

“ENVIRONMENT IS OUR MOTHER, MINING IS OUR FATHER”:
CONTESTING GOLD MINING IN TURKEY

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“ENVIRONMENT IS OUR MOTHER, MINING IS OUR FATHER”:
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Thesis Abstract

İrem K k, “Environment is Our Mother, Mining is Our Father: Contesting Gold Mining in Turkey”

This study dwells into the discursive contestation over the new gold mining investments by utilizing discourse analysis and the actor-based approach. Applying these approaches to the notorious mining conflicts across the world, this thesis advances the argument that discursive battle in the mining conflicts is shaped by the efforts of actors who try to fix their understanding of reality in an effort to garner support for their cause. The process of articulation becomes politically important, as it gives power to opposition groups to act strategically by playing with the discursive field. The Kaz Mountains mining conflict can also be analyzed as a case study of similar discursive contestation. In their animation of the discourses of environmentalism, developmentalism and nationalism, actors try to shape the discursive space by drawing cultural, social and political connections with the local so as to gain support either for pro or anti-mining cause. On the one hand, mining corporations and state articulated powerful discourses of development and environment by drawing a line between the technocratic and the politically-oriented understandings of environment and economic development in order to dismiss the reactions raised by the local opposition and to counter the bad publicity of mining in the eye of people. On the other, local activists successfully carried out the anti-mining cause by articulating new mining investments with ecological, cultural and social destruction and therefore garnered support from local people. All in all, this study seeks to underline the role of actors in shaping the politics of mining conflicts by engaging in imaginative articulation process, and how it empowers the opposition groups to act strategically in their struggle against state and mining corporations.

Tez Özeti

İrem K k, “Çevre Anamız, Madencilik Babamız: T rkiye’de Altın Madenciliğini Tartışmak”

Bu alıřma s ylem analizi ve akt r temelli yaklařımdan yararlanarak yeni altın madeni yatırımları  zerine olan s ylemsel tartiřmaları incelemektedir. D nya apındaki  nl  maden tartiřmalarını inceleyerek, maden tartiřmalarındaki tarafların kendi davaları icin giretikleri m cadelenin aynı zamanda akt rlerin kendi gerceklik anlayiřlarının doęruluęunu ispatlamaya alıřtikları bir s ylemsel m cadele olduęu tezini savunmaktadır. Bu baęlamda eklemleme/artik lasyon s reci s ylem alanını Őekillendirerek, karřı gruplara stratejik hareket etme g c n  saęladıęı icin siyasi olarak  nem tařımaktadır. Kaz Daęları maden tartiřmaları da benzeri bir s ylem m cadelesinin  rnek alıřmasını oluřturmaktadır. Bu arařtırma Kaz Daęları’ndaki altın madeni tartiřmalarında yer alan akt rlerin artik le ettięi evrecilik, kalkınmacılık, milliyetilik ve ulus tecilik s ylemlerine bakarak maden yanlısı ve karřıtı tarafların destek kazanmak icin giretikleri m cadeleyi anlamaya alıřmaktadır. Bir yandan devlet ve maden Őirketleri yeni maden yatırımlarıyla ilgili toplumsal algıyı y netmeye alıřırken, otoriter evre ve kalkınma s ylemlerinin Őekillendięini g rmek m mk nd r. Maden Őirketleri ve devlet tarafından artik le edilen evrecilik ve ekonomik kalkınma s ylemlerinin aslında teknokratik ve siyasi ayırımını yaparak maden yatırımlarına karřı tepkileri bastırma abalarını da incelemektedir. Dięer yandan yerel aktivistlerin, maden yatırımlarını ekolojik, sosyal ve k lt rel yıkımla baędařlařtırarak, maden karřıtı m cadele icin yerel halktan destek almayı bařardıklarını g rmek m mk nd r. Sonu olarak, bu alıřma maden tartiřmalarında akt rlerin giretikleri eklemleme/artik lasyon s recinin  nemini vurgulayarak karřı grupların maden Őirkelerine ve devlete karřı nasıl bir stratejik hareket etme g c  saęladıęını incelemektedir.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

“A gold mine is a hole in the ground with a liar on top.”
(Mark Twain quoted in Emel and Huber 2008;1393)

As said by Twain a century ago, the quotation given above reminds us the significance of framing the mine sites as a matter of representation, which is constantly contested and filtered through cultural, historical and political web of meanings. The history of mine sites embodies the stories of colonization, labor exploitation, national projects and imaginations of modernity. Therefore, the mining activities are not merely the alteration of physical landscape for extracting the socially and economically valued minerals, or to put in Twain's words, it is not just digging hole in the ground. The politics of representation in the mining disputes, from historical examples to the new mining sites, remains to be a crucial one. As this study underlie, one need to pay attention to the greater transformation in the global mining sector, as well as to terms of contestation over the mining investments in order to understand the nature of mining disputes, especially the new ones.

Starting with the 1980s, the restructuring of mining legislation in more than 90 countries under the World Bank's fiscal framework in order to attract highly-risky global investments has become a marker of neoliberalization in the mining sector (Emel and Huber 2008). Not only the massive privatization of previously national mining ventures was carried out on the account that they were inefficient humble ventures, but also the legislative body regulating the mining sector was liberalized so as to open minerals extraction to the transnational mining investments. The reduction of rents and entry fees for global mining investments, the rise in the mineral prices in the first half of the 1980s, and the invention of new production techniques, such as the cyanide leaching method, has

ushered the search for low-grade gold reserves across the world (Dinc 2003; 4). Holding the flagship of Foreign Direct Investment (FDI) model, World Bank and IMF has enabled the rewriting of national legislations for expanding the resource base to the global mining investments in exploration and extraction of mineral resources. The impact of liberalization was significant in the newly liberalized countries, such as Indonesia, Peru and Chile, where mineral investments were almost tripled during 1990s; whereas in countries known to be liberalized for a long time like USA, South Africa and Canada, the volume of minerals investments were slightly increased during the same period (Bridge 2004a; 412-413). On the other hand, countries such as Ghana, Mexico, Argentina, Brazil, China and Russia, where there used to be relatively small number of mining ventures between mid-to-large scale, the flow of investments were almost doubled throughout the same time interval (Ibid., 415).

This global trend in search for new mineral ores has retrieved the spirit of rush for gold of mid-nineteenth century California. As the new mineral investments render new mineral resources attractive to international investment capital raised in metropolitan centers like Toronto, London, and New York City, geographies of new mining investment in Third World has also been changed by *scale* both in the geographical sense of *going global* for sources of finance and more in conventional sense of increasing the volume and value of investment flows (Bridge 2008; 80). As the globalist dreams of attracting transnational mining investments found its appeal at the national level, the form of new mining ventures has differed immensely in various countries. At one extreme, new mining ventures took the extremely extractive form by giving too much power to the private transnational mining companies and surpassing the local communities, as it is exemplified in the copper mines of Zambia (Ferguson 1999). On the other hand, it could be a failure of

mining companies to attract financial and popular support even in the mining exploration period, as in the case of the Bre-X mining investment scandal in Indonesia (Tsing 2005). Instead of assuming that mining investments are hegemonic capitalist ventures with all-encompassing power to shape national and local spaces, this research will seek to pay attention to the nuances among different mining cases to point out vulnerability of mining projects in appealing to the national and local imaginations.

Concurrently with neoliberalization story, the greening of mining sector is yet another demarcating feature of politics of mining starting with mid-1990s. This particularly recent history of the greening of discursive practices in the mining asector has been related with the growing dissent in the vicinity of new mining investments. As a consequence of escalation of local community conflicts in the new mine sites, the global mining lobby has begun to reflect on these criticisms that jeopardize their operations. Even though the mining sector is one of visibly extractive industry altering the physical landscape, the adaptation of the green discourses under sustainable mining concept was not so far. The vulnerability of the mining sector to the withdrawal of financial capital and the need for social license to operate has been decisive in the adaptation of sustainability discourse by the global mining business. The emergence of recent institutional initiatives suggests that mining business networks effectively begin to articulate their own discourses of environmentality. The Global Mining Initiative (GMI), the Mining, Minerals and Sustainable Development Project (MMSD) from which the GMI gave rise to the Extractive Industries Transparency of the UK government, and the World Bank's Extractive Industries Review have been instrumental in the institutionalization of the sustainability discourse in the mining sector (Bridge 2004b;207).

As a consequence of the institutionalization of the powerful discourses of

sustainability in the mining sector, global mining corporations begin to shape the contestation over the new mining investments, and try to secure the public support in various countries by adhering to the discourses of environment, development, social responsibility, and so forth. These new sets of discursive practices animated by the mining sector become important discursive strategies in constructing their authority over the representation of problems related with mining activities. However, these discourses were not unmet by the local activists and communities who engage in a fierce criticism of these new set of practices. As various actors involved in the new mining disputes, it has become more important to map out the articulations of different discourses animated by these actors. As they partake in a struggle over discursive hegemony, actors begin to play a crucial role in shaping the politics of discussing the new mining investments.

In order to understand the contestation over the discursive space of mining conflicts, this study inquires into a set of inter-related questions which goes as the following: What has changed over last two decades that we begin to witness community struggles over environment in the vicinity of mine sites?; What is the role of actors in shaping the discursive space of mining conflicts?; In what ways, mining corporations have adopted the environmentalist discourse?; What is the role of state in the mining conflicts?; How do local communities counter corporate understanding of environmental governance?; In what ways, the inclusion of civil society in the mining dispute has changed the politics of mining? The centrality of these questions throughout the research kept me thinking about the ways in which various actors involved in the mining disputes and how they shape the discursive space.

Firstly by looking at the notorious examples of gold mining disputes across the world, I seek to understand the terms of contestation over the discursive space shaped by various

actors involved in the mining conflicts. In order to understand the greater transformation in the mining sector of Turkey and the rising environmental conflicts in the vicinity of mine sites, one need to look beyond the boundaries of Turkey. The ramifications of transformation in the global mining business in line with the new technological advancements and adoption of environmental discourses has also brought these sets of relevant questions to the research agenda of my study. The review of other mining cases has not only provided me to put mining conflicts of Turkey in a perspective by looking at the terms of contestation animated by actors in various part of the world, but also enabled me to grasp the greater transformation occurring in the mining sector globally.

For my case study, I choose to focus on the discursive contestation over the prospective gold mining investments in Kaz Mountains region. As a relatively recent mining dispute in the Western part of the Turkey, Kaz Mountains case can be seen as a vivid example of discursive struggle over the truthful representation of mining issue in Turkey. Entangled with the discussions over the notorious precedents, such as the infamous Bergama-Ovacik and Usak-Kisladag gold mines, Kaz Mountains case is informed by the discussions with regards to the transformation of mining sector in Turkey. Learning from the past experiences, all actors involved in the Kaz Mountains conflict try to shape the discussions with their own understanding of reality with regards to the possible impacts of new mining investments for the region.

Drawing upon the terms of articulation floating the discursive space of mining conflict in Kaz Mountains, I will seek to find answers in the Kaz Mountains case by looking at articulations of various discourses of environmentalism, developmentalism and nationalism. Applying discourse analysis and actor-based approach, this study tries to capture the nature of contestation over the discursive space of Kaz Mountains case. By

analyzing the ways in which local activists draw social, cultural and political connections with the local, I aim to show that these connections are instrumental in criticizing powerful discourses animated by state and mining corporations and thus to gain support for anti-mining cause.

A Brief Discussion of the Methodology and Case Study

Throughout the thesis, discourse analysis and actor-based approach is deployed in order to capture the contestation over the new mining investments at world scale, Turkey and Kaz Mountains case, respectively. I choose to employ a combination of discourse analysis and actor-based approach in this research in order to understand the strategies used by each actor involved in discussing the new mining investments. Although I will elaborate more on the mechanisms by which each actor engages in the politics of discussing mining investments in my discussion of theoretical framework in chapter two and three, I will briefly discuss here how I employ discourse analysis and actor based approach throughout the thesis, and how I apply it to my case study of Kaz Mountains.

Discourse analysis is becoming popular in environmental politics, especially in capturing the ramifications of various understandings of environment by actors involved in an environmental conflict (see Hajer 1995; Luke 1997; Gupta 1995; Brand and Thomas 2005; Zimmerer 2004; Goldman 2005; Darier 2005). Together with the proliferation of humanities and social science research on environmental issues, it is now important for social theorists to analyze different conceptualizations of environment by various actors. The concept of discourse and discourse analysis also turn out to be pertinent to the study of politics of environment arising from the dissatisfaction with the materialist/essentialist approaches to environment. Howarth et al.'s review of the use of concept of discourse and

discourse analysis in humanities and social sciences touches upon this heated debate between positivist/rationalist and post-structuralist theories, and explains how discourse theory become so popular in social science research in general and for the study of environment in particular (Howarth et al 2000). They argue that emergence and development of discourse theory has been stimulated by the weakness of mainstream paradigms of social science research, such as positivism and behaviouralism, and as well as to challenge class and economic reductionism of classical Marxist theory (Ibid., 8).

The proliferation of post-structuralist discourse theory has also transformed the study of politics of environment. In his analysis of poststructuralist epistemology of nature, Arturo Escobar argues that the postructuralist analysis of discourse attack this division between materialist and discursive analysis by rejecting the treatment of language as a mere reflection of material reality, as it is treated in mainstream paradigms of social science research (Escobar 2010; 95). Related with this debate, Howarth et al argues that Laclau and Mouffe's discourse theory (Laclau and Mouffe 1985) brings a novel approach to discourse analysis both by endorsing the critiques of mainstream and essentialist paradigms and finding points of convergence between different approaches in an effort to put forward a plausible and empirically justifiable explanations of social and political world (Howarth et al 2000; 1). Escobar reads the contribution of Laclau and Mouffe to discourse theory and the study of nature in a similar fashion by arguing that discourse become a process through which social reality comes into being in their analysis(Escobar 2010; 95). I will turn back to a detailed discussion of post-structuralist theories of discourse and its applications in environmental conflicts in the second chapter, but it is sufficient to say here that my employment of discourse analysis both as a methodology and theoretical framework is in line with the post-structuralist reading of the nature of discursive struggle in the mining

conflicts.

In conjunction with discourse analysis, I also find ‘actor-based approach’ useful methodology to analyze the role of actors in their framing of environment, development and nationalism as they engage in a struggle to secure their definition of reality at the discursive level. In their extensive review of methodologies for studying third world political ecology, Bryant and Bailey offered ‘actor-based approach’ to frame the role of each actor in understanding the relation between the politics and environment (Bryant and Bailey 1997; 23). I will open this approach further in chapter three, but it is suffice to say here that this approach also proved to be useful when I outline the role of each actor in shaping the discursive ground in mining conflicts.

For the Kaz Mountains mining case, discourse analysis and actor-based approach provided me the appropriate methodology to assess the different understandings of environmentalism, developmentalism, nationalism and transnationalism animated by the local activists in their struggle against the state and mining corporations. During the escalation of gold mining dispute in Kaz Mountains region, one can notice that actors engage in a discursive contestation over the prospective gold mining investments in the region, instead of an operating gold mine site. This fact contributed to my decision to conduct discourse analysis in the research, since the discursive contestation between actors over the prospective mining investments remarked the politics of conflict right after the mining explorations were publicized.

The core of original field work is done in four villages in the vicinity of mining explorations. Other than these villages, I also included other mountain villages which have been far to the exploration site yet been actively involved in the anti-mining campaign. For a week in mid-January 2009, I paid a visit to the region and conducted semi-structured

interviews with local activists and the villagers. Throughout the study, names of informants are kept anonymous so as to provide protection to actors involved in the dispute, even though some of them sincerely agreed to include their names in this study.

Although I did not follow a strictly structured interview throughout my fieldwork, I resort to the set of questions that I designed beforehand by looking at the terms of arguments articulated by actors in the press briefings and national/local newspaper articles. These questions can be found in the Appendix I section of the thesis. At the time of conducting my interviews, the dispute was slowed down due to provisional cancellation of renewals for exploration permits, therefore I was able to see the perceptions of actors before and after escalation of conflict. The story-lines told by my informants in response to these questions constitutes the corpus of my analysis, as I try to understand the elements of their discursive practices and how it changed in the aftermath of the conflict.

Receiving various responses from my informants enabled me to reflect upon different conceptualizations of environment, development and nationalism by the local activists. As I gathered opinions of local activists, I also was able to understand how each actor personalize these frames through their understanding of reality with regards to mining operations.

One of the strategies I employed in designing these interview questions was to ask local activists about the propositions of pro-mining groups, and to see in what ways they counter these powerful discourses in their accounts. For instance, I included grand environmental discourses such as sustainable mining and development to my questions in order to identify activists' perception of these discourses. Similarly, I specifically asked about most commonly articulated etiquettes, such as being an environmentalist, nature lover or life defenders, and if they perceive themselves in any of these categories. This is

one of the important questions that enabled me to see how different fractions of local opposition see each other, and as well as to counter the unfavorable casting of local activists by the powerful discourses. In particular, the stigma of ‘environmentalist’ in comparison to others has both good and bad connotations that I will elucidate more on these fuzzy concepts in my analysis of Kaz Mountains case. The purpose of including these questions to my interviews was to see how arguments of local activists are shaped upon the content of powerful discourses that tries to disapprove their frames, and how they counter them by generating new identifiers, concepts and alternative scenarios.

At the end of my fieldwork, I received varying answers to these set of questions, which I will analyze in the last chapter of this thesis. These findings are relevant for my methodology choice of discourse analysis and actor based approach in two ways. In the first place, I was able to figure out that the constitution local opposition was far from being monolithic. Looking at the content of discursive practices underlying the storylines told by the informants, one can notice that there were multiplicity of strategies and discursive tactics pursued by different sections of local opposition. Even within small local groups, it was possible to encounter with various understandings of environment, nature loving, developmentalism and nationalism, all of which I was able expropriate from activists’ account of the story of conflict. Secondly, these interviews helped me to understand the dynamic nature of the process of articulation in the struggle for discursive hegemony among pro and anti-mining groups. During these interviews, I was able to observe that local opposition well versed the content of powerful discourses. They either try to counter bad connotations of certain concepts, such as being ‘environmentalist’, by re-inventing new ways of engaging with these concepts, or counter the dominant discourses like sustainable mining by rejecting it as an oxymoron concept. In the last chapter, by relying on the

accounts of local activists in their perception of powerful discourses, I will show the ways in which different articulations of these concepts/frames underlies my use of discourse analysis and actor based approach to the Kaz Mountains conflict.

Acknowledging that my limited fieldwork experience can only be an inquiry to the discursive practices employed by local activists and villagers, I think further ethnographic work is necessary to fully capture nuances and implications in the responses given by informants. Yet, it is still possible to consider this research as a passionate and humble contribution to the study of politics of environmentalism, nature loving, developmentalism and nationalism in Turkey.

Significance of the Thesis

One can observe that social science studies of the new mining conflicts is one of the most studied areas in Turkey, especially proliferated after the Bergama gold mining conflict. A brief inquiry into the literature shows that Bergama gold mining conflict has been studied under various disciplines. It is possible to encounter with theses, dissertations, conference papers, journal articles, books and book chapters dedicated to following aspects of Bergama case: The organization and reception of Bergama movement by media (Ileri 2006), political ecology of Bergama movement (Arsel 2005), democratic citizenship movements in context of multi-layered governance (Oncu and Kocan 2002), community based ecological resistance movement (Coban 2004) and environmental sociology of Bergama movement with regards to eco-modernization and eco-Marxist perspectives (Konak 2008), the role of global civil society and TNANs in mobilization of movement (Kadirbeyoglu 2001; Nergiz 2007), the politics of risk perception in Bergama movement (Arsel 2003; Orhan 2006), the role of science and technology in Bergama dispute and its

legal aspects (Dinc 2009), institutional construction of Bergama gold mining (Ozen and Ozen 2009), discourse analysis of Bergama conflict (Ozen 2009). Despite the fact that Kaz Mountains case is a recent one, theses and conference papers were already written about the mining conflict in Kaz Mountains. The political economy of environment in Kaz Mountains mining conflict (Avcı 2008), learning experiences of adults who participated in the social movement in Kaz Mountains (Seckin 2008), and political ecology of resistance against mining in Kaz Mountains (Hurley and Ari 2009) were among recently written academic studies of gold mining conflicts in Turkey.

In the first place, given the vast number of academic works done on new mining investments in Turkey, it is difficult to frame Kaz Mountains case in a different light. However, this does not mean that nothing can be done further on this topic. In many respects, working on Kaz Mountains is a good reflection process which makes you think on the geography of mining and the previous mining cases like Balya, Bergama and Usak Kisladag. After a close inspection of these written works on mining conflicts and my fieldwork, I reformulated my research question in a way to critically approach to the conceptions of environment, nationalism and development animated by the actors involved in the conflict. During my fieldwork, I realize that these concepts come into being through the process of discursive formation, and they feed on the frictions between global, national and local imaginations. I argue that actors' efforts to fix a particular understanding of what constitutes environment, nature, or green is in itself a political process. By utilizing post-structuralist theories of discourse, this thesis aims to deconstruct the common perception that environment exists as an objective reality to be acted upon, but also to move beyond the distinction between categories of society and nature, as it is put by the Western understandings of nature. Dwelling upon the different articulations of environment and

nature, this thesis also tries to map out how nature is filtered through pre-established frames of nationalism, democracy, modernity, progress, and development.

Another aim of this study is to capture dissemination of technocratic understanding of environment through powerful discourses of environment and sustainability articulated by mining corporations and state, and to show how it is linked with the legitimization of a greater economy in the name of environment in Turkey. Instead of assuming the hegemony of discourses of corporate environmentalism in shaping the mining disputes, this research will also try to show that there is always a room for maneuver for the actors to act strategically by playing with the meanings attached to different frames. The process of articulation becomes important to criticize the powerful discourses, and to find a connection to the local so as to garner support for opposition groups. As this thesis hopes to show, the contestation over the truthful representations of environment might enable, disable or divert the mining investments from being realized. In general, this study aim to underline the politicization of gold mining issue at the discursive level as a consequence of the deliberate and imaginative connection being made by the actors involved in the conflict.

Structure of Thesis

Structure of thesis can be divided into two main parts. First part of the thesis lays out the theoretical framework for my analysis of the Kaz Mountains gold mining conflict. By inquiring into the post-structuralist theories of discourse and the concept of articulation, I aim to draw a theoretical framework for analyzing the nature of contestation in mining disputes in the chapter two. In order to substantiate theoretical framework, I will also give analysis of discursive practices by the powerful and counter discourses. The proliferation of powerful discourses in the mining disputes is discussed in line with the framework of eco-

governmentality, which tries to construct an authoritative understanding of environment, technology and development in an effort to shape the representations of mining in the eye of public. After giving the powerful discourses, I will inquire into the elements of counter discourses, which criticize the powerful discourses and tries to articulate various understanding of environment, development and nationalism in order to garner support for anti-mining cause. Accordingly, various discursive practices with regard to environment, nationalism, and development are explored with examples from world.

In conjunction with the discourse analysis, I will analyze the role of different actors in discussing the mining investments by using the actor-based approach in chapter three. By giving the interests, characteristics and actions of various actors involved in the dispute, I will seek to analyze the ways in which actors relate to the discussions and hence contribute the constitution of discursive space of the mining conflicts. Following the theoretical discussion in the second chapter, third chapter will further open up the actors' framing of mining and their strategies in the mining disputes, which will substantiate the processes behind the contestation over the discursive space.

On the other hand, the second part of the research is dedicated to understanding the politics of discussing the new mining investments in Turkey and Kaz Mountains region, respectively. Chapter four discusses the structural changes affecting the mining sector in Turkey and how powerful actors such as state and mining corporations try to shape the public opinion at the national scale. After giving the background to understand the politics of new mining investments in Turkey in chapter four, I will focus on the gold mining dispute in the Kaz Mountains region in chapter five. As a micro case study of changing relations of economy and politics in Turkey, this research elaborates on the Kaz Mountains mining conflict inquiring into the discursive struggle over the representations of mining.

By using the actors-based approach to understand the process of discursive formation by local activists and villagers in the Kaz Mountains region, I will seek to lay out the role of actors in shaping the terms of contestation. In overall, this research aims to contribute to the literature on mining conflicts by using the actor-based approach and discourse analysis to understand the new mining disputes, and as well as to present a critical study of the politics of nature loving, environmentalism, developmentalism and nationalism in Turkey.

CHAPTER II

THE POLITICS OF DISCUSSING NEW MINING INVESTMENTS

The politics of discussing new mining investments is a process of defining what constitutes a 'truthful' representation of issues, which are animated by the actors involved in the conflict. In this process, actors' practices, organizational efforts and their sayings and/or moments of utterances are crucial in understanding how they present the idea of a mine to the public. As contestation over new gold mining projects gains momentum, one can notice the proliferation of various and often antagonistic discourses, which come out of the interplay between different articulations of the idea of mining investment and the arguments over what it brings and takes away. An inquiry into these discursive practices provides us an understanding of the ways in which actors attribute meaning to the idea of a mine and try to shape discussions in line with their definition of reality.

In order to understand the representations of a gold mine animated by actors involved, we need to first look at the means by which discoursing subjects animate their own political-moral frameworks. The proliferation of various political-moral frameworks articulated by various actors, be they in defense of or opposition to a new mining venture, gain importance in understanding how the globalist projects like large mining investments play on the ground (Meyer 2009; 168). In as much as political-moral frameworks do tell how these globalist mining projects conjure at local and national level, they are also crucial in capturing the discursive playground of mining projects as we tease apart the alliances and pay attention to the differences conveyed through these frameworks (Tsing 2005). Within this process of contestation, discoursing subjects try to secure their own definition of reality in regards to prospects of a new mining investment.

As Schmink and Wood argue, ideas are never innocent, since they either reinforce or

challenge the existing social and economic arrangements (Schmink and Wood 1987; 51). This argument can also be seen in the struggle over the discursive hegemony in the mining disputes. Under the seemingly non-reconciliatory discursive practices lies a contestation over the actors' aspirations for desired social and economic arrangements. However, one needs to be careful when it comes to analyzing the distribution of these discursive practices, as there can be moments of alliances at the discursive level despite the differences in opinions with regards to existing socio-economic arrangements.

By laying out the mechanisms by which actors articulate their political-moral framework, this chapter will discuss the theoretical framework for the rest of thesis. In the following subsections, I will elaborate more on my use of discourse analysis in understanding the terms of contestation in environmental conflicts, and then present the concept of articulation. In the second part of the chapter, I will discuss the ramifications of the concept of articulation in the mining conflicts by examining how different political-moral frameworks come into being and contested by actors at the discursive level. By looking at the terms of powerful discourses and the counter discourses articulated by actors in the numerous gold mining projects across the world, this chapter will also map out the constitution of discursive practices in the mining conflicts. Overall, this chapter aims to frame theoretical framework for my use of discourse analysis by introducing the concept of articulation in analyzing the mining conflicts. After showing the applications of my theoretical framework in my analysis of the discursive contestation in the mining conflicts in the second half of this chapter, I will give a more detailed analysis of aspirations and strategies of each actor involved in the mining conflicts from an actor-based approach in the third chapter.

The Concept of Articulation in Discourse Analysis: A Theoretical Framework for the Study of Politics of Environmental Conflicts

The poststructuralist theories of discourse assumes that every object and action can be meaningful, as their meaning is filtered through a historically defined systems of rules (Howarth et al 2000;3). Defining the concept of discourse as “the articulation of knowledge and power, of statements and visibilities, of the visible and the sayable” (Escobar 2010; 95), poststructuralist theories frames the discourse theory as a process through which social reality comes into being (Ibid). For instance, a community forest in the vicinity of village in Katmandu can be framed as source of timber and religious site for community, commercial value for a pulp company, a site of economic revenue and growth for government, a site of nature explorations for a nature-lover, and threatened natural heritage site or an unique ecosystem that is of special interest for a scientist (Stevens 2010). As each actor lends a different meaning to the forest with which they can identify, they also construct a social and political reality that establishes a system of relations between objects and practices (Howarth et al 2000; 3). While each actor creates their own understanding of reality, they also try to fix their definition in an effort to dominate the discursive field (Ibid). Alliances and conflicts could arise as different strands of discourses come together in an attempt to organize the field of meaning in line with their understanding (Ibid). Thus a community forest in Katmandu could become a political project as state, lodging companies, local community and environmentalists seek to secure their own understanding of forest and engage in a discursive struggle.

As Foucault dwells in the *History of Sexuality*, the distribution of discursive practices, that the things said and those concealed, the variations and different effects according to the position of power of person speaking, and the institutional context which

the person is situated matters in understanding the process which a specific discourse emerges out of many others (Foucault 1976; 100). That's to say, it is the constitution of discursive process that makes difference in emergence of a powerful discourse, and the institutional context is crucial in so far as they become authorities vis-à-vis other actors through discourse (Hajer 2005; 51). In *The Archaeology of Knowledge*, Foucault develops furthermore on the idea of constitutive nature of discourse, which is the social reality being actively constituted by discourse, conceptual frameworks, social subjects and their relations, and as well as the interdependency of one 'object' of discourse to what is written and said about another independent object (Brand and Thomas 2005; 89). In this respect, a powerful discourse, as an already constituted social reality, is subject to simultaneous confirmation and contestation by other discourses (Ibid., 91).

