğu zaman kadınlarda kahvehanin bir tarafında oturdular, mücadele içinde oldular. Köyün erkekleri de kadınların mücadele içersinde olmalarını gayet normal karşıladılar”

wanted to get her to Çanakkale, but we have not got a personal car]¹¹³ VP9, [Women struggle well as well. People of the Bahçedere all have the same ideas. They talk like me. Women are in the front. Our husbands are talking, also women are participating in the meetings]¹¹⁴. VP10, [I support women. She also lives here, she is affected from the mining like me. My wife could not participate in the demonstrations, she was a bit sick. Otherwise, she overrates more than me]¹¹⁵. VP11, [We struggle all together, women, children, everyone. Even people from Ankara came here to show their reactions as well]¹¹⁶. VP12, [I go to the field with my wife, she does the same thing as me. What can we do after this age, we have not got any occupation. I would support her if she wants to go to the demonstrations]¹¹⁷.

Besides, two of the participants where one of which is a activist stated that women are different from men and it is inevitable that women can not participate in the movement like men. Expressions of these participants related to gender issue as following: AP3, [Bahçedere is a Turkoman society, in general there is no discrimination among men and women. But if you look on the base of being active, women do not participate in the demonstrations like men. We can say, witnessing, being informed, and shyness as a reason for this situation. Women are flimsy physically as well. Can the women fight as the men? Above all if she is also

¹¹³ “Tabi destekliyorum onları. Kadınlar savaşta bile, çocuğunun üstünden örtüyü almışta, ıslanmasın diye, merminin üstüne örtmüştü. Bu kadınları nasıl desteklemen. Ha savaş ha maden, bu da bir savaş. Ben eşimi götürcem ama burdan giden olmuyor, araba olmuyo, ben Çanakkale’ye de götüreceğidim. Yok özel arabamız yok”

¹¹⁴ “Kadınlar da iyi mücadele ediyorlar, Bahçedere halkı hep aynı görüşte. Hep benim gibi konuşuyorlar. Kadınlar, zaten ön sırayı alıyor. Beylerimiz konuşuyor orda, kadınlarda katılıyor, gidiyoruz toplantılara”

¹¹⁵ “Kadınları destekliyorum, o da burda yaşıyor, benim gibi etkileniyor. Benim eşim gidemedi mitinglere, birazda rahatsızlığı vardı. Yoksa o benden daha da çok şey yapıyor”

¹¹⁶ “Kadın erkek çoluk çocuk herkes. Ankara’daki adam bile tepkisini göstermek için oralardan kalkıp geldiler”

¹¹⁷ “Biz şimdi yengeyle gidip aynı çalışıyoruz tarlada. Şimdi biz, bu yaştan sonra bi zanaat yok elimizde, ne yaparız bundan sonra. Eylemlere filan gitmesini desteklerim”

uninformed she always hesitates]¹¹⁸. VP13, [Women and men, we want to stop mining operations with colloboration. Some women also participated in the demonstrations. But women can not talk like us. They hesitate through thinking about if someone asks something and they can not answer. These are such things that women can not participate. But they participate in the meetings in the village]¹¹⁹.

¹¹⁸ “Bahçedere Türkmen toplumdur, kadın erkek ayrımı pek yapılmaz. Ama aktif olarak baktığınız zaman, eylemlere katılamıyorlar, görgü bilgi çekingenlik diyebiliriz buna. Kadınlar fiziksel olarak zayıf insanlardır, bir kadın erkek kadar kavga edebilir mi? Hele biraz da bilgisiz bir insansa işe daima tereddütle bakacaktır”

¹¹⁹ “Elbirliğiyle, kadın erkeğimiz aynı şekilde madenin durmasını istiyoruz. Kadınlardan da mitinglere gidenler oldu. Yani kadınlarımız bizim pek konuşma sistemlerimizi filan yapamaz. Aynı zamanda, bize bir soru soracakta cevabını doğru veremeyiz gibi, çekimser kalıyorlar. Kadınların iştirak edemediği şeyler. Buradaki toplantılarımıza iştirak ettiler ama”

CHAPTER 5: SUMMARY and DISCUSSION and CONCLUSION

The effects of social movements on adults in the way of learning experiences and changing of the findings will be summarized, discussed and some conclusions will be drawn from the findings in this chapter.

