

T.C.  
MARMARA ÜNİVERSİTESİ  
AVRUPA BİRLİĞİ ENSTİTÜSÜ

AB SİYASETİ VE ULUSLARARASI İLİŞKİLER ANABİLİM DALI

**TURKISH ENVIRONMENTAL MOVEMENTS IN THE  
ACCESSION TO THE EUROPEAN UNION**

YÜKSEK LİSANS TEZİ

Sinem İÇÖZ

İstanbul – 2012

T.C.  
MARMARA ÜNİVERSİTESİ  
AVRUPA BİRLİĞİ ENSTİTÜSÜ

AB SİYASETİ VE ULUSLARARASI İLİŞKİLER ANABİLİM DALI

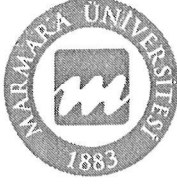
**TURKISH ENVIRONMENTAL MOVEMENTS IN THE  
ACCESSION TO THE EUROPEAN UNION**

YÜKSEK LİSANS TEZİ

Sinem İÇÖZ

Danışman: Yrd. Doç. Dr. Rana İZCİ

İstanbul – 2012



T.C.  
MARMARA ÜNİVERSİTESİ  
AVRUPA BİRLİĞİ ENSTİTÜSÜ

ONAY SAYFASI

Enstitümüz AB Siyaseti ve Uluslararası İlişkiler Anabilim Dalı Yüksek Lisans öğrencisi Sinem İÇÖZ'ün, **"TURKISH ENVIRONMENTAL MOVEMENTS IN THE ACCESSION TO THE EUROPEAN UNION"** konulu tez çalışması...21.03.2012... tarihinde yapılan tez savunma sınavında aşağıda isimleri yazılı jüri üyeleri tarafından oybirliği / oyçokluğu ile başarılı / başarısız bulunmuştur.

Onaylayan:

Yrd. Doç. Dr. Rana İZCİ

Danışman

.....*Rana İZCİ*.....

Doç. Dr. Çiğdem NAS

Jüri Üyesi

.....*Çiğdem NAS*.....

Yrd. Doç. Dr. Pınar BAL

Jüri Üyesi

.....*Pınar BAL*.....

Onay  
Prof. Dr. Müzaffer DARTAN  
Müdür

15.04.2012...tarih ve 2012/IV... Sayılı Enstitü Yönetim Kurulu kararı ile onaylanmıştır.

## **ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS**

I would like to give special thanks to my family who provided full support and encouraged me from the beginning until the end of this thesis. I would like to present my gratitude to my advisor Assist. Prof. Dr. Rana İZCİ for her guidance, help and endless patience in the realization of this study. And I would like to thank to everyone who fights to save the world.

## **ABSTRACT**

Environment and environmental issues have been important topics not only in the agendas of the states today but also of civil society. Due to direct impacts on human well-being, civil society involvement in environmental policy making becomes crucial. Recently European Union has emerged one of the global environmental actors in the world giving increasing importance the involvement of non-state actors in the environmental policy making process. It also encourages both member states and candidate countries to include the environmental movements in national policy making process and European Union accession process. As a candidate country, the chapter on the environment was opened in Turkey-European Union accession negotiations on 21 December 2009. Analyzing the position of environmental movements in Turkey during the EU accession process would provide fruitful insights on the evolution of civil society involvement in environmental policy making process. Therefore, the aim of this thesis is twofold; to examine the evolution of environmental movements in Turkey and to understand position of environmental movements in the European Union accession process as well as the impact of the accession process on environmental movements in Turkey.

## ÖZET

Çevre ve çevre sorunsalı son zamanlarda sadece devletlerin gündemlerini değil sivil toplumun da gündemini meşgul eden ve çözüm bulunması gereken en önemli konulardan biri olmuştur. Günümüzde Avrupa Birliği ileri düzeyde çevre politikaları ile dünya çevre sorunlarının çözümünde önemli küresel aktörlerden biri haline gelmiştir. Ancak çevre politikaları insan hayatını doğrudan etkilediği için devletlerin tek başlarına üretecekleri ve uygulayabilecekleri bir yapıya sahip değildir. Bu nedenle Avrupa Birliği devlet dışı aktörlerin çevre sorunlarının çözümünde söz sahibi olmalarına büyük önem vermektedir. Aynı zamanda, hem üye devletleri hem de aday ülkeleri çevre politikaları yapım sürecinde ve çevre müzakerelerinde çevre hareketinin sürece müdahil olması konusunda desteklemektedir. Türkiye Avrupa Birliği ile çevre müzakerelerine 21 Aralık 2009 yılında başlamıştır. Dolayısıyla, Türkiye'deki çevre hareketinin Türkiye'nin Avrupa Birliğine giriş sürecindeki yerini incelemek önemlidir. Bu kapsamda bu çalışmada Türkiye'deki çevre hareketinin gelişimi, çevre hareketinin Türkiye'nin AB'ye giriş sürecindeki yeri, sürece etkisi ve sürecin çevre hareketine etkisi incelenmiştir.

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS .....	i
ABSTRACT .....	ii
ÖZET .....	iii
LIST OF TABLES.....	vi
LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS .....	vi
INTRODUCTION .....	1
I. SOCIAL MOVEMENTS AND THE ENVIRONMENT .....	8
1.1. CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK.....	9
1.1.1. Historical Evolution of the Concept of Civil Society .....	9
1.1.2. A Brief Conceptual Analysis on Global Civil Society .....	11
1.1.3. Basic Features of and Types of Social Movements.....	16
1.2. HISTORICAL EVOLUTION OF SOCIAL MOVEMENTS.....	21
1.3. THEORIZATION OF SOCIAL MOVEMENTS .....	24
1.3.1. Old Social Movement Theories (Classical Theories) .....	25
1.3.2. New Social Movement Theories .....	27
1.4. ENVIRONMENT AND ENVIRONMENTAL MOVEMENTS.....	30
1.4.1. The Environment as a Concept .....	30
1.4.2. Environmental Movements .....	32
II. ENVIRONMENTAL POLICY IN THE EUROPEAN UNION AND THE EUROPEAN UNION INFLUENCE ON ENVIRONMENTAL MOVEMENTS IN THE FIFTH ENLARGEMENT PROCESS.....	38
2.1. EVOLUTION OF ENVIRONMENTAL POLICY OF EUROPEAN UNION .....	39
2.1.1. EU Environmental Policy-Making: Actors .....	43
2.1.2. EU Environmental Policy-Making: General Principles .....	47
2.2. EVOLUTION OF ENVIRONMENTAL POLICY AND ENVIRONMENTAL MOVEMENTS IN CEECs.....	50
2.3. MECHANISMS USED BY ENVIRONMENTAL MOVEMENTS IN CEECs DURING THE EU ACCESSION PROCESS .....	53
2.3.1. Legal Structures.....	54
2.3.2. Networks .....	56

2.3.3. EU Funds .....	58
2.3.4. General Evaluation on Environmental Movements Participation into the EU Accession Process .....	61
III. ENVIRONMENTAL MOVEMENTS IN TURKEY: EVOLUTION OF ENVIRONMENTAL MOVEMENTS AND THE IMPACT OF EU ACCESSION PROCESS .....	63
3.1. Evolution of Turkish Environmental Policy .....	64
3.2. Evolution of Environmental Movements in Turkey .....	68
3.2.1. Environmental Movements in the pre-1980s period .....	70
3.2.2. Environmental Movements in the post-1980s period .....	72
3.2.2.1 Between 1980 Military Coup and Conference on Human Settlements (HABITAT II) .....	74
3.2.2.2. Between Habitat II Conference and Johannesburg Conference .....	75
3.3. Classification of Turkish Environmental Movements .....	76
3.4. Relations of Turkey and European Union on Environment .....	80
3.4.1. Main Mechanisms for Environmental Movements Participation into the EU Accession Process .....	86
3.4.1.1. Legal Structures .....	88
3.4.1.2. Networks .....	89
3.4.1.3. Turkey's European Union Communication Strategy (EUCS) .....	90
3.4.1.4. EU Funds .....	92
3.5. General Evaluation on Environmental Movements Participation into the EU Accession Process .....	97
CONCLUSION .....	100
BIBLIOGRAPHY .....	105



## LIST OF TABLES

<b>Table 1.1.:</b> Five Meanings of Global Civil Society .....	<b>13</b>
<b>Table 1.2.:</b> Classification of Social Movements Based on Basic Features .....	<b>19</b>
<b>Table 1.3.:</b> Classification of Social Movements Based on the Locus and Amount of Change .....	<b>20</b>
<b>Table 1.4.:</b> History of Social Movements.....	<b>22</b>
<b>Table 1.5.:</b> Theorization of Social Movements.....	<b>25</b>
<b>Table 3.1.:</b> Short Term and Medium Term Priorities on Environment.....	<b>84</b>
<b>Table 3.2.:</b> IPA Funds Allocated to Turkey by Components (Million Euro).....	<b>93</b>

## LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

CEECs: Central and Eastern European Countries  
CIP: Competitiveness and Innovation Programme  
CFCU: Central Finance and Contract Unit  
CSO: Civil Society Organization  
ÇEVKO: Foundation for Environmental Protection and Packaging Waste Assessment  
DGs: Directorates General  
EAP: European Action Programme  
ECJ: European Court of Justice  
EEB: European Environmental Bureau  
EIA: Environmental Impact Assessment  
ENGO: Environmental Non-Governmental Organization  
EP: European Parliament  
EU: European Union  
EUCS: European Union Communication Strategy  
FoE: Friends of Earth  
FP6: Sixth Framework Programme  
FP7: Seventh Framework Programme  
GCS: Global Civil Society  
GSM: Global Social Movement  
IPA: Instrument for Pre-Accession Assistance  
IO: Intergovernmental Organization  
ISPA: Instrument for Structural Policies for Pre-Accession  
İKV: Economic Development Foundation  
LdV: Leonardo da Vinci  
LLP: Integrated Action Programme in Lifelong Learning  
MS: Member State  
NGO: Non-Governmental Organization  
NSM: New Social Movement  
PHARE: Poland and Hungary Assistance for the Reconstruction of the Economy

REC: Regional Environmental Center

SAPARD: Support for Pre-Accession Measures for Agriculture and Rural Development Programme

SEA: Single European Act

SPO: State Planning Organization

TEMA: The Turkish Foundation for Combating Soil Erosion, for Reforestation and the Protection of Natural Habitats

TTKD: Turkish Association for the Conservation of Nature and Natural Resources

TÜBİTAK: The Scientific and Technological Research Council of Turkey

TÜSİAD: Turkish Industry and Business Association

UÇEP: National Environment Strategy and Action Plan

UÇES: EU Integrated Environmental Approximation Strategy

USA: United States of America

WFD: Water Framework Directive

WWF: World Wild Life Fund

## INTRODUCTION

Natural environment has long been under pressure mainly because of the deep-rooted and widely accepted belief in the limitless economic growth. However, particularly in the 1970s it was realized that this limitless growth caused environmental disasters most of which could not be reversed. It was also understood that environmental problems knew no borders. These circumstances paved the way for the first international conference on the environment 'the United Nations Conference on the Human Environment (UNCHE)' in Stockholm in 1972. All in all, the UNCHE highlighted the importance of the relations between human and the environment; the adverse effects of the human activities on the environment, the relation between the environment and economic growth, and the right to live in a healthy and clean environment as well as the importance of international cooperation about protection of the environment. In Stockholm, States agreed on three outcomes which were a declaration of establishing the rights of obligations of citizens and governments with regard to the preservation and improvement of the human condition, an action plan focusing on human settlements, resource management, pollution, development and the social dimensions of the impact of environmental degradation on the human environment, and an organizational framework for addressing environmental concerns within the United Nations system naming as the United Nations Environment Programme.<sup>1</sup> Briefly states' reactions towards environmental degradation developed particularly in the late 1960s and early 1970s, however this concern lagged behind public consciousness which began to rise up during the 1960s.

