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CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE, REPRESENTATION, CLIMATE MOVEMENTS

POZITIF IMPACT OF NON-VIOLENT CLIMATE MOVEMENTS

(#Extinction Rebellion)

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SİVİL İTAATSİZLİK, TEMSİLİYET, İKLİM HAREKETLERİ, ŞİDDETSİZ İKLİM HAREKETLERİNİN POZİTİF ETKİSİ
(#YOKOLUŞİSYANI)

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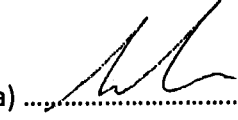
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- 2) CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE
- 3) DEEP ECOLOGY
- 4) EXTINCTION REBELLION
- 5) SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT GOALS

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- 1) İKLİM KRİZİ
- 2) SİVİL İTAATSİZLİK
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ABSTRACT

As whole world and living species, we are in the border of the threat of an impending climate crisis and the destruction wrought by global warming. The global warming that we have experienced is directly linked to the increase in CO₂ and other greenhouses gases emitted as a result of human activity. Given inadequate efforts of maintaining existing levels of global emissions, it can be thought that the claim of the 6th extinction, which scientific data points out, is not taken seriously. In addition to this we are in a crisis of neoliberalism, where is being distorted of scientific data with political worries. Although ecological thinking and actions based on scientific evidence are strongly growing on global warming. It is also framed by also political discourses that refer to denial of climate change. One of the causes of the increasing level of global warming around the world is the unchanging metabolism of development economy; beside stunningly little has been done to change global trends of production and consumption. When the reality of the climate crisis combined with the lack of cooperation of governments in the world about concrete global emissions reductions has been responsible in part for the significant rise in the appearance of civil disobedience movements against climate change. The purpose of this study is to investigate whether civil disobedience movements have a positive effect on the actions of decision-makers within the scope of SDG's.

Keywords: Climate crisis, hegemony, Extinction Rebellion, civil disobedience movements, sustainable development goals, collective action, deep ecology, ecological responsibility and sustainability, nonviolent direct action, representation crisis.

ÖZET

Tüm dünya ve canlı türler olarak, yaklaşmakta olan bir iklim krizi ve küresel ısınmanın yarattığı yıkım tehdidi sınırındayız. Yaşadığımız küresel ısınma, doğrudan insan aktivitesinin bir sonucu olarak salınan CO2 ve diğer sera gazlarındaki artışla bağlantılıdır. Mevcut küresel emisyon seviyelerini korumaya yönelik yetersiz çabalar göz önüne alındığında, bilimsel verilerin dikkat çektiği 6. yok olma iddiasının ciddiye alınmadığı, buna ek olarak, bilimsel verilerden politik kaygılarla çarpıtıldığı bir neoliberalizm krizi içinde olduğumuz düşünülebilir. Her ne kadar küresel ısınma ile ilgili ekolojik düşünce ve bilimsel kanıtlara dayalı veriler artsa da, aynı zamanda iklim değişikliğinin reddedilmesine atıfta bulunan siyasi söylemlerin varlığı da inkar edilemez. Dünya genelinde artan küresel ısınmanın nedenlerinden biri, kalkınma ekonomisinin değişmeyen metabolizmasıdır, bu çalışmada küresel üretim ve tüketim trendlerini değiştirmek için çok az şey yapıldığı iddiası hakimdir. İklim krizinin gerçekliği, dünyadaki hükümetlerin somut küresel emisyon azaltımları konusunda işbirliği eksikliği ile birleştiğinde, kısmen iklim değişikliğine karşı sivil itaatsizlik hareketlerinin ortaya çıkmasındaki önemli artıştan sorumlu olmuştur. Bu çalışmanın amacı, sivil itaatsizlik hareketlerinin SKH kapsamındaki karar vericilerin eylemleri üzerinde olumlu bir etkisi olup olmadığını araştırmaktır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: İklim krizi, hegemonya, Yokoluş İsyanı, sivil itaatsizlik hareketleri, sürdürülebilir kalkınma hedefleri, kolektif eylem, derin ekoloji, ekolojik sorumluluk ve sürdürülebilirlik, şiddet içermeyen doğrudan eylem, temsil krizi.

INTRODUCTION & RESEARCH QUESTION

Climate change has become an important topic that has to be considered globally as the need of urgent and effective action increases. The level of CO₂ emission are raising and countries are far from reaching their commitment to reduce carbon emission at the COP21 Paris meeting (2015). “Visible evidence and climbing numbers demonstrate that climate change is not a distant or imaginary threat, but rather a growing and undeniable reality.” (Schwartz, 2018) Nations, societies, NGO’s, businesses, administrative units must be agreed on a common agenda about the reality of climate crisis and put pressure on the governments and decision makers for taking strong actions about climate change. In the context of global ecological crisis, this study argues that the increase of climate crisis causes based on the logic inherent to the capitalist mode of production. The continuously pumped consumption with capitalist growth policy approaches feeds the wild production policies. The resources on earth and the ownership of nature are the subjects of an intense struggle. The adoption of policies and faulty development models that allow the culture and nature to be destroyed by multinational companies under the name of free trade, innovation, development, structural incentive and adaptation programs have caused environmental and social costs globally. The effects of pollution are driven by economic growth in some parts of the world are now driving millions of people into poverty elsewhere.(Forum, 2009) While everyone around the world feels the effects of climate change, the most vulnerable ones are people living in the world’s poorest countries. “Increasingly unpredictable weather patterns, shifting seasons and natural disasters disproportionately threaten these populations, increasing their risk and their dependency on humanitarian aid.”(Schwartz, 2018)

In October 2018 the IPCC issued a special report on the impacts of global warming of 1.5°C, finding that limiting global warming to 1.5°C would require rapid, far-reaching and unprecedented changes in all aspects of society. With clear benefits to people and natural ecosystems, the report found that limiting global warming to 1.5°C compared to 2°C could go hand in hand with ensuring a more sustainable and equitable society. While previous estimates focused on estimating the damage if average temperatures were to rise by 2°C, this report shows that many of the adverse impacts of climate change will come at the 1.5°C mark. The report finds that limiting global warming to 1.5°C would require “rapid and far-reaching” transitions in land, energy, industry, buildings, transport and cities. Global net human-caused emissions of carbon dioxide (CO₂) would need to fall by about 45 percent from 2010 levels by 2030, reaching ‘net zero’ around 2050. This means that any remaining emissions would need to be balanced by removing CO₂ from the air. (“Climate Change,” 2016).

The core dispute in the current conflict is concerned with what status carbon emission should be according to the country basis. Within the scope of growth targets in developing countries, they expect developed countries to take the responsibility for reducing carbon emission. Due to the industrial revolution, the carbon emission rate of developed countries is higher than the rest of the countries in the world. But it is also a fact that the climate crisis is the major issue facing the world’s peoples. The impacts of climate change affect every country on every continent. For this reason, it is more urgent for each country to act within the framework of zero carbon targets and to meet common needs. In this regard, it is important to clarify the sources of motivation that determine the country's targets of reducing carbon emissions.

Therefore, the aim of this study is to explore how civil disobedience movements and climate activists linked resistance experiences and their identities with the climate awareness campaign. It examines the relationship between activist movements and increased climate awareness. In so far as a coherent argument, it directs, justifies and coordinates the chapters that follow, it fosters a public awareness about the climate change, pollutions and biodiversity loss and also seeks to realize a broadening of social empowerments in decision – making processes. That empowerment was derived from the recognition that the need of increasing the knowledge of public regarding awareness of the scientifically accepted climate crisis and questioning the information that are usually manipulated by politicians and international companies. For example, Turkey is responsible for 0.7% of total global emissions since the industrial revolution. Considering that the contribution of the United States of America is 16%, (“Each Country’s Share of CO2 Emissions,” n.d.) this percentage can be underestimated. These differences in carbon footprint rates reinforce the tendency of some developing country countries to continue their industrialization activities within the scope of local political interests and targeted development plans. It is a fact that developed countries have high carbon dioxide emissions per capita. Therefore, it is of course an inevitable need to expect developed countries to provide an emission reduction in proportion to their contributions. However, the relatively low contribution of some developing countries to global carbon emissions and their investments focusing on existing industrial breakthroughs and polluted energy sources instead of renewable energy sources cause the increase rate of carbon dioxide emissions. These unequal contributions to the climate crisis and the refusal of countries to take the necessary responsibility for the solution are at the core of their challenges to finding effective and fair solutions to global warming.

On the other hand, scientific studies show, women are more likely than men to be affected by climate change. UN figures indicate that 80% of people displaced by climate change are women. Climate change-related disasters (droughts, floods) make them more vulnerable due to the fact that primary care and nutrition are a role attributed to women by culturally. It is not just women in rural areas who are affected. Globally, women are more likely to experience poverty, and to have less socioeconomic power than men.

Given the economic, social, cultural and political atmosphere, people felt the need to identify methods to express themselves directly about the climate change in which they were affected. One of the aims of this study is to try to understand comparatively the movements that are made to create social pressure to primarily to their governments and to the decision makers in the international platform, for the urgent actions needed in the face of the current climate crisis. It will examine the use of non-violent disobedience actions with the aim of opposing mass protests, resisting repressive power, and finally ensuring satisfactory and radical sanctions by the people who think that the actions of private capital and the policies of world governments are leading the world to an irreversible extinction. Infrastructure need for the emergence of such an election will be discussed in the context of “hegemony” and “representation crises” with an ethnographic and theoretical approach. Another purpose is to understand for the dynamics of the creation of social networks, the hegemonic structure that initiates social movements and the boundaries of cultural identities.