Summary and Discussion

Demographic characteristics of the participants signify that villager participants of the study are primary school graduate or had not attended to any level of school. These people are mainly from low-income group whose main income comes through farming and olive production. Considering these, it can be denoted that the villager group of the study is among people who need to have a priority in accessing adult education activities and they are the ones who would be affected most from the Kaz Mountains Environmental Social Movement in terms of gaining knowledge and behaviors and attitudes changes. In this context, it can be said that this social movement has provided a chance to one of the preferential part of the society, in attaining knowledge and awareness of social and environmental problems that directly affect their lives.

Another aspect of demographic findings indicate that, activists of the movement who directed the social movement are generally well educated and have better income when it is compared to villager participants of the study.

Initial Thoughts and Participation in the Movement

The participants expressed that, miners that attempt to operate gold mine in the region, tried to take benefit from ignorance of the villagers, and tried to tempt the

people. Expressions of majority of the participants in the way of “miners did not say that they will mine gold in the region when they came the village first” indicate importance of the precise information and accessing this information. Villagers have realized that they are being deceived by the gold miners through asking questions to miners and informal conversations with visitors as activists live in the town, expert people in mining and people from universities, and other institutions etc. This situation shows that, in addition to the learning experiences that come from through movement related activities after participating it, accessing knowledge at the beginning days of the movement has played a significant role in changing villagers’ initial thoughts and being opposed to the gold mining operations in the region. Moreover, the findings of this study support the results of the study of Leloğlu (2001), which indicates that people in the Bergama movement had not have negative thoughts about mining operations initially as well.

Results of this study introduces that the main reason for people to participate in the movement have been getting knowledge about damages of gold mining to their vital needs as water, weather, farms and so themselves. Thinking about the cost of gold mining have disquieted people in the way of their present days and future, and educational interventions to this process has provided coming into being of united and organized response to the miners. Statements of villagers indicate that a fear of being obliged to get out from their village have also played an important role on opposing to miners and participating in the movement. This fear is understandable since a great majority of participants over 50-year-old have lived in their residences since they were born. Besides statements of the participants, the researcher also informally observed this anxiety frequently during both interviews and through informal conversations with participants. In the same way, findings of

Leloğlu (2001) also show that learning about harms of gold mining operations played an important role to decide participating in the movement. What is more, Balta (1999) states in her study again related to the Bergama movement that the main factors mobilized people in participating to the movement had been the fear of dying or getting out from their residence, and even coming to a halt to their farming which is the basic mean of living for them. When it is compared to the Bergama movement on the base of these studies, it is observed that people in Kaz Mountains region have learned about harms of gold mining faster than people in the Bergama movement and have changed their initial thoughts, as a consequence, they have decided to participate in the movement. In this context, it can be easily claimed that the Bergama movement experience has presented important sample for the people in the Kaz Mountains region and people have got a chance of accessing information about costs of mining earlier.

Answers of participants for the question “what types of actions have you done in the struggle?” indicate that, villagers of the study have got very limited responsibilities in the movement. When it is compared with activists in the movement, situation of villagers in the movement can be called as passive participation. Activists have taken many responsibilities from the beginning of the study as contacting people in the region for the support, organizing demonstrations, and information meetings etc. On the other hand, villagers have only participated in organized activities, meetings, demonstrations etc. Only one of the villagers in the sample stated that she had some small responsibilities in the organization of the panel in the town. Besides differences among villagers and activists, findings of the study show that there is also a significant difference among men and women in the way of participating in the movement and related activities where women villagers did not