Nevertheless, as said by critics, Foucault gave little attention to the analysis of texts and real instances of discursive practice that such an analysis implies; that is, of people actually saying and writing things (Brand and Thomas 2005; 91). Moreover, in Foucault's analysis of discourse, the role of discoursing subject is ambivalent, which makes interaction and coalescence of discourses in the process of constitution of discourse superficial (Hajer 2005; 51). The crucial move in understanding social interaction in the discourse theory comes with Harré's (1993) and Billig's (1989) contribution to social interactive perspective, which gives importance to active involvement of actors in the production and transformation of discourse by paying attention to selection, adaptation, creation of thoughts and the continued struggle for argumentative victory against rival positions (Ibid., 54). Hajer argues that the institutionalization of environmental issues in the government bodies in various countries has led to the rise of a particular understanding of environmental problems to the disregard of competing understandings at the state level

(Hajer 1995; 44). As a particular discourse of environment has been institutionalized and becomes authoritative over the other understandings, it becomes crucial to elaborate on the nature of these powerful environmental discourses, and how they create a boundary between clean and dirty, the moral and efficient, and how a particular framing of the discussion makes the certain elements as fixed or appropriate while making others elements appear problematic (Hajer 2005; 54).

Even though Hajer's approach to discourse theory identifies the processes through which a particular discourse of environment is institutionalized by the state and become powerful and authoritative, it does not explain how other discourses outside the official discourse are constructed and engages in a struggle for discursive hegemony. In order to understand the nature of discursive field upon which each actor tries to fix their own understanding of social reality, we first need to identify how actors lend meaning to the object of contestation, in particular for the environmental conflicts such as conflicts over forestry, mining, etc. Hereby, I will introduce the concept of articulation as a theoretical tool to understand the processes behind discursive formation and how it can be useful in framing the politics of environmental conflicts.

As study of discourse proliferated in environmental politics, the concept articulation has become important both as a theory and methodology to understand how new subjective identities are formed out of new discursive formations and how actors strategically transform their discourses to affect the practices on the ground. Within the post-structuralist theories of discourse, the concept of articulation has been introduced through other scholarly works (see Laclau and Mouffe 1982; Hall 1985), and has been applied in environmental politics, especially in ethnographic studies of indigenous environmental knowledge and resource management (Li 2002; Tsing 2005). As opposed to essentialist

framing of indigenous environmental knowledge, conservation and development by the mainstream approaches, the study of articulation has brought forward new ways of explaining the changing relations between society and environment together with new circumstances facing indigenous groups engaged in environmental conflicts. As theorists begin to question articulations of indigenous knowledge, conservation and development goals animated by conservation projects, they also re-thought previous studies of state and community agency, and come up with new approaches to the study of collaboration, indigenous rights movements and violence (Dove 2006; 191). Therefore the concept of articulation becomes a relevant theoretical tool to understand new relations between state, indigenous community, conservation and development NGOs, and extractive corporations in environmental conflicts.

For instance, Tania Li and Anna Tsing's ethnographic studies of the political and cultural aspects of resource management in Indonesia (Li 2000; Tsing 2005) make use of the concept of articulation to understand how different actors seek to use cultural and political expressions in order to convince other social groups to support their cause. Developing upon Stuart Hall's conception of articulation (see Hall 1985), Li and Tsing's use of the articulation tries to explain the ways in which communities that are involved in environmental conflicts identify themselves with a certain name, i.e. indigeniety, by linking new and old elements together, and their efforts to fix this newly formed identity in order to garner support for their cause (Carpenter 2008). Both Li and Tsing argues that new alliances can be formed among social groups through creating their own position, formulating the problems in reference to other groups and actors, and establishing appropriate ways of representing their arguments (Carpenter 2008). Li and Tsing's analysis of the role of actors in articulating their understanding of reality in an effort to shape the

politics of resource management in Indonesia can also provide the proper theoretical framework for the study of other environmental conflicts, such as mining conflicts which this thesis inquiries into.

A closer look into Li's work (Li 2000) shows that the concept of articulation refers to the moments of enunciation, expression of common positions and shared interests in positioning of a particular issue over the others underling the rival positions in disputes over forest management in Indonesia (Li 2000; 152). She shows that peasants collaborated with the foreign environmentalists and members of a student club in university in re-articulating themselves as 'indigenous', and therefore by establishing a new connection, they were able to argue for tribal rights over the land and claim for poverty alleviation projects run by the state (Ibid). In her analysis of the formation of new discourse of indigenusness, the concept of articulation plays an important role as a "process of simplification and boundary making, and as well as connection, [because] it emerges through processes of action and imagination shaped by continuous play of culture, history and power" (Ibid., 174). By re-articulation of indigenusness, peasants were able to mobilize support for their cause from other groups and actively situate their identity as indigenous in order to claim rights over the forest resource management in their village. One can notice from Li's analysis that there is always a room for maneuver for actors to act strategically on the face of changing circumstances (Carpenter 2008).

However, this does not mean to say that the discursive field of contestation in environmental conflicts is homogenous. Differences underlying the social mobilizations could also provide a pre-established frame for connection and an unexpected medium in which the connection find a local appeal (Tsing 2005; 245). Given the fact that social mobilizations can be put into force by their ability to attract diverse social groups, who

might disagree about their common causes and objects of concern, a broader universal cause like the anti-mining cause could find a local reconfiguration only if it establishes a cultural and political connection that unites various groups with incompatible agendas under one project (Ibid., 246). Tsing argues that friction between the local and universal articulations is instrumental in the formation of collaborative objects, which draws these diverse groups in a common cause even though they hold separate political agendas (Ibid., 246).

In my theoretical framework for discourse analysis of contestation in the mining conflicts, the concept of articulation also plays a crucial role in understanding how actors strategically establish cultural and political connections to attract support for their cause. I argue that the process of articulation is politically important, because it provides an imaginative ground for the local opposition groups involved in the mining conflicts to convince others into their cause by establishing cultural and political connections between global, national and the local. However, my argument is not about whether the local opposition truly contests the hegemonic discourses¹, but it is more about explaining the ways in which actors strategically engage with the discursive field and try to fix their understanding in an effort to affect the practices on the ground, and about the political consequences of this contestation. In the following sections of this chapter and chapter three, I will substantiate my argument by showing the applications of my theoretical discussion in mining conflict, and as well as by connecting this argument to the actor-based approach used in chapter three when I analyze the role of the actors involved in the conflict.

¹ The question of whether alternative discourses ‘truly’ contests the hegemonic ones will be an interesting question to be explored for a further study. However, this thesis is restricted to the study of how discursive contestation takes place and the role of actors in this contestation. Further research can be conducted to explore this question developing upon the findings of this thesis.

Applying the Concept of Articulation and Discourse Analysis to Mining Conflicts

Building upon theoretical discussions raised in previous section, I will analyze the proliferation of powerful discourses and counter-discourses in the mining conflicts. The following sections will focus on the ways in which authoritative discourses and counter discourses are constructed by using examples from famous mining cases across the world. In the chapter three, I will further explain the strategies of each actor involved in the mining conflict by connecting the discourse analysis and actor based approach.

Proliferation of Eco-governmentality Framework in Mining Projects: Deciphering the Powerful Discourses

In order to make sense of the proliferation of environmental discourses in mining conflicts, this section inquiries into the terms with which the idea of a gold mine articulates at the discursive space from the global mining lobby perspective. As it can be understood from the title of the subsection, the constitution of powerful environmental discourses appropriated by the mining sector is related with the bigger qualitative transformation of industrial production at world scale. For the last two decades, one can talk about the environmentalization of mining business in lieu of the re-consideration of impacts of industrial production on nature. Although the story of greening of mining business goes beyond the scope of this thesis, it is crucial to underline how powerful discourses of environment and development have been shaped by international concerns in order to make sense of similarities among different gold mining conflicts across the world. That's why, I will briefly review the elements of powerful discourses animated by global mining lobby, but keeping in mind that further research is required to analyze in detail the historical and political context that contribute to emergence of corporate environmentalism in the mining

sector.

For many centuries, as it is put by Luke, “the industrial approach towards nature has emphasized a relation of instrumentally driven mining that has promoted the brutal appropriation of resources with little concern for the ways in which the never ending growth of consumption overloads and exhaust stocks of natural resources and degrading environment for all beings occupied it” (Luke 1999; 23). Such rationalization of nature in exchange for false promises of more jobs, greater prosperity, growth, and technological control, all of which can be still observed to some extent also in the new mining projects, yet with a greater concern for environment at the discursive space (Ibid). The initial shift from such relations of 'mining' to a relations of 'minding' that emphasize new discursive representations of ecology, which reconsider balancing unbalanced growth and decay, equitable intergenerational exchange of resources, technical efficiency and ecological responsibility (Ibid).

Even though the specific meaning of 'environment' as a concept has become indistinct, this vagueness over various meanings of the concept of environment has enabled 'eco-disciplinary' discourses to come up with alternative visions of economic growth, national stability, and political control by recasting moral, psychological and political significance of environmental problems for current economies (Luke 1999; 152). As Goldman shows, in his ethnographic work on greening of World Bank (WB), that radical environmentalist critiques forced WB to produce its own environmentality so as to continue with funding projects in Third World (Goldman 2005). The story of greening of WB reminds that powerful environmentalist discourses have been reproduced within the institution in a way to legitimize its practices, but also it generated a discourse of environmental states and populations (Ibid).

Applying Foucauldian concept of governmentality to power of environmental discourses through practices of WB, Goldman built upon the concept of *eco-governmentality* so as to capture this transformation of population and states in the name of environment yet for a greater economy (Goldman 2005; 184). Opening up the eco-governmentality framework further, Darier advances Foucault's notion of bio-politics by including environmental concerns as broadened forms of life in an attempt to extend management/control entire planet (Darier 1999; 23). In this new form of eco-governmentality, the emphasis on controlling all aspects of environmental issues can also be seen as an attempt to normalize on-going economic activities on the face of radical environmental critiques of industrialism (Ibid). In similar lines, Gupta also argues that environmentalism is a new disciplinary mechanism that marks the qualitative transformation of world economy, and that it has been translated into the institutions and practices as new technologies of state in Foucauldian sense (Gupta 1995; 293-94). Therefore, the environmentalist discourse can said to be constituting a hegemonic power to transform nation states according to new model of environmental governance (Ibid), which Goldman calls as eco-governmentality.

A similar environmental transformation has also been affecting mining sector's practices in a qualitative way. A closer attention to the proliferation of powerful environmentalist discourses in the mining sector shows that mining sector has produced its own environmentalism so as to continue with its mining projects across world. One can also see that environmentalization of mining sector as a defensive stance to main environmentalist critiques of 1960s, which counter prior hegemonic discourse of industrialism (Adger et al. 2001; 684). This paradigmatic shift in the mining sector has not only enabled taming environmental critiques that stand on the way to establish new mining

projects, but it has also carried the flagship of a win-win scenario which reconciles the objectives of economic growth and environment under sustainability discourse.

The reasons for 'minding' the environmental and social impacts of 'mining' can be interpreted in many ways. During the last two decades, mining sector has gone through a major transformation. Given the fact that mining sector depends on consumption of nonrenewable resources, and that the more rich ore grades become degraded, the need for finding new ores so as to renew resource base become necessary in 1980s (Bridge 2004a; 407). As the need for finding new ores is urging, search for new lands, including both rich and low-ores, has initiated a rush for acquiring rights to exploration and production in 1990s (Ibid). Together with the invention of new processing techniques, such as cyanide leaching and open-pit mining, working in low grade ores has become profitable for gold mining business (Dinc 2003;4). In a way, this shift in the nature of exploration and extraction of gold has brought mining sector closer to chemical industry by extensive use of chemicals in low gold ores (Kadirbeyoglu 2001; 14).

However, escalating with mid-1990s, the geographical shift in mineral exploration and production has also raised concerns about bio-diversity and eco-systemic changes due to extensive removal of landscape (even more is required especially in low mineral ores). For instance, as one of the largest heap leaching mine site on the world, the surface area of Minera Yanacocha's open pit gold mine in the department of Cajamarca, Peru-with a population of 80,000, exceeds the size of capital city, and removes 130,000 tons of earth every year (Bury 2005; 230). One can observe that initial shift in the nature of mining activities has not only accelerated mining explorations in tropical and conservation areas (see Kirsch 2006; West 2006) such as Andes, Indonesia, Papua New Guinea, Philippines and tropical West Africa (Bridge 2004b; 216), but also it has brought previously less

valuable mineral ores across world into consideration. All in all, mineral booms² of late 1970s and early 1980s together with the new techniques of exploration has contributed to aggressive mine development in greenfield areas or frontiers, especially those belonging to indigenous communities and frontier regions(Ballard and Banks 2003;287). These new developments has resulted in multiplication of community struggles in the vicinity of new mine sites.

When we look at the contestation over the new mining investments, terms of conflict is not only restricted to issue of bio-diversity, but also access to clean water supplies is at stake. Mineral reserves are usually found in head-water areas that serve as reserves for rural and urban water supply (more often for free) or even in deserted areas that requires water supplies to be diverted from other regions (Bebington et al. 2008; 2897). For instance the process of cyanide leaching method uses enormous amount of water. On average, 691,000 liters of water is used for production of 1 kg of gold, and in addition to the water processed during gold mining production, there is always a possibility of leaching of heavy metals to the surface or underground waters (Mudd 2008, Encyclopedia of Earth website). This fact exposes mining region to the danger of water scarcity resulting either from drying water supplies or metallic contamination. Add to the fact that modern mines consumes immense amount of water, they usually depend on enormous quantities of energy so as to operate and even in the development of a new mine: firstly, they are usually set up together with dams and hydroelectric plants, or with the extension of natural gas based energy networks, all which puts a pressure on usage of land, water and energy resources among

² Starting with late 1970s and early 1980s, the boom in mineral prices, which for example increased to 6.5 fold higher level for gold during late 1970s and mid 1990s, has contributed to the explosion of prospecting activities in underutilized regions, especially in Asia-Pasific region (Ballards and Bank 2003; 288). In the beginning of 1980s, the production of gold on world scale was approximately 950 tons per year, whereas it increased to 2,600 per year within 25 years of time (Mudd 2008, Encyclopedia of Earth website). These trends explains reasons for boom in exploration of mineral resources.

mines and other users (Bebbington et al. 2008; 2897).

At one extreme case, Ok Tedi mine situated in the rainforest covered Star Mountains of Papua New Guinea, has been dumping 30 million tons of mine tailing into the Ok Tedi River since 1980s, and it destroyed food gardens in the downstream indigenous communities with the overflow and besides killed fishes and many trees nearby riverbed (Kirsch 2001;147). Another striking example is the environmental disaster happened in Baia Mare in Northern Romania in January 2000. Due to a broken dam at the plant of the Australian-owned mining company Esmeralda, 100,000 cubic meters of cyanide leach were leaked into the river Tisza (Harper 2005). As one of the largest European environmental disaster since Chernobyl, affecting all countries bordering the Danube and Tisza rivers and particularly Hungary and Romania (Pavlínek and Pickles 2005), Baia Mare incident had disastrous impacts on these two river basins, such as immediate massive death of fish stocks and consequent contamination of fields nearby rivers.

As the operations of modern mining industry were under scrutiny, which initiated the move to a new environmentally friendly model of mineral development, the following reasons become pressing to address so as to mitigate the social, environmental and economically adverse consequences. In order to ensure reliable access to resources, mining companies need to have a social license to operate, and the inclusion of financial institutions, environmental and human rights organizations into the decision making process of mine management urged mining business to get a social license before starting operations (Bridge 2004; 207). Moreover, broadening of the range of environmental issues from technological or managerial choice to include preservation of indigenous identity or developing a sustainable post mining model has been decisive in environmentalization of mining business (Ibid).

In response to bad public image of extractive industries, one can say that regulation of mining sector has been increasingly achieved through deployment and co-option of sustainability (Bridge and McManus 2000; 12) with a particular emphasis on eco-management and technology approach. Appropriation of powerful discourse of sustainability by the mining business has not been so far given the urge to be seen as environmentally friendly. In as much as the “visibly extractive industries” (Bridge and McManus 2000; 11) depend on semiotic and material commodification of nature, forestry and mining, their ability to represent their operations as environmentally friendly lies in participation in powerful environmental discourses. Therefore, it is not a surprise to see proliferation of sustainability narratives in the mining sector over the last decade (Ibid).

Given century long legacy of social and environmental impacts of mining operations, extensively in North American and Canadian mining sites (see Saleem 2004), the adaptation of sustainable mining discourse has been partly achieved through breaking with past rhetoric. The essential component of sustainable mining discourse is to distinguish between old mining and new mining techniques. In opposition to new mining techniques, old mining is often portrayed as environmentally damaging, having dangerous workplaces and ignorant of social needs of communities; whereas new mining projects are casted as capital intensive, environmentally and socially responsible, employing skilled labor and can reduce environmental risks to minimum (Bebbington et al 2008; 889). Given that most of discussions take place with regards to new mining projects on issues of environmental and social risks, sustainable mining discourse help to clear out new mining projects at the discursive space by declaring the failure of past mining projects in adopting this new environmentalist discourse. That's why, underlying dichotomies between old and new mining is a crucial move in presenting new endeavor of mining corporations as engaged

'environmentalists', who are committed to apply sustainability practices into the sector.

To put in a different light, breaking with the past argument, by differentiating old and new mining methods through a new mission of planetary stewardship, is in fact a strategic move in framing the idea of mining as a moral endeavor to ensure greener and socially responsible order, in general civilization (Bridge 2004b; 245). As masters of *technological excellence*, discursive formation of new mining embodies the promise of production of value from nature, and subsequent restoration of mining site through engineering activities-like waste management and covering with topsoil and seeding, therefore transforming landscape into a new aesthetic and ecological order (Ibid). One can see that articulation of the discourse of aesthetic restoration of landscape altered by mining operations is associated with cleaner production technologies and environmental management. As technological superiority manifest itself in the discourse of productive and aesthetic transformation of landscape for mining operations, it is not a surprise to see the representations of enclosure activities as if harvesting land, by drawing parallels with productive transformation of land through agricultural activities (Ibid). In fact, as argued by Kirsch, sustainable mining can also be seen as a corporate oxymoron that empties the ecological aspect of sustainability concept through high-lightening development practices and promoting “weak sustainability”³ by giving importance to the capital and limited

³ Weak sustainability frames environmental problems as solvable by new treatment technologies and innovations: therefore it enables substitution of natural capital by human made capital, and it is technocentric. (Soderbaum 2004; 350) According to this definition of sustainability, environmental challenges can be mitigated by finding new technologies and expanding role of market in the allocation of environmental resources, which assigns a price for the natural stock as the only way to protect environment (Banarjee 2003; 152). Whereas strong sustainability is eco-centric in perspective by taking into account biophysical limits and physical scale of human activities and their influence upon ecological processes, and as well as through high-lightening equity concerns including intra- and inter-generational distribution of natural resources into the sustainability definition. (Soderbaum 2004; 350). As opposed to weak sustainability, this interpretation of sustainability shows a real concern for ecological processes and considers limitations for development objectives -defined as economic growth on the basis of intra and inter-generational distribution of natural resources.

conservation practices (Kirsch 2008).

Developing upon the content of this new discursive strategy, it is possible to frame the appropriation of sustainability discourse by mining lobby under the eco-governmentality framework. One of the main tenants of adopting sustainable mining discourse is to construct environmental authority of mining corporations over other environmentalist critiques in assessing environmental and social impacts of mining operations. In doing so, they try to declare other environmentalist critiques as mis-informed and/or lacking expertise knowledge to have appropriate assessment of a new mining investment. Not only this acclaimed authority over managing environmental impacts of mining operations has to do with absolute control of environment, but also it has profound eco-disciplinary implications for human subjects involved in the mining disputes.

It is possible to multiply examples of new mining projects that reflect eco-governmentality framework more vividly. For instance, Szablowski's analysis of local dispute resolution process between Antamina Mining Company (Compania Minera Antamina, CMA) and local community with regards to operation of a zinc-copper mine in the Peruvian Andes is one of most influential works done on the proliferation of eco-governmentality in mining conflicts (Szablowski 2007). Given that there is no state regulation of mining operations in Peru, transnational companies abide by voluntary schemas specified through World Bank Safeguard policies, which is a mandatory policy guidelines applied by World Bank funded projects so as to mitigate social and environmental damage through participatory mechanism (Ibid). Szablowski shows that World Banks' technocratization of the conflict through social experts contributes to legitimization and de-politicization of project (Ibid). By applying safeguard policies, mining corporations assume environmental authority over local community responses

against the operation of mine and subject the local people to the laws of expertise knowledge and/or sustainability practices, which are in fact strategic attempts to control the mining conflict and turn it into a manageable form. In a way similar to Ferguson's analysis of World Bank development projects in Lesotho (see Ferguson 1989), one can infer from Szablowski's analysis that the technocratic apparatus of environmental and social impact assessment models (or more generally sustainable mining model) could transform population and states in Peru according to a new environmental governance model, therefore de-politicizing mining operations in the region.

However, this does not tantamount to say that eco-governmentality framework is hegemonic in constructing environmental superiority of the mining corporation in a local region. Like other grand powerful discourses, sustainable mining discourse is also open to challenges and brought into life by counter environmentalist discourses on the ground. Meyer's ethnographic work on operations of Australian mining company, called as Newmont Co, in Indonesia advances this argument further by claiming that the engagement of Newmont managers and technocratic experts in assumptions of counter arguments as a template for developing alternative narratives and practices is crucial in casting their operations as environmentally friendly and scientifically superior in a contrast to portrayal of backward mining methods, poor Indonesians and outward vilification of NGOs for having their own other agendas (Meyer 2009, 149). As next sections will show, the process of articulation by the opposition groups to mining is also crucial in making sense of how powerful discourses of sustainable mining are contested on the ground.

Contesting the Powerful Discourses: An Inquiry into Alternative Discourses in Mining Disputes

This section underpins theoretical discussion for my analysis of the local opposition in the Kaz Mountains mining conflict, since it aims to analyze the discursive means by which local people contest the new mining projects in an effort to garner support for their cause. Developing upon theoretical discussion on this issue, this section particularly reviews the discourses of nature loving, developmentalism and nationalism in order to understand how powerful discourses raised by mining lobby and state are appropriated by local activists and the terms with which they contest these discourses.

Perceptions of 'nature', and the process through which it is framed into 'natural resources' so as to be controlled, intervened and managed by mining activities is one of center problematic raised in this thesis. In the context of mining disputes like in any other extractive industry, one can observe that natural resources do not exist as-it-is, but they are intrinsically shaped by social constructions and establishing cultural connection as local people engages in a process of articulation. Remembering the work of Zimmerman, it is possible to call *natural resources* as *cultural appraisals of nature*, which positions resources between pure realms of nature and society, therefore give it a dynamic feature according to which resources are not, but they become through social constructions (Zimmerman 1933 quoted in Baker and Bridge 2006; 9). Within this framework, the concept of *nature* is not nearly as natural as it seems, instead filtered through human construction, which lend meaning and moral imperatives to the world that we call as *natural* (see Cronon 1995).

Ramifications of this perspective in the mining disputes can said to be manifold. In the first place, the act of producing materials as resources is fundamentally a political

process. Accordingly, materials are framed as resources to be extracted from landscape and turned into a fictitious commodity as Polanyi puts it, which is already valued in various ways (Bridge 2008; 85). Given the fact that minerals become valuable through social construction and hence turned into capital, it is not surprising to see socio-cultural lineages between the valuation process and mining industry's framing of mineral extraction as skillful transformation of landscapes through a technologically sublime process (Bridge 2004b; 244). This socio-cultural connection through the articulations of the mining industry has been instrumental politically to convince the public to the benefits of mining activities. Throughout my research, I encounter with such a celebration of the alteration of landscape through mining operations, such as rock blasting, carving with construction machines, etc., in the advertorials of small mining firms (provided by Google videos research engine). Among various short videos of mining company advertorials, once can see how spectacular alteration of landscape is usually accompanied by various folk songs, Wagners' *Ride of Valkyries*, and even leftist songs of 1970s, all of which add to the portrayal of technological sublime with its celebration of ambitious control of nature.

In response to commodification of nature through mining operations, various social constructions of nature stands as important connections used by for local activists involved in the mining disputes. The close affinity of conceptions of national identity and the ideas about nature is a striking one. For instance, the idea of wilderness in USA was born together with the frontier American masculine culture, which echoed the Western romanticism through the concept of wilderness and nature as untouched, and hence reinforced a sharp distinction between the discourse of modernism and wilderness (Cronon 1995). The intrinsic link between nature and nationalism can be vividly seen especially when we talk about cultural entrepreneurs of nations, who see the soul of nation reflected in

its native landscapes (Schwartz 2006; 3). Echoing Cronon's analysis of intrinsic links between patriotism and the artificially constructed boundaries of modernity and wilderness discourses, Schwartz's analysis of national construction of nature in Latvia shows that cultural project of defining national identity can be assessed through the frame of nature loving. Schwartz argues that the discourse of national identity does not only define a nation's character, but also requires a homeland, an ancestral land, to infuse the physical terrain with national meaning, and transform it into *ethnoscape* (Ibid., 3-4). It is therefore not surprising to encounter with such nationalist discourses, which animate ideas about nature together with the homeland in an effort to garner support for local opposition.

The transformation of physical landscape with nationalist discourses has profound impact on the ideas about nature as well. In the process of affirming national identity through physical landscape, nature loving becomes equivalent with loving homeland and of nation that inhabits it. As the physical land is transformed into another form, the immediate response could revoke nationalist sentiments. For instance, constant references to similarities between the occupation of homeland during Gallipoli War and operations of multinational gold corporations in Turkey can be seen as one of the unique moments of enunciation of transformation of natural landscape as of the occupation of homeland, therefore what constitutes the national identity is also seen under threat.

Developing Schwartz's argument one step further, Anna Tsing takes upon the deep-seated relation between the discourses of nature loving and nationalism as way of knowing the role of cosmopolitan forces and localization in objectification of nature through reflective processes (Tsing 2005; 154). Using the example of anti-politics patriotism of New Order nationalism in Indonesia, she dwells on how nationalist frame of nature is produced and reproduced through everyday practices (Ibid., 131). The collaboration among

nature lovers' clubs and the armed forces through mountain climbing activity adds upon this nationalist frame, since mountain climbing and exploring unknown localities not only gains a new meaning, something that gives pride to Indonesian nation, but also present a perfect example of nationalized cosmopolitanism, which is to appropriate a world embracing standard through local nations of nation making (Ibid., 133).

Politically speaking, the objectification of local as objects of scientific inquiry through the nature loving excursions of cosmopolitan travelers could also end up with moments of identification and political activism when they learn social problems of the countryside and decide to become supporter of the local causes, such as the local opposition to a gold mine (Ibid., 140). Thinking about nature loving as a cosmopolitan standard, with which it is possible to delineate city centers from the wild peripheries, is novel in various ways; firstly, it allows to reflect about a geography of romance, inspiration and advocacy, instead of old categories of urban and rural distinction on the basis of development and modernity (Ibid., 141); secondly, it reminds that discourses of nature could transform a physical landscape into a political one.

As Tsing puts it, given the anti-politics of Suharto regime in Indonesia, nature loving excursions has provided appropriate means for contesting authoritarian regime with a nationalist outlook (Tsing 2005). Not only ideas about modernity, nationalism and environmentalism are articulated through multiplication of these nature loving activities, but also politicization of landscape is also realized through these nature loving clubs, which sometimes gain a pivotal role in resource conflicts (Ibid). Accordingly, these engaged nature lovers could in fact helping the politicization of localities, therefore it can be the reflective window necessary for mobilization of a movement in repressive regimes. In contesting repressive states, the articulation of universal knowledge, which is mediated

through the environmental objects of knowledge, could sometimes overcome the national politics all together and forge common standards. As it was the case in Eastern Europe, environmental politics articulated widespread desires for universal knowledge that is free from state, and for cultural ties with Western Europe (Ibid., 7-8). In similar lines, environmentalist causes and nature-loving clubs have provided venues for critiquing Turkish state given the anti-politics of post-military quo regime in 1980s. Some of leftist activists have continued their political causes through their affiliation with civil society organizations, a certain part of which related with seemingly apolitical nature loving clubs. Therefore, like in Indonesia and Eastern Europe, nature loving could also be seen as an important frame for mobilizing people around a political cause in Turkey, which I will dwell more in the Kaz Mountains case.

On the other hand, the proliferation of alternative discourses is not restricted to the nature loving frame. In a way, mining conflicts provide rich context for articulation of a wide array of ideas such as democracy, transnationalism and nationalism alongside varying discourses of development and environment (see Bridge 2004). Although most of discussion with regards to appropriation of developmentalist frame by local activists and communities is done in the following sections, it is suffice to say here that development discourse is one of shared base with powerful discourses raised by mining corporations and state in the mining conflicts. That's why, it is important to see in what ways alternative discourses of development are articulated by local activists and communities in order to understand how they counter powerful discourses animated by these groups.

Development discourse is one powerful discursive strategy used by mining lobby and state in arguments for bringing new mining projects into a country. As said earlier in the previous section, development is the strongly emphasized pillar of sustainable mining

discourse animated by mining lobby. In as much as a prospective mining project holds the promise of bringing more jobs, providing social services, such as health, infrastructure, etc., and so forth, imagining alternative schemes of development becomes crucial for local activists. The difficulty of contesting powerful development discourse animated by mining business lies not only in deconstructing what a prospective mining project will bring to the region, but also in proposing alternative development frames in order to convince and mobilize local communities against a new mining project.

A closer look into mobilization of local people around other resource conflicts gives us an insight in the mining conflicts, too. One of common observation with regards to articulation of development frame in resource conflicts is its entanglement with other frames, especially with those of nationalist frames. However, this does not to say that all developmentalist discourses are entangled with nationalist discourses. One can see that possible breakdown of development discourses in the resource conflicts can be alongside secular nationalist development and other alternative development discourses (see Watts 2001). For instance, the terms of opposition to prospective gold mining project in Kaz Mountains is mainly about loosing of secular nationalist development in favor of voluntary development provisions provided by a transnational mining corporation. As local activists raised nationalist frames, such as the discourse of occupation of land by foreign powers, their opposition was mainly directed at neoliberal restructuring of economy that has promoted scaling up with global economy and diminished the role of state as sole provider of development goods (Interview VI).

