

Finally, they create an *esprit de corps* among participants. In addition to the mentioned functions, the rhizomatic nature of a movement network enables interaction between the actors, and contributes to communicative action that nourishes dialogues which challenge existing power relations and ideologies. In this context, the wealth of a network to a great extent dictates the outcomes of a movement.

The specific set of linkages possessed by the actors in a network is substantial to the mobilization of a movement, whereby shared meanings provide clues on the extent of collective action. The networked sphere, formed around the interrelations of movement actors, offers an alternative platform for engaged citizens to cooperate, provide observations, and offer opinions (Benkler, 2007: 177). While allowing those citizens to organize for political action, the networked sphere sets the preconditions for the emergence of *mobilization potential*, a concept which refers to those in a society taking a positive stand toward a particular social movement, and therefore with the potential to be mobilized (Klandermans & Oegema, 1987: 519). While mobilization potential depends on macrostructural factors, framing allows individuals and groups to develop meaningful interpretations of relevant issues.

A successful mobilization begins with a *mobilization potential* which, in turn, depends on macrostructural factors such as demographic and ideological variables. These factors predispose individuals and social groups toward the means and goals of mobilization. The transformation of these objectively given dispositions into subjectively perceived definitions of problems presupposes collective actors with resources and access to networks who can reach the 'available' mobilization potential and offer meaningful interpretations of the issues at stake (Gerhards & Rucht, 1992: 555-556, emphasis added).

Mobilization allows for the confrontation of individual actors and SMOs in a movement network, and their interaction builds potential relationships in which meanings define a common ground for engagement. During this process, *frame bridging* enables the merging of ideologically congruent frames, even among otherwise unconnected actors, and serves as a key process in coalition-building, involving the diffusion of ideological content through the establishment of new ties among actors (Krinsky & Crossley, 2014: 4). Accordingly, frames act as a bridge between diverse actors, mediate the direction of ties, and consequently shape the overall network. Considering the impact of diversity upon the construction of meanings for the achievement of collective action, this study conducts social network analysis (SNA) to construct a relational map of actors, and explores the frames emerging in online connections in order to illustrate the patterns of collective action. It develops a conceptual framework for the analysis of social movement networks based on the assessment of the environmental protest at İztuzu.

Environmental problems are socially constructed claims which are defined through collective processes, and they can be defined by developing shared meanings and interpretations of the issues (Taylor, 2000: 509). In environmental movements, a wide range of grievances serve as the focal points around which mobilization is organized, as in any other type of movement. However, environmental movements differ in the kinds of concern they voice, the priority they attach to environmental issues, and the forms of action they are prepared to take in expression of their environmental concerns (Rootes, 1997: 320). Although environmental movements appear to be bounded by ecological concerns, the context of these movements usually expands to include sociopolitical aspects subordinate to governmental policies. In this sense, environmental movements are concerned not only with the environmental issues and ecology, but also with political decisions, economic policies, social justice, and distribution of power. The relation of environmental movements to such issues can be explained with reference to the concept of *environmental justice*, which has emerged as a prominent aspect of the national dialogue over citizen empowerment and the environment (Čapek, 1993, 5). Built around a notion of rights constructed in part by the actions and rhetoric of previous social justice movements (1993: 8), environmental justice has an extensive coverage, but not all the references of a particular movement can be encapsulated within this concept. Therefore, analysis on networks may reveal further insight into a movement characterizing other possible frames which accompany environmental justice.

## 2. A DESCRIPTIVE ACCOUNT OF THE İZTUZU PROTEST

Located on the southwestern coast of Anatolia, the 4.5 km long İztuzu beach is a narrow spit of land, which forms a natural barrier between the delta of the Dalyan River and the Mediterranean Sea. It is a crucially important breeding ground for the endangered loggerhead turtles (aka *caretta caretta*), and for this reason, is considered as a part of the Köyceğiz-Dalyan Special Environmental Protection Area. Favored by both local and foreign tourists, the region is one of the most popular holiday destinations in Turkey, although strict regulations apply on the use of the beach in areas where there are touristic facilities.

During the period between 1998 and 2014, the touristic beach facilities were administered by the Dalyan Municipality. However, regarding the Act No. 6360, the area covered by the authority of metropolitan municipalities was expanded to include their provinces as a whole, and Dalyan Municipality was merged to Ortaca Municipality. The Dalyan beaches and the associated tourist areas and facilities are therefore currently run by Ortaca Municipality. Shortly after the local elections of 2014, the Ministry of Environment and Urban Planning founded the organization MUÇEV under the control of the local authorities, and this public enterprise then transferred its authority over the beach to a private company, DALÇEV, established only two days before the tender.

The locals prevented the DALÇEV company staff, headed by its president Ramazan Oruç, from entering the beach towards midnight on 29 December 2014. Following this attempt, they started a round-the-clock watch. The resistance spread as environmental activists joined the protest to denounce the privatization of the protected İztuzu beach. Social media platforms, particularly Twitter, were excessively used during the period, and four online petition campaigns were started. The protest lasted for 11 days, until a temporary injunction was granted.

İztuzu beach had previously been subject to environmental protests. A number of EMOs and locals launched a campaign against the establishment of a grand resort hotel in 1987. Later, environmental activists objected when the Sea Turtle Research, Rescue and Rehabilitation Center (DEKAMER), part of Pamukkale University, proposed to build new facilities on the beach. Indeed, Save İztuzu Beach Platform (İKUP) was founded in 2013 with the aim of opposing the development plans and related legislations proposed by DEKAMER.

## 3. METHODOLOGY

Focusing on the İztuzu protest, this study explores the relationship between movement's frames and actors. It reveals the connections among the participants sustaining the protest, and conducts a combination of quantitative and qualitative methodologies to concentrate on their approaches to the specific issues that emerged during the event. Quantitative methods were used to identify the positioning of actors in the network, while qualitative methods were used to reveal the framing of issues. The aim was to elaborate on the actors' activities that enabled collective action and associate them with the framing of the movement. In order to achieve this, interactions were analyzed, which served to build up a map of meanings among a wide variety of actors with different orientations including SMOs, media, political figures, and activists. At this point, SNA was conducted on Twitter, since network-analytic approaches in social movement studies invite the observer to look below the official stories and representations of movements and their activists (Krinsky & Crossley, 2014: 1). Then framing analysis was employed to reveal and understand the motivations behind the protest. Patterns of collective action were tracked both in the frames and activities of movement actors.

Network analysis has long been an important aspect in the studies of social movements, but in recent years, it has gained a new fundamental importance in the field (Barassi, 2013: 48) due to the diversity of new social movements, and the emergence of the tools used to analyze them. In this sense, network analysis is still effective in revealing the actors in a social movement, however the graph theoretic and/or statistical methods of SNA capture only one aspect of networks and their significance, failing to engage sufficiently with issues of meaning and identity, and thereby necessitating use of qualitative methods to create a mixed-method strategy (Krinsky & Crossley, 2014: 3). While the links in a network are evidence for networking, they cannot specify