Let us, now, start with discussing what climate crisis is and review the literature to appreciate why urgent actions are needed. Afterwards, the concept of civil disobedience and its determinants within the Extinction Rebellion movement will be discussed. To do so, I will be investigating the structure of the international

organization and the indicators of common principles in local. While assessing the concept, we will debate the indicators of final achievements of environmental movements.

CHAPTER 1

NATURE KNOWS THE BEST

A. As a form of Guide, Principles of Deep Ecology

Etymologically the word "ecosophy" combines oikos and sophia, household and wisdom. As in 'ecology', "eco-", has an appreciably broader meaning than the immediate family, household and community. 'Earth household' is closer to the mark. So an ecosophy becomes a philosophical world-view or system inspired by the conditions of life in the ecosphere. (*Climate change: Migration as adaptation*, n.d.) Ecology is defined in international resources as "the study that examines how organisms interact with one another and with their physical environment. ("What is ecology?," n.d.) Ecology is concerned with biodiversity, distribution of living things on the earth, mobility of population, cooperation and competition between species. Ecosystems contain non-living components, which may also be referred to as abiotic or inorganic components. (Harris, 2017) As it is understood from the definition, ecology is considered as a whole of living and non-living elements. When in a lecture, we were asked to think about what needs to be done to ensure the survival of the planet in terms of existentially and what are the effects of human being on other species of other living things. As the outcome of the discussion, we came to the conclusion that it is necessary to give up the forms of thinking by putting the human on the center and to treat the planet with all its components from an existential point of view. Later on while researching the relation between climate crisis and the reasons, I came across the concept of "deep ecology"¹ and had the opportunity to examine the destruction of

¹ Norwegian philosopher Arne Naess introduced the phrase "Deep Ecology" to environmental literature.

human-based effects on the entire ecological system, as well as to discover the policies that put the human impact on a highly passive basis. It has led me to conclusion that ongoing destruction of nature is caused by the perspectives that acknowledge the human being as a master of nature, by the policies ignoring the right of life of all other living things and finally by the views which consider all other elements of nature (like rivers, mountains, forests, fossils, atmosphere... etc.) as merely a source instead of alive. Unless we turn the critique of the existing world system regarding the threat of climate to a search for a better society, the pursuit to protect the integrity of the environment is irrelevant and ineffective. Beside this, without questioning the current system in different fields; such as production and consumption habits, we cannot solve the relationship between living being and matter, economy and culture.

Climate change is not only containing a serious future threat, but also the address a major cultural crisis. One of the reasons behind the cultural crisis is the pre-acceptance based on monotype development model. In other words, focusing on a development model derived from industrialized economies, and assuming on the West's model of progress is possible for all the reasons that cannot satisfy our carbon emission targets. It is easy to say that there is a created perception that the economic models that consider development as "prosperity for all", methods of identifying humanitarian needs, and growth are equated with the concept of Westernization. The economic models exalted in the context of industrialization and capitalist growth is attempted to be modeled in third world countries, leading to the emergence of postmodern colonialism. This has led to the permanent invasion and destruction of the natural economy of the countries that have become dependent on developed countries and international establishment through the transfer of funds considered in the context of humanitarian aid. The growth policies of the West expected to be adopted by the

economies of self-sufficient countries considered as underdeveloped. As eco-feminists have often expressed, the commodification of self-sufficient seed in nature by hybrid technology, in other words, the positioning of the keystone of the agricultural economy as a procurable resource, has ensured the continuity of the old colonial links.(Shiva & Mies, 2018)

It is the profit maximization and capital accumulation that determine the use of natural resources in market economies. The ideology of development requires that natural resources are introduced into the market economy for material production in a sense. However, this approach does not take into account the cost to be transferred to next generations and its impact over the nature and species. The use of natural resources within the capitalist economic models imposed by the funders rather than a local economic model appropriate for the regional needs creates new forms of poverty.

The poor societies who make a living with agriculture, fishery and tourism are naturally more affected by climate change, due to the fact that they are living in geographically a climatic region where less developed countries are located. Rising temperatures, changing rainfall patterns, floods, droughts and other weather-related disasters destroy crops and weaken or kill livestock. (Forum, 2009) The most powerful consequences of climate change are based on rising temperatures. Reduced amount of arable land due to water scarcity endangers food safety. Worsening environmental conditions combined with financial instability by creating a chain reaction may force populations to migrate. It is thought that migration due to climate change will soon become a serious problem for developed countries. Considering the share of the carbon footprint created by countries, the wave of migration is directly related to climate justice. The increase in average temperature, drought, flood disasters due to climate change will have serious impacts on water supply, crop production, health and

economic growth in communities will be more affected in some parts of the world than others. The first reaction of the disadvantaged people living in these regions would be trying to adapt to these events and their impacts by the way of migration. In both the ancient and more recent history of human civilizations, examples abound in which people responded to extreme weather conditions by moving out of one region and into another.(Romm, 2011) It is important to deepen understanding of how migration will affect other types of social change, such as the evolution of cities, the formation of 'poverty traps' and the coexistence of cultures. Current policy frameworks should take account of these factors to avoid having to deal later with impoverishment and displacement under high-risk conditions.(Black, Bennet, Thomas, & Beddigton, 2011) Climate change can significantly increase the tensions especially among the people who live in the poor countries in the world, by increasing competition over resources. Undoubtedly, the direction of migration will be toward the developed countries. This situation may spread the tension to other countries that attract on wave of migration by overcrowding. With migration, the possibility of a dramatic change in the demographic structures, wealth status and resource reserves of the receiving countries might appear. We are in a period where the walls made for protection in the past have been re-trend despite the advanced technology. "In spite of the antiimmigration rhetoric of policymakers, there is little evidence that walls are effective in reducing terrorism, migration, and smuggling."(Vernon & Zimmermann, n.d.)

In 1984, Arne Naess and George Sessions published Basic Principles of Deep Ecology in order to support the concern about global warming and destruction of cultural and biological diversity. This study, inspired by Naess' principles, aims to investigate whether civil disobedience actions have a positive impact on decision-makers within the scope of sustainability development goals.

The first principle is that “The well-being and flourishing of human and non-human life on Earth have value in themselves (synonyms: intrinsic value, inherent value). These values are independent of the usefulness of the nonhuman world for human purposes.”(Madra & Şahin, 2019). “the term “life” is used here in a more comprehensive nontechnical way to refer also to what biologists classify as “nonliving”; rivers (watersheds), landscapes, ecosystems. For supporters of deep ecology, slogans such as “Let the river live” illustrate this broader usage so common in most cultures.” This includes individuals, species, populations, habitats as well as human and nonhuman cultures. (“Basic Principles of Deep Ecology,” n.d.)

“Second one states, “Richness and diversity of life forms contribute to the realizations of these values and are also values in themselves.” In this context, the concept of wealth is underlined in diversity and the diversity of plant and animal species is considered as a main value. This approach stresses respect and appreciation for all forms of diversity: personal, cultural and ecological. Contrary to the notion that complex creatures that are considered higher more valuable, this principle of deep ecology believes that simple plant and animal species mainly contribute to the richness and diversity of basic life.

Third one states, “Human have no right to reduce this richness and diversity except to satisfy vital needs.” Although, Naess and Sessions stresses that the need of reduction of the human population, this study considers the growth and energy policies implemented as the main reason rather than adopting population growth as the decisive of the climate crisis. Having different expectations from different countries within the scope of the struggle against the effects of the climate crisis should be taken into consideration together with the contribution of societies to climate change. It can be argued that the people in the materially richest countries cannot be expected to reduce

their investments to a moderate level overnight according to the citizens in the poor countries. The question should be, can it be considered an excuse to avoid taking immediate actions against increased global warming and created climate crisis? Extreme seriousness of our current situation must first be realized. Scientific data shows that the destructive effects will be so severe if it is waited for a long time to take precautions. Until deep changes are made, substantial decreases in richness and diversity are liable to occur. ("Basic Principles of Deep Ecology," n.d.) According to the IPCC, we have a reasonable chance of meeting this objective if developed countries as a whole cut their emissions by 25-40 percent below 1990 levels by 2020 and by 80-95 percent below 1990 levels by 2050; within this time frame, major developing countries also must act. (*G8-g20-letter-final.pdf*, n.d.) But more recent findings since the publication of the latest IPCC assessment suggest that even more urgent action may be needed. (Collins et al., n.d.)²

Fourth principle states; "Present human interference with the nonhuman world is excessive and the situation is rapidly worsening." (p.74) In this context, it should be accepted that humans modified the Earth and will probably continue to do so. Besides, it is important that the attribute and extent of such interference should be also considered. As a natural consequence of global responsibility, the necessity of global action has emerged. This underlines the need for protection which includes the ecologically sound management of production systems and the maintenance of applicability and versatility. The need of climate justice and extremely through

² "Two idealized emission pathways with initially higher emissions (even sustained at high level for a decade in one case) eventually lead to the same warming if emissions are then reduced much more rapidly. Even a stepwise emission pathway with levels constant at 2010 and zero near mid-century would eventually lead to a similar warming as they all have identical cumulative emissions."

consultation process inevitably require a compromise. Governments that have significant responsibilities for planning and managing the use of living resources should develop preventive strategies which provide guidance on what action is the most important one and to find the ways of overcoming the tendency of conservation of current development strategies. All third parties should be involved in the process, with the context of the globality of reconciliation. If the governments work together with industry and commerce institutions, including trade unions and non-governmental organizations adopting renewable energy and environmental awareness in order to improve sustainable developmental conditions and find solutions of the ways of integrating conservation into the developmental process, it can be created a field in which a closer partnership between the parties with a high probability of the conflict of interests based on protection and development is particularly advantageous for both.