Although states and state institutions are very important actors in promulgating and implementing of the environmental policy, consciousness and involvement of civil society seems essential for an effective policy implementation. This involvement can take place through various means; such as trying to affect the state and the public opinion by *ad hoc* protests on specific issues or by long-term activities of well-established non-governmental organizations (NGOs).

---

<sup>1</sup> Lorraine Elliot, *The Global Politics of the Environment*, Macmillan Press: London, 1998, pp.10-13.

The roots of the environmental movements go back to the late nineteenth and early twentieth century anti-hunting and pro-hunting groups in the United States and Central Europe which emerged to conserve the wild life and nature.<sup>2</sup> Environmental movements can take various forms such as mobilizations to deal with a current event, NGOs with specific environmental concerns/focus and parties. For instance the most famous group was Sierra Club which was founded by John Muir in 1892. It aimed to protect the forests, canyons and mountains of California's Sierra Nevada against the extensive logging and livestock grazing.<sup>3</sup>

When the widespread effects of environmental degradation began to be felt after the second part of the twentieth century, developments with regard to environmental movements gained pace. Four thousand people had died because of the air pollution in London in 1952.<sup>4</sup> Not only millions of people had died because of the chemical and biological weapons in the Vietnam War, but the biological composition of the land in Vietnam also was changed because of the contamination of the land and natural resources. Thus, many diseases and birth defects also emerged after the war. Moreover, Rachel Carson's book 'Silent Spring' in 1962 documented about the impact of the use of pesticides which generated a big discussion among public about the effects of human activities on the environment.<sup>5</sup> In 1970 nearly twenty million Americans participated in the first Earth Day celebration due to the widespread concerns about the environmental degradation.<sup>6</sup>

It might be said that the emergence of the modern environmental movement in the Europe triggered by student protests in the late 1960s. It developed through anti-nuclear mobilizations especially in France and Germany. In 1971 activists from *Les Amis de la Terre*, the French branch of Friends of Earth, participated alongside local

---

<sup>2</sup> Christopher Rootes, "Environmental Movements", *The Blackwell Companion to Social Movements*, in David A. Snow, Sarah A. Source and Hans Peter Kries (eds.), Blackwell Publishing: USA, UK and Australia, 2004, pp. 608-640, p.612.

<sup>3</sup> Environmental Movements, the History of the Environmental Movement, Public Support and Prospects for the Future, Nongovernmental Organisations <http://www.libraryindex.com/pages/3265/Environment> (27.08.2011).

<sup>4</sup> Rootes, "Environmental Movements", p.613.

<sup>5</sup> Elliot, 1998, p.9.

<sup>6</sup> Environmental Movements, the History of the Environmental Movement, Public Support and Prospects for the Future, Nongovernmental Organisations.

protesters in the first anti-nuclear demonstrations in Alsace.<sup>7</sup> In Germany citizen initiatives emerged which criticized the nuclear policies of the government let to the evolution of Green political movement.<sup>8</sup> In time, the environmental movement expanded in the Europe due to the growing environmental problems.

European Union (EU) can also be regarded another reason behind increased environmental activism in Europe. Recently, EU has emerged as one of the important global actors with its environmental policies. While developing its environmental policy, EU also includes a bottom up approach. It lays emphasize on the involvement of non-state actors into the environmental policy making process. Therefore, EU encourages the participation of environmental movements through various mechanisms in environmental policy making process. It also encourages both member states (MSs) and candidate countries to include environmental movements in national policy making process.

As a candidate country, the chapter on the environment was opened in Turkey-EU accession negotiations on 21 December 2009. The environment is one of the areas which particularly for the last enlargement process has proved to be very difficult. Basically, EU negotiation process is different from any other negotiation process in which any candidate country does not negotiate which directive and regulation is adopted or not but when and how it is adopted. In this framework, Turkey has to adopt over hundreds of environmental directives and regulations to harmonize its environmental policy with the EU environmental *acquis*. During this harmonization process Turkey has to develop its administrative capacity and spend millions of Euros to comply with the *acquis*. This process also has made social movements more visible, and the state began to regard them as stakeholders in the decision making process. In this framework, this thesis argues that Turkey has gone through a comprehensive transformation during the accession process and this transformation has begun to change its existing relations between the actors in environmental policy making although it is limited. The negotiation process creates a big financial and administrative

---

<sup>7</sup> Christopher Rootes, "1968 and Environmental Movement in Europe", *A handbook on National Perspectives and Transnational Dimensions of 1960/70s Protest Movements*, in Martin Klimke and Joachim Scharloth (eds.), Palgrave Macmillan: New York, 2008, pp.1-10, p.3.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, p.4.

burden for candidate countries. Therefore, state and environmental movements have to cooperate and collaborate in order to share this burden by exchanging their resources and benefiting from their expertises. This thesis also argues that EU accession process provides new opportunities for Turkish environmental movements in order to participate in environmental decision making process.

In line with these arguments this thesis is consisted of three main chapters. First chapter starts with explaining the concept of civil society and global civil society because civil society is a *sine qua non* for social movements and social movements are part of the civil society. Social movements are collective actions which evolve within the civil society. Habermas argues that new social movements (NSMs) have been developing new collective identities in the civil society.<sup>9</sup> Examining the historical evaluation of social movements is also essential to understand how and when the environment has become an important issue for the civil society. At this point, it is also noteworthy to underline that environmental problems are not only problems of environmental movements. The other social groups in civil society such as farmers, consumers, commuters, home owners are also related with environmental problems, they can perform environment related actions.<sup>10</sup>

The first chapter continues with the definition and types of social movement due to the fact that there are various definitions and types of social movements. In this thesis social movements have been classified according to their basic features, locus and amount of change and change of social values. Social movements can also be classified historically. Therefore in the first chapter social movement analyzed historically as old, new and global social movements. In order to understand basic terms thoroughly, this chapter continues with definition of the environment and delve into environmental movements and categorization of environmental movements. Then environmental movements are categorized according to their structures, their goals and strategies, to whom or what they represent, their ideologies and their relationships with the state.

---

<sup>9</sup> Hein Anton van der Heijden, *Social Movements, Public Spheres and the European Politics of the Environment: Green Power Europe?*, Palgrave Macmillan: England and USA, 2010, p.36.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, p.12.

Briefly this chapter tries to develop a basic framework to understand the main dynamics of Turkish environmental movements.

Recently, EU assumes a leadership in the global environmental policy. Although there are many criticisms against this assumed leadership position of the EU, it became an important environmental actor with a huge environmental *acquis*. As EU environmental policy has been developed; the accession to the EU becomes more challenging for candidate countries. Thus the second chapter examines the evolution of EU environmental policy, environmental actors and general principles firstly in order to show what candidate states have faced with during their accession process. Then environmental movements in Central and Eastern European Countries (CEECs), their positions and the mechanisms which they used during the accession process are examined in order to understand the status of Turkish environmental movements in the EU accession process. There are two main reasons to choose these countries. First of all, EU environmental policy is not constant but dynamic process. It evolves with current global developments and includes increasing numbers of detailed regulations and directives. The CEECs are the last MSs which became members in 2004 and 2007. Therefore they had to adopt a detailed environmental *acquis* as Turkey has to. Secondly although environmental problems in Turkey and CEECs are different and environmental movements have evolved from different sources there are many similarities between the structures of environmental movements and their position during the accession process.

Environmental movements in the CEECs had weak capacities. Many of them did not have enough money, expertise and personnel in order to be involved in accession process. Also, governments did not know how to cooperate and collaborate with environmental movements. Turkey now faces similar difficulties during its accession process. Therefore examination of experiences of environmental movements in CEECs might provide a useful guideline for Turkish environmental movements. Threefold mechanism developed to examine the mechanisms which environmental movements in CEECs by Tanja Börzel are used to understand the role of Turkish environmental movements in Turkey's accession process in the following chapter. These



mechanisms include legal structures, networks and EU Funds. However, in Turkish case there is also a fourth mechanism which is the EU Communication Strategy which by Ministry for EU Affairs.<sup>11</sup>

In the light of the experiences of environmental movements in the CEECs, third chapter aims to analyze Turkish environmental movements during the EU accession process. Therefore third chapter deals with the historical evolution of the Turkish environmental policy, environmental movements in Turkey and the impact of EU and Turkey relations on the environmental movements in Turkey. To start with, this chapter tries to present a general classification for Turkish environmental movements. Classification of environmental movements in Turkey is necessary in order to have a better understanding of the current status of environmental movements and their attitudes towards the EU accession process. Accordingly, Turkish environmental movements are classified according to their goals and strategies, their ideologies and their relations with the state in this thesis. However, these categories are not mutually exclusive, but they are interrelated. Finally, this chapter investigates the impact of Turkey and EU relations on environmental policy and then main mechanisms which Turkish environmental movements use in the accession process to participate more in environmental policy making.<sup>12</sup>

Briefly, this thesis attempts to present a general framework about the status of Turkish environmental movements during the EU accession process in the light of the experiences of the environmental movements in the CEECs. This thesis concludes that the accession process has a positive impact on participation of Turkish environmental movements to the environmental decision making process through these four mechanisms, even though it is a limited impact. To this end, this study is based on a wide literature review and the interviews made with experts and volunteers who are

---

<sup>11</sup> Secretary General for EU Affairs was transformed into T.R. Ministry for EU Affairs through decree law numbered 634 in 3 June 2011. Avrupa Birliđi Bakanlıđının Teşkilat ve Görevleri Hakkında Kanun Hükmünde Kararname, Karar Sayısı: KHK/634 [http://www.abgs.gov.tr/files/files/Kanunlar/avrupa\\_birligi\\_bakanliginin\\_teskilat\\_ve\\_gorevleri\\_hakkinda\\_kanun\\_hukmunde\\_kararname.pdf](http://www.abgs.gov.tr/files/files/Kanunlar/avrupa_birligi_bakanliginin_teskilat_ve_gorevleri_hakkinda_kanun_hukmunde_kararname.pdf) (06.09.2011)

<sup>12</sup> The data and literature used in this thesis cover the developments about environmental movements up to December 31, 2011.

involved in certain environmental movements and initiatives and also an expert from Ministry for EU Affairs in Turkey.

## I

### SOCIAL MOVEMENTS AND THE ENVIRONMENT

Environmental movements are very crucial in terms of transnational character of disseminating information on environmental issues and preventing the problem in source and creating awareness all around the world. For instance, ‘Campaign against Climate Change’ is the major environmental movement which raises public awareness on climate change through mobilizing mass demonstrations. It was founded in 2001 after the President Bush rejection of Kyoto Protocol in United Kingdom.<sup>13</sup> Since 2005 it has coordinated ‘Global Day of Action’ during the time of annual United Nations climate talks which people have protested in more than seventy countries at the same time to draw the world's attention to global climate change.<sup>14</sup> In Turkey, Greenpeace takes attention to the environmental problems by making salient campaigns such as ‘Future without Nuclear’, ‘We save the Mediterranean’ and ‘Global Warming and Energy’. Especially in these days it has conduct a campaign naming as ‘How many Inches of Yours’ in order to prevent seed fish hunting<sup>15</sup>. Such colourful and attention grabbing actions mainly point out growing opposition to the neoliberal globalization and its values and institutions on the one hand, on the other a growing demand for a different world as well as the need for collective action to achieve this new world.