In addition to nationalist frames, it is also possible to observe other framings of 'development' in mining conflicts. For example, the Ogoni struggle for recognition in Niger Delta oil conflict can be framed as a reflection process on incomplete decolonization,

and imagining alternative liberation of African people beyond the carapace of reformist nationalism (Watts 2001; 192). In this particular framing, resource conflict is framed as a means for another cause that is the liberation of African people and bringing democratic regime. In a similar fashion, the contestation over a prospective mining project in Kaz Mountains has also initiated the reflection process by local activists and helped to mobilize cosmopolitan residents to organize together for a more sound environmentally friendly and democratic form of development of the region. Even though dispute has settled down so far, one can see ramifications of the development frame, which was raised during heated discussions among activists groups, in other projects like developing alternative sustainable tourism initiative and proper urban planning in the Edremit Bay. As one activist said, Kaz Mountains mining dispute has provided the initiative to act together for sustainable development of region, which couldn't be achieved easily otherwise (Interview III).

Nevertheless, similar development frames might not work in all local contexts where a new mining project is planned to be carried out. At sometimes, the promise of development, progress, and bringing modernity by mining operations cannot be countered by alternative development schemes. Gold mining dispute in Rosia Montana is a striking example of the discrepancy between local activists' framing of alternative small development projects and local communities' appropriation of these frames. Even though Rosia Montana sits at the nexus of natural and historical heritage, imagining of alternative small tourism organic farming is far from realistic, as the region is away from normal routes and winter is harsh enough not to allow any form of agriculture. Besides 'development' discourse has been traditionally associated with gold mining, because region is known to be one of biggest state led small scale gold mine, where local communities work for many decades. Despite the fact that development discourse did not found a

resonance in communities' framing, local activists were able to mobilize local people by appealing to the possible dissolution of cultural integrity and discourse of 'belonging'. That's why imagining alternative discourses requires reflecting on local terms and only by doing so, possible collaboration between local activists and communities against prospective mining projects can be achieved.

Having said that alternative frames are influential in contesting powerful discourses during mining disputes, I would advance this argument more in the following chapter by presenting the actors' role in framing these discourses and Kaz Mountains case. It is suffice to say here that attention to the ways in which articulations of alternative frames occur is crucial in understanding how the discursive struggle in the mining conflicts are played out.

Conclusion

The contestation over the discursive space carried out by the actors involved in mining conflicts is politically important for understanding the efforts of actors to garner support for their cause. Taking the concept of articulation and discourse analysis into the center, this chapter has argued that the process of articulation is crucial in understanding cultural and political connections made by the actors in order to secure support for their definition of reality. Although I will dwell more on discursive strategies adopted by each actor involved in the mining conflicts in the next chapter, it is shown in this chapter that the discursive battle between powerful and counter discourses is a dynamic process which feeds upon imaginative connections made by the actors.

In order to underlie the processes behind the constitution of discourses, I employ the concept of articulation, which turned out to be a useful conceptual tool to understand how the moments of enunciation and expression of common positions, or shared interests in

positioning of a particular issue over the others took place in the mining conflicts. As I dwell into the different political-moral frames animated by actors, I try to show that the proliferation of powerful discourses and the process of imagining alternatives is tied with the process of articulation, which is instrumental in establishing social and cultural connections between local and universal knowledge. Through these new connections being made by the actors, one can see that there is always a room for maneuver for actors to change the practices on the ground, and as well as to assert their understanding of reality in an effort to garner support for their cause.

A brief inquiry into the constitution of the powerful discourses has shown that eco-governmentality framework has been crucial in constructing the environmental superiority of mining corporations both at the global and local levels. At the global scale, the shift from the relations of 'mining' to the relations of 'minding' has emphasized the appropriation of new discursive representations of environment on the part of global mining business network. The rationalization of nature in exchange for the promises of more jobs, greater prosperity, growth, and technological control, all which underlined the sustainable mining discourse, has become one of the chief discursive strategies in the new mining projects in order to normalize on-going economic activities on the face of radical environmental critiques of mining sector. Applying Gupta's conception of eco-governmentality to the mining sector, I argued that the appropriation of corporate environmentalism has become a new disciplinary mechanism that marked the qualitative transformation of mining economy and became instrumental in institutionalization of a new set of sustainable mining practices. This paradigmatic shift has not only enabled a room for the mining lobby to counter environmental critiques that jeopardize the mining operations, but it has also proposed a win-win scenario which reconciled the objectives of economic growth and environment

under sustainability discourse.

However, this does not tantamount to say that eco-governmentality framework is hegemonic in constructing environmental superiority of a mining corporation in the local context. Like other grand powerful discourses, sustainable mining discourse is also open to challenges and brought into life by counter environmentalist discourses on the ground. To the extent that the articulation of sustainable mining emerges as a powerful discourse and tries to discard other discourses in an authoritative way, the process imagining alternatives become crucial in garnering support for anti-mining cause. As shown in this chapter, counter discourses such as nature loving, developmentalism and nationalism are crucial in contesting the powerful discourses animated by mining lobby. Given the heterogeneity of the oppositional discourses and differences in political agendas among local opposition, the articulation of these discourses becomes important by establishing a connection with the local in order to garner support. The ability of social mobilizations to attract diverse social groups, who might disagree about their common causes and objects of concern, is possible thanks to these frames that connect a broader universal cause like the anti-mining with local reconfigurations. Using Anna Tsing's concept of friction, I try to show that the connection between the local and universal is instrumental in formation of collaborative objects in mining disputes, which draws these diverse groups in a common cause even though they hold separate political agendas.

All in all, this chapter has laid out a theoretical discussion with regards to my employment of discourse analysis and the nature of discussion in the mining disputes. By showing that the constitution of discursive space is entangled with various political-moral frameworks articulated by the actors involved in the dispute, I have argued that the process of articulation is crucial in understanding the nature of dispute and the politics of discussing

the mining investments. In the following chapters, I will dwell more on the role of each actor involved in the mining disputes and substantiate my argument even further with regards to the contestation over new mining investments.

CHAPTER III

THE ROLE OF ACTORS IN THE MINING CONFLICTS

As argued in the previous chapter, it is important to note the role of actors involved in the mining conflicts. In order to understand how different actors shape the discursive space of the mining conflicts, this chapter will seek to explain the interests, characteristics and actions of various actors involved in the dispute by applying the actor-based approach (Bryant and Bailey 1997). Accordingly, one can say that the constitution of discursive field of the mining conflicts can be better understood if we analyze how each actor strategically partake in or contest the idea of mining.

As proposed by Bryant and Bailey, actor-based approach can explain conflicts and/or cooperation over the management of natural resources. This approach emphasizes the role of each actor by zooming into their aims, interests, and strategies in order to provide an understanding of how actors relate to the political and ecological processes (Ibid., 24). Examples of this approach has been applied in various studies of environmental conflicts, such as Peluso's study of forest politics in the poor village of Java (Peluso 1992) and Bryant's study of conflicts over forestry between state, peasants, shifting cultivators and business in Burma (Bryant 1997). These studies focus on the relation of each actor to the forest management, and provided an understanding of the terms of contestation between actors. Similarly, I will adopt the actor-based approach to the study of actors involved in the mining conflicts in order to analyze their relation to environment, economy and politics.

As a follow up to the previous chapter, this chapter will further focus on the actors' framing of mining and their strategies in the mining dispute in order to open the nature of articulations animated by each actor. I will dwell on the role of actors in separate sections so as to frame their perspectives to a full extent. By looking at the discursive practices

animated by mining corporations, states, local communities and NGOs, I will seek to understand the ways in which each actor contributes to the discursive space of mining disputes. As I argued before, contesting a gold mine is a continuous process of confirmation and countering discursive formations of each actor involved in the conflict. By taking actor-based approach to the center in this chapter, I will seek to analyze the terms with which actors frame their arguments and contest counter positions.

Inside the Mining Corporation

Although the proliferation of powerful discourses in mining sector has been explored in the previous chapter, appropriation of these discourses by mining corporations in the local contexts is a different story. As said earlier, the environmentalist critics of industrial production in 1970s led to the re-consideration of environmental and social parameters in the mining sector as well. Not only sustainability discourse has been appropriated under the rubric of sustainable mining, but also big environmental accidents and human rights violations within new mine sites has led to growing skepticism about the operations of large transnational mining companies.

When the bigger mining corporations have to face the scrutiny over mining operations, such as exposure of cyanide in Ok Tedi gold mine, they alter their operations in quite striking ways. In the first place, larger corporations start to subcontract to smaller firms, which are flexible enough to adopt conditions on the ground and take advantage of it, in order to grab rights to resources, and then selling again to larger firm (Ferguson 2006; 206). This was not restricted to getting resource rights either. Especially in the exploration process, it is seen that much of the work was conducted not by top forty corporations, but rather by small and barely capitalized small firms, which are also known as juniors

(Bebbington et al 2008; 900). However, working with junior companies is not without a cost. Their lack of capital to conduct operations, contractual commitments to find the deposits quickly so as to reduce costs, and the lack of community relations group could end up conflictual community relations started at the exploration period, which larger companies has to face with in the later phases of mining operations (Ibid., 900).

These facts bring us to a fundamental discursive strategy that enables large corporations to pass blame on varying competitive position of corporations, and in a way to distinguish their operations from what they consider to be unsustainable mining practices. In as much as the smaller firms are less likely to adapt their practices in line with sustainable mining discourse due to operating in shorter term horizons, larger transnational corporations do have the tendency to adapt their practices mainly because of the fact that poor reputation of a firm could genuinely harm the business prospects, such as devaluation of stock prices; therefore it is generally the fear of being under scrutiny that underlies the community development projects, hiring more labor or paying salaries even in the times of temporary closure of mine, and seeking for negotiated settlements (Bebbington et al 2008; 906).

Nevertheless, this does not to say that transnational mining corporations, which employ these powerful discourses, do have the hegemonic power to shape course of events on the ground. Anna Tsing's analysis of Bre-X financial scandal is a great example for understanding the significance of conscious making of spectacle to raise capital for further mining exploration in Indonesia, however the performative aspects of speculations over the non-existent gold reserves could end up with a financial disaster (Tsing 2005 quoted in Ballard and Banks 2003; 292). This case reverses the common perception that portrays mining corporations as hegemonic, powerful, rational and profit seeking beasts through

looking at personal, contradictory and discursive nature of decision making within multinational corporations (Ballard and Banks 2003; 292). As argued by Anna Tsing, attention to the contingency and articulation could help us to understand how these globalist mining projects are embedded within cultural specifications and can be fragile together with the interplay of local and global (Tsing 2000; 142-143).

Countering the monolithic image of multinational corporations as hegemonic beasts, this perspective pays attention to the interactions between local, national, and workers and management (Gibson and Graham 2003; 293). Embedding the operations of mining corporations into a set of local cultural landscape is a good way to understand acclaimed sustainable practices performed by the corporation in a local region. Therefore, it is not an easy step to identify a set of discursive practices, and then to project them to general classification of corporations.

When we look at the relationship between mining corporations and local communities in a local mine site, it is possible to say that these relations are not uniform in nature; on the contrary, it is complex relationship linking the local and transnational scales (Burry 2008; 318). In a way, this is a mutually constitutive and contingent process of interaction, as the local communities enforce the mining corporations to alter their behavior and the types of social programs it is executing around the mine, the term with which the mining conflict played out will also change (Ibid). We can consider the escalation of community development programs around mine sites during 1990s. For instance, behavior of Newmont Mining Company in Peruvian Andes has changed significantly after escalation of conflict in the beginning of 1990s: In the first phase of community-corporation relations, there was an increase in the social development services and increase in well-being of local community provided by increased access to the markets due to construction of roads,

however this picture turned upside down, when company shifts its priorities in development programs (such as establishing small scale jewelry cooperatives, extended portable water systems instead of previous forms of social development programs) therefore result in decline of community access to these resources (Ibid., 316-317). This is a good example of how the alternating relationship between corporations and communities can be said to be mutually constituted and contingent on the local level dynamics.

As said earlier, sustainable mining discourse has emerged from the need to cover the notorious environmental record of the mining sector and to establish the industry's own environmental authority, therefore to renew mining companies' image to get social license for operating in a local region. Given the increasing number of mining conflicts based on the infamous social record of mining corporations, moving towards a new environmentally friendly and socially responsible outlook has been necessary to continue with the mining operations. However, the alternating nature of community and company relations, which can be affected by shifts in social programs provided by mining companies, suggests the fragility of sustainable mining discourse on the changing priorities and community responses to these projects. One can infer that designing social programs is not, per se, determined by the nature of these relationships, but more importantly it depends on whether these programs correspond to the needs of the local or not. To the extent that mining corporations claim environmental authority through envisioning technological sublime and social programs, their success in getting a social license to operate in a local region depends on the intelligibility of these discourses to the local communities. As this thesis argues, the grand project of governing the environmental knowledge by acclaiming superiority is vested in a social and cultural web of meanings.

Beyond the technical expertise, the performative acts of mining corporations are also

important in constructing their authority at the discursive space of local contexts. This spectacular appropriation of environmental discourse is crucial in completing picture of how mining corporations assert their environmental superiority over other contesting environmentalist discourses. As it is put by Meyer, enviro-rituals are important mechanisms for instilling the appeal that environmental impacts of mine operations are inert (Meyer 2009; 151). To give an example, Newmont officials demonstrate in front of NGO representatives, government officials, journalists, village elites and school children by licking, drinking and covering their hands, faces, and arms with tailings' water in Batu Hijau village of Indonesia (Ibid). Another example was also seen in the donning of senior mine official in the bathing trunks in tailing dams in Ovacik mine before the media (Ibid). Cultivating olive trees adjacent to mine sites and leaving ducks to the tailing dams (Avci 2008) are all imaginative rituals to wave back critical responses. Reminding the performance of Ministry of Environment while drinking tea in front of media to show that Chernobyl disaster did not contaminate tea leafs in the Black Sea region in Turkey, the public outreach of these enviro-rituals in the mining sector is an important component of appealing to the national and local scales for establishing mining corporations' environmental legitimacy.

Beyond the realm of enviro-rituals, we can also detect another significant discursive strategy, which is closely related with development discourses. The deeply rooted belief that environmental degradation and poverty are breeding each other also found its ramifications in the discursive practices animated by mining corporations. As it was for the first time theorized by Kuznet, this argument based on the assumptions that environmental quality and level of income are positively related in the earlier stages of economic growth, and that this trend will be reversed as the level incomes go up, since people will give

greater importance to environmental amenities and the level of pollution will decline (Arrow 1995; 91). This argument does not only justify the increased pollution as an acceptable side of economic growth, but also points out the biggest enemy of environment, which is poverty. For instance, one of the Newmont officials declared that the decrease in the marine foraging in the Batu Hijau village in Indonesia as evidence for increasing prosperity of villagers due to mining operations, despite this claim glosses over the fact that sea food is an important part of food chain and cultural exchange. One can seize the implications of this argument in connecting two stated mission of corporations: firstly, improving the life standards by opening a new mine; secondly, promoting the upgrading of environmental standards in a local region. One can notice from these arguments that development aspect of environmentalist discourse is widely articulated by mining corporations in casting the mine sites as environmentally friendly.

Another contested discursive area where mining corporations do affirm their environmental superiority is the indication of authenticity of environmental agendas compared to other groups such as NGOs and TNANs (Meyer 2009; 155). One common strategy is to accuse NGOs for having their own agendas, such as leaning for a socialist regime but using environmental causes to cover it or working as an agent serving the benefits of an enemy country (this can also be thought in asserting mining as of national interest especially in Turkey example), and alleging that they do lack transparency and accountability, which is shown in a sharp contrast to company reports that indicates good governance policies and accountability to shareholders (Ibid). This outward denunciation of NGOs or TNANs in opposition to mining is very much linked with the need for taming environmental critics of mining operations. In consultation with public relations firms, one can see that market clandestine research on advocacy NGOs and executive strategies for

destroying NGOs are commonly practiced strategies (Ibid).

Considering the fact that mining corporations do have the asymmetric access to information compared to villagers, corporate executives have the resources to disseminate selective and deliberate information in the bulletins distributed to the villagers (Ibid., 162). Sometimes a certain part of these bulletins are dedicated to exposing activists in a different light, such as claiming that they are pursuing a secret agenda and even paid for it, and moreover negate their accusations on the part of mining operations. This process of making NGOs transparent (Ibid., 162), as it is claimed by mining executives, is an important part of delegitimizing the contesting discourses by exposing actors involved in the dispute.

Implications of such discursive strategies are crucial in envisioning a prospective mining project in local context. Even though one cannot observe some of these social provisions, enviro-rituals and so forth, they are important in so far as they help to build an image of what would a mining investment be like. Most of discussion with regards to possible contributions of a new mining project takes place at discursive space. That's why one of powerful discursive strategy animated by mining corporations lies in capturing imaginations of local people on the positive implications of a possible mining project to the local region.

This strategy does not only based on speculations, but it can sometimes backed by previous mining projects carried out by mining corporation in a different region, especially the case for transnational mining corporations. For instance, during discussions about opening up a new gold mine in Kaz Mountains, mining corporations has referenced Bergama gold mine in their claim to be a socially and environmentally sustainable mining firm. Similarly, Eldorado gold mining has shape its discursive strategy by acclaiming to

bring development to Rosia Montana, and hence play with one of most referred frames so as to capture imagination of local community in agreeing to possible operation of a gold mine by a transnational company.

All in all, one can infer that the ability of the mining corporations to shape the discourses on the ground cannot be understood within the confines of hegemonic environmentalist discourse or encompassing power of mining corporations to shape course of events on the ground. On the contrary, the flow of capital and commodities are shaped by actions of agents, institutions, and technologies, all of which might enable, direct, reverse or block movements (Welker 2009; 162). As I noted in the previous cases, the attention to the interplay of discourses at the nexus of culture, history and politics would tell how these powerful discourses of sustainable mining do play on the ground. Mining corporations are influential actors in shaping the discursive space on the ground, but not the only one. The success or fragility of mining projects depends on the interaction between different actors, as one can observe. Leaving discussion about mining corporations here, I will dwell more on the other actors and their interactions in the following sections.

Reframing the State in Mining Conflicts

One of crucial actors influencing the discursive space in the mining conflicts is the state, which is one of the most difficult actors to frame. The study of state is attractive across disciplines, yet it is not possible to say that there is a consensus over what constitutes a state, whether it exists in real world or just an effect of new form of governmentality (Mitchell 1991), etc., all of which relevant questions for the mining study, too. Considering the evasiveness of transnational and globalist imaginations at all scales, the task of reframing the state becomes even more difficult. However, my aim here is not to go into a

detailed theoretical discussion of boundaries of state, instead I would like to focus on role of state in the shaping discursive space on the ground in the mining conflicts. Here developing on discussions about Foucault's notion of governmentality and everyday practices that enable functioning of state's grand schemes (see Scott 1998), I would like to see the impacts of state's adaptation to the new trends in mining sector in line with global agendas of environmentalism, developmentalism and scaling the investment to the global level.

The new role of states can be better understood through the discourses and practices of power, which are produced by local encounters and through the discourses of public culture, encounters with bureaucracy, organization of space, etc. (Aretzaga 2003; 398). In as much the grand schemes, such as a development plans, forest management, mineral extraction plan or a population control plan, designed for improving human condition are constitutive of state's power, they are doomed to failure unless they are put into practice through the apprehension of state officials and application of everyday knowledge (see Scott 1998). For instance, since mid-1980s more than 90 states pass series of new mining laws that enables opening up mining sector to the transnational corporations (Bridge 2004a). As argued by Campbell, mining reforms advised by World Bank group at global scale, do in fact undermine the role of state by reducing policy options and governing available norms in policy implementation, and moreover weakens the initial link between mining and development (Campbell 2008; 3 quoted in Bebbington et al. 2008; 812). However, regulation of entry of multinational corporations, despite the efforts of World Bank and IMF during 1980s to relax conditions for foreign companies, has been filtered through legal and institutional structures of nation-states (Ballard and Banks 2003; 294), which determines in a way how the grand structural changes are carried out and to what

extent they are successful or fragile on the face of frictions with national and local level practices.

One strategy to study states is to look at “the set of metaphors and practices, through which states can present themselves as reified entities with particular spatial properties; [therefore] by doing so, they help to secure their legitimacy, to naturalize their authority and to represent themselves superior to other institutions and centers of power” (Ferguson and Gupta 2002;982). These metaphors and practices, which are defining role of state, are subject to change together with the new imperatives of transnationalization and globalization of economy (Ibid). Therefore one can say that role of state has gained a new meaning with the inclusion of new actors, such as transnational advocacy networks and multinational corporations, and with the evolution of new institutions and technologies (see Ferguson 2006; Tsing 2002; Sharma and Gupta 2006).

Accordingly, the new practices of state has been to “shape the human conduct by working through our desires, aspirations, interests and beliefs for definite but shifting ends” (Watts 2004; 280), therefore to form governable spaces, subjecting them to rules of biology and economics (Ibid). Through these sets of practices, states do create governable spaces that emerged from analytics of government, and constitute modalities in which real and material governable world is composed, terraformed and populated (Ibid., 281).

Developing upon Foucauldian concept of governmentality and Rose's the concept of governable spaces (Rose 1999 quoted in Watts 2004), Watts tries to understand workings of petro-capitalism, which necessitates the territorialization of governmental thought and practice that is simultaneously produced at different scales by the laws of political economy (Ibid., 282). Apart from petro-capitalism, any particular sort of extractive development would be generative of these different sorts of scale, or the politics of scale, as

Smith calls it (Smith 1992 quoted in Watts 2004; 282).

Ramifications of changing role of state are manifold in the mining sector, too. At one extreme, state has become a rentier in collaboration with the multinational companies in a large-scale copper mine protected by private security companies to ensure mining operations, and moreover with use of the advanced technologies in the mine, corporations are able to bypass any development contribution to the society (see Ferguson 2006). The case of Zambia provides a template for reflecting on alteration of role of state. Traditionally being a socio-cultural-economic site for implementing the national development plan of the Zambian state, the large-scale copper mine holds the promises of modernity and progress, which takes the vision of improvement of human condition (by state) at the center. Whereas together with the operation of multinational corporations, one can notice that the role of state, as the center of authority and legitimacy over different centers of power or institution, has altered dramatically. From the big national project of development to the socially thin Anglo-Saxon model, the scaling of the mining project from a national one to a transnational one has profoundly changed the authority and legitimacy of state as reified unity. The smooth working of new extremely extractive mining ventures has been realized not only through the new rentier role of state or workings of national politics, but more importantly by the creation of new governable spaces that enable interplay of different scales. The spatialization of mining projects is not national anymore together with the transactions of goods and services at transnational scale.

This is not to say that all new mining examples would follow the Zambian case. For instance, in Nevada and California, both of which have mining histories intrinsically linked with discourses of state-formation and political identity, the popular discursive construction of mining activities goes back to the distant periods of state's history (Bridge

and McManus 2000; 31). Although mining sector declined in the aftermath of postwar period, the initial increase in the mineral prices during 1980s has led to search for lands for new mining ventures (Ibid). However, partly because of relatively expensive rates for lands (due to highly utilized lands between real estate, agriculture and recreational interests), mainly due the environmental regulations or prolonged legal cases opened by environmentalists has lowered down the prospects from opening up new mine sites in these regions (Ibid., 31-32).

One can say that to the extent that cosmopolitan constituency of these cities underlies the environmentalist discourses, valuing recreational and aesthetic appreciation of landscapes, the possibility of furthering the interests of mining corporations at the state level becomes difficult (Ibid., 36). As I dwell upon the environmentalization of discourses in the previous section, ability of state to revive the mining sector in California and Nevada depends on the use of appealing narratives and metaphors which shapes people's desires, aspirations and interests with the global conjuring. In the example of California and Nevada, the corporate discursive strategy is to draw parallels between nostalgia and romanticism of old mining industry and the contemporary notions of professionalism, entrepreneurship, and responsible resource stewardship (Ibid., 37). As said earlier, this corporate discursive strategy cannot create its own legitimate space unless the territorialization of the governmental thought and practices are realized through new regulatory frameworks, which are produced by laws of political economy of mineral extraction (Watts 2004; 282).

To proliferate on the different forms of spatialization of state, one can recall the role of transnational advocacy networks (TNANs) and NGOs as influential actors in contesting the authority of state in implementing new regulations in the mining sector. In as much as

the vast schemes envisioned by state take the visible form of high modern, their visions of improving human condition through these schemes depends on the practices and desires of target populations (Li 2005; 383). This brings us to the question of changing role of state in the new era of globalization and transnational spaces. It is possible to say that state is no longer the sole actor in implementing these schemes. As the new practices of state depends on the creation of governable spaces, their ability to govern is contested by an array of actors, be it TNANS, the World Bank or corporations (Ibid., 384). For instance, in the Rosia Montana mining conflict, Alburnus Maior, who is a locally based environmentalist activist against operation of a mine, successfully lobbied for the withdrawal of the World Bank daughter International Finance Corporation from the project of the RMGC in concert with the TNANS such as the CEE Bankwatch, Friends of the Earth International, Greenpeace or Mining Watch Canada (Buzogany and Kok 2009; 6). One can observe that inclusion of non-conventional actors in mining conflicts could shape the discursive space and contest practices of state through by-passing state and acting across the borders (Keck and Sikkink 1998).

All in all, it is possible to say that understanding the discursive practices of state is a not an easy task. Not only the proliferation of environmental, developmental and nationalist discourses makes it difficult to distinguish metaphors and practices of state that underlies the new globalist and transnational aspirations in scaling up the investments in mining sector, but also the inclusion of various actors makes it harder for traditional role of state and its authority and legitimacy over its subjects. In as much as the authority of state's discursive practices are contested, the ability of state to capture national imagination depends on interplay between these contesting discourses or alliances.

Constitution of Community Perspectives

Framing perceptions of local communities involved in mining dispute is one of the most debated areas of inquiry spanning social movements, nationalism, development and environment literature. Not only mobilization of communities in response to operations of a mine is over-studied under these subfields, but also provide a theoretical insight to alternative critiques of capitalism, be it green or social critique. At the beginning of my research, diversity of responses during my interviews about Kaz Mountains mining dispute puzzled me in understanding what constitutes these different responses given by local community in the region. That's why this section sits at the center of my research question: What makes all these different discursive practices employed by local communities in Kaz Mountains to end up with formation of collaborative subjects given the incompatibilities and contradictory worldviews underlying their arguments? Before going into the case study of Kaz Mountains in the following chapters to answer this question, I would like to clarify the prospects of different constitution of community perspectives, which underlies discursive practices employed by the members of community in the lifetime of a mining conflict.

To start with one of the most stated theoretical underpinnings of breaking down the constitution of local communities engaged in a protest movement against mining, one can see that it is generally analyzed in relation to the present or prospective mining projects within confines of the local. However, narrowness of temporal-spatial dimensionality of this perspective restricts one's insights into the susceptibility or success of mining projects in the eye of a local community over time and space. As argued by Ballard and Banks, the constitution of community perspectives is not only diverse at a determined time or space, but also transforms in the life course of mining projects, as they are go through different

forms of engagement with mining projects (Ballard and Banks 2003; 297). To an outsider eye, it might look like an inconsistency, which makes it difficult furthermore to identify what makes a community to attack the mining projects in the first place and then defend it later. As Meyer puts it through the example of Sumbawan village elites, who alternately attacked and then defend operations of Newmont mining company in Indonesia, the alternating politics of community perspectives within the course of a mine project is not an inconsistency, rather a part of a moral framework according to which they constructed themselves as central agents in determining whether the mine would operate and maintaining the flows of development goals (Meyer 2009; 167).

A closer look into the constitution of community perspectives by paying attention to the discursive practices employed by members of community shows that responses to a mine project is not homogenous. Not only the discursive formation of environmentalist, developmentalist and nationalist frameworks through which they express themselves do vary, but also cross-fertilization of these discursive areas suggest complexity of agendas held by local communities. In the context of resource conflicts, theories of development, environment and nationalism dwell on the intrinsic relations between community perspectives and the corresponding discourses practices in critiquing industrial production and powerful discourses that promote uninterrupted economic growth.

On the one hand, post-structuralist theories of development frame the engagement of local communities in social movements in anti-developmental terms by emphasizing the diversity and breath of alternative representations and practices critiquing the impacts of development and modernity in top-down development projects (see Escobar 1995). However, this anti-developmental framing is criticized for being essentialist in representing the local community responses as unified, and for not exploring the socio-

cultural means by which local communities oppose to mainstream development discourses , even though it does acknowledge the fluent adaptation and reworking of development discourses in the local contexts(Brown 1996; 366).

Meyer's ethnographic work on the alternating politics of Sumbawan village elites in mining conflict in Indonesia takes its stake in these discussions about community perspectives with regard to development discourses. As said earlier, Sumbawan village elites conserve a form of development different than mainstream discourses of empowerment, participation or sustainability throughout the development of mine project (Meyer 2009; 167). Up to this point her argument agrees with Escobar's argument about the viability of non-Western development discourses. However, her work does not jump to the conclusion that local communities do in fact articulate anti-development discourses. The pivotal move in her ethnographic study, which refrain her from essentialist descriptions of development discourses employed by the local communities, is to look at variations in practices and the metaphors underlying arguments of local villagers across time.

Accordingly, the pursuit of development, as she put in Ferguson's terms, to realize the expectations of modernity (Ferguson 1999) promoted by Suharto regime as a national goal is defined in tangible material progress; therefore as opposed to mainstream discourses of development (such as participatory and sustainable development) underlined by sustainable mining activities, village elites of Sumbawan created their own moral framework which forced Newmont to assume the role of state as provider of patronage goods (Meyer 2009; 144). In as much as these patronage goods nourished the village elites and their sons in the mine's Community Development and Community Relations offices through employment contracts, Newmont mining secured the social license for their operations in the village (Ibid).