The fifth principle states "The flourishing of human life and cultures are compatible with a substantial decrease of the human population. The flourishing of nonhuman life requires such a decrease." (p.74) Naess and Sessions have pointed out that it is crucial to seize population growth in the industrial societies. But, can population growth and scarcity of resources fully explain the scary point that we reached today? It is obvious that the planet is unable to support current models of production and consumption. However, this study is closer to the idea that population growth cannot be the only or most effectively cause of climate change. Therefore, it presents the wrong growth economy models that has been applied as an answer. Developed societies who have the enormous consumption and waste generation rates, represent a much greater threat and impact on the biosphere per capita than individuals in the least developed countries do. In other words, the impacts of a majority struggling to stay alive and an affluent minority consuming most of the world's resources are

undermining the very means by which all people can survive and flourish. (International Union for Conservation of Nature and Natural Resources, United Nations Environment Programme, World Wildlife Fund, Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations, & Unesco, 1980) This threat will increase until a new international economic order and a new environmental ethic adopted and sustainable models of development become the rule rather than the exception.

As the Sixth principle states “the policies effect basis economic, technological, and ideological structures. The resulting states of affairs will be deeply different from the present. Therefore, policies must be changed.” (p.74) Policies focused on the continuation of welfare increase forever are supported by the parties that do not want to lose its current advantages. This is in stark contrast to right-based and need-oriented production policies. Present ideology tends to value things because they are scarce and because they have a commodity value. (“Basic Principles of Deep Ecology,” n.d.) Although the scarce resources, economic growth models as conceived and implemented today by the industrial states is not sustainable. We need to fundamentally change the ways of production and existing consumption habits and re-establish them within the scope of sustainable living goals. I realize that this appears to be a threat to the extremely cumbersome and established system. Transforming an existing system based on extremely precise balances, of course will be difficult. The point I want to draw attention to is that it only needs to be done much faster than we expected. In this context, instead of attributing the concept of sustainability in relation to human sustainability alone, it should be focused on the sustainability and protection of all living life in the world. In addition, this urgent solutions based on the identification of local needs should be adopted and global support solidarity plans should be established.

When governments are not sufficiently interested in deep ecological issues, it is essential that people mobilize decision-makers on a topic of concern for all societies and living being. Given this situation, support for global action through nongovernmental international organizations becomes increasingly important. Many of these organizations are able to act globally “from grassroots to grassroots,” thus avoiding negative governmental interference. (“Basic Principles of Deep Ecology,” n.d.)

“Seventh states the ideological change is mainly that of appreciating life quality rather than adhering to an increasingly higher standard of living. The balance of economic distribution in the countries is gradually deteriorating. It sees similar conflicts and managerial weaknesses in all of the geographies where the richer and poorer populations are gradually increasing, and the middle class is melting. Injustice in income distribution is not suitable for a sustainable development model and can be seen as the main reason for the emergence of conflict environments due to inequality.

Finally, the last principle states those who subscribe to the foregoing points have an obligation directly or indirectly to try to implement the necessary changes.”(p.74-75) These eight principles even now can be assumed as a guide to identifying needs and priorities to provide the survival of our “home”.³ As Naess points out, environmental problems are only to be solved by people who go beyond narrowly conceived human concerns and want to be a part of change when they need to take action.

B. Global Warming and Climate Crisis

Global warming and climate crisis are among the greatest threats to life on the Earth. Since its existence, humanity has used the environment and natural resources

³ “home” is used to mean the planet.

according to its needs. Throughout the centuries, human beings have endeavored to regulate and adapt their shelter, food, habit and energy production to create a lifestyle that is generally compatible with climate and environmental conditions. But where we stand now, it is accepted that there is an irreversible deterioration of human-nature balance due to the fact that emergence of ecological problems and the observation of the direct effects on life. The fact that the existence of climate crisis due to global warming will change the balance of the planet requires the evaluation of the share of the role of human in this change both as active and passive. Human beings, like all other living things, are directly affected by climate change, disasters, droughts, water shortages and the decrease of living species. What if, human being is positioned as a direct impact on climate change? Although there are people who do not believe in the existence of global warming, scientific data can measure the change of climate caused by global warming. We can easily find the people who can state that they are not a believer in man-made global warming, even among the people in such as Donald Trump who has extraordinary power over the masses. ("Donald Trump Returns « The Hugh Hewitt Show," 2015) Climate change thinking and actions are framed by two powerful discourses in different impact areas. One is the rise of denial of climate change and skepticism; the other is the strongly growing body of scientific evidences, which prove the impact of human being over global warming. The effort of destroying of the legitimacy and accuracy of scientific data by politicians are of course insignificant because of the principle of the verifiability on science. However, the decision-making of policymakers by rejecting a scientific truth becomes an issue that concerns not only their own nations but also all societies in the world. Despite the discourse of politicians and large capital groups that reject climate change and their efforts to hide the devastating effects of climate change from people, the effects of the fast-changing

climate; like fires earlier and more intense than expected like in Australia (“Australia fires could be out of control for months, says fire chief | Australia news | The Guardian,” n.d.), droughts, and migration caused by droughts, and also floods and rising seas create masses of people who want more acceptable and appropriate answers.

Climate change is a subject that can be manipulated because of its structural characteristics; due to the fact that the effects are felt in the long term, the formation takes time and not easily perceived. Therefore, with these aspects of climate change, its presence and distant effects are ignored, and it may even be thought to cause apathy. However, people should mobilize around undeniable concerns for the continuity of all living being and its own future. As a member of the last generation who has to develop urgent actions against the destruction of climate change, I must admit that I have never lost my hope during the whole study, despite all the negative reality of the current situation. Just like in the story of a determined hummingbird. When I first watched an animated film " I will be a hummingbird" which is voiced by Wangari Maathai, who won the 2004 Nobel Prize (International, n.d.), I thought that the humanity was at the decision point towards the climate crisis. The story tells of, while all other animals watch the spread of the fire in a forest, the efforts of a small hummingbird trying to extinguish the fire by alone. No matter how negative the current situation may seem; To put it in the words of Wangari Maathai “I may feel insignificant, but I certainly don't want to be like the animals watching the planet goes down the drain. I will be a hummingbird; I will do the best I can.”(*I will be a hummingbird—Wangari Maathai (English)*, n.d.) If we adapt this analogy to the movements and people involved in the environmental struggle for the environment, we can find the exact provision in the story of Greta Thunberg, who started her struggle for climate change at the age of 15 alone.

In the next chapter, there will be an excursion to understand the concept of civil disobedience and to examine in depth the elements of environmental movements.

CHAPTER 2

CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE MOVEMENTS

A. Laws of Ecology

As a brief introduction to the chapters, which follow, this section provides a roadmap in order to analyze if there has been a positive effect between civil disobedience activism against climate change with the sustainability global goals.

What should be done first and what is the most urgent? What are the problems based on the global warming that affected the life of species in the world? What is actual need for developing climate policies? Given such questions, I am to set out to explore the indicators of climate crisis that are assumed both as a cause and also as a result. Let us discuss what are the indicators that have a paradoxical relationship. According to the World Conservation Strategy summary, "reduction in quality and quantity of agricultural land and grazing land; soil erosion and the degradation of catchment areas and watersheds; desertification; extinction of species, subspecies and varieties; overexploitation of fish and other wildlife; deforestation; climate alteration and air pollution; narrow sectoral approach to conservation; failure to integrate conservation and development; inadequate environmental planning and irrational resource allocation; inadequate or unenforced legislation; poor organization; Lack of trained personals in renewable energy; lack of information; lack of support for conservation; lack of conservation-based rural development can be counted among them. Most of these problems are common in both developed and developing countries,"(International Union for Conservation of Nature and Natural Resources et al., 1980) however, some problems mentioned above are much more acute in developing countries than in developed ones due to their geography and lack of resources. The negative effects of climate change are severely obstacle many

developing country' efforts to achieve the Sustainable Development Goals. On the other hand, decline in drought-related agricultural production and increase in food insecurity have become major problems of underdeveloped countries. Unless immediate actions are taken, climate change will cause population movements, in another words the wave of mass migration of underdeveloped population towards developed countries will be inevitable. "In 1990, the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC) noted that the greatest single impact of climate change could be on human migration—with millions of people displaced by shoreline erosion, coastal flooding and agricultural disruption. Since then various analysts have tried to put numbers on future flows of climate migrants, (sometimes called "climate refugees")—the most widely repeated prediction being 200 million by 2050. (Ammassari, 2005)

This study aims to measure the impacts of on-going climate movements which have a goal of creating a qualified pressure on the governments and all other decision-makers. Within this context, it needs to summarize how it is defined primarily climate policy and climate movement, actors in the movements and its process. Climate policies can be defined as a policy area that includes the reduction of greenhouse gas emissions causing climate change, the development of the necessary financial instruments and technologies, and the adaptation to the effects of climate change."(Şahin, 2014) As the definition suggests, climate policies can only be achieved the goals of existence when implemented fairly.

Given the extremely simple arguments about climate policies of Barry Commoner, an American activist and scientist who is one of the pioneers of world environmental movements and green thinking, I need to extend his for laws of ecology, which he outlined in the first chapter of "The Closing Circle" in order to better analyze the distance of our position that we are in today with the approach at the beginning of

environmental awareness. Let us explore those arguments by following the lead of Commoner.