participate in activities out of the village. Only one of the villagers, above mentioned women, participated in panels, meetings, and demonstrations out of the village. Active participation of this woman is mainly related to her close relationship with one of the activists of the movement. On the other hand, none of the other four female villagers did go out of their village for any activities related to the movement. In this context, one of the activists stated that they had some problems also providing participation of women in the information meetings in the villages. As an example, a female activist expressed that, they tried to announce meetings to all women in one of the villages at first, but few women had participated in these meetings. She stated that basic reasons behind this situation are disinterest and unwillingness of the male villagers to announce the meeting to the women and being ashamed of women about participating in meetings with men in the same place. This activist implied that after they differentiated this situation they have begun to organize separate meetings for women in the village and their participation has increased. The researcher also observed ashamed positions of the women in some interviews. One of the female villagers used the sentence of “I am ignorant. I do not know” frequently and this situation was an interesting observation for the researcher. In this framework, it can be said that after some interventions especially by women activists, female villagers joined in the activities occurred in the village. On the other hand, the vast majority of women villagers have not participated in activities from the village. In her study, Balta (1999) stated that women participated in the Bergama movement in high percentage sometimes even they took part in more radical action when it is compared to men. On the other hand, she highlighted that women participants stocked out especially in non-institutional areas but did not take part in institutional grounds as administration committees.

Findings of this study show that the majority of the subjects in the sample did not have any fear due to participating in the movement. Thinking about damages of gold mining to their environment and vital needs resulted in the thought of “we do not have anything to lose” in the minds of the people and make them more courageous to struggle. Besides, some of the participants stated that they had some anxiety before but they overcame it through the struggle. It seems that negative consequences and severe damages of gold mining to their lives and environment has been one of the main reasons behind abolishing fear. Furthermore, supports of people to the movement especially from outside of the village have played an important role on people to overcome their anxieties. Similarly, Leloğlu (2001) stated that fear of being arrested, being on trial, and being punished had been overcome due to the effects of economic and health related anxieties in the Bergama movement. On the other hand, some participants stated that their anxieties are not related to the participating in the Kaz Mountains movement but related to the process that they have lived in. Some example expressions as following: VP8, [This mine makes us doubtful. It will remove us from our homeland. We have a stress. We are going to the garden and coming, we are all thinking about miners. Whether will they come, will they operate mine? Someone tells they will do, someone tells not, so and so]¹²⁰. VP10, [I have desponded. Until it suspended, we could not sleep. In the evening we watch the film here and go your home. Can you sleep?]¹²¹ The researcher also observed informally this situation during the each interview. Crying of one of the women villager during the interview when she was talking about the costs of mining is a concrete example of this anxiety.

¹²⁰ “Bu maden bizi şüphelendiriyor. Yerimiz yurdumuzdan edecek. Bi stres var, bahçeye gidiyoz, geliyoz, madenci, kafamızı bozdu bu iş. Ulen acaba geliverecekler mi, ulen acaba çıkaracaklar mı? Biri diyo çıkaracaklarımı, biri diye şöyle”

¹²¹ “Bi moralim bozuldu. Askıya alıncaya kadar, valla uyku uyumuyorduk. Akşam burda filme bakta git yat evde, uyuyabiliyor musun?”

In terms of participants' thought about the success of the movement, it is observed that there is a hope and some doubts are among people. Interestingly, responses of participants reflect some lack of confidence to the government and the legal system in one way, and desperation of them to these in the other way. Since participants state that they are right in their struggle on the base of borders of the law, they also have an anxiety about decision of the government and the law. The words of one of the villagers as "Yes I believe our struggle will be successful. But what does the government do? If they say 'we will definitely operate mines', we can not oppose this by guns"¹²² reflect this paradoxical situation.

Learning in the Movement

One of the main aims of this study is to explore learning experiences of participants in and due to the movement. Results reflect that people both learned through nonformal and informal ways in the movement, and people have learned many things in different matters due to the participating in the movement. One of the activists' comment, "If I would get tutorial through paying money, I do not know if I could learn as much as I learned in this struggle"¹²³ provide the important clue about the value of learning in the movement. Major learning experiences of the people would be grouped under the following headings of learning related to, the environmental issues, the forensic issues especially directly associated with mining operations in the region, effects of mining operations to the level of income of people, and other social movements.

¹²² "Ben inanıyorum, başaracağız. Fakat hükümet ne yapar? Eğer derselerki, biz kesinlikle açacağız madeni, biz o zaman buna silahla karşı koyamayız."