Late 1960s is the period famous of its transformative nature of these grassroots mobilizations. Among all, environmental movements are very crucial due to the trans-boundary nature of environmental problems and growing environmental change throughout the world which likely to engender human survival on earth. In today’s world, environmental change and its impacts become more and more part of our daily lives, and environmental protests and environmental mobilizations appear to dominate the media, making even local environmental problems more visible to everyone. It would not be misleading to state that no longer local air pollution or dying lake

---

<sup>13</sup> Campaign against Climate Change [http://www.campaigncc.org/what\\_we\\_do](http://www.campaigncc.org/what_we_do) (09.05.2011).

<sup>14</sup> Ibid.

<sup>15</sup> Green Peace Akdeniz <http://www.greenpeace.org/turkey/tr/> (09.05.2011).

ecosystems can be deemed neither as a local problem in Turkey nor only for Turkey but a regional or even a global problem.

Like other movements, environmental movements are not homogenous. There are different kinds of environmental movements which have changed over time and/or were replaced by others. Environmental non-governmental organizations (ENGOS), green parties, platforms, citizen initiatives can be regarded as main actors within this mobilization. In order for better understanding of environmental movements, first chapter analyzes the conceptual framework and theories of the social movement. It also examines the classification of social movement and its historical evolution. Then it defines the environmental movement and discusses its main features.

## **1.1. CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK**

It is not a very easy task to theorize and categorize the social movements. It is even more difficult in the case of environment. However, a conceptual and theoretical background is necessary to understand the evolution of environmental movements. If social movements can be regarded as collective actions to change something demand, they can be closely associated with the concept of civil society. Therefore starting with the brief description of civil society is essential for the analyzing the evaluation of environmental movements.

### **1.1.1. Historical Evolution of the Concept of Civil Society**

Civil Society is one of the oldest concepts in social sciences which traced back to the ancient times. Aristotle had used the concept *koinonia politike* as political community, named as *polis*, and had governed by decisions of citizens.<sup>16</sup> It is also an ambiguous concept which has been defined differently through different time periods, places, political and theoretical perspectives. Scholte stated that the notion of civil society had varied definitions due to cultural and historical contexts. For example civil society for Hegel has not been the same as for a grassroots eco-feminists group in India

---

<sup>16</sup> Jean L. Cohen and Andrew Arato, *Civil Society and Political Theory*, the MIT Press: Cambridge, Massachussets and London, 1992, p. 84.

in the late twentieth century.<sup>17</sup> By supporting Scholte, Kaldor argued that the meaning of the term had varied according to historical context and form of political authority. Any definition of civil society which was made in the eighteenth or in the nineteenth centuries has not been the same as in the twentieth century.<sup>18</sup>

Early modern thinkers explained the civil society as part of the state. According to them, civil society was a society which governed by laws where everyone, including rulers, was subject to law.<sup>19</sup> Unlike his predecessors, Hegel defined the civil society with a liberal perspective and made a distinction between state and civil society in the nineteenth century. Hegel argued that civil society had to be existed in order to satisfy individual interests and private property which were the realms that state should not be intervened. Although he separated civil society from the state, he did not make the same for economy. As being suitable the liberal ideas of the nineteenth century, he saw the civil society as a realm of capitalist interests.<sup>20</sup>

Twentieth century thinkers have focused on what civil society is not.<sup>21</sup> According to them, civil society is not any part of the state: It is non-official, non-governmental. It contains voluntary actions rather than mandatory ones. Also, civil society is not located within market whose main aim is not to make profit. It is not a part of the state and the market so it can be defined as third sector.<sup>22</sup> It is interrelated with the first and second sectors in order to increase the welfare of societies, and also vital in composition of any healthy society like other sectors.<sup>23</sup> Italian Marxists Antonio Gramsci is one of the thinkers who worked through civil society. Gramsci emphasized the importance of civil society on socialist revolution. He drew a clear distinction between “hegemony, based on consent and domination based on coercion”<sup>24</sup> and added that hegemony of bourgeoisie would not be so long because it is a domination based on coercion. At the end it would replace with hegemony of proletariat and its hegemony

---

<sup>17</sup> Jan Aart Scholte, “Global Civil Society: Changing the World?”, CSGR Working Paper, No. 31/99, May 1999 [http://wrap.warwick.ac.uk/2094/1/WRAP\\_Scholte\\_wp3199.pdf](http://wrap.warwick.ac.uk/2094/1/WRAP_Scholte_wp3199.pdf) (03.11.2009), p. 2.

<sup>18</sup> Mary Kaldor, *Global Civil Society: An Answer to War*, Blackwell Publishing Ltd:UK, 2003, p. 16.

<sup>19</sup> Mary Kaldor, “The Idea of Global Civil Society”, *International Affairs* 79, March 2003, pp. 583-593, p. 584.

<sup>20</sup> Ibid.

<sup>21</sup> Scholte, 1999, p. 2.

<sup>22</sup> Ibid., p. 3.

<sup>23</sup> Ibid.

<sup>24</sup> Kaldor, “The Idea of Global Civil Society”, 2003, p. 585.

would base on consent rather than coercion. This consent would be provided through education of civil society.<sup>25</sup> Kaldor made an evaluation on different kinds of definition of civil society that all these definitions about civil society had a common core meaning which was all about a rule-governed society based on the consent of individual.<sup>26</sup> She also defined the civil society as “the process through which individuals negotiate, argue, struggle against or agree with each other and with the centres of political and economic authority”<sup>27</sup>.

### **1.1.2. A Brief Conceptual Analysis on Global Civil Society**

Global civil society (GCS) is relatively a new concept which emerged in the 1990s in conjunction with globalization. Globalization is “a process of interaction and integration among the people, companies, and governments of different nations, a process driven by international trade and investment and aided by information technology”<sup>28</sup>. After the economic and oil crisis during the 1970s, a neo-liberal approach was began to dominate both in the economy and politics in the 1980s. This process led to increasing international trade and developments on communication technology and caused to compose a world culture during the 1990s and also world problems such as environmental degradations, violation of human rights, woman rights and so on. It also caused the collective actions which people move together for the same problem in the world. In other words globalization produced the global civil society. As the shared problems and culture were global, civil society became global and began to move globally. GCS is also a contested concept that many commentators and writers have not been able to reach a common position about its definition whether it is good thing or bad thing, whether it is a global term or just a western one and what it is exactly covered.<sup>29</sup>

---

<sup>25</sup> Asiye Aka, Antonio Gramsci ve Hegemonik Okul, *Balikesir Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü Dergisi*, Cilt 12 Sayı 21, Haziran 2009, pp. 329-338, p.330.

<sup>26</sup> Kaldor, “The Idea of Global Civil Society”, 2003, p. 585.

<sup>27</sup> Ibid.

<sup>28</sup> Globalization 101, The Levin Institute The State University of New York [http://www.globalization101.org/What\\_is\\_Globalization.html](http://www.globalization101.org/What_is_Globalization.html) (08.05.2011).

<sup>29</sup> Leni Wild, “Strengthening Global Civil Society”, paper presented at the Institute for Public Policy Research’s International Conference, Italy, April 2006, p.2.

GCS is generally defined in normative and structural frameworks. According to Taylor, the normative content of GCS is highly contested.<sup>30</sup> Normative framework has defined how any GCS should be and behave. However, there is a dilemma here. On the one hand GCS is a present of neoliberal globalization which assists, influences and broadens hegemonic power.<sup>31</sup> In this framework, NGOs have developed their ties with intergovernmental organizations (IOs) through international summits, coalitions and networks in order to encourage nation states to change rules and laws in favour of them. On the other hand, GCS has been emerged in order to challenge the undemocratic, unequal and unjust practices of neo-liberal globalization.<sup>32</sup> GCS reveals in order to resist the IOs which represent the interests of the hegemonic states and multinational corporations and follow global commodification practices.<sup>33</sup>

Structurally, GCS has been defined as all associations, which falls outside public and private sectors and acts transnationally.<sup>34</sup> The transnational activities have been developed by supra-territorial character of globalization. Globalization has obtained global relations in which territorial borders have been diminished. The developments in traveling and communication technologies make easier accession to all information in the world. Any phenomenon happening in any parts of the world has been speedily affected the other parts. This feature of globalization has caused to emerge global issues such as climate change, economic crisis, AIDS and so on.

According to Scholte, civil society must involve some features in order to be defined as global.<sup>35</sup> First of all, GCS must address trans-world issues such as loss of biological diversity, ozone depletion, and epidemic diseases. Secondly, it must involve trans-border communication. Thanks to the developments in travelling and communication technologies, civil society representatives from all part of the world can meet and reach the information easily.<sup>36</sup> Thirdly, it must be a global organization and finally, it must work on a premise of supra-territorial solidarity. For instance groups can

---

<sup>30</sup> Rupert Taylor, "Interpreting Global Civil Society", in *Creating a Better World Interpreting Global Civil Society*, in Rupert Taylor (ed.), Kumarian Press Inc: USA, 2004, p.2.

<sup>31</sup> Ibid.

<sup>32</sup> Ibid.

<sup>33</sup> Ibid., p. 3.

<sup>34</sup> Ibid., p. 5.

<sup>35</sup> Scholte, 1999, pp. 10-13.

<sup>36</sup> Ibid.

build on a sense of collective identity and destiny beyond territories on lines of age, class, gender, profession, religious faith or sexual orientation. This does not mean that any GCS must have all the features. For example, a local group which works for climate change can also be a GCS, because it works for a global issue.<sup>37</sup> Briefly, it thinks globally, acts locally.

Kaldor explains the GCS in her book ‘Global Civil Society: An Answer to Wars’ by transposing the concept of civil society into the concept of GCS. According to her contemporary meaning of civil society which is GCS can only be understood by trying to understand the relevance of past meanings.<sup>38</sup>

**Table 1.1**  
**Five Meanings of Global Civil Society**

<b>Societas Civilis</b>	<b>Bourgeois Society</b>	<b>Activist Version</b>	<b>Neoliberal Version</b>	<b>Postmodern Version</b>
Political community in which rule of law, explicit and implicit individual consent, and absence of violence in human affairs have been adjudicated	Civil society emerged with capitalism; market, social classes, civil law and welfare organizations were all parts of the civil society	Active individuals can affect the conditions in the world.	Civil society is a non-profit voluntary third sector.	Religious, national, ethnic even groups which use the violence. This is the same in GCS in which there are different networks such as human rights, islamists or nationalists networks

**Source:** Mary Kaldor, *Global Civil Society: An Answer to War*, Blackwell Publishing ltd: UK, 2003, pp. 7-10.

The first meaning of GCS is *societas civilis*. It is explained as “civility”<sup>39</sup>. *Societas civilis* has not been separated from the existence of a state, because state is the main security and order provider which holds the public monopoly of legitimate violence. According to this meaning, civil society needs entity of a state in order to be existed. One of the main objections to the definition of GCS is that there is no world state in order to provide entity of GCS. However Kaldor argues that universal humanitarian and human rights law, establishment of an international criminal court, the

<sup>37</sup> Scholte, 1999, pp. 10-13.

<sup>38</sup> Kaldor, *Global Civil Society: An Answer to War*, 2003, p.7.

<sup>39</sup> Ibid.



expansion of international peacekeeping, effort on creating global governance with international treaties and institutions are the signs of a universal state.<sup>40</sup>

Until the nineteenth century civil society defined as one of the part of a state. For the first time, Hegel defined the civil society as the intermediate realm between family and the state where the individual becomes the public person and, through membership in various institutions, is able to reconcile the particular and the universal.<sup>41</sup> Following this definition GCS has been reflected “globalization from below”<sup>42</sup> which has been gone below and beyond the state and international political institutions.