"First, everything is connected to everything else." (Butler, 2012)

The first argument states that there is a balance between all healthy ecosystems. Any destruction of this balance can lead to the lack or destruction of vital functions within the entire natural ecosystem. In addition to the unusual weather phenomena that we feel even in the transition of the seasons, the reflection of the disappearance of the diversity of living things that which are actually connected to climate change can be considered as proof that this balance has completely disappeared. Therefore "any society that ignores Commoner's first law – that everything is connected to everything else – invites ecological and social turmoil" (2012) When we examine our capacity to be affected by the climate crisis as being all living organisms existential, we cannot relate this to only environmental-based disasters. As Commoner asserts, it needs to link environmental issues to a broader vision of social and economic justice. The environmental crisis is directly related to poverty, injustice, racism, public health, national security and war problems. The world is being carried to the brink of ecological disaster and we have come to this point with technological breakthroughs that we pride ourselves on its developing, that is, we have all the scientific techniques that can give us the opportunity to historically monitor the footprint of the destruction and faults we cause.

The extent of the climate crisis due to global warming does not geographically affect each region equally, and even in some regions, the positive effects of the change in temperature can be observed. But this does not change the existence of living beings affected by changing balances. Within the scope of social and conscientious values, the survival of human beings and all other living beings depends on the steps taken by

human beings. There are no other options but to maintain the continuity for existence of our earth, moreover there are predetermined necessities providing admissible solutions within social correctness. It can be asserted that singular effort is not an easy way for stopping the ecological disaster as an individual, but it is a moral virtue. In order to achieve the desired change, strong economic, political and social forces must take steps to use their policies and technological accumulation. The main factor driving policymakers is the public's demand for immediate action. Depending on the political situation and concurrent conditions the effect of public demand on decisionmakers varies. Even if the vast majority of scientists confirm the reality of global warming from human carbon emissions, yet governments may choose to be influenced by the small minority who deny the existence of this issue. The moral and logical truth is not necessarily important for politicians whose greatest objective is to maintain their present position.

Returning to the first rule, all policies developed within the scope of 2030 sustainable development goals are connected to each other in order to end poverty and hunger, to have access to clean food and water, to have a right to a fair education, and to live in an egalitarian and sustainable layout.

A second... "*Everything must go somewhere*" (2012)

This proposition can be regarded as the simplest expression of the principle of leaving nature to nature. As Commoner summarizes that "One of the chief reasons for the present environment crisis is that great amounts of materials have been extracted from the Earth, converted into new forms, and discharged into the environment without taking into account that 'everything must go somewhere'. The result, too often, is the accumulation of harmful amounts of material in places where, in nature, they do not belong."

Humanity's impact on the Earth is now so profound that many scientists agree that the world we live in is entering a new geological era. The most distinctive feature of this new era, called the Anthropocene, is that it was caused by human activities rather than geological activities. It can be argued that Commoner's simple all-round approach today is observable. As Nicolas Bourriaud, one of the leading figures in the art world, curator of the 16th Istanbul Biennial, said that "one of the most visible results of the Anthropocene was the formation of a massive waste heap called the 'Seventh Continent: floating plastic, weighing 3.4 million square kilometers, weighing 7 million tons.

Although, the International Union of Geological Sciences (IUGS), the professional organization in charge of defining Earth's time scale, do not accept the existence of Anthropocene and claim that we are officially in the Holocene ("entirely recent") epoch, which began 11,700 years ago after the last major ice age."(Stromberg, n.d.) Even so, an indisputable fact that we have created a floating continent that reveals human influence, although, Development Goal 14 aims "to conserve and sustainably use the oceans, seas and marine resources for sustainable development."("Overview—SDG Indicators," 2019) The sustainable Development Goals aim to sustainably manage and protect marine and coastal ecosystems from pollution, as well as address the impacts of ocean acidification. it is important because Rainwater, drinking water and climate are all regulated by ocean temperatures and currents. Over 3 billion people depend on marine life for their livelihood. Oceans absorb 30 percent of all carbon dioxide produced by humans. ("Goal 14," n.d.)

A third... "*Nature knows best*"(Butler, 2012)

The third ecology law of the Partnership advocates the idea that any human-induced change in a natural system could harm it and believes that technological

interventions current economic politics are destroying the integrity of nature. Within the scope of sustainable economic growth target, a slower growth trend is envisaged as the global economy continues to improve. ("Goal 8," n.d.)

Instead of continuing this growth trend forever, job opportunities to be created within the scope of renewable energy within the scope of needs will play a role in eliminating unemployment and poverty. In this respect, the support of the state-funded job opportunities and the private sector with incentives is valuable in terms of SDG's targets and combating climate change.

Fourth states that "*There is no such thing as a free lunch.*" (Butler, 2012)

The fourth law is in a sense a warning that we are almost too late for preventing the current environmental crisis. But with this study, I try to express my hope in parallel with the environmental movements that demand and initiate the change that we need for all species. The people in the Anthropogenic age, as the only generation who are aware of the fact that we are coming to a critical point, with the acknowledge that we have the last chance to change of current policies, care about all social and individual efforts. Hence, this study is not implying that it understands the all human based effects as such, endeavors to explore the capability and impact potential of climate movements and civil disobedience acts bounded by the governments which adopted current economy policies based on huge consumption.

It is common for the masses to critic politicians for not implementing the requirements within the scope of mitigation provisions and carbon markets per analysis from the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC)⁴. Regulations are decided by politicians, so the question is whether the governments do not act within the scope

⁴ The Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC) is the United Nations body for assessing the science related to climate change.

of scientific conclusions which point at the situation of the humanity that facing an unprecedented global emergency. While climate crisis demands more government action as emission rise, but nowadays it is discussed whether the existence of global warming is acknowledged as a problem by the governments. For example, "Trump has repeatedly questioned the legitimacy of climate change. He claimed that United States has the cleanest weather in the world, and it's gotten better since he was president." (Vazquez, 2019). Although this explanation cannot be supported by scientific research, it is important because it belongs to a leader who has an important and critical position. It is also an important indicator of how decision makers are able to politically manipulate the society even the issues that affect the conditions of the planet. In this respect, it is important to note that political characters with mass support should not deny the capacity of influence of their discourse. This effect can be particularly great in different fields where access to accurate information is limited and manipulated, and where alternative information cannot be disseminated. For the wrong policies of the governments to be understood, the infrastructure of a potential political struggle must exist, so that providing the space for articulation for different masses can be provided. Based on the goal of 17, developing multi-stakeholder partnerships to share knowledge, expertise, technology and financial support are critical to the overall success of SDGs

The unification of people who have adopted different ideas politically on a subject with common and fearful consequences and the unification under the same framework of movement to express their common demands should be deepened in the context of equivalences and differences. At this point of discussion, it is also important to underline the unity and dissociation of discourse. Common concerns based on scientific reality facilitate social articulation and establish points of association. For example, in Gezi, different ethnic groups, feminists, LGBT, different religion groups

such as Anti- Capitalist Muslims and atheists came together in the same chain. The articulation of separate ideologies ultimately eliminates the boundaries of their autonomous sphere and allows the masses to unite under the same roof for common purposes.

Up to this point, we have been making efforts to understand the approaches that cause climate change especially based on Commoner's 4 laws. As we move to next section, I will be putting together the examples of civil disobedience movements with the sustainability development goals. Those analytical modules enriched with different examples from history and present, will help us perceive the phases of reached goals. There will be local and international examples drawn from environmental movements such as Gezi, " For Climate" and also "Extinction Rebellion" and "School Strike for Climate "to embody the review. In transition to my methodology and analysis, I will be focusing tangible results regarding the change of political discourses and acts. Now, let us define the components movements and discuss the logics of sustainability goals.

B. Why is Civil Disobedience Necessary?

As aforementioned in the previous section, emergency action plans against climate change based on global warming should be implemented. Civil disobedience acts are claimed to be an effective way of raising public awareness on the issue which has public interest and of putting pressure on governments by touching public conscience about the wrong policies of decision makers. Throughout history, there have been countless people protesting the decisions of governments, to express their desires for change. Discourses and actions that express dissatisfaction with the status quo unfortunately can at times cause violence from the movement itself or from the other side. By some definitions, civil disobedience has to be nonviolent to be called

'civil'. (*Civil disobedience—Wikipedia*, n.d.) historically, nonviolence is a phenomenon that makes people mobilize and justifies the rightfulness of the movement. Marches, sit-ins, blockades which are corresponding in the context of constitutional rights, and more radical movements such as hunger strikes, all are tactics used to raise awareness about issues that are taking place in society

“Civil disobedience, also known as passive or non-violent resistance, is defined as purposely disobeying the law based on moral or political principles.” (*Violent Civil Disobedience and Willingness to Accept Punishment*, 2007) This term is popularized by Henry David Thoreau in the US with his essay *Civil Disobedience*, “although the concept itself has been practiced longer before. It has inspired Mahatma Gandhi in his protests for Indian independence against the British Raj; and Martin Luther King Jr.'s peaceful protests during the civil rights movement in the US.” (McElroy, n.d.) It is important to note that non-violent dissent avoids the direct harm to life, property, environment and culture that can result. Civil disobedience movements led societies to reconsider both their core values and moral frameworks. Many civil disobedience movements are shaped by a conscientious desire to change unfair laws or social policies. In this case, it is important to re-evaluate the laws and policies and to be acceptable in the conscience of society. Examples include “student sit-ins against the Vietnam War and racial segregation, the Montgomery Bus Boycott and March on Washington led by Dr. King and comrades, the Boston Tea Party, the resistance to apartheid in South Africa led by Steve Biko (a student leader), Nelson Mandela and others, and more recently the environmental movement. Another important example is Mohandas Gandhi’s struggle to end British rule over India. Gandhi said that Thoreau’s ideas influenced him greatly on Indian independence movements. (Hendrick, 1956). From Henry David Thoreau to Mohandas Gandhi to Martin Luther King, they all

advocated no-violence methods of struggle. When we look at the movements which have achieved mass success and whose legitimacy is justified in the eyes of society, we can comprehend the importance of questioning the origins of mass resistance in societies. When we question our position in the system, we can discover the need to find the ways to spin wheels of change. When the majority's democracy cannot be operated, people must develop the ways of making their voice heard to decision – makers.