¹²³ "Para ödeyerek ders alsaydım, bilmiyorum bu mücadelede öğrendiğim kadar şey öğrenebilirdim"

Each subjects stated something related to cyanide and its' effects on their environment and themselves. Since some learning experiences about environmental issues provided the changes on participants' initial thoughts, these experiences have triggered their participation in the movement where after this process learning experiences of the participants have increased. It can be said that learning related to environmental issues have been the major learning experience in the movement in the way of both individually and being widespread among participants. Furthermore, expressions of participants betray that especially nonformal education activities have been effective in this process. The following statement of one of the villager participants is a symbolic about the importance of information meetings in the village: "They told the cyanide is a poisonous waste and it is harmful for the health of people and nature, to any people, also people who did not attended any school."¹²⁴ Besides, nonformal ways of learning, concrete observations of the participants also have been effective in the way of environment based learning experiences. Participants have observed cutting down the trees to provide ways for the operations by the miners, poisonous wastes of operations, and drilling bores etc. All these observations, informal conservations of people among themselves, and educational interventions through information meetings, have triggered the environmental learning experiences of participants. These findings support the results of Leloğlu (2001), where she stated that all participants in the Bergama movement know about cyanide, gold mining operations, health problems and environmental pollution related to mining process.

Participants of the study also have learned about the mining related laws in the struggle. It seems that these types of learning especially widespread among

¹²⁴ "Siyanürün zehirli bir atık olduğunu, insan sağlığına veya doğaya zararını milletin kafasına, hiç okula gitmemiş insana dahi anlattılar yani"

activists where finite number of villagers stated about these laws. The mining law and the law of olive are two main laws which operations in the region have direct relationships with these. One of the activists stated that they have focused on especially mining law in information meetings and panels, where she thinks that the struggle must focused and must be directed to this law. This activist expressed that she learned the depredation of international companies and relationship of this depredation to the mining law, after she participated in the movement. Besides, findings indicate that since some male villagers stated some passages in their interviews related to laws, none of the female villagers mentioned about this type of learning. Male villagers' laws related learning were about the mining law especially where it seems that mainly knowledge about privileges of international companies that the law provides has been attained by these villagers. The words of "The government threatens big income for the sake of taking only two percent from the foreign country. Of course they will give that two percent, if they say 'we pan the gold'. It is so nonsense. We learned such issues in the struggle"¹²⁵ reflect the one of the villagers referring to the mining law and his reaction.

Participants' expressions indicate that they also learned about how the mining operations will affect their income. Providing extra income to the villagers has been the main claim of the miners to convince villagers at the beginning of their operations. According to expressions of participants, miners told villagers that "Some of you will work in the mine and we will also provide you some incentives to make you truck owners which will be used for the transportation works for the

¹²⁵ "Azından birçok geliri tehdit ediyor devlet, dış ülkeden alacağı yüzde ikili paraya. O da çıktı derse verecek sana, bu kadar da olmaz. Bunları da hep buralarda öğrendik"

mine.”¹²⁶ Since villagers learned especially harms of mining to their environment and also on themselves at the beginning and have begun to oppose mining operations, they have also learned how this process will affect their income. According to the informal observations of the researcher, in addition to the information meetings and other knowledge sources, especially one of the main slogans of the movement “Surface of Kaz Mountains is more valuable than the inside of it”¹²⁷ has drawn attention of the public to this dimension as well. Thinking and learning about the harms of mining to olive trees, therefore, to their main income have been one of the main motivations of participants in the movement.

Findings of the study indicate that people who participated in the movement also learned relationship to the similar environmental problems in other regions and movements oppose to these problems. Since this type of learning differentiates among participants of the study, it is obvious that each subject has learned from mining operations in other places and social movements in these places. Gold mining operations in Bergama, the opposing social movement in this region, and the problems that occur in this movement are most known among nearly all participants. However, it is obviously reflected in responses of the participants that since activists are aware of environmental problems and movements in Turkey, villager learned about problems and movements in close places, especially around Çanakkale and Balıkesir cities. This situation is comprehensible since activists are directly related to Kaz Mountains Preservation Initiative and this group has a relationship with many groups around the country. However, while male villagers frequently talk about the problems and movements in their close regions, female villagers rarely mentioned about this topic.

¹²⁶ “Bazılarınız madende çalışacak. Madenin taşıma işlerini yapmak için size teşvikte vereceğiz, madende kullanılacak kamyonları almak için.”