Nevertheless this is not tantamount to say that in every mining conflict, breakdown of community perspectives follows the same pattern and/or can be defined in similar terms. Attention to the ritualistic regulations of ecosystems has in fact enlarged study of contexts where multiple meanings of nature coexist, especially in the resource conflicts (Ibid). Post-structuralist school has argued the relationship between nature and society does not exist in absolute terms as it is in Western contexts (Ibid). For instance, Escobar's work on the production of biodiversity discourse suggests that biodiversity is not a true object that science discovers progressively, instead it is a historically produced discourse that “articulates a new relation between nature and society in the global context of science, technology and economics” (Escobar 1998; 54). It is therefore important to look at the local contexts within which such powerful discourses of environment articulates, and the local knowledge production process that contests these discourses.

The variations among local community discursive practices do matter in understanding local appropriation of powerful discourses. For instance, one of commonly stated dichotomies between development and environment does not endure when we look at the constitution of the local perspectives. Attention to cultural, historical and political lineages suggest the complexity of agendas held by actors on the face of establishment of a new neo-liberal extractive ventures (Kirsch 2007; 317). Both symbolically and materially, local perceptions of operating or prospective mining projects are embedded within a socio-cultural web of meanings, which filters these globally articulating discourses.

As Kirsch's ethnographic work on Ok Tedi mine conflict puts it, the leaders of anti-mining movement draw their ideas from Malenasian social relations so as to criticize the mobility of capital and corporate's refusal to take responsibility for degradation of environment from mining operations (Kirsch 2008; 289). In contrast to the argument that

Malenasians are neither conservationist nor environmentalists, Kirsch argues that exposure to pollution in Ok Tedi copper mine and Papua New Guinea gold mine has mobilized understandings of difference in a green critique of capitalism (Ibid). One can see that the boundaries between strict development and environment does not hold in the Papua New Guinea example, either. The villagers in the vicinity of gold mine reflects through their ritualistic practices that they can both verse corporation's discourses of development and conservationist arguments, and filter these seemingly separate discourses through a web of social relations and rituals, in so far as the idea of mine being intermingled with the myths of gold come into being through adaptation of these two discourses (see West 2006). The discursive practices employed by villagers nearby Eastland Papua New Guinea gold mine suggests that local appropriation of new ideas in different phases of mining conflict bridges the gap between developed and non-developed, development and environment, local, national and global (Ibid).

In this section, I try to give a snapshot of possible breakdown of local community perspectives involved in resource conflicts and the terms of discursive practices animated by them in general, mining conflicts in particular. However, this does not to say that local communities are isolated closed entities that does not involve in any information exchange with other actors. Acknowledging that the collaborations between local communities and NGOs, TNANs, and even mining corporations involved in mining conflicts, it is possible to observe that these discursive practices are well-versed through dissemination of powerful discourses such as sustainability, development or conservation. As a mutually constituting process with other actors, the discursive formation of local communities does also come into being and subject to change on the face of new alliances or encounters. Therefore, proliferation of different discursive practices employed by communities can be observed as

a dynamic process of becoming across time and beyond the traditional geographical extend.

Understanding the Inclusion of New Actors: Reframing the NGOs and Transnational Advocacy Networks

Defining what constitutes a civil society is a tricky question hard to answer and beyond the scope of this research. Yet it is crucial to understand the inclusion of new actors in shaping the politics of resource conflicts through dissemination of alternative and/or mainstream discursive practices. To the extent that globalization and transnationalization are driving forces in shaping the politics of mineral extraction, they push theorists to reflect on the questions of in what forms these transnational forms of power has altered the role of state authority and render them weak (or strong) (Ferguson 2006; 112). As a consequence, the perceptions of new world order accompanied by the acceleration of globalization, changing cultural practices and the sense that nation states lose their legitimate source of authority over civil society has led to the proliferation of new research path with regards to the practices of NGOs, which are not only acting in local contexts but also across the national borders (Fisher 1997; 439; see also Keck and Sikkink 1998; Lipschutz 1992; Clapp 1994; Wapner 1995; Keane 2003).

As Li puts it, it is no longer legitimate to say that state has monopoly over the schemes designed to improve human condition (see Scott 1998); instead, she argues that it is a new form of governmentality in which state share its function with social reformers, the so-called non-governmental organizations (NGOs), missionaries, and donor agencies with technical experts (Li 2005; 384). Therefore, one can infer that the fundamental question on role of civil society is now linked with questions of transnationalism, globalizing economies, and the changing role of states. Without going deeper into this new form of

governmentality and the ways in which civil society has become an important actor, I will restrict my discussion to the prospects of the inclusion of NGOs and TNANs into the politics of mining conflicts, and to the analysis of the ways in which they relate to the discussions with regards to opening up new mining projects in local contexts.

The inclusion of NGOs in general, TNANS in particular, in the mining sector can be understood in relation to transnationalization of mining disputes both in scale and the range of issues raised to target operations of mining corporations. In as much mining corporations become truly globalized, their abusive activities, such as exploitation of human rights, labor and environmental resources has become under scrutiny and popularized by transnational NGOs, who exploit the vulnerability of corporations at global scale (Evans et al 2002; 15). Therefore, inclusion of TNANs has profoundly changed the politics of mining conflicts by threatening mining activities, especially those carried out by big mining corporations, which are more vulnerable to bad publicity than small companies.

However, the category of NGOs is so wide in range that it will be a big mistake to narrow it down into common misconception that they are voluntary based, non-profit and locally bounded civil society organizations acting for peaceful and civic purposes. One of the most-stated public image of NGOs as activists helping the local communities in their struggle for environmentally and socially destructive practices of mining operations is in fact biased portrayal of NGO activities in general (Ballards and Banks 2003; 304). On the one hand, one can observe that several international NGOs such as Conservation International has been cooperatively working with corporate run MMSD project; on the other, Oxfam Community Aid Abroad in Australia attain the monitoring and ombudsman role while remaining in distance with mining business(Ibid., 303), and the other TNANs such as Mining Watch Canada, Mine and Communities, Friends of Earth and Greenpeace,

which target violation of human rights and environmental abuses done by mining corporations. Moreover, there are other types of NGOs hired or established by the mining corporations to mediate between local communities and corporations, and supplying services of health, education and other infrastructure projects (Ballards and Banks 2003; 304). For instance, the Canadian Hunger Foundation/PARTNERS in Rural Development (CHF-PARTNERS) whose projects are funded mostly by Canadian mining companies has implemented more than 800 rural community development projects in some 38 countries of Africa, Asia, and the Americas (Breuer and Farrell 2007; 1). Among other projects carried out by this international NGO in collaboration with mining industry, the Guyana Capacity Building Project can be considered as one of biggest programs started in 1996 with a budget of nearly \$5 million, all which was “to assist twenty local NGOs to develop their organizations and professionally manage their programs in order to sustain the flow of benefits and services to their members, clients and/or communities” (Ibid., 3).

The reasons for engagement of mining corporations in the CSR industry were elaborated on in the previous sections, yet it is crucial to see how collaboration with international groups of NGOs is in fact an essential strategy for articulating the sustainable mining discourse. Other striking examples about NGOs and mining corporation partnerships can further support this argument by showing that extractive industries like mining, being notorious for violation of human rights and environmental degradation, can engage with NGO industry to escape accusations of unsustainable practices. Australian gold mining company, Newmont became a signatory to the Voluntary Principles on Security and Human Rights as a part of its CSR activities, which was drafted by transnational groups of NGOs, Western companies and government leaders so as to avoid abuses of human rights by states and private security forces employed by mining

corporations (Meyer 2009; 147). The growing interest in these types of NGO-mining corporation partnerships can be attributed to the need for maintaining the security of operations given the bad record of human rights abuses and environmental degradation (Meyer 2009; 147). In as much as the operations of mining corporations become transnational, their vulnerability to local confrontation and as well as to investors, financier and consumer based opposition led them to seek for collaborative partnerships with NGOs so as to secure their operations (Evans et al 2002; 15).

Nevertheless, this does not say that all NGOs⁴ are partners of mining corporations. If we look at the literature on NGOs, one can say that overwhelming number of studies were done on groups involved with challenging the states and local elites in collaboration with local communities (Fisher 1997; 449). The transnational alliances between advocacy NGOs and local communities in their struggle against environmental, labor and human rights exploitation has been crucial in publicizing the criminal activities of mining corporations. As it is put by Emel, one of the most popular strategy employed by TNANS so as to change corporate and institutional practice is 'following the money', which is to persuade individual stakeholders, pension funds, banks, and other investors that capitalize the mining projects with bad ecological and social imprint (Emel 2002;827). For instance, the successful campaigning in Rosia Montana gold mine for the withdrawal of the World Bank daughter International Finance Corporation from the project of the RMGC has been achieved through a concert of TNANS such as the CEE Bankwatch, Friends of the Earth International, Greenpeace or Mining Watch Canada (Buzogany and Kok 2009; 6).

Examples of similar stories can be multiplied, such as campaign by Friends of the Earth

⁴ It is possible to say that category of NGO is an ambiguous one given the diversity of NGOs with conflicting agendas. A brief categorization of NGOs goes as the following: Community based organizations (CBOs); Grass-root organizations (GSOs); People's organizations (PO); Intermediary support organizations (ISO); Membership support organizations (MSOs); Grass-root support organizations (GSOs) (Fisher 1997; 448).

against the operations of Freeport - McMoRan Copper and Gold Inc. in Irian Jay, West Papua (see Emel 2002). In a way complementing Goldman's concept of eco-governmentality that he built upon greening of World Bank activities on the face of opposition from TNANs, Emel argues that the greening disciplining of capital through the efforts of TNANs watching the operations of mining corporations, has been a determining factor in adaptation of CSR discourse by transnational mining corporations (Emel 2002). Besides these activist strategies employed by TNANs, there are other essential advocacy work which contests the discursive formation of greening of mining business. For instance, the exposition of the flaws in corporate funded projects like MMSD, or the implications of new discursive practices animated by mining business networks, such as the concept of sustainable mining, can be seen as prime examples of how the TNANS operate.

All in all, the inclusion of non-governmental actors in the politics of mining has added a new dimension to the discursive space of mining conflicts. As actors of new forms of governmentality, the activities of NGOs (be it local or transnational) in relation to state, corporations or local communities has profound impacts in the new mining conflicts. The presence of non-governmental actors across borders does not only push theorists to reflect on traditional forms of power on the face of transnationalization, but also initiate a critical thinking process about the unquestioned assumptions what constitutes a global civil society and the significance of their activities in a common framework of governmentality. Here I try to give a brief discussion about the implications of global trends in global civil society theory and their significance in the mining politics, yet I do acknowledge that this theoretical endeavor require a in depth analysis of global civil society networks in mining sector, which is beyond the scope of this research.

Conclusion

Outlining each actor's role in the mining conflicts, this chapter seeks to capture the strategies adopted by the subjects involved in the discursive contestation. Using the actor-oriented approach in combination with discourse analysis, I try to show that each actor has a different connection to the politics of mining investments. One of main tenets of this chapter is to advance the argument that the constitution of discursive and on the ground practices of each actor has been shaped through a process of discursive contestation. I aim to show that this is a dynamic process of contestation over the "truthful" representation of mining investments, as each actor strategically tries to secure their representation and at the same time counters the arguments advanced by the other side. Therefore the terms of conflict depends very much on how this contestation is played out through the active participation of each actor.

As the literature review on the role of mining corporations has shown, the ability of the mining corporations to shape the discursive space of mining disputes cannot be understood in terms of hegemonic or all-encompassing power to shape the course of events on the ground. As opposed to this incomplete depiction of mining corporations, I have shown that mining corporations are influential actors in shaping the discursive space on the ground, but not the only one. Their success or fragility in establishing a legitimate position in eye of public depends on the interaction with other actors. In as much as their ability to enable, direct, reverse or block movements determined by the terms of contestation, it also depends on how they counter the counter discourses by adopting the new environmental governance model that articulates sustainable mining principles.

On the other hand, the role of state in the mining conflicts is hard to frame, as the inclusion of new actors in the mining disputes makes it difficult to contain its traditional

role in acclaiming authority and legitimacy over its subjects. In as much as the authority of state's discursive practices are contested, the ability of state to capture national imagination depends on how they strategically shape the public opinion by adhering to counter discourses, such as nationalism, nature loving and developmentalism.

The role of local community perspectives in the mining disputes is often casted as isolated closed entities, which requires critical reflection as this chapter argues. Dwelling on the collaborations between local communities and other actors such as NGOs, TNANs and mining corporations, it is crucial to observe that discursive practices of the local communities are well informed by dissemination of powerful discourses of sustainability, development and conservation. Acknowledging the new forms of alliances and encounters with actors across different scales, the local community perspectives has been expanded in its scope. Therefore, it is not a surprise to see proliferation of various discursive practices employed by local communities involved in mining conflicts.

Finally, the inclusion of non-governmental actors in the mining conflicts has been an important factor in shaping the nature of the discursive practices. Despite the fact that the role of NGOs is ambivalent, their involvement has altered the politics of mining in various ways. As I argued in this chapter, it will be erroneous to associate NGO work with the ultimately good practices. Given an array of different types of NGOs, it is possible to observe that their role in shaping the politics of mining is more ambivalent. However, emergence of TNANS and their work across the borders has significantly countered the powerful discourses and major actors such as extractive states and mining companies with bad records. Besides their advocacy work is becoming more important on the face of transnationalization vis-à-vis the leverage they can exert on powerful actors in a boomerang pattern. Even though it will be false to assume that they can always alter the course of

events on the ground, it is possible to notice that they are crucial actors in publicizing the bad environmental and human rights record of companies, therefore instrumental in urging the mining business to shift towards a new corporate environmental governance model.

In conclusion, one can notice that actor-based approach to mining conflicts lays out different actors' involvement in the discursive space of mining disputes by giving a detailed depiction of their interests, discursive and on the ground practices. It also underlies the argument that the contestation over the discursive space has been shaped by a dynamic interaction of powerful and counter discourses, which have been strategically articulated by the discoursing subject trying to secure their own definition of reality in an effort to garner support for their cause. Next chapters will illuminate this argument further by looking at the mining conflicts in Turkey in general and Kaz Mountains case in particular.

CHAPTER IV

“THE TURKISH DELIGHT”: THE POLITICS OF SCALING UP GOLD MINING INVESTMENTS IN TURKEY

The Turkish delight metaphor is a good start for inquiring into aspirations for scaling up new mining investments with the global economy in Turkey. As Steven Poulton of Ariana Resources, a UK based minerals exploration company, puts, Turkey emerges as an internationally competitive country with lower tax rates and potentially rich mineral resources (especially in gold and silver) in a way that demarcates the reception of Turkey as the new Turkish delight for international investors (Poulton 2006; 24). However, one cannot detach the story of scaling up the mining sector with the global economy from its impacts on environment and local communities. Concurrently with international developments, proliferation of this double transformation in the mining sector, namely the process of neoliberalization and greening, has been defining in the politics of opening up new transnational mining investments in Turkey. In other words, the process of becoming a “Turkish delight” for global investors has to be understood not only in terms of finding finance, tax rates, or anything related with profitability, but also in its social and environmental impacts. As mutually reinforcing areas of contestation, discussing new mining investments in Turkey spans environmental, social and economic arguments given the background story of transnationalization of mining sector.

Presenting Turkey as an attractive country for transnational mining investments has also found resonance at the state level together with re-structuring the mining laws, thus easing the transition to a truly globalized economy. Scaling up mining investments with the global economy has been on the agenda of Turkey since mid-1980s. Despite the willingness on the part of Turkish government, majority of mining explorations were

carried out throughout 1990s. Within ten years' time, 47 transnational mining corporations received gold mine permits in Turkey (*Dunya* 15 July 2006). Unsatisfied with slow progress of mining investments, in 2006, Hilmi Guler, Minister of Energy and Natural Resources at the time, expressed his concerns about missing the opportunity of making use of Turkey's potential mineral reserves due to wrong evaluation of public opinion, misleading environmentalist pressures and cumbersome bureaucracy that stand on the way of Turkey realizing the great economic value of its resources (*Dunya* 15 July 2006). As he said in the opening ceremony of Usak Kisladag gold mine, "We do not want to be the poor wardens of rich underground resources" (*Ihlas News Agency* 11 July 2006) meaning that newer reserves should be fully processed to bring economic prosperity in line with scaling up of mining sector. It is possible to infer from Guler's statement that Turkey does participate in the idea that mining sector should be truly globalized, which is in a way reflected in government's willingness to open up mineral resources to foreign investment and restructure its legal framework accordingly.

Nevertheless, the impediments to the new national project of going for global, which promises to bring economic prosperity and develop Turkey further, constitute the corpus of discursive practices contesting the globalist imagination. As the first transnational gold mining investment that was initially established by Eurogold (then transferred to Newmont, and Koza Gold Mining subsequently), Bergama Ovacik gold mine is a milestone in the history of mining in Turkey in various respects. First of all, it signifies transnationalization of mining economy in Turkey and the national dreams of catching up with global economy. On the other hand, Bergama has been a notorious site for escalation of community based movement contesting the new mining investment on the grounds of human rights violations, environmental degradation, resettlement, and so forth. Within a decade,

Bergama gold mining dispute has changed the perception of new mining investment in terms of environmental, economic and social consequences.

As of today, we can observe that mining explorations are carried out in different parts of Turkey by transnational mining corporations. By laying out the globalist aspirations for bringing transnational mining investments to the country, this chapter aim to give a snapshot of the greater transformation of economy and environment occurring in Turkey. Starting with a review of push and pull factors affecting the mining sector and the aspirations of state and mining corporations in Turkey, I aim to provide a background for my analysis of the discursive contestation in Kaz Mountains mining conflict. Leaving the discussion with regards to discursive practices of anti-mining groups to the next chapter, I seek to open up the content of the powerful discourses articulated in the mining conflicts of Turkey. This chapter will be an introduction to the politics of mining investments in Turkey, however a crucial one for understanding the origins of arguments articulated in the Kaz Mountains case. Although I will present a full application of my theoretical framework in the Kaz Mountains case, I believe this chapter will also act as a bridge between theoretical discussions and my case study in the organization of this thesis.

Push and Pull Factors Affecting the Mining Sector in Turkey

In order to understand what new mining projects mean for Turkey, we need to trace the cultural, historical and political genealogy of mining until the early periods of modern Turkey. With the foundation of Republic of Turkey in 1923, catching up with the West and the idea of progress had a profound impact in the mining industry as well. Articulation of the developmentalist discourse in the mining sector has been present since 1923 with an emphasis on Turkey's "underutilized" rich natural resources on the way to progress. Given

the rudimentary levels of infrastructure and basic development in eastern and central areas, state's involvement with industrial enterprises began with mineral resources and manufacturing (Beeley 1995; 120). During Depression era from 1930 to 1939, Turkey's response was to promote etatist policies relying on centrally planned industrial plans and development initiatives (Avci 2008; 44). In response to lack of private investment in major industrial sectors, State Economic Enterprises (SEEs) were established in two major sectors, namely manufacturing and mining. Following etatist policies in mineral sector, Petroleum and Gold Prospecting and Operation Agencies, General Directorate of Mineral Research and Exploration(MTA) and ETIBANK for funding mining sector by state were established in 1933 and 1935, respectively (Arsel 2005; 269). Reaching its peak in Import Substitution Industrialization era of 1960s and 1970s, state has been defining actor in 'rational' utilization of mineral resources in support of other industrial enterprises.

After the military takeover in 1980, privatization of mining industry was initiated under Turkey's new neo-liberal outlook, favoring Foreign Direct Investment (FDI). Economic liberalization program of Turgut Ozal's government opened the way to dismantle the etatist tradition in major industries including mining sector. The passage was quite smooth due to suppression of any possible objection from unions or any other opposition political party by military regime. Changes in the legal framework have been in line with new economic policy of transferring permission of mining activity from its state monopoly to private sector. Starting with 1980s, especially in Özal's governments periods (1983-1987 and 1987-1989), liberalization process in the mining sector was promoted extensively. In 1985, Mining Law No. 3213 was designed to expand mining activities both to national and foreign entrepreneurs with limited permissions for private sector, yet most of the limitations on these mining companies were lifted gradually during the 1990s (Arsel

2005; 265). One of the crucial decisions was equalization of standards for MTA and private mining business, as the former should also apply for exploration of mineral and metals on equal terms with the later. A big step was taken with the Amendment on Mining Law No. 3213 in 1994 when the decision to privatize all state owned mining sites was passed and favorable business conditions for foreign private investors were put into play.

Similar to privatization of other public enterprises provisioned under World Bank and IMF's structural adjustment program, the reason behind privatization of mining sector was attributed to inefficiency of public institutions. The rapid process of privatization also affected the biggest public enterprise ETIBANK, with a profit of 170-180 million US dollars in the beginning of 1980s, and accordingly share of the state investment in mining sector fall from 8,17 percent in 1985 to 0,99 percent in 1999 (Ongur 2003). By 2001, an outstanding number of private enterprises in mining sector was remarkable, as there were 1191 private companies compared to 576 public ones (Avci 2008; 44). Mining Law No. 5177 of 2004 was even more comprehensive by extending exploration permissions for gold in regions including forests, protected conservation sites, national parks, agricultural fields and tourism fields. All these changes together were indicative of the liberalization and privatization program that opened the way for merging of mining sector in Turkey with global mining business as well as the expansion of mining activities in its scope and geography (Arsel 2005; 365).

On the other hand, legal restructuring of property rights with regards to minerals and land issues as a part of FDI led development program for the mining sector, is clearly redefining the process of "ownership of natural resources and to whom mineral rights can be granted by the state" (Arol 2002; 5). According to current articles regulating mining activity, the ownership of minerals is under the control of state and cannot be impeded by

ownership rights of a land owner. It is state that owns mineral resources and can give permission rights for private companies to operate in the region if they have statutory provisions for mining and conform to mining laws of Turkey (Arol 2002; 5). Even though state has ceased to engage in mining activities, restructuring of legal framework in accordance with World Bank framework has created new property regime enabling smooth entry for foreign investments. The global conjuncture to scale up mining investments by creating favorable business climate in favor of multinational mining corporations at the state level has been acknowledged by CEO of a mining company in a journal as the following: “Turkey is one of the most liberal countries when it comes to Mining Law” (Avci 2008; 72). In other words, liberalization process has opened the way for realization of the ‘Turkish delight’ for transnational mining investments by eliminating the legislative impediments to the mining activities and eliminating entry barriers to foreign investments.

Reconsidering the Environment in Mining Investments: Framing the Role of State in Turkey

“Environment is our mother, mining is our father!”

(Suleyman Demirel)

According to Suleyman Demirel, the former prime minister and president of Turkey, he has two parents (miners and environmentalists) both hanging on his shoulders to ask whom he loves more. In response, he says that he wear two badges (one belonging to mining association and other to environmentalists) on different sides of his collar indicating that he has affection to both of them, but he never says it when they are both present. As the new national project of scaling up the mining investments is expressed through old paternalist politics of Suleyman Demirel, Hilmi Guler was also careful to express government’s

position on gold mining investments when he repeated this phrase in response to critiques raised by environmentalists and mining lobby. One can notice that reconsideration of environment and mining in the same phrase signifies a transformation in government's attitude towards new mining projects. Most importantly, this story quoted above suggests that the need for re-consideration of environment and the globalist imagination of scaling up economy are two significant components of state's discursive practices in the discussions related with opening up new mining investments.

The emphasis on the scaling up the mining investments with global economy and achieving environmental objectives can be noticeable in Turkish state's discursive practices. The strong state tradition in Turkey, having its roots in Ottoman system, is based on the idea of "father state" (devlet baba) that is omnipresent and powerful in holding influence over national economic, social and cultural issues (Adaman and Arsel 2008; 3). A similar paternalistic attitude has also been adopted by the Turkish government in governing the mining disputes in Turkey. By articulating Demirel's famous quotation above, Hilmi Guler also wanted to frame the mining sector as foundational to the Republic of Turkey by referring to Ataturk's political maxims on mining as the key industrial sector on the way to development, but also he acknowledged the importance of environmental concerns raised by civil society.

One can notice the implications of Turkish state's paternalistic style of governance in its willingness to attract foreign mining investments as a part of its new development agenda. Bergama gold mine case was a remarkable example of state's determinism to bring foreign mining companies to Turkey to the detriment of democratic procedures and civil liberties (Arsel 2005). The close ties between government and mining lobbies has been

stated many times in the media and by activist groups⁵. When the Eldorado Gold Corporation, based in Vancouver, Canada, expressed their concerns with regards to bad publicity of Bergama gold mine as a potential impediment to their gold mining project in Usak Kisladag, the prime minister Tayyip Erdogan assured them not to be concerned by making the following statements in June 2003: "...Do not worry, the incidents happened in Bergama won't be lived here. We prepared a new Mining Law. We accelerate our efforts to attract foreign mining investments to Turkey by making things easier for foreign companies; we eliminate all the barriers for them..."⁶ (Cangi 2004). Erdogan's statements reflects not only the willingness of Turkish state to bring with foreign investments in the mining sector, but also the determination to eliminate the legislative barriers that stand on the way to scaling up mining investments.

The acclaimed authority of Turkish government in assessing the truth about the environmental and economic impacts of the mining operations, and its framing of dissident local movements as uninformed people can also be noticed from the statements of Kemal Unakitan, the Ministry of Finance at the time, which goes as the following:

Someone comes and fling dirt at them; (it happened in gold mine, it happened in copper mine). Everyone talks behind it without knowing the reality, truth, what it brings to country, and what it takes away from country. They have it only from hearsay...In between, 50 people get naked (meaning famous Bergama protesters), and they only wear pajamas trousers without any tops. Then go outside. With these protests and other stuff, this country cannot reach anywhere. If it has been possible, we should have reached to moon.⁷

⁵ Before passing the new Mining Law No 5177 in 2004, the statement of Gordon Nixon, who is one of directors of multinational gold mining Newmont operating in Bergama, indicates that new Mining Law is prepared in Ankara in coordination with the Newmont authorities (Cangi 2004, "Mining Law will lead to massacre", *Gunisigi*, No 17-18).

⁶ "...Merak etmeyin, Bergama'da yaşanan olaylar yaşanmayacak. Biz yeni bir madencilik yasası hazırladık. Maden konusunda yabancı sermayenin Türkiye'ye çekilmesine yönelik çalışmalarımız hızlandırdık, yabancı sermayeye her kolaylığı sağlıyoruz, engelleri kaldırıyoruz..." (Cangi 2004).

⁷ "Gelip birisi bir çamur atıyor; (altın madeni bu oldu, bakır madeni bu oldu). Herkes onun arkasından konuşuyor, bakın gerçeklik durumu, doğruluk durumu nedir, ülkeye ne getiriyor, ne götürüyor. Kulaktan dolma işlerle... O arada 50 kişiyi soyuyorlar, pijamaların altını giydireyorlar, üstü yok. Yallah dışarı. Böyle

(*Vatan* 29 November 2007)

As it can be noticed from the quote, Unakitan attributes the opposition of local communities in Bergama to their failure to understand the implications of scaling up the mining investments, and downplays the protest movements' demands to the area of conspiracy and ignorance without any concrete achievement on the ground. Whereas, he points out Turkish state's determinism to pursue the foreign direct investment agenda in the mining sector even after the escalation of local conflict. In the opening ceremony of Tuprag gold mine in 2006, Hilmi Guler also seconded governments' attitude towards protesters by saying that "There are some looters who does not want Turkey to be center of gold, but we are not going to be deterred by them"⁸ (*Cangi*, 23 September 2008). In the same talk, he emphasized similar globalist aspirations for developing Turkey's gold mines through the following statements: "In 10 years, number of permits for gold processing in Turkey is 47, and from 1985 on 17 foreign mining firms have come to Turkey. We hope this number shall be increased further"⁹ (*Radikal* 12 July 2006). These statements apparently indicate how globalist conjuring has profound resonance in the national dreams of development by scaling up the mining investments with the global economy. Therefore, it is possible to infer that legal restructuring of mining sector gives us a clue about the determinant role of state in attracting foreign capital.

Over last two decades, Turkey has had significant institutional restructuring in major industrial areas, incorporating environmental concerns to its government bodies and

gösterilerle, bilmem nelerle bu ülke bir yere varmaz. Varsaydı biz şimdiye kadar aya giderdik." (*Vatan* 29 Kasım 2007)

⁸ "Türkiye'nin altın merkezi olmasını istemeyen bazı çapulcu kesimler var, onlara pabuç bırakmayacağız" (*Cangi*, 23 September 2008).

⁹ "Türkiye'de, 10 yılda 43 firmaya altın işleme ruhsatı verildi. 1985'ten bu yana yurtdışından 17 firma altın çıkarmak için geldi. Bizler bu sayının daha da artmasını istiyoruz" (*Radikal* 12 Temmuz 2006).

regulations. Looking over the institutional restructuring, one can notice that the story of greening at the state level in Turkey is relatively a recent phenomenon. For instance, the first two successive Five-Year Development Plans of the period of 1963-1973 did not mention anything with regards to environment. Whereas, the third Five-Year Development Plan for the first time identified the scope of environmental problems as deficiencies in organization and technology, education and income distribution, yet stated that this could not be used as a justification for deceleration of development efforts (Ozveren et al. 2008; 9). Starting with 1980s, one can observe that legal structuring of mining sector has been affected by Turkish state's acknowledgment that development objective can have impacts on environment. This has brought the understanding that mining operations should also be environmentally regulated by the state. That's why; this remarkable shift in environmental regulation of the mining sector is reflective of transformation of government's attitude towards environmental impacts of industrial production promoted by an uninterrupted economic growth regime.