The third meaning of civil society -the activist version- was emerged by opposition movements which were called as NSMs after 1968. They concerned with new issues like peace, women, human rights and environment.<sup>43</sup> Democracy was radicalized and participation and autonomy were extended. This definition has explained that active individuals can affect the conditions in the world. Emergence of GCS is linked with emergence of a global public sphere in which non-instrumental communication can take place, inhabited by transnational advocacy networks like World Wild Life Fund (WWF) or Amnesty International, global social movements like the protestors, international media through which their campaigns can be brought to global attention, new global ‘civic religions’ like human rights or environmentalism. Towards the end of the 1990s anti-globalized movements emerged which called as global social justice, are also defined within GCS.<sup>44</sup>

The neo-liberal version was emerged aftermaths of the Cold War. The civil society was understood as what the Western world was.<sup>45</sup> GCS has been understood as NGOs. According to this term, as a truly global state has not been emerged, therefore NGOs have tried to decrease the bad effects of the economic globalization.<sup>46</sup>

---

<sup>40</sup> Kaldor, *Global Civil Society: An Answer to War*, 2003, p.7.

<sup>41</sup> John L. Comaroff and Jean Comaroff, *Civil Society and the Political Imagination in Africa: Critical Perspectives*, University of Chicago Press: Chicago and London, 1999, p. 3.

<sup>42</sup> Kaldor, *Global Civil Society: An Answer to War*, 2003, p.7.

<sup>43</sup> Kaldor, “The Idea of Global Civil Society”, 2003, p. 588.

<sup>44</sup> Kaldor, *Global Civil Society: An Answer to War*, 2003, pp. 7-10.

<sup>45</sup> Ibid.

<sup>46</sup> Ibid.

The final meaning of GCS- the postmodern version- expresses that definition of civil society contains both civility and incivility in itself. Many social anthropologists, criticize the definition of civil society as it is Eurocentric which includes western cultural context and keeps out the groups in non-Western world.<sup>47</sup> According to this meaning global civil society should be a plural and contested term which contains all different organizational forms and types of global action such as illiberal, anti-democratic and violent as well as liberal, democratic and peaceful.<sup>48</sup>

As its definition, there are many discussions about the rise of GCS. Many writers and researchers have accorded that GCS emerged aftermath of the Cold War with globalization. Callahan argued that although the term has begun to be used widespread in 1990s, there were many efforts in order to strengthen cross border links among NGOs and in order to institutionalize GCS over the past hundred years. For example, ‘Central Office of International Associations’ was founded in 1907 by Henri La Fontaine. Later the name changed as the ‘Union of International Associations’. It was founded with the aim of establish relations among non-governmental groups in many different countries in order to find solutions for world problem. The organization is still existed today. He underlined that the first half of the twentieth century also saw the creation of NGO coalitions to press specific agendas: international women's associations, labour union alliances, coalitions dedicated to disarmament and world peace, and associations aimed at strengthening international organizations. By 1939, there was an estimated seven hundred international NGOs. According to many mid-century ‘One World’ idealists, the creation of the United Nations in 1945 was an interim step for true world government; and transnational links between citizens groups were seen as helping to pave the way to this dream. The World Federalist Movement, founded in 1947, is among the more well-known organizations dedicated to the goal of stronger world governance that emerged during this period.<sup>49</sup>

According to Batliwala, the roots of the GCS were begun to see in the late 1970s due to the fact that unregulated practices of transnational corporations and

---

<sup>47</sup> Kaldor, *Global Civil Society: An Answer to War*, 2003, pp. 7-10.

<sup>48</sup> Wild, 2006, p.2.

<sup>49</sup> David Callahan, “What is Global Civil Society”, 2001 <http://www.civicnet.com> (01.11.2010).

increasing integration of the world's economies into a vast global market. Societies began to be collect around the same issues such as environment, human rights, development and gender equality.<sup>50</sup>

According to Scholte, GCS is not a new term whose examples can be seen at the beginning of eighteenth century. For instance anti-slavery movements made a transatlantic campaign. Moreover, pacifists, anarchists, the first and second workers' internationals, Pan-Africanists, advocates of women suffrage and Zionists edited prototypical global meetings in the nineteenth century.<sup>51</sup>

Lipshutz has found the remnants of GCS before the seventeenth century. Prior to the emergence of state system there was such kind of supranational civil society which was based on structures of Catholic religion whose universal spiritual and temporal authority was recognised as standing above the rulers of individual bits and pieces of territory.<sup>52</sup>

GCS gained impetus after the Cold War, what James Mayal called that history started again rather than ended.<sup>53</sup> Besides the innovations and developments which have come with globalization, there are three points that help to explain why global civil society is emerging at this time. First, the twentieth century has been the sign of passing away sovereignty from the state to both supranational and subnational institutions. Second, GCS is emerging as a functional response to the decreasing ability and willingness of governments to undertake a variety of welfare functions. Finally, GCS is a form of large scale resistance to the Gramscian hegemony of the international system.<sup>54</sup>

### **1.1.3. Basic Features of and Types of Social Movements**

Social movement, in a basic meaning, is a type of group action in which people who share the same grievances and problems come together and try to change the

---

<sup>50</sup> Srilatha Batliwala, "Grassroots Movements as Transnational Actors: Implications for Global Civil Society", *Creating a Better World: Interpreting Global Civil Society*, in Rupert Taylor (ed.), p.64.

<sup>51</sup> Scholte, 1999, p.13.

<sup>52</sup> Ronnie D. Lipschutz, "Reconstructing the World Politics: The Emergence of Global Civil Society", paper presented in the annual meeting of the International Studies Association, Atlanta, Georgia, USA, 31 March-4 April 1992, p.400.

<sup>53</sup> James Mayal, *Nationalism and International Society*, Cambridge University Press: Cambridge, 1990, p.56.

<sup>54</sup> Lipschutz, 1992, p. 399.

existing social order in favour of them by using unconventional way. However, it is a difficult and complex term in order to explain due to its inter-disciplinary and heterogenic feature. It is inter-disciplinary because, during the 1960s, there was a growing interest of social movement studies when the NSMs began to be emerged. This caused the fragmentation of studies on social movements such as sociology, political science, psychology, anthropology and history which have different approaches.<sup>55</sup> It is heterogenic because, it has included many different kinds of group such as citizen initiatives, civil society organizations (CSOs), NGOs and so on.

According to Zirakzadeh, social movement is a term that various authors used in different ways. For instance somebody defines it as ideologically nonviolent and democratic whereas the other would defines the German Nazi Party as a social movement.<sup>56</sup> According to him, “social movement is a group of people who consciously attempt to build a radically new social order”<sup>57</sup>. Moreover, they are non-elite which do not have a political career, social prestige or personal wealth.<sup>58</sup> They are culturally degraded, politically oppressed and, economically exploited.<sup>59</sup> Ordinary people have fought chances to impose their demands to authorities by participating any social movement. Also, Tilly supports this idea and mentions that social movements are a major vehicle for ordinary people’s participation in public policies.<sup>60</sup>

Due to its complicated character, a list of distinctive features is a necessity to define a group of actor as a social movement. Snow and Soule argue that there are five features which any social movement has to have.<sup>61</sup> First of all, social movements are challengers to or defenders of the existing system. Either they are not satisfied with existing system and want to change or they do not want to change the existing system. Secondly, they are collective rather than individual actors. Individuals in social movements have common grievances and common targets in order to eliminate these

---

<sup>55</sup> Bert Klandermans and Conny Rogeband, *Handbook of Social Movements Across Disciplines*, in Bert Klandermans and Conny Rogeband (eds.), Springer: London, 2010, pp. 1-2.

<sup>56</sup> Cyrus Ernesto Zirakzadeh, *Social Movements in Politics: A Comparative Study*, Longman: London and New York, 1997, p. 3.

<sup>57</sup> Ibid., p. 4.

<sup>58</sup> Ibid.

<sup>59</sup> Ibid.

<sup>60</sup> Charles Tilly, *Social Movements, 1768-2004*, Paradigm publishers: USA, 2004, p. 3.

<sup>61</sup> David A.Snow and Sarah A. Soule, *A primer on Social Movements*, Jeffrey C. Alexander: New York and London 2010, pp.6-19.

grievances. Thirdly, social movements are extra institutional challengers which do not use the conventional ways in order to reach their aims. In this framework they make a distinction between social movements and interest groups according to their relationships to the political environment or relevant authority. While interest groups are included within political system, social movements stay outside of the authority structure due to absence of any channels in order to access to it or they choose to stay outside. Fourthly, they are organized actors. They are involved in collective actions in order to reach their common objectives. Therefore they have to move coordinative and organized. Finally, they act in a temporal continuity. They do not have a routine calendar. Their aims are clear but actions are not planned before.<sup>62</sup>

All in all it can be argued that “A social movement is a conscious, collective, organized attempt to bring about or resist large scale change in social order by non-institutionalized means”<sup>63</sup>. They are quite small, but they have potential to growth and get the millions to come along. Moreover, there are some methods such as petitioning, using judicial way and organizing strikes which are used by parties, interests groups and sometimes by social movements. What the social movements distinguish from the other groups that they much more use unconventional methods which are politically confrontational and socially disruptive such as the occupation of buildings and street blockades in order to express their grievances and in order to impose their solutions to social problems.<sup>64</sup> Although they are seen to use illegal ways, they try to balance disruption and confrontation with cooperation, legality, and consensus.<sup>65</sup> Social movements are different than interest groups trying to achieve power using well-known ways of communication and bargaining. However, social movements work for better life for everyone which is an ultimate aim, though they might have priorities. Finally social movements are all about change. They want to change something, to improve the conditions consciously.<sup>66</sup>

---

<sup>62</sup> Snow and Soule, 2010, pp. 6-19.

<sup>63</sup> John Wilson, *Introduction to Social Movements*, Basic books, Inc. Publishers: NY, 1973, p. 8.

<sup>64</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 10-11.

<sup>65</sup> Zirakzadeh, 1997, p. 5.

<sup>66</sup> Wilson, 1973, p. 11.

Classification of social movements are as important as defining them. Firstly, classification shows that social movements are a distinctive field of study. Secondly, it brings up the differences among the various types of social movements, and why these differences emerge. Finally, as the concept is very heterogeneous, classification simplifies the term and helps to understand better.<sup>67</sup> Depending upon the essential features that any social movement has, Turner and Killian mentioned about three old types which are value-oriented movements, power-oriented movements and participation-oriented movements in their textbook, 'Collective Behaviour'<sup>68</sup>. Their classification method has been based on basic features of any social movement. These are (1) a program for a reform society; (2) the establishment of a power relationship in favour of the movement; (3) the promotion of membership satisfaction.

**Table 1.2**  
**Classification of Social Movements Based on Basic Features**

Value-oriented	Power-oriented	Participation-oriented
It is based on the belief that the better world will come with change and change will come with actions of movement. Participants are devoted to the programme of the movement. The most important feature of these movements is that while trying to reach their aims they do not use violence as a tool. Peace movement is a good example.	Its main aim is having the power and holding it in their hands. This kind of movement believes that the power will provide the desired future. In order to get power they use violent ways. For example, Bolshevism had a central aim of the concentration of total social power in the hands of a ruling group.	It is based on the requirements of membership satisfaction basically through self-expression. It is separated into (1) passive reform movements which only wait for anticipated change; (2) personal status movements which redefine the status system therefore the standing of certain group is enhanced; and (3) limited personal movements which has an exclusive character and only open for special people such as lodges, secret societies and fraternities.

**Source:** John Wilson, *Introduction to Social Movements*, Basic books, Inc. Publishers: NY, 1973, pp. 11-19.

This is generally regarded as a very detailed classification method, because it includes all the features which any movements are necessitated. But it has some criticism as well.<sup>69</sup>

The first problem is that there is not a harmony between their definition and classification of social movement. They define the social movement as “collectivity acting with some continuity to promote change or resist change in the society of which

<sup>67</sup>Wilson, 1973, p. 14.

<sup>68</sup> Ibid.