¹²⁷ “Kaz Dağları’nın üstü altın’dan değerlidir”

Learning experiences from other places have affected people in different ways. Activists in the movement mentioned about mining operations and opposite movements in other regions in information meetings. Especially visual materials that cover pictures and videos about the harms and effects of mining operations in other regions have affected the learning motivation of the villagers in the meetings. Villagers' learning experiences related to other places are generally focused on the costs of mining to environment, people, and animals. Images from other regions embed in the memories of people, and these images have made people anxious about their future. Moreover, this situation has affected their motivation in their struggle. Besides the harms of mining operations, participants have also learned about problems of social movements in other places. Many villagers referred to the question of how people in Bergama were divided into different parts in the process of opposing mining operations and how this situation damaged the movement. Participants also learned about how the miners have tried to divide the movement in Bergama and they have been successful in some ways. Some villagers mentioned about how they learned from the mistakes of people and the movement in Bergama. It is obviously clear that after participating in the movement both activists and villagers have learned many things from other places while people had very limited knowledge before.

When we look in to the sources of learning, it seems that information meetings and programs on television channels have been the two main ways of learning experiences for the participants. Findings of the study indicate that learning ways or places of the participants undergo a change among both activists and villagers and, among male and female villagers. Moreover, activists use nearly all the instruments for the learning such as meetings, demonstrations, panels, newspapers,

television channels, visiting of other regions, the internet. On the other hand, since female villagers stated that they learned only through information meetings in the village and televisions, male villagers also mentioned about newspapers, panels in the town and the city, visiting other regions and demonstrations as a way of their learning experiences. Findings of the study and the informal observations of the researcher indicate that informal conversations among people are also important learning sources for all participants. So it can be said that both nonformal and informal learning ways of learning occur in the movement. This study has similar results with the study of Leloğlu (2001) related to sources of learning in the Bergama movement. She stated that it is benefited from meetings and panels, field visiting, video films, television, newspaper, book in the education process of the Bergama movement. Leloğlu (2001) had also focused on learning experiences spanned from people to people.

Changes Based Effects of the Movement

Another main point of the study is changes on people that arising from the participating in the movement. These changes are categorized in two ways, one of them is the personal changes and the other one changes in interpersonal relations. Both the findings of the study and personal observations of the researcher point out that participants' self confidence has changed positively due to the participation in the movement. In this context, through participating in meetings, demonstrations, and some other actions, participants have felt that they are doing something for their environment and their future and this situation has been one of the factors in developing their self confidence. Besides, realizing that many people support them in their environment and all around the country has affected the self confidence of the

participants significantly. Both crowded people in demonstrations and continuous visiting from outside of the village are some of the main images in the participants' memory about this issue. This situation was echoed in the expressions of one of the participants also as following: "We felt people from Gulf region are with us. Feeling that there are people supporting us around have increased our self-confidence"¹²⁸. These findings support the results of Leloğlu's (2001) study in the way of development of self-confidences of people.

Findings show that participating in the movement has given a rise to increase in the sensitiveness of people to the environment and the nature as well. Many participants stated that since they have become conscious through their struggle, they have been more sensitive to their environment and they began to think more about it. Similarly, Leloğlu (2001) stated that environmental sensitiveness of people developed due to their participation in the Bergama movement.

Thoughts of the participants to the other movements and struggles have also changed due the movement. Findings indicate that concrete difficulties because of the mining operations in the region have make people think about struggles of the other people in various regions. One dimension of this change has been in the way of increasing in the interest of people to other struggles. Many participants stated that they watch or listen or read more carefully if it is related to the struggles of people in other places. The majority of the subjects mentioned that they had not cared about other peoples' movement before since they were not aware of what is happening in other regions and they were unconscious. They stated that since they have similar difficulties in their region they can understand those people well now. None of the villagers has participated any demonstration, panels, and meetings before and

¹²⁸ "Körfez bölgesini yanımızda hissettik. İnsanların bizi desteklediğini görmek kendimize güvenimiz artırdı."

participation in such activities through their movement has changed their thoughts of in the way of perceiving other movements. It is obvious that being in the movement has provided to form empathy relationships with others.

Another dimension of personal changes has been in the way of forming new relationships with new people. Through participating in the movement, people have got the chance of meeting with new people where they also have been together with different thoughts of people that they have never got together before.

