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CERATTEPE: AS AN EXPLANANDUM OF THE COMMON FAITH

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Abstract

New Social Movements (NSMs) has improved and become important day by day especially with anti-globalization movements after 1970's. The motto which has been determined these movements "*another world is possible!*" Old social movements have been focused on only economic benefits, aim to take hold political power, central organized and also consists of one social class members generally (Touraine, 1992: 142-43). The NSMs has been emphasized non-economic characteristics of the life more than economic benefits. The subject of the NSMs is not only members of one social class but also people from different socio-economical levels. The NSMs is based on people who struggle for a common goal. Therewithal the NSMs also involves different resistance areas. Nature and environmental consciousness movements can be exemplified in this context. Especially in the last 30-35 years because of recklessly damaging environments by the favor of neoliberal policies has caused to raise awareness of the NSMs' members. This study aims to investigate the relationship between the NSMs and experiences in Artvin-Cerattepe. The case gives some clues that can be termed as an example of the NSMs.

Keywords: New social movements (NSMs), environment, resistance, Cerattepe, Turkey.

Introduction

Social movements firstly got involved in the field of study of sociology science from the beginning of the 1930's and started to take part in different fields of academy later on. The interest to the social movements has increased day by day following this date. In the beginning, these movements were considered to be integrated with the labor class movement due to the economic conditions and the political conjuncture. The labor class struggle was put in the center of the social movement and the concept of "class" has been the key point of the social movement.

This influence of the labor class struggle on the social movements has caused the Marxist approach outweigh in analyzing the social movements. Therefore, class analysis, objectives and targets of labor class, and the labor struggle itself were considered as the main determinants of the social movements. This labor class oriented perception in the social movements sustained until the end of the 1960s. Student and labor revolts outbroke in 1968, loss of power of the Soviet Union, proliferation of the neoliberal policies and consequently the fact that the labor class faced to losses of their rights have caused the labor class to lose its central position in the social movements gradually (Atvur, 2014: 15-19)

After the 1980s, the labor class-centered social movements left their places to the new social movements which are different than previous ones with regards to organizational forms, demands, objectives, and subjects. The most important feature of such movements is that the associative element is "the identity" instead of "the class". Within this context, these new social movements involved many different groups such as women rights movements, sexual freedom movements, and ecology-environmental movements.

The first part of the study will mention about the historical development of the social movements and the differences between the labor class-centered social movements and the new social movements, and the importance of the environmental movements will be evaluated for their position in the new social movements. The second part will focus on the actions held by the local people of Artvin / Cerattepe in the first months of 2016 against the mining site planned to be operated in the region, under the subject of ecology-environmental movements.

1. Historical Development of Social Movements

To define the social movements in a general framework, these are the collective challenges against elites, authorities, other groups or cultural codes by people with common goals and solidarity in sustained interactions with elites, opponents and authorities (Tarrow, 2011:7). According to the classical sociology, social movements are facts emerging as a response to structural tension, economic crisis, and modernity (Çayır, 1999: 8). The Marxist approach, on the other hand, considers the matter from a different angle and

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defines the social movements as the integrity of challenges provided by the labor class to dominate over the bourgeoisie (Lelandais, 2009: 64). Social movements, in this regard, are the mass movements which aim to interrupt the area under power and try to take the support of different sects of the society.

Social movements are affected by many different factors, the socio-economic and political condition in particular. While the socio-economic and political circumstances may shape such movements, social movements may also shape the current socio-economic and political structure. Furthermore, social movements may change themselves depending on the changing conditions. Indeed, the nature, content, and demands of the social movements of the 1960s are significantly different than the nature, contents, and demands of the "new social movements" which have gained power since 2000s and comprise the basis of the current social movements.

The 1980s, which are considered as a milestone for many fields particularly the economic and social ones, was a period during which changes were also observed for the social movements. Under the influence of many elements; wars dominating the world politics from the 1930s to the end of 1970s, the conflict between the Soviet Union and the USA, applications for the welfare state, the social movements before 1980 were shaped based on the cyclical structure of the period (Offe, 1999: 56-60).

1.1. Social Movements Before 1960

Theories on social movements have developed relatively late and started to exist in the academic studies with the title of "social movements sociology" after the examination of labor movements enhancing since the 1930s as a social fact. Because the first studies in the field are labor movements oriented, the prominent of these studies have shown up among the socialist thinkers trying to form the labor movements (Lelandais, 2009: 63). Historically, social movements based on the analysis of the labor class movement have survived until the end of the 1960s as the movements which are class struggle oriented have emerged from the class movement and the purpose of which is to demolish the available system and to establish a new one. In other words, these are the labor class-centered movements having emerged before 1968, called as "old social movements." Touraine (1981:77) defines these movements as the challenges of labor class' organized collective behaviors against their class opponents for the social supervision of the historical orientation of the incidents. It is, in this context, possible to list the main characteristics of these old social movements as following (Çoban, 2009: 10-21).