A closer look into the environmental regulations regarding the mining sector in Turkey can be tracked as the following: a) during 1980s, Environmental Law 2872 was passed and for the first time mentioned the 'polluter pays principle'; b) in 1993, Environmental Impact Assessment Regulation was enacted for companies whose activities are inducing significant environmental impact; c) in 2002, Amendments on the Environmental Impact Assessment Regulation were made to require companies to design unique EIAs for each project; d) with the introduction of Mining Law 5177 in 2004, EIAs were abolished again (Arol 2002; 12). Regulation of mining sector with regards to environmental concerns is noteworthy, as one can recognize the increasing role of the private sector in environmental decision making, reducing the impact of the regulatory

framework for mining companies in favor of voluntary schemes put into practice by mining businesses. For instance, initial reduction of EIAs processes from 117 days to 35 days in 2003 increased authority given to foreign companies to conduct EIA studies. Similarly, the elimination of EIAs in the mining exploration period indicates strong presence of lobbying activities of the mining sector in Turkey.

Restructuring of environmental regulation of the mining sector is also related with international developments. The negotiations for accession to European Union (EU) remarkably accelerated the need to comply with by EU acquis. As declared by the Special Ad Hoc Committee Report on Environment, environmental concerns would constitute important basis of international relations in general but more importantly for EU and Turkey relations (Ozveren et al. 2008; 9). The 2005 World Bank study on Turkey states that the investment costs for putting EU acquis into practice will be between 28 to 49 billion euros, which will constitute one to 1.25 percent of GDP within 17 to 19 year time, together with investments from state, municipalities, state enterprises and the private sector (Markandya 2005; 309).

Even though accession process to European Union has brought some leverage on Turkey to comply by environmental regulations and consideration of various stakeholders in discussing mining operations, it has little impact on government's attitude towards mining sector. In 2008, the EU Commission on Environment asked the Turkish government to inform them about environmental impacts in Bergama gold mine upon a formal motion by the European Parliament member Dimitris Papadimoulis. In response, Turkish government took full responsibility of investigating the new EIA law and its possible impacts on environment and local communities. Despite the need to respond to environmental concerns raised by international institutions, be it the World Bank, IMF or

the EU, the Turkish government continued to lift environmental regulations by eliminating EIA requirements in the mining exploration period, which opened the way for accelerating mining explorations without any bureaucratic impediment.

Nevertheless, this picture has been changing recently given strong criticism raised by civic groups and increasing international pressures. By July 2009, a new decree has been passed in the parliament to bring the EIAs back in the mining exploration period, yet it is too early to talk about the impacts of this change. Although the Ministry of Environment and Forestry has warned mining companies to abide by new environmental regulations, we need to see how these new regulations will be put into practice in the near future.

“Correcting the Image”: Inside the Mining Lobby in Turkey

Every civilization or society will have their own 'problems'. Countries like ours, which passed the under-development line and embarked on the way to a developed welfare society, have even bigger problems. As it can be understood from its name, 'the developing country' struggles with all the problems. In this struggle, if there is not any 'mining sector', then it signifies a serious problem.¹⁰

(Bozkurt, *Dunya* 18 September 2007)

This quotation above was taken from declaration of mining business lobby, publicized after a regional meeting in Aegean Region Chamber of Industry, which in September 2007 brought together mining companies operating in Turkey to discuss their problems. The meeting ended with the conclusion that the biggest obstacle to mining operations in Turkey is the bad publicity of mining, therefore the sector should first refresh its image, and then they can start talking about the specific problems of the sector. This conclusion suggests that image of mining in the eye of public is the most important factor underlying practices

¹⁰ “Her uygarlığın ya da toplumun kendine has sorunları olmuştur. Bizimki gibi gelişmemişlik çizgisinin üstünde olan ve refah toplumu olmaya doğru yol almış ülkelerin daha da büyük problemleri olagelmistir. Adından da anlaşılabileceği gibi kalkınmakta olan ülkeler her türlü problemle mücadele eder. Eger bu mücadelede madencilik sektörü yoksa sorun var demektir.” (Bozkurt, *Dunya* 18 Eylül 2007)

of mining corporations. To the extent that mining sector articulates the promise of catching up with global economy, one can see that their fragility or ability to successfully operate depends on getting consent from local communities, where mining operations take place.

In the same meeting, Muharrem Kose, the general coordinator of Association for Gold Miners (AGM-an umbrella organization of the mining lobby in Turkey) gives a small speech in the meeting about how the mining sector is vulnerable to risks associated with credit taking and bureaucratic impediments with regards to permission contracts given by government (*Dunya* 18 September 2007). Accordingly, the total gold reserve potential of Turkey is estimated around 6,500 tons, but it is not known exactly where these reserves are located; therefore mining business needs a significant amount of risk finance for exploring the gold reserves and turn them into profit (Ibid). However, the bad publicity of mining sector worsens the process of taking credit for mining investments from national banks. On the other hand, escalation in the number of exploration permission contracts (around 36,000) does not correspond with the real amount of investments for exploring mine reserves. According to estimates of AGM, one-fifth of the current exploration activities are carried out by MTA, whereas rest is done by foreign investment. As said by Mustafa Telli, a member of head committee of Kutahya Chamber of Industry, new mining law does not facilitate smooth operation of foreign mining companies in Turkey; on the contrary, it initiates a new market for buying and selling permission contracts without any real investment for gold reserves (Ibid).

These pull and push factors indicate that mining investments have been vulnerable to bad publicity, which hinders the promotion of newer mining explorations given the lack of credits for small firms. Mapping the gold reserves, acquiring exploration rights, developing banking system for credits are all parts of the politics of new mining investments. That's

why the rush for exploration permits, which is conceived as an indicator of government's support for developing the mining sector, was criticized by mining lobby on the ground that it cannot accelerate process of finding new gold ores. As new low grade gold ores necessitate a substantial amount of exploration process and the need for finding credits for exploration investments has been entangled with global aspirations of scaling up the investment further, one can see that justification for the entry of big multinational mining companies can be validated by their technical expertise and ability to invest large sums of capital. As said by Muharrem Kose, investment in mining sector is in fact an “investment for hope”; it requires a risk capital that can only be acquired by large foreign mining companies (*Dunya* 18 September 2007). In this statement, one can notice the argument that large mining companies are more efficient in exploring, mapping and knowing gold ores, and turning it into profits. Accordingly, the rational utilization of underground resources could only be achieved through acceleration of exploration activities, such as searching and drilling in a wider area and knowing mine site better beforehand; otherwise, as said by Kose, inefficient small investments result in disbelief in new mining investments and deter entrepreneurs who are willing to invest in the business (Ibid).

As much as new mining investments depends finding capital, expanding exploration sites, and smooth performance in the legal structure of the host country, their ability to successfully operate in a local region depends on governing the discursive space that requires articulating globalist discourses in the national and local contexts. That's why the far most urgent priority of mining lobby was stated as 'correcting the image of sector' in the 2007 meeting. A year after this meeting, the Ministry of Energy and Natural Resources has declared in its report on gold mining that state should also be involved in every stage of mining operations and establish trust in local population by enlightening them about

prospects of mining (Avci 2008; 74).

Neoliberalization of mining sector in Turkey has had a profound impact on the restructuring of mining law that opened the way for privatization and scaling up investments by allowing the operation of foreign mining companies in Turkey. The idea of developing Turkey's gold reserves and making it one of chief gold producers of Europe has been promoted both by Turkish state level and mining companies. The globalist aspirations for scaling mining investments up to global economy, where Turkey stands as second in personal gold investments after India, has significant resonance in national politics through by arguments that Turkey will be less dependent on gold imports to sustain its need for personal gold investments.

A closer attention to the *Call from Miners* announced at the end of 2007 meeting of mining lobby in Turkey shows that the globalist aspirations for scaling up mining investments is entangled with the dreams of catching up with 'developed' countries, and the prosperity of nation. As it is written in the Call, "if one country cannot use its own resources effectively and turn it to wealth, then it cannot produce other new resources for development and progress on the way to welfare societies. Efficient production of known mineral resources is one of the main components of development efforts"¹¹ (Bozkurt 18 September 2007). The same text also represents the mining sector as one of the promising sectors to push Turkey onto the frontiers of growth and development by its economic principles of prediction and precaution. According to these principles, one need to decide to invest in minerals at the right time by closely following supply and demand dynamic for minerals on the world market so as to make a profitable investment (Ibid). As a model of

¹¹ "Eger bir ulke kendi kaynaklarini etkili bir sekilde kullanamayip zenginlige donusturemiyorsa kalkinma ve refah toplumlarina ulasmak icin gerekli olan yeni kaynaklar da uretemez. Bilinen mineral kaynaklarin verimli uretimi kalkinma cabalarinin en onemli parcalarindan biridir." (Bozkurt, 18 Eylul 2007)

rapid economic growth in the last decade, China is presented as a good example of how to make use of country's mineral base to scale up investments with global economy by deciding and acting at the right time when market for minerals were at its peak (Ibid). Therefore, the Call from Miners develops the idea that progress to a welfare society resides on first knowing Turkey's mineral base better (meaning that more exploration activities should be carried out), and then making use of its world market at the right time so as to acquire quick profits like the big miracle China has achieved. However, the Call from Miners also implies that the only efficient way that will bring this big economic push to Turkey is to open the way for scaling up mining investments, which can only be achieved by attracting big foreign mining companies to Turkey, due to their capacity to invest large sums of capital.

Not only does capturing the national and local imagination with the promise of growth and catching up with welfare societies constitutes the biggest part of discursive practices adopted by mining sector, but also the need for social license to operate in the local contexts is a crucial factor in remaking the image of the mining sector in Turkey. As it is mentioned in the Call from Miners, there is a serious consideration of social and economic development of localities, where mining companies have attained the role of state in providing development provisions. One of common phrases used by mining lobby in Turkey now is the concept of 'sustainable mining'. This concept implies a win-win solution to the social and environmental problems associated with mining operations. The following quotation indicates the extent of this shift in new mining investments of Turkey in appealing to the local imaginations:

Another feature of mines is 'localism'. In places where a mine is operating, employment opportunities and income contribution are higher. Extracting the minerals, management and transportation services, etc. are either direct or indirect ways of creating wealth with a higher multiplier factor compared to other sectors. If

mine development is advanced, it will resolve many problems in Turkey related with migration through contributing to the 'social balance' in positive ways by acting in the localities.¹²

(Bozkurt, *Dunya* 18 September 2007)

One can notice from this quotation that mining corporations began to assume a new function together with the neoliberal restructuring of the mining sector. As this quotation indicates, they engage with achieving the social balance not only by providing job opportunities at the local level, but also by trying to mitigate internal migration problems at the national level resulting from lack of employment opportunities. The emphasis on local development provisions, which are provided by mining companies as a solution to social problems of rural areas of Turkey, is not only restricted to discursive area but also put into practice in Bergama and Usak Kisladag gold mines.¹³ Provision of infrastructure, health and education facilities, and resettlement programs constitute the corpus of on the ground corporate practices under the corporate social responsibility projects, which indicates the mining sector's participation to sustainability discourse.

A closer look into the discursive practices employed by the pro-mining lobby also outlines their participation in sustainability discourse. As said by Hayri Ogut, general directorate of Koza Gold Mining in Bergama, technological performance in Ovacik gold mine is most advanced in terms of environmental requirements, and it is way ahead of countries like France, Sweden, New Zealand, Canada, Australia and US where environmental standards considered to be highest (Yeni Safak 6 July 2008). In a speech,

¹² "Madenlerin bir başka özelliği de "yerellik". Bir madeni çıkardığınız yerde istihdam ve gelir katkısı yüksek oluyor. Maden çıkarma, işleme, lojistik vb. doğrudan ve dolaylı zenginlik yaratma "çarpan katsayısı" yüksek sektörlerden biri. Madencilik geliştiğinde ülkenin göç nedeniyle yaşadığı birçok sorunu yerinde çözerek "sosyal dengeye" olumlu katkı yapması da göz önüne alınması üzerinde özellikle duruluyor." (Bozkurt, *Dunya* 18 Eylül 2007)

¹³ Although my research is restricted to the discursive practices that mentions corporate social responsibility projects by mining corporations to point out their need for social license to operate, further research is necessary to understand how mining companies carry these projects and their relations to local communities in Turkey.

Ogut emphasizes the successful incorporation of sustainable mining concept into the Bergama gold mining project, and points out how Bergama is even shown as an example by European Commission to other countries on proper environmental regulations (Ibid). Here the employment of sustainability as eco-modernization of mining facilities, and subsequent confirmation of the advanced state of technology by reports of Ministries according to the appropriate 'scientific criteria' have all been underlined in the discursive practices employed in Bergama gold mine dispute.

One can see the prevalence of sustainable mining discourse in other mining investments of Turkey, too. For instance, Muharrem Kose, general directorate of Tuprag gold mine in Usak Kisladag, underlined in the meeting of 2007 that Tuprag has spent around 8 million US dollars on Environmental Impact Assessment and 2 million US dollars to social projects¹⁴ such as bringing tap water to 9 villages, support to local schools and providing mobile health services (*Dunya* 18 September 2007). The community relations of Tuprag is not restricted to the provision of local development projects, but also they engage in nation-wide media campaigns in order to correct the image of their operations in Turkey. In a TV program called *Bam Teli*,¹⁵ Tuprag was portrayed as “environmentalists of the dyed”¹⁶ by declaring their capacity for managing potential risks of mining on human beings and environment. Mehmet Yilmaz, the head of community relations of Tugrag, declares

¹⁴ Tuprag has received undisclosed amount from Canadian International Development Agency for its development community projects (Reinart, MiningWatch website, 26 July 2007).

¹⁵ Being one of the popular TV programs, *Bam Teli* broadcasted Usak Kisladag Gold Mine in NTV on 23 February 2008. This program was criticized on the account that it is a biased representation of business perspective. Tayfun Talipoglu, program producer, is put at center of criticism for his alternating statements about mining given his efforts to avoid gold mining business in Kaz Mountains due to his touristic investments in Yesilyurt village, whereas supporting it in Bergama and Usak Kisladag (Evrensel 26 February 2008). However, this program provides a good example for seeing how far mining corporations reflect their need for social license to operate in their discursive practices with regards to mining disputes of Turkey.

¹⁶ “Cevrecinin daniskasi.”

that Turkey's mines are among the 900 gold mines in the world operating in compliance with EU, and potential damages on human life and environment were already taken into consideration (Bam Teli, 23 February 2008). Apart from images of technological capacity of the Kisladag gold mine, interviews with the disabled and women workers employed in the mine tries to represent Tuprag as socially responsible being, who cares about the discrimination on the basis of gender and disability in their decision to hire people from these disadvantageous groups (Ibid).

These discursive practices employed by mining corporations in Turkey also find other venues for articulating the idea of sustainable mining in response to counter arguments raised by anti-mining groups. Apart from the statements of general directors of major mining companies operating in Turkey, the company reports and newsletters, reports prepared by Turkish government, and the scientific findings of major mining and environmental engineering departments of prestigious universities in Turkey were also used by mining companies in securing their authority over legitimate scientific discussions on the impacts of mining activities. In addition to meetings and statements of AGM, which lobbies effectively for the extending rights and provisions given to gold mining business in Turkey, one can notice other venues for mining companies to articulate the discourse of sustainable mining in collaboration with other authoritative institutions in science such as TUBITAK, and with professors from main prestigious engineering universities like Middle East Technical University, Istanbul Technical University, Dokuz Eylul University and Hacettepe University.

To start with the TUBITAK report commissioned by government in 1999, which gave support to the claims of the mining lobby (Orhan 2006; 204), one can see how significant part of discussions about mining operations has been boiled down to the legitimate sphere

of technical expertise, which was highly contested by other civil society organizations, such as the Chamber of Geology Engineers, in regards to soundness of technical knowledge and science represented in the report. According to the TUBITAK report, the state of technology used by mining companies was presented as environmentally friendly in minimizing the environmental risks associated with mining operations (Ibid). The counter reports prepared by the Union of Chambers of Architects and Engineering (TMMOB) and Turkish Medical Association (TTB) in response to the TUBITAK report argued that parameters used in the TUBITAK report were biased and left out crucial factors in assessing the environmental and health risks associated with mining operations (Ibid). The TMMOB report showed that there were serious overlaps between the argumentation and scientific inputs between TUBITAK report and mining company reports, which indicates a serious lack of legitimacy on the part of TUBITAK in conducting an independent research to assess impacts of mining companies in Ovacik region (TMMOB 2001). In response to TMMOB report, the Prejudice and Reality in Ovacik Mine report (Normandy Mining 2003) was published by Normandy corporation to blame the TMMOB report as ideologically oriented, unscientific and manipulative in assessing the environmental risks (Orhan 2006; 704).

All in all, these quotations, newsletters, reports and press statements suggests that mining companies partake in the sustainability discourse in its weak form by rendering the language of technical and eco-modernization discourse. As said earlier in the beginning of section, the need for remaking bad image of mining in Turkey led the mining lobby to participate in sustainable mining practices. As said by one of the managers of Koza Gold Mining, the existence of strong grass-root criticism also led Koza to upgrade its mining facilities with higher technology and to become the chief mining company with most

advanced environmentally-friendly technology¹⁷ in Europe (Nasilsiniz, 14 July 2008).

Considering the rise of corporate social responsibility projects and the proliferation of eco-modern technologies in Turkey, one can observe that mining sector partakes in the sustainability discourse. It is possible to say that main complaints expressed by pro-mining bloc are deviation of discussion from scientific framework they proposed and ultimate entanglement with what is 'political'. By separating what is scientific from political, they accuse opposition groups to be politically oriented and trying to impede with the economic development of Turkey. Here one can see how adherence to globalist imagination of scaling up mining investments with global economy so as to push Turkey to the frontiers of developed country is co-produced with sustainability discourse. Through these two intrinsically linked discursive practices, mining lobby tries to shape authoritatively discussions of mining projects.

Conclusion

Under the neoliberal environmental governance regime, one can see the proliferation of globalist conjuring for attracting the transnational mining companies, which has loosened the environmental regulations in favor of an attractive business climate. In the first place, reduction of days allocated to getting an EIA report, and subsequently the weakening of compulsory regulation of mining sector with the elimination of EIAs in the exploration period suggests a prospective change in the governance of mining sector. However, further research is required to see the ramifications of this change. In analyzing the environmental policies targeting the mining sector, one need to bear in mind the following questions: How these EIAs are conducted? What are the mechanisms crucial in giving permission to a

¹⁷ As argued by Dinc, significant amount of investments in environmentally-friendly technology has been done to increase profits, whereas other preemptive measures such as precautionary principle in taming environmental risks has not been put into practice (Dinc 2009).

mining company conducted EIA in Ankara? What might be consequences of passing to a voluntary environmental monitoring instead of a compulsory one? These questions require to go beyond the mining corporations' perspective and to see what local communities do really want in designing government's policies with regards to new mining investments. My study of Kaz Mountains case is particularly concerned with the local communities concerns in the light of these changes. Utilizing from the local activists involved in the Kaz Mountains case in the next chapter, I will seek to give their perception of the practices of state and mining corporations.

On the other hand, the acclaimed environmental authority and social expertise, which has been reconciled with the economic benefits of mining investments, constitute the corpus of arguments of mining lobby in Turkey. Eco-modernization of mining facilities and corporate social responsibility projects are two main pillars of the sustainable mining practices promoted by mining lobby. However, we need to carefully examine possible consequences of such corporate environmental governance regime on the local communities for the near future.

As shown throughout this chapter, the discursive strategies adopted by Turkish state and the mining corporations operating in Turkey are entangled with the articulations of economic development and sustainability in a way disregarding the oppositional discourses. Both of these actors try to secure their understanding of reality about the impacts of mining operations and dismiss counter arguments in an effort to capture the national and local imaginations and to garner support for moving forward with new mining investments. These authoritative discourses do not only try to dismiss the counter articulations in the discursive realm, but also provide a template to re-articulate the idea of mining in a positive way to reverse the impaired public image of mining. As the next chapter will show, this

discursive strategy served as a template for the Kaz Mountains region, too.

CHAPTER V

FRAMING THE DISCURSIVE SPACE OF KAZ MOUNTAINS MINING CONFLICT

Even though Kaz Mountains mining conflict is relatively new, it is quickly publicized at the national level. The Kaz Mountains case is not the first known mining dispute that reached to the national level in Turkey, yet the controversies with regards to other notorious mining cases like the Bergama Ovacik and Usak Kisladag made it easier for Kaz Mountains to get the attention of national media. Besides, the place-specific features of Kaz Mountains region, such as being one of the most popular places for eco-tourism, coastal tourism and olive oil production in Turkey, might explain the reasons behind the popular support for opposition to the mining investment in the region. As said one of the local activists, mining companies made a very bad location choice, and even the executives of these mining companies were ashamed of telling their children about their work in Kaz Mountains (Interview II). It is not surprising to see that mining explorations sparked a heated debate over the destiny of region, and led to a local opposition to mining within a short period of time.

As I will show in the next sections, Kaz Mountains mining dispute can be analyzed as a case study of discourse analysis and actor-based approach outlined in chapters two and three. Even though the conflict is confined to the exploration period, one can see the proliferation of various discursive practices articulated strategically by state, mining corporations, local activists and communities with regards to prospective gold mining investments in the region. In as much as the actors try to secure their own definition of reality, they engage in a highly contested discursive space, which is very much informed from the previous cases of mining conflicts in the Western part of Turkey. As the bad

legacy of gold mining conflicts captures the public opinion, state and mining lobby act together in a way to alter the perceptions of mining investments in the eye of public. In opposition to the powerful discourses articulated by state and mining corporations, the emergence of counter discourses become important to understand how the local activists tried to create imaginative connections through articulations of nature-loving, environmentalism, developmentalism, nationalism and transnationalism to garner support for opposing new mining investments in Kaz Mountains region.

In the following sections, I organize the case study of Kaz Mountains mining conflicts into three sections. Firstly, starting with the escalation of conflict in 2007, I will give a background story of the mining conflict in the region and how it reached to the national media within a short period of time. The following sections will identify the representations of powerful discourses by state and mining corporations with regards to Kaz Mountains case. After giving the authoritative discourses articulated by state and mining corporations, I will then analyze the counter discourses animated by the local activists in the region. As I aim to show in the following sections, the discursive practices employed by the local activists flourish in response to the powerful discourses which try to dismiss the claims of the protesters. By acknowledging that the story of conflict can be seen as a dynamic process of contestation, I argue that the discursive struggle for their representation of mining is politically important as actors try to find room for maneuver to mobilize people around their causes. As different articulations of environmentalism, nature loving, developmentalism, nationalism and transnationalism establish social, cultural and political connections with the Kaz Mountains region, they also empower the local opposition to creatively engage in a contestation with the powerful discourses and garner support for local organization against mining investments in the region.

The Story of Kaz Mountains Mining Conflict

Located in the Northern Aegean region of Turkey, Kaz Mountains has been a hub of the Ancient Greek myths and folk stories of Alevi Turkmen and Yoruk communities. Its Ancient Greek name is Mount Ida, the Mountain of Goddess, which was portrayed as “many-fountained Ida, the mother of wild beasts” by Homer in Iliad (Homer 2007; 93). The ‘divine beauty contest’ took place here, and shown as the reason behind the legendary ten year Trojan War as it is told in Homers’ epic. Although region has not been known for its gold reserves per se, it has been inflated with myths of gold from Ancient Times on. Accounts of Troy region by Roman geographer Strabo tell us that rich minerals and precious metals in the Kaz Mountains was ultimate cause of battle over region (Schliemann 1875). The excavations between 1870-1873 in site of Troy done by passionate German archeologist Heinrich Schliemann, who was determined to find evidence for epic account of Trojan War in Homer’s Iliad, showed that The Treasure of Priam, notoriously named as Trojan Gold, had correspondences with gold myth (Payne, 1959). The gold myth has been transferred to next generations, and became rich source for folk stories. Children of region still play the popular treasure hunting game fascinated by stories about the gold myth.

Between 1985 and 1990, first investigations of gold in the Kaz Mountains region were made by Prof. Dr. Orhan Atan, who was the head of Geology Department at Kocaeli University by the time (*Radikal* 3 November 2007). According to his preliminary findings, the estimated amount of gold in the Kaz Mountains was around 250-300 tons, which was planned to be extracted within 10,000 hectare area of Kaz Mountains lying between Erdek, Canakkale, Edremit Bay, Ayvalık and Balıkesir (*Radikal* 15 October 2007). In monetary terms, the estimates of AGM showed that approximate profit return for a period of 17 years of operation in the Kaz Mountains region would be around 7.8 billion US dollars (AGM

website). Yet, the share of Turkish state is relatively small under new mining regulations, as state can only ask for 2.0 percent of tax from profit. With regards to the existing regulations on mining explorations, it is sufficient to take prospecting permission from Mining Prospecting Office belonging to Ministry of Environment and agree to pay 2931 U.S. dollars (5,000 YTL) as a compensation fee for destruction caused in the region. The sum to be derived from taxes, royalties and compensation fees is still relatively low, especially when the ultimate cost of operation of mine increases with rehabilitation after mine closure and spillover impacts on other sectors such as tourism and agriculture.

The Kaz Mountains region used to be explored by the General Directorate of Minerals Research and Exploration (MTA), even before the private mining companies began to take exploration permits. The number of exploration permits given to mining companies skied between 2002 and 2007, covering the area of Balya-Gonen in the East, Canakkale city center in the West, and Canakkale-Can on the north and Edremit Bay in the South of Kaz Mountains. However, the rush for taking exploration permits did not correspond with the number of exploration activities; some of permits were taken by adventurers in the hope that valuable metal reserves would be found in areas adjacent to it; some are taken by ceramic producers in the hope of selling it to multinational mining companies at a good price later on; and the rest was taken by foreign mining companies themselves (Ongur 27 September 2007). At an increasing pace after 2002, multinational mining companies, such as Teck Cominco, Tuprag, Stratex, Fronteer, Ariana Global Mining, Mediterranean Resoureces, Silvermet Inc., Aldridge Minerals, Vallaha Resources have taken permissions to make investigation in 37 different points of Kaz Mountains region and they have started the exploration activities together with their domestic partner

mining companies like Northern Troy Mining, Park Energy Equipments and Mining, Koza Gold Operations and Anatolia Minerals Development (*Milliyet* 24 October 2007).

Even though mining companies are not operating within borders of National Park region, which covers 21,300 hectare of Kaz Mountains, their operations raise serious concerns among local communities with regards to impacts of future mining operations on other livelihood resources. According to the estimates of Initiative for Protection of Kaz Mountains, the approximate total income to be generated by tourism is going to be around 1.5 million US dollar (Initiative for Protection of Kaz Mountains website 2007). Moreover, there will be direct adverse impacts on the olive production as 110 million olive trees might dry out due to possible lack of clean water for irrigation, exposure to cyanide and dust particles generated by mineral extraction. Not only mining will affect livelihood means of 1.5 million people living in the vicinity of the exploration area, which is made up of 24 municipalities and 337 villages extensively depending on agriculture, forestry products and tourism, but also will disrupt plant bio-diversity and protected species endemic to the region (Chamber of Landscape Architects 2007).

Although there was small scale mining exploration or extraction activities in the Kaz Mountains region, villagers were not accustomed to see any representative of mining companies talking to them about the prospects of a large scale mining investment until 2006. As one of the informants noted, Bahcedere villagers were accustomed to see the trucks of MTA since 1970s, yet they didn't recognize that it was different this time when miners came to village to talk with them (Interview V). Thereafter, it became visible to the villagers that new mining investments were planned for the region. Miners were frequently visiting the Bahcedere village and began to talk about prospective contribution of a new mining project to the village. In the first place, villagers welcomed the miners, because

they were told that new employment opportunities, such as cheap credits for buying trucks and shuttles to be used in transportation in the mine, would be available once the new gold mine began to operate (Seckin 2008; 46). They were even offered small shares from the prospective mining investment (Interview V).

As the rumors about mining explorations of gold by mining companies in the forest nearby the Bahcedere village was heard in the Kucukkuyu region in summer 2007, the professionals, such as ecologists, geologists, teachers, professors from nearby universities, and the retired urban elites settled in the Kaz Mountains region, arranged a meeting with villagers in a community dinner called potlac¹⁸ to discuss about prospective mining investment nearby Bahcedere village (Avci 2008; 66). The news was not a surprise for villagers, since they had already met with the representatives of mining companies visiting coffeehouses in Bahcedere. During the meeting villagers were reluctant to take action against mining corporations, as one of the local activists said, because they thought they cannot struggle with mining corporations given the bad legacy of Bergama movement in public opinion (Interview II). As said one of the local activists, villagers used to be positive about the prospective gold mine in the initial phase of mining explorations, and they even did not listen to a teacher, who was one of the first persons to notice mining explorations and informed them about the adverse consequences of a mining investment to the region (Interview VI). However, the first meeting was resolved without any cooperative sign from the villagers. The villagers were told that if they would feel

¹⁸ Potlac dinners are organized every week by one of the ecological village in Kaz Mountains region. Although term refers to exchanging gifts in Native American tradition, it has been adopted by the ecological village to name dinner gatherings, to which everyone brings their food every Wednesday. A similar tradition is carried out by Turkmen villages in Kaz Mountains region, and it is called *Cuma Agsami (Friday Night)*, mainly because it is usually done in Thursday nights connecting to Friday. One can say that potlac or Cuma Agsami are not a merely a dinner gatherings, but also they provide a platform for socialization and discussing the problems in the villages. Therefore, they play a crucial role in mobilization of anti-mining movement in Kaz Mountains.

disturbance of any sort, they were willing to act side by side with villagers against mining companies (Interview II).