People that participated in the movement also have undergone changes on the base of interpersonal relations. The movement has made the participants come together and establish close relationships. On the other hand, people participated in the movement have excluded people from their environment who support mining operations. These two types of happenings reflect the main changes related to interpersonal relationships. Furthermore, some participants stated about the increased doubt in the town and in the village that is related to thoughts about who are supporting mining operations. Especially, two of the activists expressed some passages related to this issue. One of the activists mentioned that since they came from outside of the town, some people in the town and villages have got suspects about herself and her husband. Besides, one of the other activists stated about increased skepticism among people that he described this nearly as a paranoid dimension.

Another change on the basis of interpersonal relations is related to coming together of people from different parts of the society. Some participants give an example of coming together of politicians that they had never met before, but they met for this struggle. Leloğlu (2001) stated that disbeliefs and prejudices among people with different ethnic and belief origin are decreased after they participated in

the Bergama movement. Despite the participants of Kaz Mountains movement did not state anything in this context, it can be said that people who are against to mining operations have been closer to each other and different parts of the society have come together due to the movement.

Specifically one dimension of the changes in interpersonal relations is on the base of gender relations. In spite of all participants, men and women in the sample stated that participation of both women and men in the movement is important for the success of the movement according to themselves, some other statements refer women have made a limited contribution to the movement. On the other hand one male activist and one male villager stated that women are different from men and women's limited participation to the activities related to the movement is normal.

In spite of these negative situations, there are also some positive steps which are taken in the way of providing social visibility of women both in the town and villages, where two women activist participants (AP) stated about this issue in their expressions. AP2 mentioned about how being women that come from outside of the town in the movement triggered participation of indigenous women to the movement, and also movement have made women villagers more visible in front of the society. According to the this activist, since villager women talked with people from outside of the village, talked to the cameras and journalists, participated in the meetings, these situations provided the development of self-confidence of these women. She indicated that increasing in social visibility of women also affected men and has made them more respectful to their wives. Besides, the other woman activist stated that she observed positive effects especially on women in the town due to the participating in the movement. According to her, participation of women to Kaz

Mountains Preservation Initiative meetings enabled their mobility easier in the town. On the base of these results it is hard to say that there is a clear change on gender relations due to the participating in the movement. It can be said that despite there have been some developments in the way of making women stronger on the base of gender roles, these are so limited. Moreover, results of the study indicate that any problems that can affect participation as financial, work related etc. in the movement, affect women at first. Leloğlu (2001) stated in her study that participation in the Bergama movement had played a role in providing gender equality and in making women more powerful. On the other hand in her study, Balta (1999) expressed that, the Bergama movement had invoked some changes on the level of gender relations but it had not brought advanced changes about this issue. So the results of this study mainly support the results of the study of Balta (1999).

Conclusion

In conclusion, participating in the Kaz Mountains Environmental Social Movement has provided people facilities of accessing knowledge related to environmental, health, law, and income based issues and mining operations and opposite movements in other places. These learning experiences point out that this social movement has been an important learning source for the participants and it has provided the possibility of acquiring knowledge to people that is directly related to their current and future lives. What is more, participating in the movement has brought some changes on people both in personally and interpersonally.

Freire (1973) told that “Liberation is a praxis: the action and reflection of men and women upon their world in order to transform it” (p. 66). People in Kaz Mountains Environmental Social Movement have learned and changes occurred on

themselves through their praxis. This praxis has opened the doors of vital knowledge to the people in the region that provides how the gold mining operations will affect them. The knowledge that is produced through the Kaz Mountains Social Movement has been related always with the action. Participants have learned at the beginning and changed their initial thoughts on the base of these learning experiences and have acted against to mining operations. Then people have learned in the action more and tried to change the reality that threat their lives and environment more consciously. Freire (1973) defines two types of education, where the first one is banking model of education and the second one the problem posing education. According to him, through problem-posing education, people “develop their power to perceive critically the way they exist in the world with which and in which they find themselves; they come to see the world not as a static reality, but as a reality in process, in transformation” (p.71). People in the Kaz Mountains Environmental Social Movement have both criticized the world, political economic system that they live in and themselves as well. Participants have questioned themselves in terms of their thoughts about their sensitiveness to their environment and other justice movements and undergo changes positively. Freire (1973) emphasizes “the point of departure of the movement lies in the people themselves. But since people do not exist apart from the world, apart from reality, the movement must begin with the human-world relationship. Accordingly, the point of departure must always be with men and women in the "here and now," which constitutes the situation within which they are submerged, from which they emerge, and in which they intervene” (p.73). The findings of the study indicate that participants of the movement have begun to intervene their environment and their thoughts have been changed through being conscious due to the movement.