- a. Old social movements are not independent of the labor class movement.
- b. The main purpose is to demolish the current system and establish a new one.
- c. Subjects of the old social movements stem from the social layers socio-economically close to each other.
- d. Supra-identity of the movement is "the class". Binding characteristic and power of the movement come from the class it belongs to.
- e. Demands are mainly on the economic basis.

Old social movements based on the class struggle as the supra-identity have indispensably been affected by the wave of change which especially started in the mid of 1960s. This effect was highly enhanced by the collapse of the Soviet Union, survival of the capitalism as the only system and liberalization in the economy. These labor class-centered movements started to go down in a period when the labor class lost many of their rights. According to Touraine (1984: 19), this period is also the funeral march sang for the labor class.

1.2. New Social Movements

It is no wrong to say that the anti-system movements have also transformed after the deep and fast transformation in the world after the 1960s. Student, new left, and civil rights movements of the 1960s; LGBT, environment, women, peace, and human rights movements of 1970 and 1980s; 'global justice movement of 1990s and 2000s have emerged successively and enlarged day by day. These changes observed in the social environment have also caused the emerging reasons, characteristics and targets of the participants, and their type of movements to change. Therefore, social movement types which mainly include identity-based approaches, very different matters and create a non-class based impression at first have come in sight (Demiroğlu, 2014: 134).

Although the loss of power in the labor class affected the social movements at the beginning, later on, the social movements adapted to the changing conditions and transformed into a new form. So that, new social movements away from the class centerline began to come to the fore. After this term, the labor movements started to lose its central position in the social movements sociology and left the place for new social movements. These social movements are the movements which emerged after the transition from industrial society to post-industrial society and involved cultural and identity characteristics (Lelandais, 2009: 65). Particularly, actions of 1968 have a great role in shaping the social movements. The differences emerging in the actions, ideas and organizational forms of the student and labor riots of ends of 60s and

beginning of 70s, women's liberation movements (feminist movements), sexual freedom movements (LGBT movements), ecology-environmental movements (Greenpeace, etc.) of the seventies and peace movements in 80s and the characteristics making them new have shown up both in the quality of information and in the social organization (Sanlı, 2003: 57).

According to Tilly (2008: 88-95), the 19th century was a transformation period from the traditional movements held by community groups to more permanent and more organized movements and actions. Social movements starting with the labor movements in the first terms of the modernity are the ones orienting on economic benefits and where the social class targets to seize the political power. The labor class fighting against the bourgeois and challenging with a historical obligation to result in revolution after the movements has always aimed to take the power and have economic and political rights. Old social movements focused on having an equal basis with the economic ideas and collective individuals, and they were organized by marginal, no-system integrated, poor, irrational actors.

Despite the fact that new social movements include many different structures inside, the general features can be as follows:

- a. New social movements are not class-based, but identity-based.
- b. Organizational forms are more horizontal than the old social movements.
- c. The demands of these movements are mainly cultural and identity based instead of the general economic requests.
- d. The main goal is not to demolish the current system but to solve the issues within the current system.
- e. They include different demands from many different sections.
- f. They easily adapt to the changing conditions.

It is important here to stress that the labor class movement was not isolated in the new social movements. Only that the labor class movement lost its previous central position in the social movements. However, this situation has not reduced the importance of labor class struggle within these movements. Labor class sustains its struggle similarly in line with the new social movements.

1.3. Green Side of the Social Movements Ecology-Environmental Movements

Environmental movements getting more powerful after the 1970s within identity and cultural based social movements have a unique place by touching the conscience of the large masses. With fairly legitimate demands such as protecting the planet we live in and respecting the rights of all other creatures, environmental movements have taken great supports in a very short time. In this regard, the sensitivity to protect the nature highly climbed and the interest of the political parties to the environmental policies, particularly in USA and Europe, increased together with the pressure from the grassroots.

As a characteristic of the new social movements, environmental movements are very diverse. The composition of these movements is very diverse; however the movement's way of defining itself may differ depending on the culture and countries. As stressed out by Castells (2008:221), collective action, politics and discourse collected under environmentalism are so diverse that talking the existence of a movement is almost controversial. However, it appears as a new social movement with no center, multi-form, network-oriented, and expansionist thanks to this characteristic.