As the four years exploration permits of mining companies approached the end, this picture changed dramatically since they began to search for gold ores aggressively and cause stress for the local communities as the trees were cut down and water beds were used extensively. First of all, villagers witnessed operation of sewage truck pulling out drinking water from wells of Bahcedere village for exploration activities. There was serious concern about pollution of underground water, because immediately after the operation of sewage truck, they observed that tap water was running muddy and undrinkable. As stated by one of informants, one of the representatives from mining companies proposed to bring new water resources from Kucukkuyu Bay to the mountain village of Bahcedere, and built a well-equipped infrastructure for the irrigation of olive trees (Interview VII). This proposal was perceived far from reality by the villagers and led to the growing distrust in mining companies, because they did not want to forgo their current water supplies based on a shaky promise. Seeing that villagers began to complain about polluted water and unwilling to cooperate, one of the mining companies spread rumors about villagers, who were accused for making profit out of selling the trees felt down during exploration process. Being labeled as greedy villagers also added to the disbelief in mining company's statements, thus they turned to activists for help.

On the other hand, the group of local activists concerned about possible large scale mining investments in the Kaz Mountains region began to organize. Their organizational efforts were not only restricted to local, but also they try to spread the word to the whole region by creating an e-mail group in order to facilitate information sharing and organize meetings about the mining investments. The Initiative for Protection of Kaz Mountains was

established in Bahcedere village of the Kucukkuyu by a group of local activists, who were instrumental in helping villagers and mobilizing the local people to protest against mining investments in Kaz Mountains. By October 2007, anti-gold movement extended in geography and led to formation of the *Canakkale Environment Platform* and then to *Kaz and Madra Mountains Environment Platform* with the inclusion of 24 non-governmental organizations (NGOs), such as Wardens of Beautiful Edremit Bay, Canakkale Environment Platform (Canakkalecep), Marmara Environment Platform (Marmaracep), Aegean Environment Platform (Egecep), from surrounding cities.

One of the activists from Initiative for Protection of Kaz Mountains stated his surprise on the rapid expansion of local movement to the whole Biga peninsula by declaring that “I think people were just waiting for someone to start giving off sparks, and when it happened in Bahcedere village, it was no longer be able to stay here but spread all around” (Interview VI). On the other hand, one of the leaders of local opposition platform also suggested that there was real division of labor among activists during the escalation of mining conflict; in as much as, the Initiative for Protection of Kaz Mountains was influential in publicizing the issue in Kucukkuyu district, other local environmental foundations like Wardens of Beautiful Edremit Bay were working in Ayvalik and Altinoluk, where they had already been known for many years (Interview IX). Both of these activist groups were surprised by the pace of mobilization at the regional level and its publicity at the national level. As I will elucidate more in the following sections, the collaboration between these various groups is crucial in effective campaigning against mining explorations in the region. Despite their differences in relation to understanding of environment and politics, they were able to act together to publicize anti-mining cause both at the local and national level.

When the local mobilization was in its peak, villagers started to engage in civil

disobedience protests. For instance, a group of women villagers blocked the way to the mining exploration site. In October 2007, they marched on Ulubey-Eşme road wearing shroud, which is used for covering death body in Islamist tradition, and holding banners saying that “We do not want cyanide gold!”¹⁹ (*Radikal* 15 October 2007). The Municipality of Midilli Island, which is the closest Greek island dependent on the underground waters of Kaz Mountains, sent also a group of engineers to investigate pollution of water due to mining explorations. As said by one of the villagers, she was pleased by support of Greek side against the mining investments in Kaz Mountains region, given that none of Turkish government officials showed up in Bahcedere to listen to their complaints.

During the escalation of conflict, Bahcedere village became epicenter of the media attention, as the publicity of local protests reached to the national level. Giving interviews to reporters and journalists from national media became a part of villagers’ daily routine. Support from Istanbul based environmental NGOs was also remarkable. For instance, one of main environmental NGOs based in Istanbul, called Doga-Der, organized *Allegiance Visit* to the region to publicize villagers’ cause. Two TV documentaries, namely *Alliance Visit to Kaz Mountains* shot by Doga-Der and three TV series on Kaz Mountains made by *Vilco's Caravan* broadcasted on IZ TV (one of the known domestic documentary channels in Turkey), were also circulated on national TV²⁰. By the time Bahcedere gain publicity, there were also visits from opposition parties in the parliament, as a handful number of party reports were prepared to call government to act immediately. Following the rapid mobilization of people in the Biga Peninsula, the publicity of mining explorations in the Kaz Mountains region reached to the national level by all means.

¹⁹ “Sıyanurlu altın istemiyoruz!” (*Radikal* 15 Ekim2007)

²⁰ There were also other TV debates on the prospective gold mining investment in Kaz Mountains. Kadir Celik's program called Objektif, and the Nasilsiniz debate program by Tayfun Talipoglu were famous ones dedicated to discussing the prospective gold mining.

In the meanwhile, local activists began to organize public gatherings, film screenings and information sessions about mining activities by travelling all villages in the vicinity of mining explorations in the southern part of the Kaz Mountains region. Apart from visiting villages, these group of local activists and NGOs were engaged in organizing regional conferences and protest meetings in Kaz Mountains region. Especially the two protest meetings organized in Cannakkale, respectively in October 2007 and April 2008, were crucial moments of collaborative actions. Within year time after the initial escalation of the mining conflict, the exploration contracts in Kaz Mountains terminated and the requests for renewal was denied by the Turkish government. Leaving the story of escalation and resolution of gold mining conflict in Kaz Mountains, I will discuss more about the details of public gatherings, information sessions and group meetings in the next sections, as they relate to the discursive space of the gold mining investments in Turkey.

Representations of the Powerful Discourses in Kaz Mountains Case

To the end of exploration permits in autumn of 2007, the media attention to mining dispute in Kaz Mountains was at its peak. Given the importance of Kaz Mountains region for its endemic species and being one of most important oxygen site after Alps in Europe, the mining struggle against gold mining has been easily disseminated at national scale with regards to concerns about degradation of environment. The escalation of the conflict in the exploration process was quickly noticed by the government and mining corporations operating in the region. This section will explore the ways in which state and corporations have responded to the conflict by looking at their articulation of the mining project in the Kaz Mountains region.

Upon the escalation of the protests in the Kaz Mountains area, both the government and the mining companies responded quickly to the arguments raised by the protesters. An official inquiry was held by the Ministry of Environment and Forestry to Kaz Mountains region to check whether mining companies abide by the regulations written in the permission contracts. The purpose of this inquiry, as said Veysel Eroglu, the Minister of Environment and Forestry, was to figure out whether there is any environmental damage to the region, and to investigate whether the fears of the protesters were founded on sound evidence (*Radikal* 17 October 2007). Contrary to the expectations of the local groups and communities, the report prepared by committee sent by Ministry of Environment and Forestry concluded that “water was not polluted, mining companies used only a small portion of the area on which they were permitted to pursue prospecting operations and there was not any harm to the environment” (*Turkish Daily News* 19 October 2007).

This report was also backed by Hilmi Guler, the Minister of Energy and Natural Resources at the time, who claimed that the Ministry did not give permission to extract gold in the region but only exploration permission were given (*Radikal* 19 October 2007). Reminding the Environmental Impact Assessment Report requirement for actual mining operations, he assured that the environmental impacts of mining explorations were under control, and that there was wide-spread misinformation about the impacts of cyanide use, according to which Turkey is claimed to be ahead of EU regulations (NTV, 18 October 2007). By reviving the German foundations accusation, he also explicitly pointed out a possible espionage network working for outside resources in Kaz Mountains mining dispute:

We face with a different reaction when the issue is gold. In no other issue, one can observe such sensitivity. There are also other mines in Turkey, however, whenever the issue is gold, I think those outside resources, which do not want to allow our

country to become rich in gold, are effective. Nevertheless, it makes us happy to see that local people also show sensitivity about issues like environment.²¹

(*Radikal* 22 October 2007)

In line with previous cases of mining conflicts in Turkey, government has adopted a similar discursive strategies in the Kaz Mountains mining dispute. Guler's argumentation clearly indicates that state is authoritatively trying to shape the public opinion about the impacts of mining explorations in Kaz Mountains. By boiling down the terms of discussion into legitimate scientific sphere, which notoriously coincides with the mining company reports and remains to be subject of controversy, and by repeating the old conspiracy argument against the protesters for being collaborators of foreign interests wanting to impede with Turkey's development, Guler puts the mining dispute in Kaz Mountains in similar terms with previous gold mining conflicts, such as the Bergama and Kisladag cases.

The discourse of development, as referred in this quotation, plays with the cultural meaning of gold as an important source of wealth, and links it with possible contributions to the economic development of the country. As Caglar Keyder puts it, the speeches given by the government with regards to Kaz Mountains confuses the distinction between accounting and economy, since government usually refers to absolute income to be generated by mining activities that would contribute to national economy, but not about the wealth distribution (Keyder 19 October 2007). He argues that government also frames the gold as the fetish object that it is thought as an indicator of people's richness, and plays with this fetishistic meaning of gold as an income generator to the national economy without making appropriate accounting to determine who gains and who loses from these mining

²¹ "Konu altın olunca daha farklı davranışla karşılaşıyoruz. Hiçbir konuda altına gösterilen hassasiyet gösterilmedi. Türkiye'de başka madenler de var ama konu altın olunca, ülkemizin altın konusundaki zenginliğine müsaade etmek istemeyen dış kaynaklı bazı grupların etkinliğinin olduğunu düşünüyorum. Ama çevre gibi bir konuda bölge halkının hassasiyet göstermesi de bizi mutlu ediyor." (*Radikal* 22 Ekim 2007)

projects (Acik Radyo 19 October 2007). By articulating the gold as a fetishistic object standing for wealth and economic development, government tries to grasp the national imagination with the dreams of development to be generated by new mining investments.

With regards to the scientific assessment of the Kaz Mountains case, Guler's statements have been backed up by the report of a meeting attended by professors and faculties of 11 mining engineering departments, such as ITU, ODTU and IU, and bureaucrats in Ministry of Environment and Natural Resources on 20 October 2007. This meeting was organized by Ministry of Environment so as to discuss contemporary problems in mining sector with regards to social, political, environmental and economic prospects of mining investments. Considering the noticeable weight of the faculty from various mining departments, whose curriculum are promoting teaching of extraction and processing of metal reserves, in this meeting, one can see how mining departments are considered to be the only authority in assessing multi-facet (be it social, political, environmental or economic) prospects of mining investments in Turkey. According to *Ankara Report* that came out of meeting, it is possible to notice similar lines of reasoning that backs the government's attitude towards mining investments:

Together with agriculture, mining constitutes one of two main sectors that meet needs of raw material of humanity. Mining will be of vital importance for Turkey in the future, as it is the case now...Nowadays, one can observe that there are efforts for built a negative image of mining explorations, especially in the Canakkale region, and mining in general. There are plenty of unsubstantiated and unscientific allegations claimed by these people who are not knowledgeable about issue. They assert that mining explorations in Canakkale region is made in Kaz Mountains National Park. However, these mining explorations are carried out in 15 km away from National Park for about 20 years. As a result of these explorations, it is understood that the mineral reserves found in this region will contribute significantly to the country's economy. After this finding, it is meaningful to start giving reactions to already continuing exploration operations.²²

²² "Madencilik, tarım sektörüyle birlikte insanlığın hammadde gereksinimini sağlayan iki ana sektörden biridir. Bugün olduğu gibi gelecekte de önemini koruyacak olan madencilik sektörü, Türkiye için de hayati önem taşımaktadır...Son günlerde özelde Çanakkale bölgesindeki altın madeni aramaları ve genelde

(*Yeni Safak* 21 October 2007)

Among the highlights of the Ankara Report quoted above, one can observe that the separation of science and politics through the discourse of scientificity is instrumental in establishing authority of the committee in representing the ‘reality’ with regards to mining activities. Not only this report tries to disregard the local opposition as ‘unscientific’ allegations, but also frames the reactions to mining explorations as politically driven as they target the realization of an economically valuable mining investment. Backing up government’s articulation of the mining investments as a source of economic development, this report also tries to capture the national imagination of catching up with the discourse of scientific knowledge. Besides, by drawing parallels between agriculture, which is considered to be transforming land in a productive way, and the mining sector, this report also presents the mining activities as one of productive ways of transforming landscapes in the name of greater economy for the development of country. As the discussion about Kaz Mountains is boiled down to whether mining explorations are carried out within the boundaries of Kaz Mountains National Park or not, one can notice that the scientific committee recognizes the National Parks as the proper and legitimate areas of conservation in Kaz Mountains, and frames the regions outside of the protected areas²³ as non-productive land to be transformed by mining activities. The most important point in

madencilikle ilgili kamuoyunda olumsuz bir havanın oluşturulmaya çalışıldığı gözlenmektedir. Konu hakkında bilgisiz kişilerce bilimsel dayanaktan yoksun asılsız pek çok iddiada bulunmaktadır. Bu kişilerce Çanakkale bölgesindeki maden aramalarının Kaz Dağları Milli Parkı'nda yapıldığı ileri sürülmektedir. Çanakkale bölgesinde söz konusu arama faaliyetleri, Kaz Dağları Milli Parkı'ndan en az 15 kilometre mesafede ve yaklaşık 20 yıldan bu yana sürdürülmektedir. Bu bölgede arama faaliyetleri sonunda ülke ekonomisine çok ciddi katkı sağlayacak maden kaynakları tespit edildiği anlaşılmaktadır. Bu tespitten sonra, sürdürülen arama faaliyetlerine tepkilerin başlatılması çok manidardır.” (*Yenisafak* 22 Ekim 2007)

²³ One of proposals in the Kaz Mountains mining dispute was to announce rest of Kaz Mountains (70%) also as National Park. However, this proposal does not only worsen the situation of mountain villages that depend on forestry products, but also is not a feasible one considering that current Mining Law allows to operate in protected areas.

publicizing this report under the auspices of the state is to announce where the voice of authority lies in assessing environmental, social, economic and political impacts of contemporary mining projects, and therefore it can be seen as an important attempt on the part of state to shape public opinion at national scale.

Apart from the government, one could expect to see that the discussions with regards to the new mining projects in Kaz Mountains was shaped in line with mining lobby's discursive strategies. During the escalation of media attention given to Kaz Mountains mining dispute, the response from the mining corporations was immediate. Many of mining corporations gave page-long briefings on national newspapers explaining the nature of explorations going on Kaz Mountains. Recognizably similar to the discursive strategies adopted by state and declared in the Ankara report, the mining corporations operating in the region were also trying to shape the public opinion at the national level.

However, these counter explanations stated by the mining corporations were not only restricted to national media. In an interview given to *Aynali Pazar*, local newspaper of Canakkale, one of managers of a multinational mining company gave a detailed response to mining explorations in the region, which goes as the following:

Our goal is sustainable development. We would be happy to be monitored by an independent NGO that has the expertise and knowledge to do it. We are not afraid of anything. We are also in favor of sustainable development of region. Our basic principle is to attain this goal. As opposed to briefings given by those who are not expert about this issue, mine reserves in Kaz Mountains can be classified as low-grade ore. That's why finding gold in this area is relatively smaller than Biga peninsula.²⁴

(*Aynali Pazar* 21 October 2007)

²⁴ “Bizim hedefimiz sürdürülebilir kalkındır. Biz bu konuda uzman olan bilgisi olan bağımsız bir STK kuruluşunun bizi denetlemesinden mutluluk duyarız. Bundan korkacak hiçbir durumumuz yoktur. Biz de bu bölgenin sürdürülebilir kalkınmasından yanayız. Ana ilkimiz budur. Son zamanlarda konusunda uzman olmayan kişiler tarafından yapılan açıklamaların tersine Kazdağlarında ast kaya birimleri içerisindeki cevherleşme oranları oldukça düşüktür. Yani burada altın ve değerli madenler bulma olasılığı, Biga yarımadasındaki bölgelere oranla çok daha azdır.” (*Aynali Pazar* 21 Ekim 2007)

As it is possible to infer from this response that mining corporations articulate the sustainability discourse in an effort to delineate the “true” expertise knowledge from the non-expert one. By doing so, they try to assert the authority of the former over the later in assessing the environmental impacts of a mining investment and dismiss the local opposition. Accordingly, the proper monitoring process for mining investments is delegated to the ‘independent’ NGOs, which are supposed to possess the expertise knowledge, which is portrayed in contrast to the opposition groups who are casted as ‘non-experts’ and lacking proper information with regards to mining operations. Traveling around the question of whether mining investment should operate or not in Kaz Mountains region, mining corporation tries to divert the nature of the conflict and the demands for democratic civic participation into the technocratic one. Embedded in this corporate form of eco-governmentality, NGOs are seen as crucial collaborators in establishing legitimate scientific assessment of the mining activities in tackling with the other “politically-oriented” forms of information pollution. As outlined by the manager of the mining corporation, the proper role of NGOs in constructing the scientific assessment of the mining operations are explained in detail as the following:

What we expect from NGOs is the following: You are going to open a gold mine here, and we want to monitor your operations as an independent NGO. They shall monitor. If they know this job, NGOs can monitor us as independent monitors. We will be glad about it. We will say, how nice, NGOs are monitoring us independently. What is the amount of dust? What is the amount of cyanide in the waste water? Are these in line with norms? Are these within the confines of EU standards? If they monitor these, we have nothing to fear about. However, they say we do not want mining and ask for closing it down, instead of monitoring our works. However, this is only a deadlock, then we shall not do anything. Then we shall close universities. Can you imagine such a reasoning?²⁵

²⁵ “Bizim STK'lardan bekledigimiz sudur: Burada bir altin madeni acacaksiniz. Biz sizi bagimsiz bir STK olarak denetlemek istiyoruz. Denetlesinler. Bu insanlar eger biliyorlarsa bu isi, bu STKlar bagimsiz olarak bizi denetleyebilirler. Biz bundan memnunluk duyariz. Ne guzel deriz, biri bizi bagimsiz olarak denetliyor. Cikan toz miktari ne kadar? Atik olarak verilen suyun icindeki siyanur miktari ne kadar? Normlara uygun mu? AB standartlarinda mi degil mi? Bunlari denetlesinler korkumuz yok. Ama onlar bunu yapacaklari

(*Aynali Pazar* 21 October 2007)

In this account of NGOs given by mining corporations, the desired role of NGOs is restricted to do monitoring work within their confines of expertise knowledge and to act as inspectors assessing the capacity of mining facilities in putting sustainable activities into practice. As opposed to the conventional understanding of NGOs as indicators of a vibrant civil society, the proposed role model for the NGOs here is closer to consultancy/inspecting firms as the short term partners of large mining corporations. As discussed in the chapter three, the heterogeneity of the NGOs in terms of missions has often been overlooked due to mis-association of the NGOs only with good civic participation. In contrast to this understanding, the statement of the corporate manager in this quotation boils down the NGO work into a professional realm by assigning them an affirmative scientific role beyond the advocacy role or other civic forms of participation. In this picture, the NGOs stand as important actors in governing public opinion about the authority of corporations in sustainability practices, therefore they help corporations to create a legitimate sphere for claiming accountability and transparency with regards to operations of mining corporations.

In addition, one can notice the connection drawn between the knowledge production process in the prestigious universities and its ‘proper’ application in mining facilitates, as the mining corporations construct their authority over handling the environmental impacts of mining operations. In a way, the mining corporations operations declare the contestation of their technocratic approach to mining as a heresy towards rejection of scientific knowledge production in universities, which stands as powerful institutions of science

verde sunu soyluyorlar, biz madencilik istemeyiz kardesim. Kapatin. Bu cozumsuzluk, yani o zaman yapmayalim. O zaman universiteleri de kapatalim. Boyle bir mantik olabilir mi?” (*Aynali Pazar* 17 Ekim 2007).

making and 'the home of science'²⁶ as it is perceived in Turkey. Accordingly, the constitution of the claim of scientificity²⁷ at the discursive level is not only restricted to referring to authoritative institutions in science, be it universities or NGOs, but also breeds on the substance of 'other environmentalist' discourses. Reminding previous discursive coalitions between the state and mining corporations in Bergama and Usak Kisladag gold mines, the division between legitimate environmental knowledge and other political ends was also drawn clearly at the discursive space of the Kaz Mountains case. One can see the remnants of such discursive strategy in the following assessment of environmental impacts of mining operations, which was given in the same interview:

Since cyanide is notorious, environmentalist uses it. Whatever their level of development, in every country cyanide is used in gold and silver processing. But those who want to avoid gold production; they claim that cyanide will create environmental problems so as to scare people. Till today, their claims are not warranted by any scientific evidence...In our country, due to the lack of authority on environmental issues like those in other countries and because of information pollution, the public opinion pressure is a determining factor. The discussions about cyanide are artificial, politically oriented and supported by outside resources.²⁸

(*Aynali Pazar* 21 October 2007)

The claim of authority over the environmental expertise is a decisive discursive strategy of mining lobby that aims to de-politicize discussions on mining. As implied in this

²⁶ "Bilim yuvasi."

²⁷ Kaz Mountains case could only be brief introduction to discussions with regards to science, technology and society studies due to the limited life span of mining dispute. However, further implications of such technocratic understanding of environment, in constructing the powerful discourse of sustainability, can be inferred by studying company reports, reports prepared by government commissions like TUBITAK report, TV shows, newsletters, etc in Bergama and Usak Kisladag cases.

²⁸ "Siyanurun adi kotu oldugu icin Cevreciler onu kullaniyor simdi. Gelismislik duzeyleri ne olursa olsun, butun ulkelerde altin ve gumus cikarimi icin siyanur kullanilir. Altin uretimini engellemeye calisan cevrelerce halki korkutmak maksadiyla siyanurun cevre sorunu cikaracagi devamlı olarak ileri surulmektedir. Ancak bugune kadar cevrecilerin iddialarini destekleyecek hicbir kanit ortaya konmamistir...Ancak bizim gibi ulkelerde cevre ile ilgili otorite boslugundan dolayi, bilgi kirlenmesi sonucu kamuoyu baskisi belirleyici olmaktadır. Siyanur etrafında yaratılan tartisma yapaydir, siyasi odaklidir ve dis desteklidir." (*Aynali Pazar* 17 Ekim 2007).

interview, the appropriate understanding of environmental consequences of mining operations would automatically brought public consent to the gold mining investments in the name of a greater economy for Turkey. This anti-politics of environment, which elevates technocratic understanding of environmental problems and delineates other forms of environmental knowledge as politically biased information pollution, is very much linked with legitimizing the economic prospects of new mining investments. By declaring the scientific seat of authority, mining corporations also tries to divert the public attention from contestation over the scientific soundness of mining projects to the fetishist understanding of the gold that is constructed as the major source of wealth generation for the country.

In overall, one can notice the striking similarity between state and mining corporations in the mining dispute of Kaz Mountains, as both of these actors tried to shape the discursive field with similar articulations of environment and development in order to tackle with the bad publicity of mining investments. By drawing a line between scientific and unscientific assessment of the environmental impact of mining activities, both state and mining corporations dismiss the local opposition to new mining investments as unscientific and politically-driven. In this particular framing, the discourse of scientificity is shaped in a way that is detached from politics and related with the questions of technological capacity and the science of mineral extraction. On the other hand, the task of monitoring and civic participation is envisioned to be delegated to technocratic NGOs, which works in partnership with the mining corporations but not in opposition to them. One can also notice from the articulations of sustainable mining that the discourse of scientificity and technocratic understanding of environment are important elements underlying a modern mining investment. In conjunction with it, the discourse of development articulated

together with the fetishistic understanding of gold and wealth generation constituted other main pillar of powerful discourses animated by state and mining corporations. However, this discourse is also turned out to be problematic because it equates development with economic growth to be based on mineral extraction, but not an equitable understanding of development.

As shown in this section, the articulations of such powerful discourses of environment and development tend to secure authority of state and mining corporations over the discursive field of conflict and thus aim to eliminate reactions to the new mining investments by framing the local opposition as unscientific and politically-driven groups. I argue that this discursive strategy is politically important, because it tries to govern the environmental and economic realm by rendering the language of technical under a new framework of eco-governmentality. Within this framework, there is no room for opposition except for the ‘impartial’ and technocratic NGOs whose task is to monitor but not to halt the operations of a mining investment. Therefore one can see that by boiling down the terms of discussions into an allegedly apolitical realm of science and economics, both state and mining corporations try to garner public support for new mining investments.

Protesting the ‘Gold’ in Kaz Mountains: An Inquiry into the Representations of the Counter Discourses

The contestation of powerful discourses in the Kaz Mountains mining dispute has been made in various platforms and through counter discursive strategies employed by the activists. When the mining explorations were first publicized in late summer of 2007, the immediate mobilization of activists was crucial in setting the agenda for local protests in the region. In as much as the response from government and mining corporations was quick

to the protests towards a prospective gold mining investment in the Kaz Mountains area, counter discourses animated by the local activists also try to establish social, cultural and political connection with the local in order to garner support for the anti-mining cause, and therefore became instrumental in contesting the powerful ones. As two sides of the conflict become aware of the opponents' arguments, the process of articulation become an important means to assert the truthfulness of their understanding of reality with regards to mining issue. In this respect, it is crucial to note that encounters between representatives from government, mining corporations and local protesters is crucial in shaping the course of the conflict.

As a short-lived conflict, there were very few yet important meetings that brought these groups together on the same platform in the Kaz Mountains case. In response to the local protests that garnered immense support from national media, the Canakkale Chamber of Commerce organized a panel titled as "Mining, Tourism and Environment in Kaz Mountains" in order to discuss prospects of a new mining project in the Kaz Mountains together with civil society groups including various business groups, environment platforms and Hilmi Guler in 27 October 2007. As it is portrayed by one of the activists participated in the panel organized by the mining lobby, Hilmi Guler re-stated that the mining investments would bring economic prospects to the region and that the local opposition stemmed from lack of appropriate knowledge about the exploration operations of mining companies in the region (Marcep website 22 October 2007). In line with the government's paternalistic attitude towards local opposition, Guler assured the local fears were unfounded as there had been drilling activities in the region since 1969, and that the exaggerated allegations about adverse impacts of mining exploration activities on environment coincided only with today (Ibid). By the same token, the head of AGM boiled

down the terms of conflict into similar terms. Claiming that information pollution distorted public opinion about environmental impacts of mining exploration activities in Kaz Mountains, mining lobby re-stated what had already been said by Guler and Ankara report (Ibid). The representatives of the mining corporations also paid a lip service to the environmental and social responsibility of corporations and declared the opposition as ideologically oriented accusations (Ibid).

On the other hand, according to the account of the panel by the local activists participated in the panel, this panel was an opportunity to encounter with the mining lobby and government as well as to publicize the anti-mining cause further in the Kaz Mountains region. One of main targets of local opposition groups during discussions was to demand the revision of the Mining Law. Even though Hilmi Guler assured protesters by mentioning their work in progress for the Mining Law, he expressed that mining exploration activities in Kaz Mountains region were in line with current legal procedures (*Sol* 28 October 2007). As I also gathered from the accounts of my informants, local activists perceived Guler's statements as a reflection of authoritative and biased attitude of the government, with which they were expected to encounter even prior to the panel. There was a consensus among the local opposition groups with regards to biasedness of the panel, as some of activists choose not to participate to the meeting from the very beginning. For those who participated, the panel was highly controlled and far from representative of both sides, yet they managed to raise their voices to the surprise of the organizers. Here is the account of one of activists who was in the panel:

27 October panel was the first biggest panel with many participants from everywhere, be it journalists, minister and mining lobbies. There was an army of security in front of hotel, because they were waiting for us to make a scene. But we make trouble inside the panel. We saw the orange guys, who blamed Oktay Konyar in Bergama case. One group waited just nearby orange guys, other group just stood by security forces. Minister call upon us to speak at some point, and we told that "We are rich

enough, but you are selling this country to foreign mining companies for accumulation of wealth in the hand of 3 or 5 families”. As we got out of panel, we rushed to the Square and open our banner. At that point, all people just rushed to the square. It was great, both panel and square were ours on that day!²⁹

(Interview II)

The activists participated to the panel wanted to use this venue to publicize their cause using the tactics of the advocacy groups like Greenpeace, some of which had a prior affiliation with. During my interviews with the local activists, I was told that the initial moment in deciding whether to participate or not in panel had been shaped by different reasons. Except for a group of activists in the panel, Kaz Dagi group decided to protest panel for being 'unscientific'. Considering that there were five scientists from the pro-mining camp expected to give a talk, whereas two scientists from anti-mining camp were invited, they figured out that panel would be biased; therefore they decided to protest outside. As said one of activists, they thought there wouldn't be any result out of panel and they did not want to be instrument to this game by participating to panel (Interview IX). On the same day with the panel, Kaz Mountains Group organized a protest meeting in Republic Square in Canakkale. The protest outside of the panel was the first biggest gathering in the Biga peninsula against mining investments in the Kaz Mountains region.

In the gathering, the terms of counter arguments were more or less shaped by the articulations of environment, development and patriotism. Over the course of a year, one can notice the sophistication of the discursive practices and learning within the protest

²⁹ “27 Ekim paneli ilk buyuk katilimli paneldi. Her yerden insan gelmist. Iste gazeteciler,bakan, madenci lobisi. Otelin kapisinda emniyet ordusu bizi karsiladi. Cunku bir sorun cikmasini bekliyorlar. Fakat biz iceride sorun cikardik. Icerde turuncu adamlarin hepsi vardi. Bergama olayinda Oktay Konyar'a suc atanlar. Bir grup turuncu adamlarin yaninda, diger grup ise polislerin yaninda bekledi bir sey cikmasin diye. Bir ara bakan bize soze verdi. Biz de konustuk. Dedik ki, biz yeterince zenginiz, uc bes ailenin nemalanmasi icin siz bu vatani yabanci maden sirketlerine satiyorsunuz. Panelden cikince hemen meydana kostuk ve pankartimizi actik. Tam o noktada insanlarin hepsi meydana firladi. Gerçekten cok guzeldi, hem panel hem de meydanlar bizimdi” (Interview II).

groups, and this has enormously shaped the counter representations of the mining investments. In the following sections, I will dwell more on the terms of articulations and how these counter discursive practices has helped to organization of a local opposition, despite the incommensurability of discourses animated by different groups participated in the anti-mining platform.