Now, we have the comprehension of the basic integral parts of the concept of civil disobedience. Let us examine the environmental movements related to the climate crisis both locally and internationally.

Gezi Park protests which started in Istanbul and spread all over the country, undoubtedly reflect the changing face of contemporary social movements in terms of organizational patterns and activities to sustain the movement. The Gezi Resistance has a very distinct and special identity with its agenda, unification of structurally diverse segments and highly creative rhetoric of protesters. Although the Gezi Resistance is highly worthy of a separate and detailed examination of all processes, I will focus on its final outcome in terms of civil disobedience only. The suppression of this highly creative and nurturing movement with a harsh intervention can be regarded as a failed outcome. But considering the purpose of its exit, I consider the fact that Gezi Park is still in place as a success of the movement. We can assume that Gezi Resistance which has located in the memories of the people of this country, will also undeniably affect all subsequent movements in these lands.

In this chapter, the dynamics of the movement called as Extinction Rebellion, which continues their active action in Turkey and all over the world, will be viewed in detail. In a letter published in the Guardian, as a new group of people who call

themselves “concerned citizens” first announced that “the failure of politicians to solve the climate crisis is a gross negligence of duty, and that life is our moral duty, not just our right to rebel.”(correspondent, 2018) Almost 100 academics - half professors - supported the first call for rebellion in the first phase of the Extinction Rebellion movement which can be defined “as a global environmental movement with the stated aim of using nonviolent civil disobedience to compel government action to avoid tipping points in the climate system, biodiversity loss, and the risk of social and ecological collapse.” The movement, whose main goal is to ensure that governments take harsh actions to cut global carbon emissions by 2025, can be said to have received support from many segments of Europe and the United States. If we examine how this support is provided and which actions support this propagation, it can be said that it is extremely radical and with nonviolent actions that will attract the attention of the whole public together with the media. For example, approximately 6,000 people who blocked five Central London bridges, with some of them gluing themselves to government office buildings to protest the climate crisis. Their claims were to launch a movement “that calls for mass economic disruption using non-violent direct action and civil disobedience to halt the destruction of the planet.

Given in general review of the last decade environmental movements, the difference of the extinction rebellion movement from other environmental movements and its attitude regarding the need of change are basically; the immediate demand regarding need to abandon gradual policy changes and start urgent actions. Because they claimed that only aggressive and radical solutions can reach the success. As Paul Gilding who is former Greenpeace International CEO states, “the five factors that could make the Extinction Rebellion different from the past 30 years of climate activism based on: (1) the potential for large-scale, non-violent civil disobedience , (2) the crystal

clarity of the science declaring a climate emergency, (3) the obvious viability of climate solutions that have been 25 years in development, (4) the support the Rebellion can expect from various quarters—ranging from groups like Climate Mobilization, (5) to newly-elected legislators like Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez (D-NY), and the reality that “nothing else we are doing is working.” (“Extinction Rebellion Goes Global with Call for Net Zero Emission by 2025,” 2018) It is constantly repeated by scientists, including the IPCC reports that the need is in this direction, regardless of whether activists’ objectives are realistic. Is there a response to this need from political circles?

Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez who is a new young woman member of the House of Representatives, presented the Green New Deal for review by the House of Representatives committees in February 2019. Claims of the defenders of Green New Deal actually confirm Commoner’s determination in this regard. When they researched how much the global temperature has gone up since we discovered fossil fuels. They have reached the outcomes that show the Earth in the threshold of very risky border on global warming. The chart shows that we are not in the safe zone now as scientist claim for a long time. The global warming momentum we are in “will mean a spike in mass migration, wildfires, deadly heat stress –and it’s going to cost us. Trillions of dollars, millions of lives. Irreversible, forever. Changes that cannot be undone in centuries.” (“How does the green new deal work?,” n.d.) In addition to the dangerous increase in carbon emissions caused by fossil fuels, plastic waste produced from petroleum affects life at sea/ oceans and on earth.

Historical and projected climate change

Source: IPCC, 2018

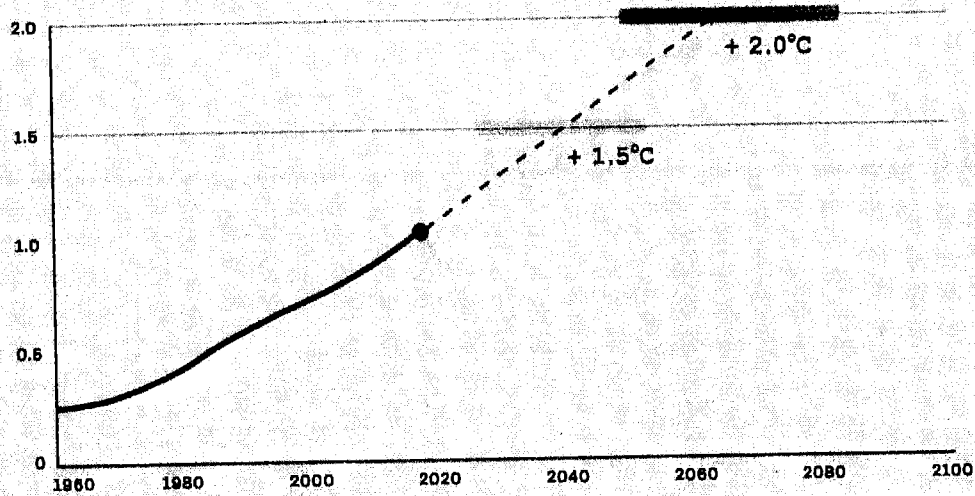


Figure 1. The chart of how much the global temperature has gone up since we discovered fossil fuels (IPCC, 2018)

As we already examine that Naess criticizes that accepting the industrial culture, whose growth models construe the Earth only as a raw material to be used to supply consumption and production. He defends that the need of flourishing in harmony with other beings and cultures. This, in turn, creates the need of becoming distant from the current industrial culture, which represents itself as the only acceptable model for development. Instead of accepting the conception of growth imposed by the capitalist system, he defends the respect for diversity; recognize the ecological wisdom that grows specific to place and context.

As Extinction Rebellion movements ask: What if we do not accept the industrial development models. Is there only one philosophy and technology acceptable for the whole planet? Depending on the current conjuncture, it is hard to say what development forms, understanding of consumption, energy policies based on fossil fuels can be changed to prevent/ reserve the critical level of climate crisis reached today. However, the scientific data shows us the need of a radical and inevitable change of policies adopted

by states. Policy makers are likely to be driven by short-term regulations to crisis rather than finding radical solution what the Earth needs. In addition to this, the largest players, which directly influence the motion of development policies, are not moving fast enough.

What the need is the top-level political willpower to present a best model with the focus and velocity that both science and society demand. Public intellectuals, such as Naomi Klein, have presented the alternative ways of moral urgency of climate change through by pointing at “the vast infrastructure of scientific, technical, political and movement expertise poised to spring into actions.” (Klein, 2018) She supports her argument by exemplifying, “with the models for community-owned and community controlled renewable energy; with justice-based transitions that make sure no worker is left behind; with a deepening analysis of the intersections between systemic racism, armed conflict, and climate disruption; with improved green tech and breakthroughs in clean public transit; with the thriving fossil fuel divestment movement; with model legislation driven by the climate justice movement that shows how carbon taxes can fight racial and gender exclusion.” Her claim is that the ground for this moment has been prepared for decades. (Klein, 2018). Alongside the evaluation of the preparation of substructure based on scientific data, when we question how the movement spread so quickly and vividly, the result that we reached is that lack of hope and the negative impact of inaction on people all around the world. Hence, we can summarize the positive effect of the Extinction Rebellion movement with the word as "hope". In addition to identity and ideologies, the main components of emotion that bring people together and that provide the struggle within a social movement are the one of the main elements that affect the continuity and damping dynamics of the movement. Just as the Gezi Park protest held on 2013 became the most significant political uprising in recent

Turkish history through bringing together politically, culturally and socially diverse groups. Broadly speaking, it can be claimed that the social and political mobilization challenges existing systems in pursuit of equality. Here, we speak about a perpetual fight between political hegemony and the groups of people who have the goal of reaching the acceptable equality. People who adopt the Extinction Rebellion movement continue their support for nonviolent acts by accepting arrests and punishments legitimized by hegemony on the legal ground.

In their epoch-making book called *Resistance to Civil Government*, Thoreau set off his intellectual journey to conceptualize the notion of “civil disobedience and the context of nonviolence movement”. To do so, he argues that “individuals should not permit governments to overrule or atrophy their consciences.” (“Resistance to Civil Government” by H.D. Thoreau (‘Civil Disobedience’),” n.d.) The claim stems from his proposition from that “The judgment of an individual's conscience is not necessarily inferior to the decisions of a political body or majority.” At this point of discussion, let us compare the main motivation of new type of movements which have adopted the concept of Civil Disobedience based on the context of hegemony and the need of urgent action on Climate Crisis.