<sup>69</sup> Ibid., p. 19.

it is a part”<sup>70</sup>. However this definition does not include the passive reform movements. They give the religious sects as an example of this kind of movement which they know that one day they reach the desired feature but they do not make any effort to reach this aim. Also, limited personal movement is out of the definition because this kind of a movement which only opens for special people would not be a social movement. The second problem is their classification method does not associate with any theory social movement.<sup>71</sup>

Another classification focuses on the locus of change and amount of change sought that might take place in the social structure. This classification developed by Aberle divides the movements as transformative, reformative, redemptive, and alternative.<sup>72</sup>

**Table 1.3**  
**Classification of Social Movements Based on the Locus and Amount of Change**

<b>Transformative Movements</b>	<b>Reformative Movements</b>	<b>Redemptive Movements</b>	<b>Alternative Movements</b>
They try to change the whole social system by using violent ways. For example, fundamental religious movements.	They aim to partial change rather than a total change in order to eliminate the injustices and inequalities. They generally focus on one issue and try to solve it such as position on movement or elimination of nuclear arms.	They are about the change of individuals. Participants’ problems are related with their personal change and betterment rather than the social structure. For example, religious especially new religious movements.	They were emerged during the 1960s which were called as NSMs. They reject the materialism and support the development of untraditional life styles. Generally they do not make an effort to change or reform the system, however they choose to live alternative lives. For example, environmental movements especially the radical ones, support to change living conditions for not harming the nature.

**Source:** John Wilson, *Introduction to Social Movements*, Basic books, Inc. Publishers: NY, 1973, pp. 23-28.

According to Wilson there is another classification of social movement which is related with collective behaviour theory formulated by Smelster which are value-oriented and norm-oriented movements. This two fold typology categorizes movements

<sup>70</sup> Wilson, 1973, p. 20.

<sup>71</sup> Ibid., p. 21.

<sup>72</sup> Ibid., p. 23.

upon whether they are in the search for ‘modification of social rules’ or ‘changing basic values of social society’<sup>73</sup>. While norm-oriented movements support no serious collectivity to the basic values of the society and seek not so much a change, value-oriented movements support that problems in the believes and values create dissatisfaction, therefore these believes and values have to radically change. Many religious movements are good example for this categorization because they want to replace the whole secular value system with their own systems.<sup>74</sup>

## **1.2. HISTORICAL EVOLUTION OF SOCIAL MOVEMENTS**

Literally, as a concept social movement was first appeared in German sociologist Lorenz von Stein’s book called as ‘History of the French Social Movement from 1789 to the present (1850)’. He explained the social movement as “a continuous, unitary process by which the whole working class gained self-consciousness and power”<sup>75</sup>.

A deep analysis of social movements has necessitated how historical understanding of the concept evolved. Tilly argues that history explains why social movements incorporated some important features which separated social movements from other kinds of politics. It also makes easy in order to see the changes and developments in social movements. Finally, it draws attention to the political conditions which made social movements possible.<sup>76</sup> History of social movements can be analyzed in three parts as old social movements, NSMs and global social movements.

---

<sup>73</sup> Wilson, 1973, p. 28.

<sup>74</sup> Ibid.

<sup>75</sup> Tilly, 2004, p. 5.

<sup>76</sup> Ibid., p. 3.



**Tablo 1.4**  
**History of Social Movements**

	<b>OLD</b>	<b>NEW</b>	<b>GLOBAL</b>
<b>Time</b>	Late 18th century-early 20th century	1960s-1980s	1990s-
<b>Reasons</b>	Social and material inequalities	Drawbacks of capitalism	Globalization
<b>Issues/ Themes</b>	Labour, gender, race	Environment, peace, woman, student	Environment, religion, human rights, peace, woman

**Source:** Charles Tilly, *Social Movements, 1768-2004*, Paradigm publishers: USA, 2004, pp. 5-26.

Tilly argued in his book, 'From Mobilization to Revolution', that emergence of social movements was dependent on emergence of modern nation states. Political elitists in eighteenth century made big contributions to the institutionalization of modern nation states with their war-making and tax collecting activities. As nation states took shape, popular groups found new kinds of resistance.<sup>77</sup>

Historically, the roots of social movements were begun to emerge in England during the late eighteenth century with 'Contentious Gatherings'<sup>78</sup> due to the political and economic changes such as; war, parliamentarization, capitalization and proletarianization. First of all, Seven Years War, between England and France, costed heavily for Britain. The governments imposed more taxes and tightened control over customs. This caused the separation of thirteen colonies from the Britain with Revolutionary War and establishment of the United States of America (USA). Secondly, Parliaments began to strengthen against the kings and intervened more broadly in public affairs which caused such movements as French Revolution and Polish Constitution (1791). Thirdly, capitalization caused the emergence of new class called as bourgeoisie which become powerful against the monarchy and aristocracy. Finally, proletarianization caused the emergence of labour class which composed the social movements against the capitalism.<sup>79</sup>

<sup>77</sup> Roggeband, 2010, p. 14.

<sup>78</sup> A number of people which come together in a public place and make collective claims and try to affect other's interests. Tilly, 2004, p. 16.

<sup>79</sup> Ibid., pp. 25-26.

Until the World War II, labour and socialist movements are the most dominant movements in the history of social movements. However after the war, the world went through a radical change. Not only the states but also the people were tired because of the war and now people wanted more peace rather than war. Vietnam War became a breaking point that was protested from by people, especially university students, in Western European States and the USA. They were called as ‘Children of 1968’, became affected during the late 1960s, 1970s and 1980s.

NSMs emerged as reaction against drawbacks of capitalism. And they were different from the old social movements in five features. First of all old social movements were in different ages and education levels, whereas NSMs included young and well educated members. Secondly NSMs were in favour of anti-modernism which did not accept the society based on economic growth. According to Offe, they were interested in earth, body, health, sexual identity, neighbourhood, city, physical environment, culture and identity<sup>80</sup> rather than economic growth. According to Melucci, they were interested in equality, discrepancy, participation and instruction of identity.<sup>81</sup> Thirdly they used the unconventional ways such as protests, demonstrations and sit-ins rather than conventional one such as voting, letter-writing, holding political office. Moreover they were purely against the violent tactics. Fourthly members of NSMs preferred decentralize, antihierarchical and small-scale organizations which encourage direct democracy in order to reach their aims. Finally participation in NSMs is not only a means to an end but rather is considered a goal in itself. They seek to change the rest of society that it would be operated through decentralized decision making process.<sup>82</sup> Apart from the labour and socialist movements, the student, the peace, the women’s and the environmental movements were the most crucial examples of NSMs.

Throughout the time, the human history has entered new ages such as the ancient age, the medieval age, enlightenment age and so on. After the Cold War, it

---

<sup>80</sup> Hasan Hüseyin Çalı, “Çevreci Toplumsal Hareketler Olarak Greenpeace-Türkiye Hareketi”, Unpublished Phd thesis, Ankara, 2006, p. 25.

<sup>81</sup> Ibid.

<sup>82</sup> Elizabeth Bomberg, *Green Parties and Politics in the European Union*, Routledge: London and New York, 1998, p. 17.

entered a new age which was called as global age. Like civil society, social movements also redefined and called as Global Social Movements (GSMs) in this age.

Many reasons caused emerging of GSMs. First, global age needs global responses, and global responses need GSMs. In global world, all the issues become global therefore the nation states cannot decide the policies alone. The policy-making and decision-making are going the outside of the nation states. For instance, environmental problems have transnational characters therefore they do not solve the environmental problems alone they have to cooperate with other states and take the other actors' support. Second, the developments in communication and travel technologies strengthen people relations. People in different parts of the world come together, share their problems and therefore cause to compose social movements. Finally, the capacities and powers of GSMs have increased due to the globalization. Because they are able to have whatever they want such as information, materials, resources, services and so on.<sup>83</sup>

### **1.3. THEORIZATION OF SOCIAL MOVEMENTS**

Social movements cannot be analyzed without social structures in which they occur or relate with social events, times, geography, cultures, perspectives and so on. As there are many different definitions of the social movement, there are also many social movement theories.

Until emergence of NSMs, classical theories which are liberal, Marxist and collective behaviour approaches were dominated the social movement theory. For instance, Heberle theorized them within liberal and Marxist perspectives. However after 1970s, different types of categorization were adopted due to the emergence of NSMs. In macro-structurally, social movement theories are categorized as functionalist model and conflict model. While functionalist model is collective behaviour theory conflict model are separated as resource mobilization, political process and NSM theories.<sup>84</sup>

---

<sup>83</sup> Robin Cohen and Shirin M. Rai, *Global Social Movements*, The Athlone Press: London and New Brunswick, 2000, p. 8.

<sup>84</sup> Çalı, 2006, p. 34.

Many theorists explain the social movement theories historically. For instance, Zirakzadeh differentiates them as post-war theorists and second wave theorists (Second wave theorists can also be differentiated as resource mobilization theory in the USA and NSMs in Europe) and Donatella Della Porta and Mario Diani explain as old social movement and NSM theories. In this thesis theories are categorized according to historical perspective as old and NSMs.

**Table 1.5**  
**Theorization of Social Movement**

<b>Heberle's Classification</b>	<b>Zirakzadeh's Classification</b>	<b>Mario Diani and Donatella Della Porta's Classification</b>
Liberalism and Conservatism	Post-war theorists (1940's, 1950's early 1960's)	Old Social Movements Theories <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Structural-functionalist model (Collective Behaviour) in the USA</li> <li>• Marxist Model in Europe</li> </ul>
Socialism	Second Wave Theorists (1960's) <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Resource Mobilization in the USA</li> <li>• Indigenous Community Theorizing in the USA</li> <li>• Political Process in the USA</li> <li>• Identity Formation in Europe <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>➤ Autonomous Popular</li> </ul> </li> </ul> Culture Approach <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>➤ Autonomous</li> </ul> Movement Culture Approach	NSMs Theories <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Resource Mobilization Theory in the USA</li> <li>• Political Process in USA</li> <li>• NSMs in Europe</li> </ul>

**Sources:** Rudolf Heberle, *Social Movements: Introduction to Political Sociology*, Appleton-Century-Crofts, Inc: New York, 1951; Cyrus Ernesto Zirakzadeh, *Social Movements in Politics: A Comparative Study*, Longman: London and New York, 1997; Donatella Della Porta and Mario Diani, *Introduction to Social Movements*, Blackwell Publishing: USA, UK, Australia, 2006.

### 1.3.1. Old Social Movement Theories (Classical Theories)

In a general perspective liberalism means human freedom. State policies are based on the citizens and groups' liberties and there are some areas which state should not be interfered such as private life of individual.<sup>85</sup> In this framework, first demands of social movements were freedom and security for political opinion and for economic

<sup>85</sup> Rudolf Heberle, *Social Movements: Introduction to Political Sociology*, Appleton-Century-Crofts, Inc: New York, 1951, p. 38.

activities against the kings traced back to the new middle class which was called as bourgeoisie.<sup>86</sup>

According liberal approach, when the human being realizes that social order has been distorted by the government, a movement has been emerged that aim to change the system in favour of the humanity.