Although the environmental movements look very different and independent of each other, Castells (2008:223) reports that the environmental movements consist of five different groups at the root:

- a. *Protection of Nature*: Identity is "the lovers of nature". A fight is put up against the uncontrolled development.
- b. *Protection of the space of his/her own*: Identity is "the local communities". A fight is put up against the polluters of the environment.
- c. *Counterculture/Deep Ecology*: Identity is "the green identity". A fight is put up against the industrialization, patriarchy, and technocracy.
- d. *Save the Planet*: Identity is "the international eco-warriors". The struggle is given against the uncontrolled global development.
- e. *Green Politics*: Identity is "the relevant citizens". A fight is provided against other political views.

The Artvin / Cerattepe actions to be investigated in the next part by the content and scope of the study take place within the "*protection of the space of his/her own*" among these five typologies. People of Cerattepe (local community) have resisted for days to protect the nature from the mining site planned to be constructed in the region. Many factors, from the organizational form of Cerattepe actions to expressions of the participants of the actions, signify that this resistance constitutes a concrete example in the framework of the environmental movements amongst the new social movements.

2. Challenge of Cerattepe for the Green



It is very hard to discuss a matter like Artvin/Cerattepe in this study with all dimensions deeply. Because this has many technical, legal, environmental, sociological aspects as well as the resistance. Probably the most important among others is the "humanity" aspect. However, here we will focus on the "environmental" dimension of the matter.

Cerattepe is a region which has a unique wealth of "fauna" and "flora", the only extension of the Caucasian ecosystem in Turkey, hosts the migration routes of many raptors and many endemic species, is one of the last examples of the old natural forests and mainly based on the tourism incomes. Cerattepe site is very rich in particularly gold and copper as well as the zinc and similar mines both for the reserves and the tenor.

The protests against the operation of a copper mine in Cerattepe have been continuing for more than 20 years. Firstly, the Canadian Company I. Mining Corporation acquired mining license but could not run the mines due to the opposition. This license was then terminated by the order of the court. And Council of State approved the order. Together with the new Law on Mining enforced on 24 June 2010, the Government paved the way for licenses based on bidding for searching for mines in Cerattepe as in other regions of Turkey. This mining site was provided to Cengiz

İnşaat Corporation. The new challenge of Artvin started in 2012 with after the Ministry of Energy, and Natural Resources permitted to the extraction of copper, silver, and gold mines. The Ministry then, following the bidding process, confirmed the "positive" Environmental Impact Assessment [EIA] report for the copper mine in the area. People of Artvin launched a new legal struggle in 2013 following such steps. 283 people gathered under Yeşil Artvin Foundation [Green Artvin Foundation], filed a case in Rize Administrative Court for suspension and cancellation of execution of the positive EIA report. The court ordered the suspension of execution on 20 November 2014. On January 2015, the court ruled the termination of the positive EIA report provided by the Ministry of Environment and Urbanization. The mining corporation submitted the changes on the EIA report to the Ministry again. The Ministry approved the EIA report again with a circular. With the leadership of the Yeşil Artvin Association, a new case was filed in Rize Administrative Court on 8 July 2015 for suspension of the execution and termination of the positive EIA report. This case filed by 761 people and 60 attorneys is "the greatest environment court case of Turkey" until now. The court ruled a new exploration (Radikal, 12.02.2016). The court performed an exploration on the site with a commission of experts on 14 March 2016. The expert report submitted to the court stated that the environmental damages would diminish if the annually estimated 500 thousand tons of ore is extracted through closed cableway method and the risk of landslide would not occur with sub-level caving method. Rize Administrative Court postponed the trial to 19 September 2016 to take the statements of the parties for the last time (Cumhuriyet, 11.07.2016).

2.1. A City Resists

Within the borders of the licensed mining site, there exists "Artvin Caucasian Tourism Protection and Development Region", forestland, areas with tree protection regulations, and the urban areas. Furthermore, the licensed area is 4 km air distance away from the Artvin city center, and approximately 660 m Northwest of the licensed site "Hatila Valley National Park" takes place (Akçagüner, Çetin & Yüce, 2015). Cerattepe has 4 thousand 406 hectares area. This region is one of the 100 natural forests of the world and, because this land is under the danger of mining, 1 million 700 thousand trees are at risk. It is also concerned that the 5 thousand hectare area is the center of Artvin, and the local people will flow towards the Çoruh Valley due to the future mining activities. The forests in the region are considered among the 25 most heavenly areas of the world with the oldest and richest flora (Radikal, 17.02.2016).