“Hegemony is a constant struggle against a multitude of resistances to ideological domination and any balance of forces that it achieves is always precarious, always in need of re-achievement. Hegemony's 'victories' are never final, and any society will evidence numerous points where subordinate groups have resisted the total domination that is hegemony's aim, and have withheld their consent to the system.”
(Fiske, 2010)

As Fiske's definition from his book called Television Culture, is referring that the success of hegemony becomes ambiguous at the point that the opponents refuse to obey. Now is the time to look at the urgency of actions on climate solutions. The main claim is that many of the life forms will be extinct by the end of this century. Everything in the world worth protecting is being corrupted and compromised by the human impacts behind our political and economic systems and consumer-focused lifestyles. Providing that a real solution is presented by decision makers is a process. It should be expanded the field of movement to tackle the seriousness of assumptions on environmental crisis. It is needed to increase International cooperation for providing countries with the opportunity to achieve the Sustainable Development Goals and ensuring that adequate implementation pathways exist.

Up to this point, to understand the notions better and to explain the fact the climate crisis, let us look at following images.

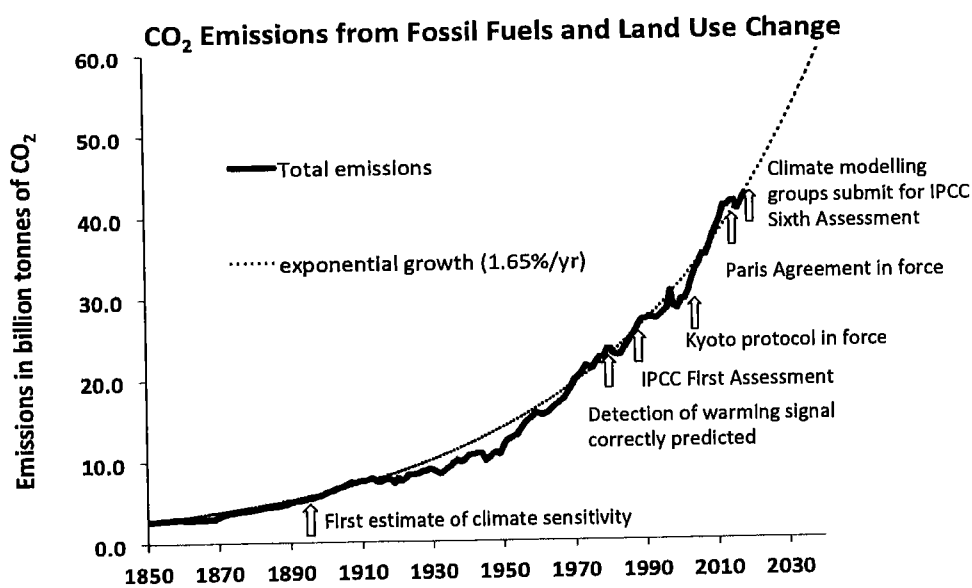


Figure 2. CO₂ Emission from Fossil Fuels and Land Use Change

Global rise of CO₂ emissions per year from fossil fuels and land use change, which have shown no sign of slowing down despite over thirty years of climate negotiations. (“The Emergency,” n.d.)

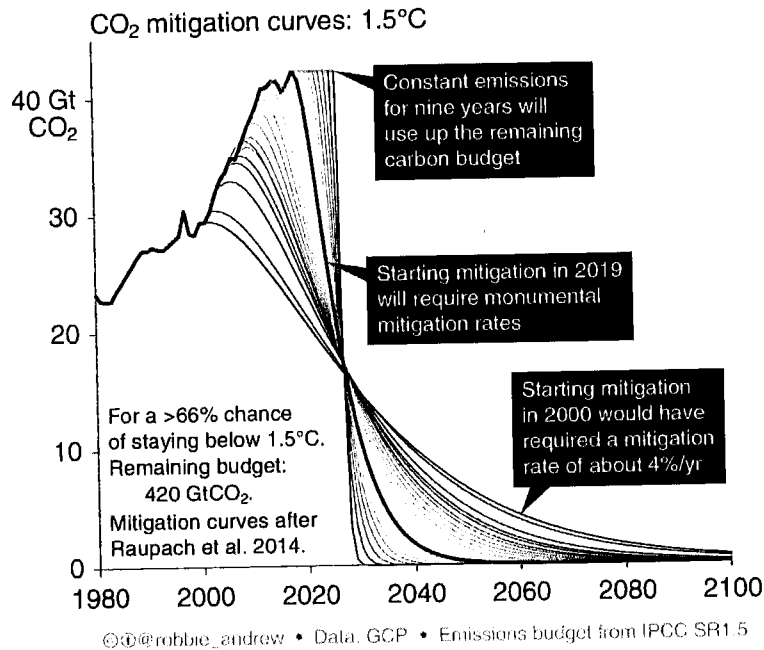


Figure 3. Emission Budgets from IPCC

“This graph shows the budget for a 2/3rds chance of staying below the agreed target of 1.5°C of global heating, you can see that any delay in reducing emissions requires even steeper cuts to occur in the future. Because of past delay there is now no alternative but to really rapidly cut emissions if we are to still stay within this target.

Carbon dioxide is not the only greenhouse gas scientists are concerned about, methane, nitrous oxide, ozone and chlorofluorocarbons (CFCs) all cause significant additional heating. Methane, in particular, is the second largest contributor to global heating after CO₂. Each tone emitted can cause approximately 28 times as much warming as CO₂ over a 20-year period but a massive 84 times as much over 100 years!

The oil and gas industry, waste sector and agriculture contribute heavily to the amount of methane in our atmosphere.” (“The Emergency,” n.d.)

A concrete reasoning drawn from both graphs should resolve the whole conception and the need of emergency. Similar to the case of previous movements which resist against to the all elements of hegemony, XR movement which is accepted as a popular and international uprising establish its principles.

“(1) a shared vision of change—creating a world that is fit for generations to come.

(2) to set a mission on what is necessary—mobilizing 3.5% of the population to achieve system change by using ideas such as "momentum-driven organizing" to achieve this.

(3) to unroll the need a regenerative culture—creating a culture that is healthy, resilient and adaptable.

(4) to challenge this toxic system, leaving our comfort zones to take action for change.

(5) to value reflecting and learning, following a cycle of action, reflection, learning and planning for more action (learning from other movements and contexts as well as our own experiences).

(6) to welcome everyone and every part of everyone—working actively to create safer and more accessible spaces.

(7) to actively mitigate for power—breaking down hierarchies of power for more equitable participation.

(8) to avoid blaming and shaming—we live in a toxic system, but no one individual is to blame.

(9) to create a non-violent network using non-violent strategy and tactics as the most effective way to bring about change.

(10) to create the structures the need to challenge power based on autonomy and decentralization.” (“About Us,” n.d.)

Lastly, it is stated that anyone who follows these core principles and values can take action in the name of Extinction Rebellion. If we ask the question whether it is possible for a change, the answer would be that hegemonic regimes are not capable to stand against the uprising movements if it can be provided the participation of up to serious majority from the population. This would mean mobilizing the people in order to reach a rapid change in the balance of slumped power structures. As we already discussed that the need is new structural policies in localized production which is fed from the local wealth and the politics that achieve reduced consumption, zero carbon emission and finally the laws which are provided more equality. XR movement puts this discussion at the core of cognizance and tries to propagate that we are in the time to request the opportunities to point out that a system, especially for more functioning democracy, is needed. Therefore they state that they “focus on symptoms of toxic system and also focus on the pillars that keep the current neo-liberal system in place.” (“About Us,” n.d.) To do so, they aim to break the impact of mainstream media that capture to interests of corporations and power elites on people by using social media channels actively. Their aim to disobey against the current system which destroys life and biodiversity, and which is deeply unjust, in order to protect the Earth and to create a new world order. Hence, they clearly declared that they open to be arrested and charged. On the other hand they also state that “It isn’t necessary or required that everyone do this, as for some there are good reasons not to do.” (“About Us,” n.d.) For the continuity of the movements, it is important to accept all supports

from the people in society who have different economic standards, cultures and are living in different countries and who are ready to give their efforts actively with different roles. This is also needed a peaceful ground bases on the dynamic of the relationship between its participants. The main structure of the conceptual and analytical framework generated by participants can be placed at the phenomenon of "intersection of identities ". The main issue that needs to be focused on is that different identities gather around a major goal. To sum up, the people who adopt the main principles of the movement has the acknowledge that they are in a political mobilization that challenges forms of oppression based on social location. In this respect, social movements are a practical activity designed to directly or indirectly contribute to the process of social transformation and its effects. Another important principle reveals that nonviolence approach has been adopted not only as a justification for civil disobedience, but also because communities who are exposed to systematic violence are common on the basis of seeking a right in the context of climate justice. Referring to Chenoweth and Stephen's book, "Why Civil Resistance Works", the XR movement acknowledges "nonviolence as an effective tool in mass mobilizations."(E. Chenoweth & Stephan, n.d.)

What we should understand from these principles is that all of these approaches are a framework that allows anyone who fights for climate justice with conscientious concerns to be articulated into the same movement.

As Greta Thunberg says, *"I would like people to panic and take action according to the state of emergency we are in."*

Considering this call belonging a fifteen years old girl, if we are looking for a reality in which a society can base all its seemingly impossible demands, the circumstances we are in require precisely the change in this point of impossibility. In

other words, it is time to examine the generation of information and resistance to discourses and policies that do not accept the existence of climate change.

Greta Thunberg and her friends seem to have succeeded in bringing millions of people to the streets, even though the extinction Rebellion movements remain regional and more operational. Now it is time to look at concrete examples that increase the awareness of climate change and the reflection of the amount of participation in climate movements.