Discourses of Environmentalism and Nature Loving in Kaz Mountains

A closer inquiry to the discursive practices animated by local protesters in Kaz Mountains region shows that the discourse of environment has been articulated in multiple ways. As local activists engaged with organization against prospective mining investments, the articulations of discourses of environmentalism and nature loving along with other discourses of nationalism, defending life and localism have played a significant role in the process of simplification and making connection with the local. During my interviews with the local activists, the heterogeneity of discursive practices with regards to nature loving has manifested itself when I ask them to tell how they got involved with environmental causes prior to mining campaigning, and how their views changed throughout the process. Developing upon stories of four local activists in the Kaz Mountains region, I will try to analyze how they articulate nature loving, environment and anti-mining cause together.

In order to understand activists' framing of environment and nature loving, this section will also map out the connections made with the other discourses. As one of the prominent counter-discourse, local activists' understandings of nature loving and environment have been crucial in garnering support for anti-mining cause. Since the publicization of the mining explorations in the region, the articulations of of nature loving has been instrumental in bridging the cosmopolitan constituency of environmental consciousness with the rural way of life in the villages of Southern Kaz Mountains. Not

only this has provided a common frame to bring different articulations of environment under unified anti-mining campaign, but also it has been an imaginative way to re-articulate environment and nature in a substantially different way than the powerful discourses of environmentalism articulated by the state and mining corporations.

One of the important strategies used by the local activists to mobilize the cosmopolitan bay area of Southern Kaz Mountains to protest the mining explorations happening in the mountain villages was to articulate the discourse of nature loving. The nature loving discourse has been articulated in various ways by different strands of the local opposition, but the main connotation made through the nature loving discourse was to revoke a Western appreciation of nature, be it articulated together with sustainable living, an object of romantic admiration or amateur scientific inquiry.

For instance, one of local activists embrace the idea of nature loving as an object of romantic admiration and scientific inquiry since he first encountered with the idea while he was shepherding as a child in a village in Kaz Mountains and later as an engineer traveling around Turkey (Interview VI). Being actively involved in the organization of anti-mining campaign from the very beginning, he frequently emphasized the importance of protecting the biodiversity of ecosystem in the Kaz Mountains, which he perceives to be threatened since mining investments came to the region. As we talked about the possible environmental impacts of a prospective gold mine, he explained me in detail how ecological decay is already occurring in the mountain villages due to polluting previous stone and mineral quarries, how he felt depressed when he first saw the loss of plant species which he admired as a child, and explained possible risks of a new gold mine to the region (Ibid). For him, one can notice that nature loving frame articulates together with the nostalgia for the past, an acquired Westernized love for nature, and the fear of losing the

natural beauty which connects him to the region now. In a way, his perspective on environment and nature loving partakes in the universal claims of appreciating nature by paying attention to classifications between plant species, trees, green fields, that is also in line with state's support for raising environmental consciousness under new turn in modernist project of Turkey in 1980s. Contrary to state's promotion of apolitical understanding of environmental consciousness, his new identity as a nature lover turns him into ardent opponent of a prospective mining project in the region.

Whereas for villagers of Southern Kaz Mountains region, the idea of nature loving and environment constituted a different meaning.. During my interviews with villagers in Kaz Mountains, I have asked about how they perceived a possible mining investment nearby their village. One of the villagers has framed her fears as the following:

They chagrin us a lot. We couldn't even sleep those days. But they couldn't hold on here. Mine would be so close to olive fields. What would happen if they were all destroyed? We say, we don't want the mine! This place is going to be left to our sons. They would come and resettle here after retirement. I heard Erdogan wants this mine. Our villagers don't like Erdogan...Even Midilli (Lesbos) was against it. Water was used in mine. Engineers came here from Midilli to investigate water in the underground.³⁰

(Interview VII)

One can notice that the articulation of belonging to the place is more visible in her understanding of environment, which she considers to be economic source of living and as well as hub of her familial roots residing in the village. That's why, her worries with regards to mining targets the possible destruction of land, both as an economic and familial heritage, if a gold mine operates. As her response shows, the understanding of environment is filtered through economic and social relations organizing the village life. That's why, the

³⁰ “Bizi çok uzdular, kızım. O vakit gozumuze uyku girmedı. Ama burada tutunamadılar. Maden zeytine çok yakın, ya kul olaydı? İstemiyok dedik. Buralar bizden oğlanlara kalacak. Emekliye gelip buraya yerleşecek. Bu madeni Erdogan istiyomus. Bizim burda Erdogan'i sevmezler. Midilli bile karsi. Su madende kullanıyormus. Yeraltındaki suyu kontrol etmeye mühendisleri geldi buraya” (Interview VII).

opposition to new mining investment was not just about how villagers would feel if the mountain they can see from their houses is carved for mining operations, as told by one of the local activists, but more about the destruction of place to which they belong to and their economic surviving depends on.

One can multiply the examples of different articulations of nature loving disseminated especially by the cosmopolitan activists, who have been influential in the mobilization of a protest movement in the region. In understanding this connection between cosmopolitanism and localism through nature-loving, another interview with a local activist turned out to be good example (Interview II). As opposed to the Westernized understanding of environment and nature, this local activist believes in the authority of expertise knowledge in getting things more 'green', and disseminates it at the local. During the mining dispute in Kaz Mountains, his history of environmental activism was influential in the organization of anti-mining campaigning in villages. As told by him, his commitment to the ecological way of living was also important in building trust relation with villagers.

However, the idea of nature loving is not apolitical for him either. His ecologist framing of mining dispute is also intrinsically linked with his understanding of democracy, which determines in a way his relation to the villagers. Instead of assuming authoritative voice of environmentalism, his approach to discussing the mining investment in Kaz Mountains was to organize a platform that gave equal voice to everyone. Moreover, his firm belief in the sincerity of this approach to discussing environmental impacts of mining on a democratic platform was to refute the definition of environment framed by the powerful discourses, and this is mainly what brought him closer to villagers. His eagerness for mixing the traditional/rural forms of production with ecological knowledge expressed as political by him. One can see that his cosmopolitan constituency and openness to learn

from the local knowledge articulated in the form of nature loving, democracy and sustainable living provided him a connection to bridge urban and rural distinction, thus constituted a different perspective for discussing mining investments.

Among local activists residing in the villages of Kaz Mountains, another activist also frames the struggle against mining investments in Kaz Mountains through nature-loving frame (Interview III). Given the anti-politics regime in the subsequent years of military coup, this activist has channeled her efforts to civil society groups by engaging actively in the empowerment of women and protection of environment. Nature loving has always been part of her life and residing in one of the villages in Kaz Mountains after retirement provided her the means for putting her thoughts in practice. Even though she doesn't call as environmentalist, she successfully experiments with local practices for attaining ecologically sound way of living.

In the anti-mining campaign, she was one of leading activists, who had mobility to travel across villages, cities in the Edremit Bay and Istanbul to articulate environmental destructiveness of a prospective mining investment in the Kaz Mountains region. As we talk about her activities prior to conflict and after escalation of conflict, she told me her surprise in collaboration with other activists from different political views which she thinks it would be impossible otherwise. For instance, she couldn't think herself sitting next to a person from Nationalist Action Party (MHP) because of her leftist views, yet the anti-mining campaign brought diverse groups from different political parties under the same platform and made the collaboration possible. From her reflections with regards to social organization of anti-mining campaign, it is possible to infer that nature-loving, be it in the form of Westernized romantic view of nature or intermingled with patriotic or extreme nationalist political views, established a connection between local groups to oppose mining

in the region even if there existed a multiple understanding of environment and nature.

With regards to relation between environment and politics, she expressed her disbelief in the separation of environment from politics through the powerful discourses animated by the state and mining corporations. In particular the discourse of sustainability is viewed as a co-opted concept, as she give an example of corruption involved in investigations of a committee sent by the government to monitor a commercial fishing farm operating in the bay area, and how they turned with cases of fish as a gift from the owner of the farm and declare it to be non-degradatory to environment. That's why, the articulations of sustainable mining by the mining corporations and the promises of government to monitor mining activities does not resonate as true and sincere for her and as well as for other activists.

Apart from local activists residing in the villages, pre-existing environmental activism in the cities of Edremit Bay was also influential in spreading anti-mining campaign from Bahcedere to whole Edremit Bay. The efforts of local environmental NGOs in collaboration with activists engaged in anti-mining campaigning in Bergama, Havran and Madra Mountain also provided the lineage between Kaz Mountains and other notorious gold mining cases in terms of information sharing and activism. As opposed to other accounts, an interview with the local activists residing in the bay area of Kaz Mountains has shown that the articulation of nature loving is intermingled with patriotism (Interview IX). For one of the activist, protecting the nature is equivalent of protecting the land from the foreign mining investments. In this account, it is possible to see the articulation of the discourse of nationalism together with the nature loving, which can be seen as a powerful cultural connection in Turkey and successfully used by the local opposition to garner support for anti-mining campaign.

Even though I will elucidate more on the nationalist discourses in the following sections, I will briefly mention here how the nature loving discourse is in fact closely tied with the secular nationalist project in Turkey. Indoctrination of nature loving to youth through the Voluntary Nature Education camps is part of this nationalist project of modernization so as to raise environmental consciousness by injecting from very early on the scientific assessment of plant species, trees and animals. Local activists also used these youth camps to publicize the anti-mining campaign and indoctrinate a scientific understanding of environment by organizing alternative panels to discuss the issue.

The account of this local activist for purpose of these camps indicates that there can be alliances between the articulations of state and local opposition in understanding of the relation between nature and science (Interview IX). According to his account, it can be possible to tame the environmental impacts of mining operations in the future as scientific and technological progress advances. However, the current technology is not advanced yet, and it will result in colonialist exploitation of the mineral resources by the foreign corporations, who will leave the region polluted as they finished extracting the valuable metals. One can notice that as both sides of the mining dispute boils down the discussions to the legitimate sphere of science and technology, the obsession with the objectivity becomes the most important criteria to evaluate the mining activities. Accordingly, the diversity of conclusions and accusations for failure to attain objectivity dominates the debate and therefore underlies the terms of conflict.

Besides, the cosmopolitan constituency of this account of nature loving also articulates a different understanding of urban and rural distinction in the organization of mining dispute, too. As opposed to the previous accounts of anti-mining campaigning given by local activists above, this local activist told that the local activism was carried out

mainly in the city centers and disseminated in the villages. According to this account, the acclaimed superiority of the urban over rural areas in assessing the environmental implications of mining investment underlies the belief in modernist framing.

However, this is not to say that all responses raised against mining investments in urban parts of Kaz Mountains region followed the same lines. During my interview with another local activist residing in the bay area, I also encountered with different accounts of nature loving and how they connect it to the anti-mining campaign. According to the account of this activist, nature loving has a spiritual meaning in Alevi philosophy and it is celebrated annually at the Sarikiz Hill by Turkmen Alevis from mountain villages of Kaz Mountains and other villages of Balikesir, Canakkale, Manisa and Izmir (Interview VIII). In contrast to the modernist understanding of nature loving, Alevi understanding of nature is filtered through the folk stories, like the Sarikiz story, articulated widely in the Kaz Mountains region. For more than 500 years, Turkmen Alevis gather in Sarikiz Hill, which lies within the borders of Kaz Mountains National Park, every second half of August to celebrate after Sarikiz. In their yearly religious fest, Turkmen Alevis gather together to commemorate Sarikiz, by praying, dancing, and sacrificing animals for realization of their wishes such as marriage, having a baby, etc. Sarikiz festival is also a social gathering bringing friends and relatives together, and as well as finding prospective partners for unmarried youth. Therefore, one can say that this ritualistic celebration on the Sarikiz Hill is intermingled with social relations, economic expectations, and other cultural and spiritualistic meanings attached to nature. As said by one of villagers of Turkmen Alevi village in the Kaz Mountains during the anti-mining campaigning, defending even a branch of tree is crucial in defending the integrity of social, cultural and economic web of relations attached to nature in Alevi philosophy and the spiritual importance of the place.

In his story of mining dispute in Kaz Mountains, this local activist frames nature loving through Alevi philosophy, which requires a holistic understanding of nature and the sincerity of living according to what you say. Accordingly, loving nature necessitates loving any creature that is created by God, but also he attacks other articulation of environmentalism which lacks the human component. Apart from Alevi philosophy, engaging in anti-mining campaigning has also altered his view on nature loving and environment. Before joining to campaign, his understanding of environment was restricted to keeping neighborhood clean and planting trees, which were indoctrinated in the public schools as a part of modernization project. However, participating in the anti-gold mining campaigning in Kaz Mountains has enlarged his perspective on what constitutes the environment and how it is inherently political. In as much as he draws a connection between Alevi philosophy and defending life by articulating the discourse of nature loving, he also rejects the other articulations of environmentalism by state and mining corporation politically oriented. He now believes that defending environment is intrinsically linked with choosing to struggle so as to make life beautiful, which is in it a political process requires to stand against the environmental degradation caused by capitalist production.

All in all, one can say that different articulations of nature loving and environment, be it connected with Alevi philosophy, defending life, belonging to a place, a source of sustainable living, an object of romantic admiration or scientific inquiry, has been instrumental in garnering support for the anti-mining campaign. From the various responses received during my interviews with the local activists, one can notice the cultural, social and political connections creatively made under the discourses of nature loving and environmentalism. On the one hand, some of the local activists partakes in the technocratic understanding of environment and keep themselves away from the political

connotations to be regarded as environmentalist. On the other hand, others activists frame the process of defining nature loving and environmentalism as a political one. In one way or the other, these differences end up in a productive confusion about what constitutes environmentalism and nature loving. Despite the variations among discursive practices animated by activists, the process of articulation enabled the activists to act together for a common cause thanks to co-existence of multiple understandings of nature loving and environment with which activists were able to identify themselves.

Discourses of Development, Modernity and the Idea of Progress

Similar to recent gold mining conflicts on world scale and in Turkey, Kaz Mountains case tells us a story of different articulations of developmentalism animated by the actors involved in the conflict. Understanding how discourses of development, modernity and the idea of progress shapes mining dispute in Kaz Mountains requires to dwell into the appropriation of scaling up investments in national and local imaginations. As I elucidated on the elements of powerful discourses of development in Turkey in chapter four, the idea of progress and catching up with West is articulated by state and mining corporations widely. The references to these discourses are also apparent in the local opposition, which tries to secure their own understanding in opposing to the establishment of foreign investments in Kaz Mountains region. On the part of state and mining corporations, blocking the roads to modernization and progress is considered to be having a secret agenda, being paid by ulterior forces, and so forth. Whereas, local opposition considers the neoliberalization of mining sector as selling country and to become colony of foreign mining corporations. This section will inquire into how local activists animate their understanding of discourses of developmentalism, modernization and progress in an effort to gather support for their cause.

While there is not a homogenous response with regards to mining investments in Kaz Mountains region, they try to deconstruct the claimed economic benefits of a mining venture to the region and re-produce alternative scenarios of development by calculating the generation of income from tourism in archeological sites or in the form of eco-tourism, husbandry and agriculture, specifically olives and fruits, and so forth. Yet, they use creative symbolic references to establish a connection with the local in their articulations of development and criticism of powerful discourses. For instance, one of the most popularized slogans used in the protests is created through playing with the word gold (altın). Protesters articulate the idea that olive is the “green gold” of the region and cannot be sacrificed for mining. Similarly emphasized by another slogan, it is the surface of Kaz Mountains that is more productive and valuable than what is under the beneath.³¹ Since the word beneath and gold has similar roots in Turkish, they play with what constitutes significant richness for region instead of a gold mine.

Another historical connection drawn through the articulation of gold mining was to portray it as source of misery and war brought to the region from Ancient times on. One can notice that protesters animated the Ancient history of region in many respects. In the first place, it stands as an important source of economic development for the region by way of tourism. Secondly, it is used to revive the spirit of Trojan War to draw parallels with the prospective gold mining investment in two ways: on the one hand, they use a particular historical narrative that sees fight over gold as the reason behind the war; on the other hand, it find a resonance in nationalist discourses by mimicking the foreign occupation of land in Trojan War to connote parallel occupation by foreign mining companies.

Among other strategies used in the local protests and briefings, anti-colonialist

³¹ “Kaz Dağlarının ustu altından önemlidir!”

discourse was noticeable in contesting the means by which the idea of progress is promoted by state and mining corporations. References to progress and modernization, both at national and local scale, in the powerful discourses of development have been deconstructed by local protests through the bad legacy of previous mining cases in the region. For instance, local activists referred to the dramatic images in the briefings by depicting the pictures of graveyards of mine workers died from mine disease in Doyran village near Altinoluk. In mid 1980s, after the operations of a lead mine operated by national-transnational joint venture, miner workers in Alevi Turkmen Doyran village died as a series of lung cancer cases due to unhealthy labor conditions in mine site. The bad legacy of mine was not only confined to death of miners, but also it was intensified by fleeing of mining company without any compensation payment for deaths. Another case of lead mine operated by French companies in Balya refutes the promise of progress and modernity to be brought by mining investments. Local activists argued that the destruction of Balya city, which used to be known as one of key modern centers with electricity after Ottoman palace in Istanbul at the turn of twentieth century, was mainly due to operations of a lead mine that polluted the city with its remnants embodies chemicals like cyanide. From considerably bigger city with a population of 30,000 people to a small town with population of 2000 nowadays, Balya stands out to be a example of decay and regression for Kaz Mountains case. These examples were constantly referred by local activists, who claim that the alleged development benefits to be brought to the region would be overridden by need to get quick profits to the expense of the health of villagers. Activists argued that calling the foreign mining companies to the Kaz Mountains would be repeating this misery by opening the land for colonial extraction.

During my interview with a local activist, similar concerns with regards to operation

of a gold mine in Kaz Mountains were also expressed (Interview VI). According to this account, the economic contribution of mining to Turkey is undeniable, but the means by which it is carried out is also important. This local activist opposes to idea that scaling up investment with foreign companies is necessary on the way to development considering that share of state will be small compared to revenues to be generated by mining companies (Interview VI). He thinks that even if local people were to bear the adverse consequences of mining operations to the region for the benefit of country, Kaz Mountains is not the correct place to establish a gold mining investment, because it can sustain itself. Within these lines, he thinks that one cannot let foreign companies to operate without taking permission of local communities, whose will be seriously affected by the reduction of sales in olive and other products.

In another interview with the former mayor of a city in Kaz Mountains bay area, the discourse of progress and modernity was framed through dichotomies of East and West, being developed and undeveloped. According to former major, who has been active in the anti-mining campaign, the mining dispute in Kaz Mountains is reflective of the political landscape of Turkey, where the clashes between East and West are still in play (Interview IV). As opposed to nationalist discourses, he did not frame the dispute in terms like foreign occupation by declaring that one cannot differentiate an economic investment on xenophobic accounts. Reflective of powerful discourses, his account re-stated the belief in scaling up the mining investments as a part of progress and economic development of Turkey, however he departs from it by drawing attention to the means by which the progress should be promoted. In parallel with his views on egalitarian understanding of development, his account echoes the resource curse to be followed by specializing in resource extraction, and how it would impede with the development of the Kaz Mountains

region, which has other sources development such as eco-tourism, agriculture and forestry products.

As the stories of the local activists unfold, one can notice that the discussions with regards to development aspect of the mining sector are informed from various resources. Some of the activists, who defines themselves as 'life-defenders', articulate the idea of development in relation to the integrity of ecosystem. As argued by this group of activists, if the resources were extracted for pure economic ends, they could not provide means for sustaining region for the future. One can notice how the discourse of environment intermingled with discourses of development cannot be separated from the political processes that frames natural resources as a means for extractive economic development, not as an integrated ecosystem.

In my interview with a local activist, I encountered with a different conception of sustainability that refers to ability to meet the needs of oneself with minimum resort to market (Interview II). One can say that by drawing line between basic necessities as what villagers 'needs' and the 'wants' usurped by artificial desires pertaining to urban, this local activist rejected the idea of progress and modernity promoted by the grand discourses of development. His understanding of self-sustainability was based on the calculation of meeting the essential needs in balance with what you produce. By emphasizing 'small is beautiful', which promotes to live by minimum within confines of what you produce, he couldn't capture the imagination of villagers. During my interviews with this local activist, I realized that this view sounds romantic to villagers, as they wanted to reach to the promises of development and progress not to retain the way they live.

In line with this account, another local activist also raised the problem of decay in traditional forms of production in the villages. By outlining the ways in which traditional

practices could be sustained, she argued for an alternative local development scenario that should be put into practice instead of bringing mining investments. Her account goes as the following:

According to me, local development should be about developing the existing local resources in a better way. Development should address direct income resources to people, environment and women. Actually the natural dynamics of region is suitable for small tourism, local fishing, and agricultural production such as olive and fruits. We do not want villages to turn into Yesilyurt, where villagers do not earn money out of eco-touristic boutique hotels. Today, 90 % of villagers do not go to bazaar, money goes directly to man's pocket, and almost 2/3 of villages are empty because of cultural erosion. If you look at the villages around Kucukkuyu for instance, you can see that villagers begin to ask for social bribe from mining corporations to lay down infrastructure for water and underground canalization. This is a big problem in the mining disputes. They tell us that we cannot deal with mining lobby as the Bergama case shows. I think Bergama is a bad example, because mining companies made villagers to buy trucks and form a cooperative for transportation, therefore all villagers became dependent on mine to pay their loans after. We try to avoid such bad consequences offered by mining sector here from the very beginning.³²

(Interview III)

As she was contesting the social responsibility projects carried out mining companies as a social bribe, she was underlining the dependence economy produced by the mining corporations in Bergama case. Her understanding of local development tries to connect with the needs of villagers by proposing to create alternative cash economies, as she noticed that the social responsibility projects aspire to the development desires of villagers. She articulates local development together with small sustainable projects that also benefits women in the villages. In opposition to the development schemes animated by mining

³² “Bana gore yerel kalkinma mevcut olan yerel kaynaklari daha iyi gelistirmek uzerine olmalı. Kalkinma dedigimiz halkin cebine dogrudan gidebilecek, cevre ve kadin sorunlarini gundeme alan bir mesele olmalı. Esasinda kalkinma icin bolgenin dogal dinamikleri kucuk turizm, yerel balikcilik ve zeytin ve meyve gibi tarim urunlerini yetistirmek icin uygun. Ama biz buradaki koylerin Yesilyurt'taki gibi koylulerin para kazanmadigi eko-turizm yapilan butik otellere de donusmesini de istemiyoruz. Bugun baktigimizda koylulerin %90'i pazara gitmiyor, para dedigin erkegin cebine giriyor dogrudan ve koylerin 2/3'u kulturel erozyon nedeniyle bos. Ornegin normalde devletin yapmasi gereken su ve kanalizasyon gibi seyleri koyluler sosyal rusvet olarak sormaya basliyor. Bu maden tartismasinda epey buyuk bir problem. Bize madencilerle basedemezsiniz dediler. Bergamadakiler bile yapamadi dediler. Fakat bence Bergama yanlis bir ornek cunku orada koylulere kamyonlar aldirip kooperatif kurdusmuslar ve sonra da iyice borclandirilmis koyluler. Madene bagimli hale gelmisler. Biz bu nedenle daha basindan boyle kotu durumlarin olusmasını engellemeye calisiyoruz.” (Interview III).

lobby, she argues that developing existing resources to full extend would be enough for restoring the cultural integrity and embarking on an alternative sustainable development model other than the mining investment promised.

In conclusion, one can notice from the accounts of the local activists that they did not object the idea of development in itself, but to the means by which it is envisioned to be brought to the region with the mining investments. As opposed to analysis of anti-developmentalism outlined in the poststructuralist development theories, local activists articulated mining investments as an improper way to the development, but not of the idea of development itself. Instead local activists used the discourse of alternative development which is articulated together with environment, gender disparity and localism. Despite the different views among the local activists with regards to alternative development scenarios, they try to counter the powerful discourses and fix their own understanding of development in order to garner support from the villagers in the Kaz Mountains region.

Discourses of Nationalism

The martyrs of Canakkale lay down there
Brave soldier gave his life for these lands
How can we tell him about this furious plunder?
The new 'gold rush', these spoilers?

...

Kaz Mountains is to be fallen for tycoon business?
Do these new comers to Ankara go there to sell country?³³

(Ataberk 2007)

³³“Çanakkale şehitleri orada yatıyor
Bu topraklar için can vermiş yiğit asker
Ona nasıl açıklanacak bu gözü dönmüş yağma?
Bu 'altına hücum' lar, bu yeni yağmacılar?

...

Kaz Dağları da şehit düşsün diye mi bu para babalarına?
Vatanı satsınlar diye mi geldiler Ankara'ya bu yeni gelenler?”

(Ataberk 2007)

In this poem of Erdal Ataberk³⁴ with regards to the mining explorations in the Kaz Mountains region is one of the visible form of nationalist discourses that connects the mining with official nationalist ideology. Drawing a parallel with the occupation of homeland after WWI and the mining exploration, the late Ottoman rule and the Turkish government in Ankara, he frames the operations of transnational mining business as a foreign occupation and government as the sellers of homeland. Given the appeal of nationalist discourses in Turkish political landscape, the articulation of nationalism with the occupation of land was crucial discursive strategy which tries to cast the mining operations in a bad light and to garner support for anti-mining cause at national level. In this section, I will inquire into proliferation of nationalist discourses by looking at the connections made through the articulations of local activists involved in the Kaz Mountains conflict.

As discussed previously, the discourses of environmentalism and developmentalism often are connected to the nationalist ones in an effort to garner support for anti-mining causes. The love of nature is often intermingled with love of nation, as what seems natural is always filtered by human construction that lend meaning and moral imperatives to the world that we call as natural (see Cronon 1995). In the discussions with regards to mining investments, one can also notice that some of the articulations of nature living is filtered through nationalist frames, which enable to reflect on natural resources by recalling moral imperatives.

As I elucidated in the previous section, the discourse of development, progress and modernization has profound impacts on nation building process in Turkey. The power of nationalist discourses manifest itself in the discursive practices of the state and mining corporations by declaring those who are against mining as betrayers of country, since they

³⁴ Erdal Ataberk is a columnist for Cumhuriyet gazette. This poem is taken from one of the briefings distributed by the local activists. He wrote extensively on the mining explorations in Kaz Mountains.

do not let Turkey to extract its rich gold reserves that will generate wealth and welfare for the country. By appealing to nationalist governable spaces, pro-mining discursive practices tries to shape the desires of nation of “catching up” by attracting transnational mining investments to Turkey. In response to this particular articulation of nationalism by state and mining corporations, the local opposition tries to secure their own understanding of nationalism by connecting the neoliberalization of mining sector to the colonialist discourses. The poem quoted in the beginning perfectly exemplifies how the idea of scaling up mining investments with global economy was articulated by connecting anti-colonialist and nationalist discourses. By victimizing Kaz Mountains as being plundered by foreign mining corporations, nationalist discourses tries to re-articulate possible colonialist exploitation of country. Similar connections were also made throughout the anti-mining campaign. The following quotation from a call of anti-mining campaign is one of these that has been widely distributed in the local protests:

We follow the great leader Ataturk, who said “Soil of fatherland is sacred, it cannot be left to its destiny”, in our determination to claim our land and country as our civic duty. We are bent on struggling against those cyanide- ridden gold and silver mines and thermal power stations that threatens our bread, air, water and all our living space. By the witnessing of our martyrs laying down in Beautiful Edremit Bay and Biga Peninsula, we will resist to mining with the consciousness of Independence War. In as much as this resistance is about our right to live in a healthy environment, it is also about protecting the independence values of our country. They want to steal Zeus's gold with the Pandora's cyanide poison from Kaz Mountains. They are not going to achieve it!³⁵

(Kaz Mountains Group 2007)

³⁵ “Bizler ‘Vatan topragi kutsaldir, kaderine terkedilemez’ diyen buyuk onder Ataturk'un yol gostericiliginde, topragimiza ve vatanimize sahip cikmaya kararli yurttaslar olarak; ekmegimizi-havamizi-suyumuzu ve tum yasam alanlarimizi tehdit eden ,basta s iyanurlu altin-gumus madenlerine ve termik santrallerine karsi orgutlu olarak sonuna kadar mucadele etmeye kararliyiz. Guzel Edremit Korfezi'nde ve Biga Yarimadasinda “Canakkale'de yatan sehitlerimiz tanikliginda” Kurtulus Savasi bilinci ile direniyoruz, direnecegiz. Bu direnis, saglikli bir cevrede yasama hakkimiz icin oldugu kadar, “ulkemizin tam bagimsizlik degerlerinin korunmasi” acisindan da onemlidir. Kaz Daglarindan “Pandora'nin zehiri Siyanur” ile “Zeus'un altinlarini” calmak istiyorlar. Basaramayacaklar.” (Kaz Dagi Grubu 2007)

The articulation of ethnoscape can be vividly seen in this briefing. Accordingly, the reaction against plundering of nature in Kaz Mountains can be equivalently taken as a reaction to plundering the integrity of nation by exploiting its land, water, air, and the living space. The sacredness of land for nationalist imagination is revived by references to the Independence values, which underlies the narrative of nation-building process in Turkey. That's why protecting environment in Kaz Mountains meant to be protecting independence values, too. One can observe that this particular articulation of nationalism plays with the meaning of the gold to refer to plundering of country, therefore politicizes the discursive space of mining investments by criticizing globalist imaginations of scaling up investments as 'betrayal to country'.