The mining site comprises of the previously canceled 205 hectares Cerattepe land and the upper quarters of the city including 4156 hectares Mountain Genya. This region also hosts a significant part of the potable water of Artvin. It is claimed that 30 football stadium size four cyanide ponds at the top of Artvin would poison all water resources including the potable water of the locals or these sources would be used by the company (Radikal, 28.02.2016). "Derelerin Kardeşliği Platformu", "Yeşil Artvin Association" and many other NGOs have been resisting against the mining licenses in the region with their actions and legal cases for long years.

2.2. Protection of Cerattepe in its Space

This title was no doubt given to attract attention whether the resistance in Cerattepe inspired from M. Castell corresponds to a group within the new social movements concept. As detailed in the above conceptual framework, new social movements could present a structure which is identity-based, more horizontal, cultural, with a feature to solve the issues, includes representatives from far away classes, and easily adapts to the changing conditions. "Protection of the space of his/her own," one of the main perspectives in this field, defines the challenge and resistance demonstrated by the local community against the polluters and damages of the environment. Therefore, this section will focus on how parallel the relevant group/community is with the perspective stressed out by Castells.

Protection of the space of his/her own, mobilization of the local communities "to defend their areas" against the enlargement of the undesired usages, is the fastest growing type of the environmental movement. This is also the best way to establish the direct relation between the concerns of the people on their close environment and the well-rounded matters on the destruction of the environment. Castells (2008: 223) signifies this new perspective in his book with many examples particularly experienced in the USA beginning from the 1970s. Some of these incidents were regarding the challenges against the toxic wastes, and he introduced the motto "not in my backyard!" at the time. It was stressed that the number of NGOs organized against the toxic wastes climbed to 4600 from 600 only within four years (1984-88). Furthermore, this movement took the support of many social sections and made a call on the enlargement of the local democracy and being "fair" on sharing loads of urban planning and urban/industrial development. This type of movement, with no doubt, has made it available that the state can be accountable to the public, and it should ensure the welfare of the most disadvantageous/vulnerable groups and minimize their concerns (Castells, 2008: 224-6).

For Cerattepe on the other hand, the main focus of resistance here is the "mine". This challenge has been continuing for 20 years. Following the long years of mining searches on the site, works started now to produce the determined reserves of relevant minerals. These operations which were planned to be performed by the private sector faced the objections of the local people. Those, claiming that their living spaces will seriously and irreversibly be affected, and certain hazards will come out, intervene these activities legally and de facto.



A photo from the Cerattepe resistance

Many Artvin habitants opposing the mine are scared of the possible environmental hazards of the mine. The possible mining activity prepared for Cerattepe means cutting at least 50.300 trees if the underground mining operation plan prepared by the relevant Corporation is followed. However, this Corporation did not only apply to the underground mining operation but also applied for the surface mining of the gold mine in the upper zone. Surface mining means removing the ground layer covering the underground mines and therefore it signifies cutting off more than 50.300 trees firstly presumed. Another result of the surface mining will be the negative effects of the flying construction wastes to the forestlands which will certainly cause pollination problems (Akçagüner, Çetin & Yüce, 2015).

Operating golden and copper mines in Cerattepe are not matter to be only limited to cutting off the trees. Many local people of Artvin are afraid that the cyanide to be used in the processing of gold mine will be discharged to the streams around Artvin and the underground water, therefore will poison their potable waters. Many water resources around the mining site, and their connection to the potable water of Artvin form the basis of such great concerns. Additionally, the risk of landslide in the mining area is another matter of concern. Again, the report of TMMOB (Union of Chambers of Turkish Engineers and Architects) shows old and new mass movements in the project area. Natural deposits and rock fall, as well as the surface flows, are also common in the Cerattepe and Hatipoğlu region, a landslide site. This condition is worrying for the fact that it may increase the risk of labor accidents (Akçagüner, Çetin & Yüce, 2015).

Making evaluations on the matter, Chairman of the Yeşil Artvin Association Karahan stated that the whole Turkey will be watching the court hearing on 19 September 2016 and said that "We all know that the law will rule for this 20 years long story the correct order as it happened in previous decisions. We have two previous court decisions in our favor. These ordered 'mining cannot be realized, selection of place is wrong!' (Cumhuriyet, 11.07.2016). Cerattepe people point out that mining operation should not be here and in the case, this operation starts Artvin will not be a location of residence.