“A global strike on 15 March 2019 gathered more than one million strikers.” (“Students walk out in global climate strike,” 2019) “Around 2200 strikes were organized in 125 countries.” (“We’re one, we’re back,” n.d.) “On 24 May 2019, the second global strike took place, in which 1600 events across 185 countries drew hundreds of thousands of protesters. The events were timed to coincide with the 2019 European Parliament election.” (Laville & Watts, 2019) “The 2019 Global Week for Future was a series of 4500 strikes across over 150 countries, focused around Friday 20 September and Friday 27 September. Likely the largest climate strikes in world history, the 20 September strikes gathered roughly 4 million protesters, many of them schoolchildren, including 1.4 million people on strike in Germany.” (Barclay, 2019) “On 27 September, an estimated 2 million people participated in demonstrations worldwide, including over 1 million protesters in Italy and several hundred thousand protesters in Canada.” (Murphy, 2019)

Students who break school every Friday under the "Fridays for Future" movement, aiming to raise awareness on behalf of the climate crisis, basically call on governments and companies to take action to stop this crisis. September 20th strike of the Global Climate in Turkey took place in cities such as Istanbul, Bursa, Çanakkale, Izmir, Balıkesir, Eskişehir Bodrum, Antalya, Ankara, Diyarbakir, and Mersin, with the

participation of both adult and children. According to the description 350 Org, the number of strike participants from Turkey came close to ten thousand.(org, 2019T09:53) It can be said there is an acceleration that indicates the awareness on the climate crisis and the increase in demands for a solution, in Turkey. On the other hand, Turkey is the only G20 country that has not ratified the Paris Climate Agreement so far. ("Turkey | Climate Action Tracker," n.d.) Furthermore, it has not yet submitted a national climate plan to the UN Framework Convention on Climate Change.(Schulz, 2019) Unlike most politicians, UNFCCC Secretary- General Antonio Guterres demanded concrete actions from all world leaders based on the call of science, in the UN Climate Action Summit, it cannot be said that promising statements have been put forward from countries, including Turkey. Although the general provision reveals that a rapid scale-up of mitigation action is required to meet the Paris Agreement goal of 2 °C, and even more to meet the 1.5 °C goal, the commitments of the countries do not adequately support the necessary policies to achieve these goals. Given this, policies on supporting domestic lignite coal mines and thermal power plant by Turkey's, in diametrically contrast the goals of reducing the carbon emissions by 2030. It is ironic that even with this approach, it will contribute to increasing the long-term temperature risk within the scope of its development strategies rather than reducing greenhouse gas emissions.

After Gezi Park protests and the continuation of neighborhood assemblies, the climate of opposition that emerged against the authoritarian and patriarchal policies of the governing government can be claimed to be effective in the emergence of local environmental movements that followed and in the integrations of local activities with international movements. For example, "İklim İçin" which can be considered as a social movement in the sense of combating climate change, which ended in 2015 with a two-

day climate forum, was organized by volunteers who have been actively involved in nearly one year, with the participation and support of local people, women, children, trade unions, political parties, professional groups, students, academicians NGO's. In oppressive environments where freedom of expression is restricted and violence is used as a deterrent, it is almost inevitable that the continuity of the movement is compromised. In interviews with activists who are active in "İklim İçin" and in Extinction Rebellion movement or who have sympathized with at least one of these movements, they stated that their positions and roles within the movement changed, depending on its structural dynamics. Being an active participant in civil disobedience events and taking the risk of arrest or providing organizational support to the movements is entirely the responsibility of the individuals depending on the shaping of the roles adopted. However, the creation of a common identity and it's based on clear principles are among the factors facilitating the commitment of the activists to the movement. As Eyerman claims in his book called Cultural Trauma and Collective Identity, as cultural process, trauma is linked to the formation of collective identity and the construction of collective memory.(Alexander, Eyerman, Giesen, Smelser, & Sztompka, 2004: 60) Starting from this point of view, the emergence of disobedience, the common problem posed by traumatic elements can be discussed in the context of the common goal and collective solidarity. We can address this both among those subject to locally similar hegemonic influence and in the context of articulation with global concerns and international movements. One might ask where the context is. For this context to exist, a space where can be shared a potential political struggle must exist. This may be a physical area for activists, as well as the digital platforms they communicate with the global movements or the social media platforms they use to make their voices heard.

The departure of this thesis is grounded on witnessing the great influence of environmental movements and at the same time being a part of these movements locally and articulating with other movements around the world, struggling for a common goal with a collective consciousness. Considering the correlation between "the success of the movements and the amount of the participation into the movements with an individual willpower", I suggest that the civil disobedience movements can be examined as an efficient way to generate pressure on political power. To do so, the participation into environmental movements, and its common demands are to be evaluated with respect to social production of meaning which is structured on the need of urgent action.

C. Targets and Indicators of SDGs

"Immediately after the adoption of Agenda 2030, Turkey designated the responsible and relevant institutions for the 218 indicators that apply to Turkey, and in February 2019, Turkish Statistical Institute published the SDG Indicators Set comprised of 83 indicators."(23862Turkey_VNR_110719.pdf, n.d.) In the same report, it is stated that Turkey has the potential to reduce significant greenhouse gas emissions. Within the scope of the commitments given by Turkey, it is stated that "Many projects are being implemented to develop capacity in the context of climate change for developing and LDCs. Such as; The 6th International Training Course on Meteorological Radar, the Fourth International Workshop on Meteorology and Combating Dust Transport, Desertification and Erosion and Project for Providing Meteorological Satellite Data to Central Asian Countries. (113) In the context of increasing renewable energy share in total supply, Turkey claims that a significant increase has been achieved in the share of non-hydro resources such as wind and solar

in total supply. (78) But according to the data of the Ministry of Natural Resources, “thermal energy connected to fuels such as coal and natural gas, investments in 2018 was 23.30 percent, while in 2019 this ratio rose to 73.58 percent. On the other hand, all other energy investments decreased significantly during the same period. The largest decrease was seen in hydroelectric power plants (HEPP). Wind power plants (RES) investments also decreased by 7.3 percent in the same period. The rate, which was 20.72 percent last year, fell to 13.42 this year. The situation has not changed in solar power plants. The GESs, which experienced a decrease of 2.23, received 0.52% investment in 2019. In 2018, this rate was 2.75 percent.” (“Termik enerji yatırımlarında yüzde 50 artış,” n.d.) An improvement that can be considered a good effect National legislation in accordance with the 10-Year Framework of Programs on Sustainable Consumption and Production Patterns, as well as international agreements to which Turkey is a signatory in the field of environmental protection were also aligned to these targets. To ensure sustainable management of natural resources such as prevention of soil and water pollution, control of industrial pollution, management of waste and chemicals are integrated in our legislation. (106) At the same time, Regulations for soil and land protection, combating drought, agriculture, agricultural insurance and supports, use of groundwater, control of disaster risks and natural disaster insurance were made in relation to the adaptation to and reduction of the impacts of climate change. (111)

In the report, it is also stated that in 1990, CO₂ equivalent emissions per capita in Turkey was 3.8 tons/capita while this value was calculated as 6.6 tons/capita in 2017. (111) Turkey is responsible for 0.7% of total global emissions since the industrial revolution and this is presented as a success. But the reason for this outcome is that Turkey is not country which has completed the process of industrialization.

On the other hand, Turkey's efforts as it targets can be appreciated by all countries covered. At least, the process of harmonization of legislation has been completed in terms of strengthening flexibility and adaptive capacity against climate-related hazards and natural disasters, and incorporating climate change measures into national policies, strategies and planning. While there is still the need to be done in the context of climate change mitigation, adaptation and mitigation, in the report confirmed that there are studies in the context of training, awareness raising and improvement of human and institutional capacities. (112) "As for climate finance, Turkey does not have the obligation to provide financial support to developing countries, as Turkey was removed from the list of Annex II of the Convention by the resolution of UNFCCC Conference of the Parties. As a developing country itself, Turkey receives various financial resources such as EU funds and multilateral climate funds from multilateral development banks, bilateral development agencies, funds such as Clean Technology Fund and Global Environment Facility (GEF)." (112)

In this study, it is emphasized that all parameters should be evaluated together in the struggle against climate change.

CHAPTER 3

METHODOLOGY AND ANALYSIS

A. Methodology

The description of conceptualizing civil disobedience and in the case of this study, the impacts of new generation environmental movements as propulsive force has been long criticized. Civil disobedience movements emerge as networks requesting solutions for climate change adaptation and mitigation of its huge impact on the Earth. However, it is unclear if current climate movements can be successful in responding to the need of change on economic and political structures.

As the unstructured interviews and observations in this study are based on individual reflections of current and past events and because they include a certain thinking that effects from the progress of the movements, it will be covered by inductive approach for framing and organizing of social movements. By using more than one data collection techniques, the risk of systematic error is tried to be limited. In the study, an auto ethnography and interpretive phenomenological analysis was performed using participant observation technique because it was thought to provide the advantage of deep analysis.

In all stages of movements, continuity of participation plays a major role. For instance, Jasper and Poulsen states that "it is possible that extreme images of suffering create a "moral shock" and help capture public attention, forge solidarity and stimulate a cosmopolitan sense of shared humanity."(Jasper & Poulsen, 1995) The rapid destruction of the habitats of polar bears which have become an iconic figure in particular and the experiences of peoples who are forced to migrate due to climate change are examples. Here, by focusing on the factors motivating individuals and

children to join protest and stay in the movements, it is aimed to demonstrate the dynamic of being together in a rights-based quest.

I will try to define my approach as clearly as I can and discuss the limitations in the subsequent section. However, I would truly appreciate a substantial criticism.