While in the liberal approach bourgeoisie movement was created against the ruling class, labour movement was created against the bourgeoisie in the Marxist Approach. Marxism explained the social movements related with struggle between capital and labour. Society has composed of classes and social movements have been based on the struggles between these classes such as slaves and owners of the slaves and bourgeoisie and proletariat. The workers come together because of the economic demands such as improvements of wage level, working hours etc. and form coalitions such as trade unions. Then economic struggles turn to the political struggles and workers demand to change the existent social order.<sup>87</sup> According to Marx, a new social order can only be created by the rise of political power of a class which is opposed to the existing order on account of its economic interests.<sup>88</sup>

Collective Behaviour Theory emerged in 1920s and was developed by Chicago school sociologists. According to it, collective behaviours realize in a society due to the social unrests such as economic crisis or social depression. In a normal society any collective behaviour would not come into being.<sup>89</sup>

Mass society and mass deprivation accounts support the collective behaviour. Its followers Arendt and Kornhause argue that there are strong class and group solidarities, which check and hold together the society, in normal societies. However, these solidarities begin to disassociate because of the social unrests and a massification process emerges. In this process, masses follow the charismatic and powerful elites

---

<sup>86</sup> Heberle, 1951, pp. 39-42.

<sup>87</sup> Çalı, 2006, p. 39.

<sup>88</sup> Heberle, 1951, p. 72.

<sup>89</sup> Çalı, 2006, p. 44.

which cause the totalitarian movements.<sup>90</sup> Zirakzadeh supports this idea, too and claims that people feel lonely, unimportant, and out of place in urbanized, industrialized and bureaucratized societies. Because they are much more immigrants and have lorry social status. Therefore in any social and economic deprivation they need to join a social movement in order to feel pertaining to and prove themselves.<sup>91</sup> Also, Oberschall focuses on the idea of ‘change’. He argues that there should be rapid social change, such as industrial growth, economic transformation, urbanization, in order to emerge social movements. And he states four factors which are changes in the basic conditions of life to produce discontent, changes in beliefs and values, changes in the capacity to act collectively and changes in opportunity for successful action.<sup>92</sup>

### **1.3.2. New Social Movement Theories**

NSM theories emerged during the 1960s with emerging of NSMs as a reaction to old social movement theories. Apart from old ones, these theories try to find an answer to how certain types of political circumstances facilitate movement organization.<sup>93</sup> There are different NSM theories which explain the NSMs in different perspectives. These theories are Resource Mobilization, Indigenous Community, Political Process, Identity Formation and NSM.

Resource mobilization theory focuses on the organization of movements rather than emergence of movements. It tries to find that why a few social movements are more successful than the others. This success depends on material and organizational resources; such as money, time, ability; which movements and their members have. Individuals are rational actors, they join any social movement where they benefited from<sup>94</sup>. There is also a leader who has experiences and ability in order to coordinate the movement.

---

<sup>90</sup> Sergey Mamay, Theorization of Social Movements and Their Current Development in Soviet Society, The Center for Social Anthropology and Computing Monographs, University of Kent, Canterbury <http://lucy.ukc.ac.uk/csacpub/russian/mamay.html> (09.05.2011).

<sup>91</sup> Zirakzadeh, 1997, p. 7.

<sup>92</sup> Timothy Doyle and Doug Mc Eachern, *Environment and Politics*, Routledge: USA and Canada, Third Edition, 2008, p. 57.

<sup>93</sup> Ibid., p. 11.

<sup>94</sup> Çalı, 2006, p. 47.

According to this theory there are five steps to form any social movement which are,<sup>95</sup>

- Creation of potential support within the society,
- Creation of voluntary membership networks for connection to potential members,
- Motivation of individual through problems,
- Elimination of barriers in order to increase the participation,
- Activization of movement.

Indigenous Community theory (approach) focuses on local-level social institutions, such as neighbourhood clubs, unions, community churches. It claims that they can create an organization and communication networks which lead to any social movement. Apart from the classical scholars' ideas, it believes that modern life increases the social interactions between people rather than increasing loneliness, and creates the indigenous communities. Because, they are regularly attend local meetings and communicate through many friendship networks. For instance, factory workers regularly meet, discuss common problems and plan collective actions.<sup>96</sup>

Political Process theory (approach) emerged after mid-1960s but it had become widely known in mid-1980s.<sup>97</sup> It shares the idea of necessity of resources for a successful movement with resource mobilization theory, but pays more attention to the political and institutional environment where social movements operate. It puts the relationship between institutional political actors and protest. According to it, constitutions, national level policies, policy-making process and intra-governmental struggles influence both people's decisions in order to join any movement and strategies and tactics that any movement adopts. Moreover, they emerge against any given political order. However, they interact with the actors within this political order.<sup>98</sup> For instance, when some social problems or political arrangements emerge, some fraction may be realized among governing elites and they may seek to alliance with social

---

<sup>95</sup> Çalı, 2006, p. 49.

<sup>96</sup> Zirakzadeh, 1997, p. 13.

<sup>97</sup> Ibid., p. 14.

<sup>98</sup> Donatella Della Porta and Mario Diani, *Introduction to Social Movements*, Blackwell Publishing: USA, UK, Australia, 2006, p. 16.

movements.<sup>99</sup> And social movements use this alliance in favour of them such as attracting more people and benefiting resources very easily.

Identity formation theory focuses on the culture<sup>100</sup> and claims that when somebody decides to join any social movement, his/her decision cannot be assessed without his/her culture. Because, it has a huge impact to shape ideas, emotions visions, even political actions.<sup>101</sup> According to identity formation scholars, social movements are cultural struggles between elites and non-elites. Elites often have impacts on media directly or indirectly by using their power and status quo therefore affects the ideas of non-elites in favour of them. However non-elites have a chance to criticize ‘the elites’ definition of realities’ within organized social movements.<sup>102</sup>

Identity formation theory separated autonomous popular culture approach and autonomous movement culture approach.<sup>103</sup> Autonomous popular culture approach argues that in order to understand any social movement the specific, local-popular culture context (for instance, local magazines, clubs, discussion groups, churches and so on); cultural diversity, ideological debates and conflicts within movements should be known.<sup>104</sup> Autonomous movement culture approach states that social movements are a place where subversive ideas are arisen. By focusing on elites-non elites struggles, participants feel a sense of security and equity.<sup>105</sup>

NSM theory rose against Marxist approach of social movement in Europe. Marxist approach focused on the conflict between labour and capital and industrial problems. According to NSM theory, Marxist approach is inadequate in order to explain the existing social movements. Social movements appear as regard to problems and grievances in the society, and there are many problems such as environmental degradation, gender inequality, human rights abuses besides labour problems. This theory also opposes to the Marxist idea of class of homogeneity, adds that many people

---

<sup>99</sup> Zirakzadeh, 1997, p. 14.

<sup>100</sup> Zirakzadeh defines the culture as how we interpret social arrangements, how we see our places within those arrangements, and how we see our immediate opportunities, powers and limitations. Ibid., p. 15

<sup>101</sup> Ibid., p. 16.

<sup>102</sup> Ibid., p. 18.

<sup>103</sup> Ibid., p. 17.

<sup>104</sup> Ibid.

<sup>105</sup> Ibid.



who are from different classes can share the same problems and construct a social movement.<sup>106</sup>

#### 1.4. ENVIRONMENT AND ENVIRONMENTAL MOVEMENTS

Environment in one way or another gradually became a significant concern for almost all social movements. Generally speaking, environment is the mutual interactions of the living and non-living entities. Living entities are human beings, floras, faunas and microorganisms; and non-living entities are climate, weather, water and structure of the earth. While the non-living entities affect the living entities and strengthen their actions, living ones affect positions and structures of non-living ones.<sup>107</sup>

According to Turkish Environmental Law environment is an economical and cultural place where living entities continue their relations and have mutual interactions each other's during their lives.<sup>108</sup> However it is a broad and deep concept which cannot be explained with one or two definitions because of the fact that awareness and effectiveness of environmental degradations have put an inter-disciplinary character. Today, it is not only the issue of natural sciences, it is also issue of economics such as green and low carbon economy; issue of politics such as green parties and issue of sociology such as environmental movements.

##### 1.4.1. The Environment as a Concept

The concept of environment is very broad, so it necessitates its classification for better understanding. Keleş and Hamamcı classify the term of the environment in terms of physical features and locality.<sup>109</sup>

In terms of physical features, environment is divided as physical environment and social environment. Physical environment is a place where human being lives and feels. It can be existed as both urban and rural settlements. Due to its formation, it is

---

<sup>106</sup> Doyle, 2008, p. 57.

<sup>107</sup> Ruşen Keleş and Can Hamamcı, *Çevrebilim*, İmge kitabevi: Ankara, 4. Baskı, August 2002, p. 28.

<sup>108</sup> Çevre Kanunu, Kanun No 2872, Resmi Gazetede Yayınlanma Tarihi 11.08.1983, No: 18132  
<http://www2.cevreorman.gov.tr/yasa/k/2872.doc> (10.11.2010).

<sup>109</sup> Çevre Kanunu.

also divided as natural and artificial environment.<sup>110</sup> Natural environment is a place where there is not any human intervention. It is composed of living and non-living entities.<sup>111</sup> Artificial Environment is composed and constructed by human efforts by using under and above ground resources and their information and cultures. It includes man-made things. Settlements are good examples for artificial environment. Human beings compose it according to their social necessities and socio-economic structures.<sup>112</sup> Therefore, it is different from society to society.

Social environment composes of all of the relations in a physical environment in which human beings contact according to their economic, social and political structures.<sup>113</sup> As it can be seen in the definition, social and physical environments are two concepts which are not independent from each other. They have strong relations and interactions.<sup>114</sup> In terms of locality, environment is defined as settlements such as rural and urban settlements and measurements as local, regional, national and international environment.<sup>115</sup>

At this point, it is important to underline that there are also differences between the terms environment and nature and environment and ecology although they often used interchangeably. Therefore it is better to define these terms in order to show their differences. Nature is come into being without human intervention. It includes everything except man and manmade things. For instance soil, water, weather, flora and fauna are part of the nature. However, environment includes both natural and artificial things. Therefore, they are not coterminous, environment includes nature.<sup>116</sup>

Ecology is another term which is known the same as environment. It is a natural science which searches and examines the living entities' relations in their own habitats.<sup>117</sup> However, living entities is not included the human being. In other words,

---

<sup>110</sup> Keleş and Hamamcı, 2002, p. 30.

<sup>111</sup> Ibid.

<sup>112</sup> Ibid., p. 31.

<sup>113</sup> Ibid.

<sup>114</sup> Ruşen Keleş, Can Hamamcı and Aykut Çoban, *Çevre Politikası*, İmge Kitabevi: Ankara and İstanbul, Ekim 2009, p. 55.

<sup>115</sup> Ibid., p. 56.

<sup>116</sup> James Connelly and Graham Smith, *Politics and the Environment : From Theory to Practice*, Routledge, London and New York, Second Edition, 2003, p. 15.

<sup>117</sup> Keleş and Hamamcı, 2002, p. 34.

ecology examines the plants and animals rather than human beings. But, environment is included every living and non-living entities and their relations among them. Therefore, environment is included ecology, too. Consequently, environment includes the whole world, both artificial and natural, from ecosystem to biosphere where human beings, plants and animals, exist, produce and die.<sup>118</sup>

#### **1.4.2. Environmental Movements**

Environmental movement is “the most comprehensive and influential movement of our time”.<sup>119</sup> Castells explains the importance of environmental movement with these words. As it is explained before, movements are civil society initiatives which are appeared in order to eliminate, solve or support to solve a problem or a trouble in the societies. While social movements have a long background, the roots of the environmental movements go back to the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries in the USA and the Europe in order to conserve the wild life and nature. However, it extended during the 1960s due to the fact that the effects of environmental degradation began to be felt by public. Environmental movements have grown and strengthened day by day, and today these movements are one of the most important actors on fighting with environmental disasters not only locally and nationally, but also globally.

Environmental movement can be generally defined as social movement which is appeared on committing to environmental protection and change.<sup>120</sup> Rootes defines it as broad networks of people and organizations engaged in collective action in the pursuit of environmental benefits.<sup>121</sup> It is an all-comprehensive movement which includes a wide variety of people, interests and groups, having different goals and strategies about protection of environment.