A photo from the Cerattepe resistance

Kaymaz (2016) considers Cerattepe in one of his articles as a haunt of the *class* struggle in the framework of the peripheral view of the neoliberal hegemony in Turkey. Putting Cerattepe in the class analysis, Kaymaz also brings a new approach to the identity-based aspect of the new social movements besides their class based characteristics. Accordingly, the potential of Artvin people to establish a counter-hegemony against the neoliberal hegemony project of the state and capital alliance produces a class-oriented characteristic. Kaymaz claims that Cerattepe resistance is not merely an "ecological movement" being challenged on the legal legs, but this movement is also "a local proletarian movement." The universal aspect of this resistance is its position before the neoliberal project, a strategy of the exploitation mechanism in the world. The domestic dimension of the relevant movement has two aspects. It is, on one hand, subjective as a part of the country's freedom and, on the other hand, a local resistance against the global capitalism and globalization as seen in many other ecological struggles of our day.

Cerattepe people are involved in the title protection of the space of his/her own by Castells based on the above-listed motives. In fact, this movement has similarities with the motto "*not in my backyard!*" and the local community/public have put a real "standing" against the future environmental damages probable to be caused by the relevant mining activities in their livelihood, in Cerattepe as their space. Furthermore, support of many Artvin people from different ideological layers, ages and occupation groups¹. To this resistance signifies that this resistance can be considered under the new social movement.

Conclusion

Understanding that industrialization causes certain damage on the natural life has brought about a movement of reaction in the social life. New social movements having developed on the legs of the opponent movement introduced by the students after the end of the 1960s and the main purpose of which has been preventing the pollution of the environment have contributed a lot to the settlement of environmental values in the Western society. The idea of protecting the environment has found a wide ground in the West thanks to their "society stimulant" activities of the environmental new social movements. Similar developments as in the new social movements of the West are also observed in the developing countries. Citizens sometimes face to local governments, central administrations, various private corporations or public institutions with the purpose of protecting the environmental values. New environmental, social movements having developed in Bergama, Aliğa, and Gökova in Turkey are considered as the activities organized by the citizens to raise awareness of the public on the concerns of probable disturbance of the natural balance (Kılıç, 2002: 94).

¹Artvin has been resisting for 20 years, particularly for the last five years, regardless of young, old, woman, tradesman, political party member, or politics. This resistance has a wide ground because it is sincere and not ideology-based. In fact, this ground is distinct under the "claimants" column of the cases filed and accomplished against the Corporation. Within these 178 people and establishments, there are members of Artvin Village Governors Association, Freedom and Solidarity Party, Chamber of Tradesmen and Craftsmen, CHP, Association of Convenience Stores, Community Houses, Artvin Association of Mentally Handicapped, MHİP, Artvin Chamber of Textile and Craftsmen (Aslan, 2016; www.millicografya.com, 20.02.2016). These groups maybe have an only ideology. And this is the resistance ideology against the cheap developmental plunder economy which, with no doubt, thinks of converting any mountain, stone, stream in Turkey into a meta and making a profit.

These environmental movements cannot be approached differently than the new social movements. These ecological movements ensure a structure which can easily adapt, hot many different demands of many different sections and is based on culture and identity. Aside from some exceptions, it is clear that these movements are not class based, but identity oriented².

This paper evaluates the Cerattepe example under environmental movements on new social movements. This struggle which has been sustained for twenty years in this region has a potential to convert into a political program which has been exposed to the commoditization of urban and environmental common purposes in the historical conditions of Turkey's capitalism and connected to all structures where the labor exploitation is high. The history of Cerattepe resistance is the history of neoliberal projects having been prepared by the state-capital alliance and of those who have not agreed on these projects. Cerattepe resistance is a political and new social movement directly linked to the structure trying to sustain the primitive accumulation process and those resisting it. Political characteristic of the resistance is clear from the experienced process.

Among those opposing the operation of the mines in Cerattepe, there are people, other than those from Artvin, from different age and profession groups, coming from various parts of Black Sea Region. This situation shows that Cerattepe case can be considered under the new social movements. Furthermore, as Castells points out, Cerattepe can be approached under the title of protecting the space of his/her own. Cerattepe is a resistance where the local community/people has been acting (for more than 20 years) "to defense their areas". This characteristic of Cerattepe puts forward the fastest growing perspective of the environmental movement.

Instead of removing the current system, one of the main goals of new social movements, solving the issues within the current system can also be seen in the Cerattepe case. In this regard, all legitimate ways are utilized in the legal framework. It is a fact beyond dispute that the struggle in Cerattepe or local defensive actions is one of the primary elements of a wider scope environmental movement.

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²Kaymaz (2016) considers what happened in Cerattepe as a part of the class struggle beyond the in-system ecology opposition.