In recent years, field of adult education and learning focused on vocational and market oriented learning experiences due to neoliberal political economies in the globalization era. In the hegemony of neoliberal policies, “there is a danger that the term will come to be defined as work-life learning rather than lifelong learning” (Jarvis, 1999, p.251), where the lifelong learning is a term that is mostly related to adult learning. In this context, social movements that provide the ways of learning related to people’s vital needs and their futures and provide chance of occurrence of changing in terms of being more responsible and sensitive to the world and other people. This situation makes social movements more important when the hegemony of neoliberalism on adult learning is thought as well.

Limitations of the Study

At the beginning it should be stated that, since the study is a qualitative study and explore the case of Kaz Mountains Environmental Social Movement, findings of this study can not be generalized for other social movements. The movement population is represented with sixteen people in specific region and concurrently with a limited number of participants interviewed; specific economic, social and cultural features of the region reduces the generalizability of the results. On the other hand, since answers of both activists and villagers about main issues resemble each other and repeat after some interviews, the sample represents the population of Kaz Mountains Environmental Social Movement.

The main data of the study is collected through face to face deep interviews by the semi-structured interview form that is formed by the researcher. Some participants could answer the questions in the form in socially acceptable and desirable way that could give rise to some bias. Moreover, conclusions and some

discussions are drawn from both findings of the study and the personal observations of the researcher where observations of the researcher could have some biases on the base of understandings, thoughts and background of him.

Interviews conducted to the participants during two days in the Kaz Mountains region and the researcher visited the region once more before the conducting the interview forms. Due to the work, education and finance based reasons, the researcher could not visit the region more and because of this situation, the researcher could not observe the educational activities related to the movement.

This study presents a broad frame for participating and learning in the movement, and changes occurred on people due to participating in the movement. Both academic and personal background restrictions of the researcher have affected not exploring effects of people's psychological, social and economic factors on their learning experiences and occurrence of changes on themselves.

Recommendations for Further Research

As this and other studies indicate that social movements are important places for adults' learning and occurrence for changes. Findings of this study only represent the Kaz Mountains Environmental Social Movement and each social movement, based on environmental issues or other issues, has special characteristics related to socio-economic, social, and cultural characteristics of the region that the movement occurs and the people participated in it. There are very few studies related to effects of social movements on adults in the way of learning and change especially in Turkey thus similar studies should be implemented in different movements.

Findings of this study represent some general results related to the difference of active participation to the movement among both activists and villagers,

and men and women villagers. Participation in the movement affects the learning experiences and occurrence of changes for the people. Despite the fact that difference in participation the movement understandable among activists and villagers in a sense, further studies should highlight in detail that the handicaps of women that prevent participation of them especially in educational-information meetings.

Besides, this study explores learning experiences of participants of the movement and changes occurred on them further studies should investigate why the other people live in the region do not participated in the movement and do they learn anything due the movement occurs.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

The Interview Guide
(Turkish Form)

Kaz Dağları Çevre Hareketi Öğrenme Deneyimleri Alan Araştırması Görüşme

Formu

Bu görüşme formu Boğaziçi Üniversitesi Eğitim Fakültesi Yetişkin Eğitimi yüksek lisans programında yürütülmekte olan bir tez çalışmasına veri elde etmek amacıyla oluşturulmuştur. Cevaplarınız isim kullanmayarak bu çalışmanın verileri olarak kullanılacak ve araştırmacıda gizli tutulacaktır. Katkılarınız için teşekkür ederim.