Green movement is a very common term in order to define the environmental movement. However, Porritt argues that all environmental movements are not defined

---

<sup>118</sup> Hüma Balci, “Environmental Governance in the European Union: A Comparative Approach with Special Reference to Turkey”, Unpublished MA thesis, İstanbul, 2006, p. 13.

<sup>119</sup> Rootes, “Environmental Movements”, 2004, p. 608.

<sup>120</sup> Connelly and Smith, 2003, p. 84.

<sup>121</sup> Christopher Rootes, “Environmental Movements: Local, National, Global”, *Special Issues Environmental Movements Local And Global*, Vol:8 No:1, 1999 Spring, p. 2.

as green, there are some differences between environmental movements, and he divides these movements into three.<sup>122</sup> First kind of movement is protectors of nature or traditionalists. They are the heritage of nineteenth century liberalism. They are not totally against the industrialism, and they are in favor of protection of existing rather than change. These can not be defined as green. Second kind of movement is radical liberterians. These are against the industrial system and desire to change their life conditions in favour of the environment. They argue that in order to eliminate the environmental disasters, total change on values and ideas is a must. They are generally green. Last kind of movement, which ideologically stands in the middle of the first and second kind of movements, is reformers. They are called as centerals due to the fact that they are not against the industrialism basically, and they do not support a 'radical' change in the society. They tend to become green.<sup>123</sup>

There are many types of categorizations of environmental movements. For example, Porritt argues that there are three kinds of green movement. First one is group which lives and work according to green conditions. Small land owners, organic farmers, actors of alternative economy, supporters of 'small is beautiful' motto are the examples. Second one is interest or pressure groups which form campaigns and actions in order to prevent environmental degradation. Last one is green parties.<sup>124</sup>

Bomberg categorizes environmental movements according to their goals and strategies. Her first type is movements remain movements. These are amorphous, spontaneous, non-professional groups which emerge to campaign on or protest about a specific issue, and after reaching their aims they disappear. Until reaching their aims, they may support to green pressure groups, and parties.<sup>125</sup> According to her typology, second type of movements as in Porritt's typology includes pressure or interest groups and NGOs. Although basic definition of social movements does not include interest groups, literature on the environmental movements often take account of their actions. Broadly speaking, NGOs and interest groups are established, more or less professionally organized groups with having membership system and fund-raising operations.

---

<sup>122</sup> Jonathon Porritt, *Yeşil Politika*, trans. Alev Türker, Ayrıntı: İstanbul, October 1989, p. 19.

<sup>123</sup> Ibid., pp. 19-20.

<sup>124</sup> Ibid., p. 21.

<sup>125</sup> Bomberg, 1998, p. 21.

Although Bomberg does not draw a sharp difference between interest groups or NGOs, NGOs are usually associated with more voluntary activity or public involvement, public interest or reaction such as Greenpeace, Friends of Earth (FoE) and WWF while interest groups on the other hand are usually regarded as professional associations such as trade unions, associations of doctors or chambers of commerce.<sup>126</sup> Nevertheless, there are many differences in their level of radicalism, type of issue addressed and strategies used. However all of them seek to influence to governments in order to change the policies, and they desire to create awareness among public by organizing campaigns in favour of environment.<sup>127</sup> In Bomberg's typology, the third type of environmental movements is political parties which are actually green parties. Green parties support the idea of a comprehensive green society and operate electoral arena for this aim. However, Bomberg argues that structure of green parties are different from a classical political party, because they have strong links with other social movements and represent their interests in some way in the political arena.<sup>128</sup>

Arnd-Michael Nohl categorizes environmental movements ideologically.<sup>129</sup> First type is greens. They have very holistic and humanistic worldview.<sup>130</sup> They are totally against the industrialism and argue that human life has been built in order to destroy the nature at present. The only thing is those human beings have to change their life styles in order to protect the nature. Second type is radical environmentalists. They thought that ecological problems are related with democratic problems. According to them, public has to be informed about ecological problems and they has to right to participate decision making process on environmental problems. Unlike the first type they are not against the industrialism. According to them, at present technology and industry are essential therefore they have to be in human life. However they have to be used for better human life rather than development. For this reason, the industry and state has to control. Civil society would fulfill this duty by having freedom of environmental information and right to participate environmental decision making

---

<sup>126</sup> Bomberg, 1998, p. 22.

<sup>127</sup> Ibid.

<sup>128</sup> Ibid., p. 24.

<sup>129</sup> Arnd – Michael Nohl, "Türkiye'de Hükümet dışı Örgütlerde Ekoloji Sorunsalı", *Birikim*, Ocak-Şubat 1994, pp. 23-27.

<sup>130</sup> Amilia Voulvouli, *From Environmentalism to Transenvironmentalism: The Ethnography of an Urban Protest in Modern İstanbul*, Peter Lang International Academic Publishers: Bern 2009, p. 103.

process.<sup>131</sup> The third type is conservationists. These movements stay away from political and radical discourse. They only focus on the protection of nature and for this, they generally make projects. They are professionals on conservation of nature. Occasionally it is seen that they work the state cooperatively.<sup>132</sup> The last type is protector of industry and environment. These are industrialist movements. They support environmental laws and implementations which are in favor of industrialists.<sup>133</sup> According to Nohl these are seen as hypocritically; while they introduce themselves to public as protectors of environment, they use this image in order to eliminate environmental sanctions.<sup>134</sup>

Connelly and Smith argue that there are important distinctions among environmental groups in terms of to whom or what they represent. First, cause or promotion groups represent a belief or principle, and they act according to this belief or principle. Membership is not limited therefore anybody who supports their ideas can join. FoE, WWF and Greenpeace are the most well-known examples.<sup>135</sup> Second, interest or sectional groups represent a particular section of any community. They defend their common private interests. Membership is limited to that sectional interest. The Country Landowners' Association, Committee of Professional Agricultural Organizations and Confederation of British Industry are the good examples for interest groups.<sup>136</sup>

Another distinction can be made between 'insider' and 'outsider' groups. Insider groups have a relative effect on implementation on policies. They have chances to present their demands directly to the governments. Contrary to insider groups, outsider groups do not have chances to access government policies. This is because, they can not reach a common position with governments therefore governments may not recognize them.<sup>137</sup> However, there is not always any clear distinction between inside and outsider groups. Some groups can be recognized nearly officially therefore their relationships with government have ambiguous character. Some groups can be insider

---

<sup>131</sup> Nohl, 1994, p. 24.

<sup>132</sup> Ibid., p. 25.

<sup>133</sup> Ibid., p. 26.

<sup>134</sup> Ibid.

<sup>135</sup> Connelly and Smith, 2003, p. 92.

<sup>136</sup> Ibid., p. 93.

<sup>137</sup> Ibid.

groups with one department or agency but not with others. For example, WWF have close relationships with environmental ministry and civil servants but have no meaningful status within the other ministries.<sup>138</sup>

As those classifications demonstrate there is no a single unified environmental movement. And this makes it very diverse and complex. According to Rootes, organizational forms of environmental movements are ranging from the highly organized and formally institutionalized to the radically informal, the spatial scope of their activities ranging from the local to the almost global, the nature of their concerns ranging from single issues to the full panoply of global environmental concerns.<sup>139</sup> He continues that there are some reasons which affect the developments of environmental movements.

First of all, the institutional structures of states affect the environmental movements. For instance centralized and strong states have tended to produce strong, centralized movements, while decentralized states, with their several levels of governmental authority and avenues of redress, have tended to produce decentralized movements. States which are structurally open to challengers, have tended to produce more consensual environmental movements, while those more closed to the challengers have produced more confrontational ones. Secondly, national political culture has impacts on the movements. For example, localism of southern European political cultures has been clearly shown on the characters of the environmental movements. In Greece, ninety per cent of protests during 1988-97 were local mobilizations around local issues, albeit half of them were aimed at national authorities.<sup>140</sup> Also, EU can be shown as a reason. By giving importance to the involvement of environmental organizations for finding common solutions between member countries, EU has a big impact on the development of environmental movements in member countries. The last reason is differences in fiscal regimes. While the movements which have powerful sponsors and strong budgets have tended to institutionalize and become professional organizations, the others which have little budgets and face with many fiscal difficulties

---

<sup>138</sup> Connelly and Smith, 2003, p. 93.

<sup>139</sup> Rootes, "Environmental Movements: Local, National, Global", 1999, p. 2.

<sup>140</sup> Rootes, "Environmental Movements", 2004, p. 622.

such as taxes, have tended to remain as just movements and extinguish for a while<sup>141</sup>. All these reasons might produce different types of movements. Therefore, in order to understand environmental movements better, their categorization is a necessity.

---

<sup>141</sup> Rootes, “Environmental Movements”, 2004, pp. 622 – 623.



## II

### ENVIRONMENTAL POLICY IN THE EUROPEAN UNION AND THE EUROPEAN UNION INFLUENCE ON ENVIRONMENTAL MOVEMENTS IN THE FIFTH ENLARGEMENT PROCESS

Accession to the EU has become a difficult process for candidate countries because *acquis communautaire* has been developed gradually. Today, they have to adopt and adapt the *acquis* which is over the hundred thousand pages in the official journal<sup>142</sup>. It is also a process which candidate countries have to have enough capacity in order to finish successfully such as personnel, expertise and money.

According to many experts, the implementation of *acquis* creates a huge burden for candidate countries, and states must share this burden with none state actors by cooperating with them, exchanging their resources and benefiting from their expertises in order to finish accession negotiations successfully.<sup>143</sup> However, it is important to know that both sides have capacities to carry the burden and are also willing to share. In this framework, second chapter examines that how environmental movements in CEECs were involved the accession negotiation process and share the burden with states.

In order to understand adoption and adaptation capacities of environmental movements in CEECs to EU environmental policy, this chapter includes the evolution of environmental policy of the EU. Then it looks at briefly historical evolution of environmental policies and environmental movements in CEECs. Finally, it examines environmental movements in CEECs during accession process and their mechanisms used for involving this process which are legal structures, networks and EU funds.

---

<sup>142</sup> European Parliament, Parliamentary Questions, <http://www.europarl.europa.eu/sides/getDoc.do?pubRef=-//EP//TEXT+WQ+E-2011-007039+0+DOC+XML+V0//EN&language=CS> (21.12.2011)

<sup>143</sup> Tanja A. Börzel, "Introduction", *Coping with Accession to the European Union New Modes of Environmental Governance* in Tanja A. Börzel (ed.), Palgrave Macmillan: UK and USA, First Edition, 2009, p. 2.

## 2.1. EVOLUTION OF ENVIRONMENTAL POLICY OF EUROPEAN UNION

Today it is widely assumed that EU has one of the most developed environmental policies in the world. However environmental issues were not seen as problems in the agenda of the EU in its early years. The most important problem was creation of the sustainability of peace in devastated Europe which came out of war very recently. There was a popular belief that the peace would be created by single market and level of welfare would be increased in the Europe through the single market. Treaty of Rome and Treaty of Paris, which are the founding treaties of European Economic Community, emphasized to establish single market in the community. Creation of single market is meant more goods and services traded in Europe, so more consumption of these goods and services.<sup>144</sup> Therefore there was not any clear regulation about protection of environment in neither Treaty of Rome nor Treaty of Paris during the 1950s.<sup>145</sup>

At the end of the 1960s and during the 1970s it was understood that success of single market caused failure of environment, and economic growth would not be possible regardless of environment.<sup>146</sup> There are three main reasons which provided to be taken steps for creation of environmental policy during these years.<sup>147</sup> First one is technical reasons. The Europe was very rich about natural fauna and flora. Raising population, economic growth and raising energy requirement began to destroy these values. This situation pushed the community to make regulations on protection of environment. Second and the most important one are economic reasons. Community had not common environmental policy therefore every member country implemented its own laws. MSs did not allow to any good and service which was not suitable according to their environmental laws. This situation damaged the understanding of free competition and prevented the creation of single market. Therefore Community began to make familiar the environmental policies of MSs by common environmental

---

<sup>144</sup> Albert Weale, Geoffrey Pridham, Michelle Cini, Dimitrios Konstadakopoulos, Martin Porter and Brendan Flynn, *Environmental Governance in Europe*, Oxford University Press: Oxford and Newyork, 2003, p. 37.