First one is the data collection. I set out to reach out to the activists who regarded themselves as part of the environmental movements. Although the movement of Extinction Rebellion was examined in this study, the interviews were conducted with people who identified themselves as climate activists and felt close to more than one environmental movement. In the selection of the sample, the condition of participating in at least two protests (meeting, public statement, creative activity) organized or supported by Extinction Rebellion was sought. I tried to make sure that activists from different age groups and occupational clusters, supported the movement and provided active participation regularly. Because the participants could change depending on the time, type of event, meeting places and purpose of the meeting. Therefore, I need to make sure that I can reach the interviewee in order to support the data obtained from the interview with observations. Since a significant majority was not reached in the number of in-depth interviews the basis of the analysis was based on field notes which were created using participant observation technique. Therefore, the data of the interviews will not be included in the analysis. However, as participant observation was determined as the main method, activists were directed with open-ended questions when necessary and their responses were recorded. The observation was usually carried out in a chat environment, in a collective discussion, with the recording of views that emerged during the task distribution and policy development exercises. Since the unstructured interviews that were not compatible with the sample definition were not sufficient in number, it was not included in the analysis because it was found to be

inconvenient for the trustworthiness of the study. At this point I decided to continue the study with an autoethnographic approach based, fieldnotes, personal data which reflects my observations and research. At the beginning of the analysis, based on Miles and Huberman's suggestion, it was focused on "data reduction".(Miles, Huberman, Huberman, & Huberman, 1994) In this context, after data collection, the concepts determining the main elements of environmental movements were divided into groups and the selection was made.

As Andersan and Coffin say that It is at the core of the autoethnography "to recognize the deep connections, rather than separation from the communities of which we are a part" (Handbook of Autoethnography, 58) While making inferences, I have tried to understand the building blocks of an ongoing movement which has very creative actions and strong demands regarding solutions of Climate Crisis by basing upon my observations and my own experiences without breaking with my activist identity. I have also tried to deepen the research and to remain faithful to the framework established in the first place, avoiding inquisitions deliberately separating the observer and the observed. However, the focus of the framework effects how the data are conceptualized and collected. So, first, let's start by discussing the framework that would be considered as the need of autoethnography which involves not only the "representation of the social reality of others" but of myself as well. In some contexts, "the crisis of representation" can express the integrity of the narrative functioned as rhetorical and poetic. The crisis of representation can also be defined as the presence of being activists in the environmental movements. With the concern of representation, the elements that make individuals a part of social movements are possible only when individual identity melts (or shines) in an organized community and becomes part of the narrative. In other words, there must be a parallelism between the reconstruction of

reality and "representation" within the upper identity of social movements and individual identities.

Representation is based on the presence of human stories, emotions and embodied experiences in this research study. As Jones, Adams and Ellis summarized at their book in Handbook of Auto Ethnography, "this method encourages to reflect upon the ways in which their engagements at the "field" has contributed to their understanding of themselves as contingent upon and emerging from the experiences of their lives." (29) Relevance of the social movements in terms of the representation logic is requisite for the research in order to give a significant outcome. Hence, the handpicked fieldnotes will be resolved considering the sorting of events and protests. It will help us see what indicators intersect with disobedience and representation, so that it will be a big step forward for finding where the participation is the impact over the collective identity created in the social movements.

Secondly, narrations will also help to deduce the individual experiences and the attribution of the targets. The versatile usage of common language and creative actions in civil disobedience movements expands the field of collectivity to articulate demands. For example, combining the educational and entertaining aspect of art with nonviolent actions overlaps with the aim of creating awareness with an accessible and inspiring discourse for everyone. Such as, stunning flags were painted by a group of rebels, radical street performances, Red Rebel Brigade action.(a group of druids dressed in blood red with their faces painted in white, who always bubbling amongst the crowd with no sounds and no speech), letters the Earth, live music in the street.. etc.(“Creative Rebellion,” 2019) Giving the opportunity to the community for using art as a form of expression, thus being a part of the movement, provides the nurturing of

the narrative, helps the understanding of building stones and strengthens the representation.

Thirdly, the analyze is focused in the form of personal experience rather than in generalization, reification or objectification. I believe I have the opportunity of making rich inferences this way. Field notes, personal data and interviews focused on such as; why the activists took part in one or more environmental movement, what triggered their participation, which motivations did they express and what kept them going in participation, which demands did they have and whether they thought that they will reach the success, which identity or roles did they take on in the movements, what the impact of social media and mainstream media were on this participation and so on. In addition to this whether the elements of deep ecological doctrine and the needs of the planet coincide are questioned throughout the study from the personal perspective and within the context of collective consciousness.

The analysis with the collective data reveals that one of the methods that society uses to make their voices heard is to act together with the groups they feel belong to. Members of a society are dominated by repressive regimes feel that the will to show their discomfort in the context of social sensitivities, depends on the initiative of the current sovereign regime. The interpretations are pointing that the reasons behind this trend are cultural and social barriers. Therefore, I decided to conduct from the narratives within the hegemonic infrastructure I have identified during the data analysis. The fact that these hegemonic relationships are effective not only in real life but also in digital platforms can be thought to be due to past bad experiences (belonging to themselves or others). The interviewees admitted that they applied self-censorship many times, especially in social media sharing. Less censorship was observed in personal relationships, because the belief that people who share similar values will continue to

engage in similar movements allows for more comfortable political discourse in real life. This puts forward the necessity of the experience of sustaining collective unity on social movements and resistance on the street, which in a sense is common belief. The power of social media tools cannot be reflected in terms of effective use of digital platforms and accessibility of social movements, but it can be concluded that security concerns directly affect the active use of these elements. The activists' relationship with the environmental issues require a pre-existing political framework. However, being a part of in a climate-related movement seems less political to some of the activists. Although there are lawsuits that have resulted in legal sanctions (arrestment) against the Gezi Park Resistance, there is much more acceptance that new generation movements will not lead to such sanctions. This indicator is actually surprising, because especially XR movement is particularly underlined that they are ready to take the risk, (e.g. arrest / jail time) and even sees this as a way of rousing public. It is known that this idea has been adopted more abroad and that people over 60 years old have been arrested by participating in protests. The analysis of the data shows that although there is a small minority who do not mind being arrested in Turkey, due to lack of confidence in the local justice system, people do not want to be arrested. Moreover, the view that the security forces and the current government do not perceive the protests as a threat, is more dominant.

B. Methodological Limitations

First of all, conducting interviews and data collection in an unstructured manner may be a limitation in the analysis phase. Although this method has given me a space of flexibility and freedom throughout the research, this might be both good and bad for the health of the study. Good, because being an activist who is also adopted the main

goals of the movements, provides enthusiasm to study the subject; but might be a handicap due to the fact that being a member in this group could cause bias. Nonetheless, I believe that I will be regarded as a neutral researcher.

Secondly, although the time span of the collected data covers a period of about 8 months, the continuity of observation during times when I could not actively participate in the movement may have hampered the integrity of the analysis due to the difference of the space and participants. Nevertheless, such a shortcoming will not affect the all study. It can also be considered as an advantage because it provides the variety. Since it is not possible to accurately measure the correlation between the impact of climate movements and the actions of policy makers within the framework of cause and effect, impact analysis has had to be linked to international agreements and commitments. The local movement's own internal dynamics and internationally accepted principles have been adopted. hence, this may trigger loss of universal data.

Let us move to our last chapter: Conclusion

CHAPTER 4

CONCLUSION

As previously mentioned, investigating whether civil disobedience movements have a positive effect on the actions of decision-makers is the departure point of this research. The ultimate aim of this study is to show that urgent steps have not been taken to solve the current crisis related to climate change and to prove that the crisis of representation in the hegemonic framework has mobilized society. Let us repeat the main research question: Can civil disobedience actions, by creating an awakening in society, initiate an immediate and radical transformation in the actions of decision-makers?

Visible evidence and an increase in global warming show that climate change is not a distant or fictitious threat, but rather an undeniable reality. Considering the 2030 targets, the inadequacy of the actions taken so far on climate change threatens the basic vital functions of all living things. Although the threat of two-degree warming is on the agenda of world states, environmental activists from each state have begun to unite under collective actions for more radical and realistic solutions. Indicators of increased climate movements and increased awareness are another proof that the alleged crisis is approaching. When the reasons that bring people together for similar purposes are evaluated on a hegemonic level, it is noteworthy that the effort to alter existing balances by creating a common identity with non-violent civil disobedience movements is remarkable. The fact that people in different economic, social and cultural environments demonstrate the will of all living beings to defend their right to life by revealing their individual identities reinforces the belief that hegemonic forces will shape their actions. Although the impacts of social movements were monitored by the numbers of participation in global actions, the decisive power of political and economic

actors reveals that the current economic and energy policies will continue for a while. Nevertheless, the deep commitment to the nonviolence principle increases the legitimacy of the movement and good examples in the climate struggle demonstrate the justification of the requested actions. One of the main assumptions of this thesis is that environmental sensitivity is the mainstay of effective activism. Although the concepts of representation and activism are discussed through a local social movement experience with an international extension, the problems faced by environmental movements in the world by raising awareness are common. For example, the tendency to become a natural part of the movements in which people feel belonging together with the crisis of representation continues until compelling elements and political threats emerge. On the other hand, although the sustainability of the social movement and activism creates the risk of dissolution in the context of the hegemonic repression element, it may also persist at the point where the parameters of personal representation integrate with the social movement itself. The support of iconic characters such as Greta from the scientific and political circles, the increase in the visibility of the discourse on the risk of extinction in the media create the most appropriate climate that will enable the understanding of the concept of the climate crisis and the rapid development of the collective policies related to the solution of this issue. It can be concluded that this favorable climate is not only one-way but interactive with the rapid development of social media and mass media.

I believe that the findings of the research shed light on the current situation. However, other researchers interested in working in this area may choose to expand the sample and choose a method for comparison to strengthen the analysis. For example, local governments' methods and its direct actions of combating the climate crisis may

be effective in demonstrating the impact of social movements. Given that we are on the verge of extinction, every effort to stop it is valuable.

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