Onur Seçkin

Boğaziçi Üniversitesi

Görüşme no:

Görüşme tarihi, saati ve yeri:

Cinsiyet: Kadın () Erkek ()

Yaşınız:

Eğitim Durumunuz:

İşiniz:

Medeni durumunuz:

Çocuk Sayısı:

(Evlisenez) Eşinizin işi:

Kaç yıldır burada yaşıyorsunuz:

1. Kaz Dağlarında çeşitli şirketlerin yürüttüğü altın arama çalışmalarına karşı verilen bir mücadele içindediniz. Burada altın aranacağını ilk duyduğunuz da ne düşündünüz?

2. Bu mücadeleye katılmaya nasıl karar verdiniz?
3. Bu mücadele içinde ne gibi çalışmalar yaptınız?
4. Bu mücadeleye katılmış olmanız hayatınızda, ne gibi değişikliklere yol açtı?
5. Bu mücadele içerisinde neler öğrendiğinizi düşünüyorsunuz?
Altına ilişkin
Çevre sorunlarına ilişkin
6. Bu öğrendiğiniz şeyleri nasıl öğrendiniz? Hangi yollarla?
Toplantılar/paneller/filmler/gazete/dergi/televizyon
5. Çevre konusunda başka yerlerde verilen mücadeleler hakkında bilginiz var mı? Bu mücadelelerden öğrendiğiniz şeyler oldu mu? Ne gibi?
8. Bu mücadeleye katılımınız düşüncelerinizde, davranışlarınızda ne gibi değişikliklere neden oldu? Bu mücadeleye katıldığınızdan bu yana hayatınızda başka değişiklikler de oldu mu?
9. Bu mücadele içerisinde insanlar arasındaki ilişkilerde öncesine göre değişiklikler oldu mu? Ne gibi?
10. Bu mücadele içerisinde kadınlarla erkeklerin altın arama çalışmalarının durdurulması için beraber çalışması hakkında ne düşünüyorsunuz? Sizce bu birliktelik kadınlarla erkeklerle arasındaki ilişkilerde değişiklik yarattı mı?
11. Bu mücadeleye başlarken bir korku ya da çekince yaşadınız mı? Neden yaşadınız? Bunu daha sonra atlatabildiniz mi? Nasıl atlattınız?
12. Verdiğiniz mücadelenin başarıya ulaşması konusunda ne düşünüyorsunuz?
13. Böyle bir mücadeleye katılmanız, başka konularda verilen mücadelelere ilişkin düşüncelerinizde değişikliklere neden oldu mu? Ne gibi değişiklikler?

APPENDIX B

The Interview Guide

(English Form)

The Interview Form for the Learning Experiences in the Kaz Mountains
Environmental Social Movement Field Study

This Interview Form is prepared to collect data for the thesis study that continues in the Adult Education Master of Arts programme in the Faculty of Education in Boğaziçi University. Your answers will be used as data of this study without your names and researcher will keep your answers. Thanks for your contributions.

Onur Seçkin

Boğaziçi University

Interview number:

Interview date, time and, place:

Sex: Female () Male ()

Age:

Education level:

Occupation:

Marital status:

Number of children:

(If you are married) Job of your partner:

How many years do you live here:

1. You are in the movement which opposes gold mining operations that some companies attempt to operate in Kaz Mountains? What did you think when you first heard about they will mine gold here?
2. How did you decide to participate in this struggle?
3. What types of actions did you run in this struggle?
4. What types of changes occurred on yourselves due to participating in this movement?
5. What do you think about your learning experiences in this struggle?

Related to gold

Related to environmental problems

.....

6. How did you learn such things? Through which ways?
Meetings/Panels/Films/Newspaper/Journal/TV etc.
7. Do you know anything about other environmental movements? Did you learn anything from these movements? What types learning?
8. What types of changing occurred in your thoughts and behaviors due to participating in this struggle? Have any other changes occurred since you have participated in this struggle?
9. Have any change occurred on interpersonal relations in this struggle? What types?
10. What do you think about that women and men struggle together in this struggle against gold mining operations? Do you think that this togetherness have made any changes on gender relations?
11. Did you have any fears or any anxiety at the beginning of your participation in this movement? Why did you live? Have you overcome them? How did you overcome?
12. What do you think about the success of the movement that also you are in?
13. Have any changes occurred on your thoughts about other social movements due to your participation in this struggle? What types of changes?

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