Another striking discursive strategy used in the briefing quoted above is to draw parallels between “occupation of land” in Kaz Mountains by mining companies and the Trojan War. As the Trojan War is mystified by Homer in Iliad, the same physical landscape is mystified once again at discourse level by attacking the Gold Myth revived by globalist conjuring. The articulation of anti-mining protest as the third Trojan War³⁶ is one of appealing discourses filtered through the nationalist frame that connote the attack of foreign gold mining companies in Kaz Mountains. In the eye of protesters, the myth of Zeus commanding Trojan War from Gargara Tepe was analogous to witnessing the occupation by foreign powers in Gallipoli War and recently by multinational gold mining companies. This analogy reflects the uneasy feeling over possible appropriation of gold beneath surface by foreign mining companies, which are portrayed on equal terms with the myth of Spartans in Trojan War and foreign enemies in Gallipoli War so as to refer the occupational aspirations of 'foreigners' and consequent plundering of country. One can

³⁶ Trojan War was also referred by Atatürk, who declared that “I got revenge of Trojan War” in the aftermath of The Great Offensive (Buyuk Taarruz) that marked the end of Independence War by drawing back the Greek army from Anatolia. See also Sinan Meydan, 2006, *Son Truvalilar, Truva Yayinlari*.

observe that protesters in the Kaz Mountains turn the physical landscape into a political one between occupiers and defenders of a country by historicizing battles over region.

Therefore, this discursive strategy animated by a group of protesters in Kaz Mountains provided a national frame to defend the integrity of homeland during the anti-mining campaigning.

On the other hand, another group of local activists differentiate their discourses from these nationalist discourses. During my interview with a local activist, the discourses of the 'defenders of country' came to the table as we discussed about the mining dispute in Kaz Mountains. This local activist told me that "not in my backyard" attitude was pervasive in nationalist wing of anti-mining campaign, sometimes resulted in racist statements (Interview VIII). According to him, the xenophobic nationalist discourses reinforce racism that goes against with idea of nature loving, as he refuses the patriotic reading of nature that forms the basis of ethnoscape. On the contrary, his perception of nature loving requires him to participate in universal values, such as loving anything alive on the earth. That's why, his philosophy of nature loving necessitates to stand against mining on global scale rather than just opposing it in Kaz Mountains region. Consistent with his position, he told me that if we consider ourselves as citizens of world, which is wider in perspective than being citizens of Turkey or Europe, then we should stand against mining (Interview VIII).

During my interview with another local activist, I have been told the story of rat and visitants' family to connote the narrowness of the not-in-my-backyard attitude articulated by nationalist discourses. According to the story, rat family lives in a hole and can only appreciate world according to walls of hole and the small area behind it; whereas, visitants' family can fly over the world and can see things with a wider perspective (Interview VI). By telling the story of rat and visitants family, this local activist agrees with the previous

account on the terms with which the anti-mining campaigning should be carried out. As this activist thinks that the struggle for mining should be global in aspirations by giving examples from indigenous communities of Australia and Africa, villagers of Kaz Mountains should also be able to act locally but with aspirations for global to draw away mining companies (Interview VI).

Despite the differences among the local opposition in embracing nationalism, the appeal of nationalist discourses in the national imagination has been instrumental in articulating the gold mine in a bad light and thus to garner support for anti-mining cause. On the other hand, the appeal of nationalist discourses has also impeded possible collaboration with with the TNANs in publizing the anti-mining cause internationally. The transnational dimension of local resistance was quite weak, as it is acknowledged by one of the local activists, this was mainly because they did not want to be charged with accusations of being involved in an espionage network with foreign NGOs. As I said earlier, the legacy of German foundations case is still valid in the eye of local opposition groups, as they want to avoid any allegations of selling of country which is often implied in the articulations of state and mining corporations. Although these accusations have no solid evidence, they impaired legitimacy of protest groups engaged in anti-mining campaigning. It goes without saying that protest groups in Kaz Mountains also try to avoid any association with any transnational alliance.

Nevertheless, one can still observe how mining corporations engages in exposing the local activists involved in anti-mining in a different light by claiming that they have a secret agenda and even paid for it. Even though it did not reached to national scale like the German Foundations conspiracy in Bergama, similar accusations of activists were done deliberately in the Kaz Mountains case, too. For instance, one of the local activists was

accused of being engaged in an espionage network with Germany, because he had won prize from German Penn Club long before the anti-mining campaign was publicized (Interview III). Another local activist was accused of being paid by Germany, since he owned a jeep, which was alleged to be bought by German Foundations (Interview II). These examples shows that engagement of mining corporations in mining dispute is not only restricted to the legitimate sphere of science, but also they are actively involved in what they call as 'political sphere' by exposing allegedly secret agendas, espionage networks or money transfers between local activists and possible transnational/ulterior bodies so as to appeal to the nationalist discourses that these local activists do not want Turkey to extract its gold on the way to development. Although these accusations does not stop a group of local activists to articulate their causes in accordance with how they think (be it intermingled with nationalist or globalist discourses), it certainly avoids any possible alliance with TNANS so as to internationalize their causes one step further.

Conclusion: The Role of Articulation and Actors in Kaz Mountains Case

The story of the mining conflict in Kaz Mountains region gives us a snapshot of the greater transformation of political, economic and social landscape of Turkey. Together with the liberalization of economy under the military regime in 1980s, and the flourishing of civil society given the banning of political parties during the period has led to a different forms of engagement between state and its citizens. As elucidated in the previous chapter, the mining sector has also been affected by this wave of economic liberalization. This transformation in the economic and political landscape of Turkey has not only led to growing dissent in the public eye, but also provided new venues and terms for contestation. Although the politics of mining has long been associated with the labor politics and the

Left, especially the labor struggles in coal mines of Zonguldak is a prime example of it, one can notice that the new politics of mining investments is predicated on different terms and forms of contestation. Instead of based on the old party politics, the nature of discussion with regards to new mining investments has shifted towards a debate over the economic liberalization of Turkey and new forms of environmental governance. This was also in play in the Kaz Mountains conflict.

Despite the fact that there have been other mining explorations going on in different parts of Turkey, Bergama-Ovacik, Usak-Kisladag and Kaz Mountains gold mining disputes have occupied the national attention since 1990s. As former two mining cases illustrated the initial shift in the terms of contestation with regards to new mining investments, Kaz Mountains case has become a prime example of contestation at the discursive space starting with the exploration period. Acknowledged by the local activists, it has been a surprise even for them to see that it has become a subject of debate at the national level in a short period of time. As I argued throughout this chapter, it is important to note that the bad legacy of the previous mining cases become pivotal in shaping the discursive strategies adopted by all actors involved in the case. Not only state and mining corporations are able to express adjust their discursive practices in the light of previous notorious mining cases, but also the local activists carry over the activism experience to their cause and avoided the unfruitful discursive strategies. In a way, Kaz Mountains mining case has become a re-iterated discursive struggle informed by the previous mining examples in Turkey.

Building upon the concept of articulation outlined in the chapter two, I have shown that the process of boundary-making and connection are key components of articulation of a particular discourse animated by the actors involved in the Kaz Mountains conflict.

Although each actor engaged with the discourses of nature-loving, environment,

development, and nationalism, both the pro and anti-mining side try to secure their understanding of reality by establishing a social, cultural and political connection with the local and national imagination in order to garner support for their cause. In line with the discussions raised in the chapter three, one can infer from this chapter that each actor has engaged creatively with the discursive battle in the Kaz Mountains case by depicting their understanding of mining investments as the proper one. This has important ramifications for the politics of discussing new mining investments in Turkey. As it is shown throughout this chapter, Kaz Mountains case is not a story of powerful state and mining corporations conspiring against powerless local opposition to bring mining investments to region at any cost. In the first place, I have argued that local opposition successfully articulate the mining activities as environmentally destructive and exploitative by establishing connections with the social, cultural and political symbols, therefore they have the power to act strategically by playing with the discursive field. As it become important for state and corporations to secure social license to operate in the local context, the authoritative discourses also went through a transformation by adopting new discourses of sustainability in an effort to respond to the terms of contestation raised by the local opposition.

On the part of powerful discourses, state and mining corporations made the connection between development and gold mining investment by playing with the fictitious value of gold and globalist aspirations to catch up and progress. With regards to the discussions on the environmental impacts of mining activities, they also try to draw a boundary between the scientific understanding of environment and ‘politically-oriented’ environmentalism, according to which former is acclaimed to be superior over the other. By trying to de-politicize the discussions in regards to the new mining investments, mining corporations play a crucial role in calling for ‘independent and capable’ NGOs to monitor

the mining activities. The willingness of the mining corporations operating in the Kaz Mountains to be monitored by NGOs can be interpreted along the eco-disciplinary ordering of relations between economy and environment, as mining corporations tries to disseminate technocratic understanding of civic participation. In this authoritative and seemingly ‘civil’ form of engagement with the mining corporations, there is not possibility of rejecting the operations of a mining investments all together, as the only option is to do the monitoring task. Along these lines, Turkish state also declares itself to be the authoritative body in a more traditional patriarchal way by claiming to have everything under control and dismissing the dissident voices as ‘politically-oriented’.

On the other hand, the proliferation of counter-discourses by the local activists become instrumental in de-constructing the powerful discourses and coming up with an alternative agenda. As it can be inferred from the interviews done with the local activists, the heterogeneity of responses in their framing of the mining dispute underlies the process of articulation as a dynamic process of connection and boundary making. While some of activists partake in the premises of powerful discourses by associating environmental impacts of mining with the sphere of science and technology, yet arguing that state and mining corporations partially represent the findings, another group of activists identify the environment as a political matter by juxtaposing their frame of environmentalism and nature loving to the technocratic understandings of environment strategically. As the lines between powerful and counter discourses sometimes become blurry, it is more difficult to cast the powerful and counter discourses in terms of their underlying assumptions despite the fact they pursue contradictory agendas. One example of this situation is the proliferation of nationalist discourses, with which state, mining corporations and local opposition try to garner support while shaping their discourses. On the part of powerful

discourses, nationalist frames are articulated in a way to cast the mining business as a matter of national sovereignty by declaring the opposition having ulterior motives to impede with the economic development of country. In contrast, local activists refer to nationalist frames to draw parallels between the occupation of country and operation of foreign mining corporations, and declare the government as “sellers” of country that will lead to colonization of its extractive resources. In both of these discursive practices, mutual blaming of each actor can be predicated on the foundational values of Turkey. For both these camps, one can notice referring to nationalist frames can be seen as a strategic discursive move to garner wider public support.

One can also notice from the content of counter discourses that local activists held incompatible agendas and even political views yet were able collaborate in the anti-mining camp. Reminding Tsing’s concept of friction, one can notice flourishing of universalist conceptions of environment and development in conjunction with the romanticized articulations of ‘local’. In opposition to the embodiment of ethno-scapes, which underlines the entanglement of nationalism and environment through the medium of official discourses and foundational values, the proliferation universal and humanist discourses of environment has come into being in the Kaz Mountains as some of the cosmopolitan activists connected their conceptions of environmentalism with the local values.

Articulation of universalist ideals, such as defending life or small is beautiful, has found a connection to the local and become an important discursive strategy for the anti-mining cause. Within this process of articulation, it is important to note the articulations of different versions of environmentalism, developmentalism, and nationalism by the local activists has provided an unexpected medium for connecting with the local, therefore enabled actors to successfully garner support for anti-mining cause.

All in all, this chapter tries to show that the process of articulation is important in understanding the ways in which actors engage with discursive battle over the mining investments in Kaz Mountains. As each actor try to secure their own understanding of reality through different articulations of environmentalism, nature-loving, developmentalism and nationalism, they were able to make social, cultural and political connections with the local. The success of local opposition to garner support for the anti-mining cause can be seen as a consequence of the successful connections drawn through these discursive practices. Engaging in a process of articulation that speaks to the local aspirations has been instrumental for the local opposition to secure the support of local community for anti-mining cause.

As this chapter aim to argue, the process of articulation opens a room for maneuver for agents to act strategically by changing their discourses in an effort to secure their understanding of reality and thus to attract support for their cause. This is politically important, because it shows that agents could have the power to act strategically in opposition to the powerful actors, even if it doesn't show that they have the power to truly contest it. Instead of being overwhelmed by the powerful state and mining corporations, as they know well from Bergama and Kisladag mining investments, local activists in Kaz Mountains also explored the rooms for maneuver and act strategically to garner support for the anti-mining cause in a successful way.

CHAPTER VI

CONCLUSION

As the title of thesis suggest, this study inquire into the politics of discussing the new mining investments in Turkey and the Kaz Mountains region, respectively. Among the questions this study raises, the following questions underlie my exploration of the gold mining disputes in Turkey: What has changed over last two decades in the politics of gold mining investments in Turkey?; What are the terms of contestation in Kaz Mountains case?; What are the role of actors in shaping the discursive field of Kaz Mountains conflict? In order to answer these related questions, I reviewed the structural changes affecting the mining sector in Turkey to depict a broader picture of transformation, which is crucial to understand the discussions raised in the Kaz Mountains case, and then I dwell into the ways in which state, mining corporations and local activists strategically try to shape the public opinion in Kaz Mountains region. As a micro case study of changing relations of economy and politics in Turkey, Kaz Mountains mining conflict reflects the political landscape of environmental conflict at the discursive level.

One obvious answer to first question can be related to the greater transformation of Turkey in terms of politics, economy and social relations. The multiplication of mining investments run by transnational mining corporations together with the liberalization of economy has a profound effect on scaling up the investments with the global economy. In order to capture the national imagination with this globalist conjuring, Turkish state played its part in enabling the neoliberalization of mining sector and managing the public perception vis-à-vis the authoritative forms of environmental governance, which connects the traditional patriarchal understanding of state in assuring the environmental soundness of mining investments and silencing the dissident voices as politically oriented. As it can be

understand from the content of powerful discourses, this strictly economic interpretation coupled with the eco-governmentality framework shapes the geography of new gold mining investments in Turkey.

In the first part of the thesis, I lay out the theoretical framework for my employment of discourse analysis, the concept of articulation and as well as actor-based approach by utilizing from various mining cases across the world. Developing upon the first part, I analyze the politics of discussing mining investments in Turkey and Kaz Mountains for the second part of the thesis. Even though Kaz Mountains case is relatively a recent mining dispute restricted to the exploration period, it is possible to capture the proliferation of discursive struggle between powerful and counter discourses. By analyzing the articulations of the actors involved in the dispute, I have shown that the social, cultural and political connections drawn to appeal to the local imagination is instrumental to garner support for actors' causes.

In the second chapter, I first inquiry into the concept of articulation and its place in my employment of discourse analysis. Developing upon the post-structuralist theories of discourse, I have shown the importance of the concept of articulation as an useful theoretical opening to understand how actors creatively play with the social, cultural and political connections to fix their definition of reality and therefore to garner support for their cause. In the second part of this chapter, I try to apply this theoretical framework to the mining disputes in order to understand how powerful and counter/alternative discourses articulate, and to frame why it is politically important to engage in a contestation with the powerful discourses.

As I inquire into the terms of the powerful and counter discourses in separate sections, I try to show that the boundary making and connection are important elements of

articulation. The interaction between different articulations of mining is crucial in understanding the nature of dispute. One of the major striking features of the powerful discourses in the mining sector over the last two decades is the emergence of eco-governmentality framework, which has been crucial in constructing the environmental superiority of mining corporations at the discursive level. This has become a global trend, as the shift from the old way of ‘mining’ to a more responsible form of ‘minding’ the environmental and social impacts of the mining activities constituted the new paradigm of corporate environmental governance for the global mining sector. The appropriation of authoritative forms of environmental discourses, which manifested in discourses of skillful transformation of nature, greater opportunities for job creation, growth and technological controlled, can be summarized under the new paradigm of “sustainable mining” model. In as much as this new model become a disciplinary model that marked the qualitative transformation of mining sector, it has also tried to divert the appeal of environmentalist critiques in the eye of public by creating the illusion of win-win scenario that reconciled the objectives of economic growth and sustainability.

As I have shown in the same chapter, the eco-governmentality framework is also susceptible to challenges brought by alternative discourses. Similar to other grand discourses like the sustainable development, the discourse of sustainable mining is brought into life on the face of criticisms. To the extent that a particular articulation with regards to mining investments emerges as a powerful discourse and tries to discard other discourses in an authoritative way, the process imagining alternatives become crucial in criticizing constitution of powerful discourses. A brief inquiry to the counter discourses proliferated in mining disputes across different cases has shown that frames like nature loving, developmentalism and nationalism are crucial in contesting the powerful discourses

animated by mining lobby. Yet we need to be careful in analyzing the different articulations of the same frame, like nature loving or developmentalism, which might have been attached with various meanings by the actors using them. As the discussion with regards to constitution of alternative discourses has shown, the connections and boundary making through the process of articulation is important in giving a different twist to the very same frame used by local activists. In as much as various meanings attached to frames used by activists against mining investments can provide a pre-established frame for connection and an unexpected medium in which connection found a local appeal, the ability of social mobilizations to attract diverse social groups depends on success of these frames which appeal to both universal and local values. Using Anna Tsing's concept of friction, I have also shown that the connection between the local and universal is instrumental in formation of collaborative objects in mining disputes, which draws these diverse groups in a common cause even though they might hold separate political agendas.

Even though this thesis does not deal with the question of whether alternative discourses have the power to truly contest the hegemonic ones, it advances the argument that actors could have the power to strategically act by making imaginative connections in the discursive realm so as to garner support for their cause. I argued that this is politically important because it gives an agency to the opposition groups and render them to act strategically, even if it does not necessary give them the power to truly contest or resist hegemonic. Following the findings of this thesis, further research could be carried out to explore truthfulness of this contestation.

To further support this argument, I have utilized from actor-based approach to analyze the role of actors in the mining disputes in the chapter three. By focusing on various actors' framing of mining, I try to map out the their strategies, characteristics and

interests of each actor in order to explore the rooms for maneuver in the discursive field.

This chapter seek to further substantiate theoretical discussions in chapter two by exploring this dynamic process of contestation vis-à-vis the strategies of each actor who try to fix their own definition of reality in an effort to garner support.

As shown in this chapter, each actor has a different connection to the politics of mining investments, and their engagement with the discursive struggle and on the ground practices have been shaped through a mutually re-enforcing process of contestation. When we look at the literature on the role of mining corporations, one can notice that they are influential actors in shaping the discursive space on the ground. Despite the differences in capacity of corporations to carry out promised benefits to the local, they do effectively articulate powerful discourse of sustainable mining across the world. In as much as their ability to shape the terms of contestation is determined by the course of events in the mining sites, it also depends on how they manage the counter discourses by adopting a new environmental governance model that articulates sustainable mining principles. That's why, the success of mining corporations to shape the mining dispute also depends on actions of agents, institutions and technologies that could enable, direct, reverse or block a movement.

As the role of state in the mining conflicts becomes more ambivalent together with the inclusion of new actors in the mining disputes, it is more difficult to retain its traditional role in acclaiming authority and legitimacy over its subjects. One can observe that mining disputes provide important case studies for theorizing changing spatialization of state together with the globalization of economy and transnationalization. In as much as workings of extractive development necessitates territorialization of governmental thought at all scales, state become important actor in interpreting these changes in a way that they can naturalize their authority over emerging issues, such as opening up investments to

international capital, handling environmental problems and so forth. As the authority of state's discursive practices are contested, the ability of state to capture national imagination become more difficult in adhering strategically to counter discourses, such as nationalism, nature loving and developmentalism. One common observation across different cases was that state participates in articulating the powerful discourses of environmentalism in order to re-capture the national imagination in favor of a greater economy together with scaling up mining investments.

On the other hand, framing the community perspectives involved in a mining dispute is a difficult task to do. As important actors of mining conflicts, an inquiry into the constitution of discursive practices employed by local communities suggest that the complexity of agendas filtered through pre-established frames like nature loving, nationalism and the idea of progress and modernity. These frames provide the means for contesting government's attitude towards mining or the operations of mining company therefore break down the authority of state and mining lobby in claiming environmental superiority in the mining disputes. One can observe through the discursive practices employed by local communities that they well versed the implications of powerful discourses of sustainability, development, and so forth. Not only they attribute different meanings to these frames through cultural, political and economic connections they draw, they also underlined the highly political nature of mining investments by acting strategically to counter powerful discourses. However this does not to say that all discursive practices follows same pattern. On the contrary, this section argues that constitution of discursive practices is a dynamic process of becoming that could change over time and space on the face of new alliances or encounters with powerful discourses.

Last but not the least, the role of civil society in shaping the discursive space of

mining disputes also determines the politics of discussing mining investments. As the ambiguity of concept of civil society suggests, one cannot point out in what forms exactly they contribute to the discursive formation of mining dispute. As one strand of theorists of civil society suggests, civil society could help local communities in the form of information sharing, doing pressure groups in support of community struggles. For instance, transnational advocacy networks, such as MineWatch Canada, Mine and Communities and Friends of Earth, target human rights violations and environmental abuses by mining corporations, and as well deconstruct the authority of corporations in claiming environmental superiority. Even though it will be false to assume that they can always alter the course of events on the ground, it is possible to notice that they are crucial actors in publicizing the bad environmental and human rights record of companies, therefore instrumental in urging the mining business to shift towards a new corporate environmental governance model. On the other hand, this broad category includes NGOs, which work for business interests, could disseminate the powerful discourses of corporate sustainability and collaborate with mining companies in monitoring environmental standards or carrying out social development projects, and as well as acting as a mediator between mining corporations and communities; hence they could be visible civil voice of corporate environmentalism. In brief, the role of civil society in shaping mining dispute is an ongoing discussion that pushes civil society theorists to reflect on the nature of civic participation in environmental conflicts.

Following the theoretical discussions, fourth and fifth chapter seek to give an analysis of the contestation in mining disputes in Turkey in general and Kaz Mountains region in particular. Before passing to the case of Kaz Mountains, chapter four lays out the push and pull factors affecting the mining sector over the last two decades, and how state and mining

lobby try to shape the public perception on the face of growing criticism with regards to previous mining conflicts. As it can be noticed from the review of legislative body regulating mining and environment, the globalist conjuring has a strong appeal on the part of Turkish government. Together with the loosening of environmental regulations in order to attract transnational mining companies, creation of favorable business climate and voluntary forms of reporting has underlined the neoliberal environmental governance model in Turkey. One can notice that environmental regulation of mining companies is now subject to terms and reporting done by mining companies in EIAs. Ramifications of these new regulations will be understood when further research shed lights on the practical implications of this new neoliberal environmental governance model in the mining sector. Yet, this research question lies beyond the scope of this thesis, and it can constitute a further research topic following the questions raised in this thesis.

As shown in the fourth chapter, state's attitude towards gold mining dispute can be framed as patriarchic in trying to control the public opinion over the environmental impacts of mining, On the other hand by loosening the regulation of mining sector, state also shows its determination to bring new mining investments to Turkey despite the growing local opposition. Within this new framework of eco-governmentality, fed by powerful discourses of environment, development and progress, state and mining companies collaborate at the discursive level. The engagement of state and mining corporations in this new form of eco-governmentality also tries define the legitimate sphere for discussing mining investments in the name of environment yet for enabling a greater economy. As argued in this chapter, these authoritative discourses animated by state and mining corporations are instrumental in re-articulating the idea of mining in a positive way so as to reverse the impaired public image of mining.

Applying the theoretical framework outlined in chapter two and three, and developing upon the general picture of the mining sector in Turkey as depicted in chapter four, fifth chapter inquiries into the case study of Kaz Mountains mining conflict. By applying discourse analysis in conjunction with the actor-oriented approach to the Kaz Mountains case, I dwell into the terms of discursive struggle over the truthful representations of mining by various actors involved in the conflict. In line with the theoretical discussions raised in chapter two, I have shown that the process of boundary-making and connection are key components of articulation of a particular discourse. Through animating various discourses of nature-loving, environment, development, and nationalism, both the pro and anti-mining side try to establish a social, cultural and political connection with the local and national imagination in order to garner support for their cause. As every actor act strategically to fix their own definition of reality by engaging in a process of articulation, discussing new mining investments becomes highly political.

In line with the discussions raised in the chapter three, I also inquire into the strategies of each actor by looking at how they creatively engage with the discursive battle in the Kaz Mountains case. Accordingly, I have argued that engaging in a process of articulation created a room for maneuver for actors to shape the course of conflict. Instead of assuming that state and mining corporations are hegemonic actors who can powerfully shape the discourses on the ground, I have shown that there is a room for agency for the local opposition, at least to act strategically so as to shape the terms of conflict. As the local activists re-articulate the prospective mining investments with cultural, environmental, economic and social destruction, they were able to garner support for anti-mining cause.

Given that state and mining corporations need to secure a social license to operate, the terms of contestation becomes important in enabling, re-directing or halting of new

mining investments. As the need for re-making the bad image of mining sector occupies the agenda of state and mining corporations in Turkey, the articulation of sustainable mining has been proliferated. As in other mining conflicts across the world and Turkey, the discussions with regards to prospective mining investments in Kaz Mountains has also been shaped by similar concerns raised by mining corporations and state. To respond the criticisms raised by the local opposition in Kaz Mountains, mining corporations articulate the discourse of “sustainability” in an effort to assure the public that their future activities wouldn’t alter the eco-system and livelihood of local communities in a bad way. When confronted with criticisms of environmental degradation by local activists, mining corporations try to fire back the opposition groups by declaring them as “politically oriented”. This discursive strategy entangled with fabricated scenarios of conspiracy casts the local activist as if involved in espionage networks in order is in fact so as to impede with the mineral development of Turkey. Accordingly, the only legitimate form of opposition in this schema of eco-governmentality is reduced to the monitoring work to be run by expertise NGOs. As one can notice mining corporations do not only try to reproduce the discourses of science and expertise in assessing the impacts of mining operations, which is one of the central debates between corporations and activists, but also tries to define authoritatively what should be form of it. In an effort to de-politicize the discussions with regards to mining sector, the boundary drawn between scientific and political can be seen as a crucial discursive strategy to de-politicize the dispute and divert the attention from demands for shutting down the operations to discussing technology and science of mining, which mining lobby feels more comfortable with.

On the other hand, the discursive practices employed by the local activists flourish in response to the representations of mining by the powerful discourses. Local activists do not

only renounce their portrayal as “betrayers” and “politically oriented environmentalists”, but also they re-stated the relation between environment, politics and mining vis-à-vis the dispute over the mining explorations in Kaz Mountains. This doesn't to say that all discourses employed by the local activists were homogenous. As it can be noticed from the interviews with the local activists, discursive practices indicate different understandings of nature loving, environmentalism, developmentalism and nationalism. The diversity of responses given by the local activists, and my analysis of discourses animated through press statements and protest meetings indicates the complexity of agendas held by local groups.

One can see that concept of articulation is especially important to see how local activists perceive anti-mining cause. As the informants asked about opening up a new mining project in Kaz Mountains, the articulations of discourses of nature loving, developmentalism, progress, modernity and nationalism often were entangled with the social, cultural and political symbols that provided a connection to the local. Reflecting with these connections, local activists were able to strategically act to convince the local community to support anti-mining cause. One of most striking observations that come out of the interviews was that these moral and political framework could be articulated to mean things. However, this productive confusion over these frameworks did not result in a separation in the anti-mining cause. On the contrary it provided a common frame for local activists from diverse background to reflect on the impacts of mining to the region, and unified them under the anti-mining cause, which contested the idea of scaling up mining investments with global economy and the means for achieving it.

The story of the mining conflict in Kaz Mountains region can be seen as a reflection of the uneasy feeling over the transformation of the political, economic and social

landscape of Turkey since 1980s. As the interviews with the local activists indicates, the flourishing of civil society initiatives under the anti-politics of military regime in 1980s led to the challenging of efforts from party efforts to newly forms of civic engagement, be it for environmentalist or feminist causes. As the means for old party politics vanished under the military regime, these activists have used these platforms to critically reflect on government's policies. In tandem with the escalation of mining conflict, previous advocacy experience or party affiliations have been instrumental in criticizing new mining investments, greater economic liberalization and new forms of environmental governance in Turkey. These new ways of social organization and protests can also be subject of inquiry for a further research.

Overall, this study raises important questions with regards to the making of global capitalism in the mining sector and its transformation on the face of environmentalist critiques. The extensive review of examples from the gold mining disputes from various parts of the world is meant to generate new research directions for understanding the politics of gold mining disputes in Turkey. Even though this study aim to frame the Kaz Mountain case by inquiring into the terms of discursive battle, it is possible to extend this analysis to other mining cases in Turkey by using the proposed discourse analysis and actor-based approach. As a follow up to this study, further study of mining conflicts, especially those with a longer life span, would also show the possible variations in the nature of discursive battle and the strategic actions of the actors.

APPENDIX A

Interview questions asked to the local activists residing in Kaz Mountain region:

- 1) What does environment connote to you?
- 2) Have you ever engaged in any activity, be it joining to a nature loving club, doing nature excursions, or working as a member of an environmental activist group, prior to the conflict?
- 3) Will you define yourself in these discussions as environmentalist, nature lover or life-defender, as some of the local activists do? Why or why not?
- 4) How did the conflict take place? How did you hear about mining explorations in region?
- 5) How do you become involved with the protests against the prospective mining investments in Kaz Mountains region?
- 6) Did you involve with the local groups organizing against mining investments in Kaz Mountains from the very beginning or joined them later as mining explorations become known?
- 7) Is there a significant change in your perception of environment after the escalation of discussions with regards to mining investments in Kaz Mountains? If so, how?
- 8) How do you perceive the relations between environment and politics? Do you agree with the proposition that discussions with regards to environmental matters should be apolitical?
- 9) How do you perceive the concept of sustainable mining?
- 10) Do you agree with proposition that new mining investment will bring development to Kaz Mountains?

- 11) How do you perceive sustainable development concept? In which ways, other than mining, can this be achievable in Kaz Mountains?
- 12) Do you think country loving and opposing mining investments in Kaz Mountains are related? If so, how?
- 13) How do you perceive nationalist discourses animated by the actors involved in the conflict?

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Interview V- Interview with a villager 05/01/2009

Interview VI- Interview with a local activist 07/01/2009

Interview VII-Interview with a villager 05/01/2009

Interview VIII- Interview with a local activist 08/01/2009

Interview IX- Interview with a local activist 08/01/2009

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