<sup>145</sup> Uğur Yıldırım and Sevim Budak, "Son Gelişmeler Işığında Avrupa Birliği Çevre Politikasında Değişimler ve Türkiye'nin Politik Yaklaşımı", *Avrupa Araştırmaları Dergisi*, Cilt 13, Sayı 1-2, 2005, pp. 177-216, p. 179.

<sup>146</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 180.

<sup>147</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 182.

regulations. And the third one is very much related to the world politics. Environmental concerns began to take attention in the world at the same time with the European Community. United Nations Conference on the Human Environment was organized in 1972. At the same year the Community was held the European Summit in Paris. At the end of the summit, a declaration was issued and stated that economic expansion was not an end in itself.<sup>148</sup> The declaration led to the First Environmental Action Programme (EAP). EAPs are political declarations which are not legally binding and state main principles and priorities in order to protect environment.<sup>149</sup> They are drafted and submitted to the European Council and implemented by European Commission. They provide a framework for future environmental legislation.<sup>150</sup>

Until the Single European Act (SEA), protection of environment had no legal basis. Treaty of Rome did not include any article about environment. Articles 2<sup>151</sup>, 100<sup>152</sup> and 235<sup>153</sup> were interpreted in favour of environment, and community implemented EAPs by referring to these articles<sup>154</sup>. The first EAP (1973-1977) aimed to protect environment and set the basic principles of environmental policy such as decrease of pollution and noise, improvement of living and working conditions, dealing with environmental problems, improvement of rural and urban environment, increase of international initiatives for the protection of global environment and increase the consciousness of environmental protection<sup>155</sup>.

---

<sup>148</sup> Weale *et al*, 2003, p. 57.

<sup>149</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 56.

<sup>150</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>151</sup> The Community shall have as its task, by establishing a common market and progressively approximating the economic policies of MSs, to promote throughout the Community a harmonious development of economic activities, a continuous and balanced expansion, an increase in stability, an accelerated raising of the standard of living and closer relations between the States belonging to it. European Commission, "The Treaty of Rome" [http://ec.europa.eu/economy\\_finance/emu\\_history/documents/treaties/rometreaty2.pdf](http://ec.europa.eu/economy_finance/emu_history/documents/treaties/rometreaty2.pdf) p. 4 (19.06.2011).

<sup>152</sup> The Council shall acting unanimously on a proposal from the Commission, issue directives for the approximation of such provisions laid down by law, regulation or administrative action in MSs as directly affect the establishment or functioning of the common market. European Commission, "The Treaty of Rome" [http://ec.europa.eu/economy\\_finance/emu\\_history/documents/treaties/rometreaty2.pdf](http://ec.europa.eu/economy_finance/emu_history/documents/treaties/rometreaty2.pdf) p. 36 (19.06.2011).

<sup>153</sup> If action by the Community should prove necessary to attain, in the course of the operation of the common market, one of the objectives of the Community and this Treaty has not provided the necessary powers, the Council shall, acting unanimously on a proposal from the Commission and after consulting the Assembly [European Parliament], take the appropriate measures. European Commission, "The Treaty of Rome" [http://ec.europa.eu/economy\\_finance/emu\\_history/documents/treaties/rometreaty2.pdf](http://ec.europa.eu/economy_finance/emu_history/documents/treaties/rometreaty2.pdf) p. 78 (19.06.2011).

<sup>154</sup> Dr. Yavuz Bozkurt, *Avrupa Birliği'ne Uyum Sürecinde Türkiye'de Çevre Politikalarının Dönüşümü*, Ekin Basın Yayın Dağıtım: Bursa, 2010, p. 80.

<sup>155</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 88.

The second EAP (1977-1982) focused on the necessities for complementary research on environment and supporting the environmental education. The most important innovation of the second EAP was formation of Environmental Impact Assessment.<sup>156</sup> It is an assessment which introduces negative and positive impacts of any policy on environment. It also highlighted the polluter-pays principle and EU would need to continue its activities at global level in order to protect environment.<sup>157</sup>

The third EAP (1982-1987) aimed to formulate a general strategy in order to prevent and decrease pollution and to protect environment, soil and nature. It emphasized the significance of harmonization of environmental policy between other policies such as agriculture and transportation.<sup>158</sup> The fourth EAP (1987-1992) was different from the previous ones which focused on integration of environmental issues into other community policies. Also, Single European Act (SEA) was signed, and environmental issues and implementations were provided formal legal base. Environmental policy became a common community policy officially.<sup>159</sup> For the first time, European Regional Development Fund provided funds for environmental projects and European Investment Bank contributed loans.<sup>160</sup>

The fifth EAP (1993-2000) was titled ‘Towards Sustainability’ which was inspired by UN Conference on Environment and Development (UNCED, Rio Conference). It underlines the necessity of simultaneous achievement of three dimensions of sustainable development<sup>161</sup> which are namely economic, social and environmental. The fifth EAP was also different from the previous program since it included themes such as ‘shared responsibility’ and ‘partnership’ on environmental protection in addition to the environmental problems<sup>162</sup>. During the programme three

---

<sup>156</sup> Bozkurt, 2010, p. 90.

<sup>157</sup> Weale *et al*, 2003, p. 58.

<sup>158</sup> Bozkurt, 2010, p. 93.

<sup>159</sup> *Ibid.*, 2010, p. 99.

<sup>160</sup> Weale *et al*, 2003, p. 60.

<sup>161</sup> Sustainable development is development that meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs. The World Commission on Environment and Development Our Common Future, Oxford University Press: Oxford, 1987, p.43.

<sup>162</sup> Weale *et al*, 2003, p. 61.

treaties were entered into forces which were Treaties of Maastricht<sup>163</sup>, Amsterdam<sup>164</sup> and Nice<sup>165</sup>.

As environmental problems grew more and more, environmental policy became insufficient. Therefore EU decided to extend the environmental policy and took concrete steps about environmental issues in Treaty of Maastricht. Treaty of Maastricht included protection of environment and economic growth in harmonious with environment as objectives of the EU.<sup>166</sup> Article 2 stated to promote throughout the Community a harmonious and balanced development of economic activities, sustainable and non-inflationary growth respecting the environment.<sup>167</sup> And environmental policy as a title was added on Article 3. Treaty of Amsterdam brought about some changes in the legal framework of the common environmental policy. First of all, sustainable development was added on founding objectives of the community and principles. Secondly, precautions for environmental protection and providing sustainable development were integrated to all community policies. Finally, MSs had rights to take more strict environmental precautions and implementations than community one, as they informed the European Commission and did not hamper the free trade and single market.<sup>168</sup> Treaty of Nice focused on the specific issue on protection of environment. It brought regulations about precautions of Water Management Policy.<sup>169</sup>

The sixth EAP (2002-2012) was titled ‘Environment 2010: Our future, Our Choice’. It identifies four priority areas which are prevention of climate change, protection of nature and biodiversity, improvement of quality of environment and health

---

<sup>163</sup> Treaty of Maastricht which is called as Treaty of EU signed on 7 February 1992, entered into force on 1 November 1993. It opened the way to political integration by creating a European Union consisting of three pillars. Europa, Summaries of EU Legislation, “Treaty of Maastricht on European Union” [http://europa.eu/legislation\\_summaries/economic\\_and\\_monetary\\_affairs/institutional\\_and\\_economic\\_framework/treaties\\_maastricht\\_en.htm](http://europa.eu/legislation_summaries/economic_and_monetary_affairs/institutional_and_economic_framework/treaties_maastricht_en.htm) (26.06.2011).

<sup>164</sup> Treaty of Amsterdam amending the Treaty of EU signed on 2 October 1997, entered into force on 1 May 1999. It was the framework sketched out for the future accession of ten new MSs. Civitas, “Treaty of Amsterdam” <http://www.civitas.org.uk/eufacts/FSTREAT/TR4.htm> (26.06.2011).

<sup>165</sup> Treaty of Nice signed on 26 February 2001 and entered into force on 1 February 2003. It amended the treaty of Amsterdam in order to prepare the union for the future enlargement, Europa, Summaries of EU Legislation, “Treaty of Nice: A Comprehensive Guide” [http://europa.eu/legislation\\_summaries/institutional\\_affairs/treaties/nice\\_treaty/nice\\_treaty\\_introduction\\_en.htm](http://europa.eu/legislation_summaries/institutional_affairs/treaties/nice_treaty/nice_treaty_introduction_en.htm) (26.06.2011).

<sup>166</sup> Yıldırım and Budak, 2005, p. 189.

<sup>167</sup> EU Treaties, <http://www.eurotreaties.com/maastrichtec.pdf> (26.06.2011).

<sup>168</sup> Yıldırım and Budak, 2005, pp. 190-192.

<sup>169</sup> Ibid., p. 192.

and sustainable natural resources and waste. It promotes full integration of environmental protection into all community policies and obtains the environmental component of the Community's strategy for sustainable development.<sup>170</sup> It also introduces seven thematic strategies in order to improve EU environmental policy making which covers the air, waste prevention and recycling, marine environment, soil, pesticides, natural resources and urban environment.<sup>171</sup>

The EU strengthened its commitment on sustainable development, high level protection and improvement of the quality of the environment in the Treaty of Lisbon.<sup>172</sup> Moreover, the objectives of the EU have been changed by involving the agenda for the relations between the EU and the rest of the world.<sup>173</sup> According to Article 21 TEU, the EU shall foster “sustainable, economic, social and environmental development of developing countries, with the primary aim of eradicating poverty; help develop international measures to preserve and improve quality of the environment and the sustainable development”<sup>174</sup>. There is also an innovation about energy policy. Energy law is fulfilled on the basis of the provisions on the internal market. The Treaty strengthened the connection with the internal market and the need for environmental protection<sup>175</sup>. The most important change on decision making procedure which may well affect the environmental policy is citizen initiative. No less than one million citizens of EU may invite the Commission to come with a proposal.<sup>176</sup>

### **2.1.1. EU Environmental Policy-Making: Actors**

EU policy making process has a complex character because many actors have been involved during this process. Therefore, negotiations between these actors have importance. European Commission, European Parliament (EP), Council of Ministers

---

<sup>170</sup> European Commission, Environment, “Sixth Environmental Action Programme” <http://ec.europa.eu/environment/newprg/intro.htm> (26.06.2011).

<sup>171</sup> Ibid.

<sup>172</sup> Treaty of Lisbon signed on 13 December 2007 and entered into force on 1 December 2009. It amends the treaty of EU and Treaty of Rome. The treaty aimed to complete the process started by the Treaty of Amsterdam and by the Treaty of Nice in order to extend the efficiency and democratic legitimacy of the EU. Council of the European Union, “Treaty of Lisbon” <http://www.consilium.europa.eu/showpage.aspx?id=1296&lang=en> (26.06.2011).

<sup>173</sup> Hans Vedder, “The Treaty of Lisbon and European Environmental Policy”, *Social Science Research Network, Working Paper Series*, 2 December 2008, [http://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract\\_id=1310190](http://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract_id=1310190) p. 2, (28.06.2011).

<sup>174</sup> Ibid.

<sup>175</sup> Ibid., p. 4.

<sup>176</sup> Ibid.

and European Court of Justice (ECJ) are the main actors in the environmental policy making process. There is European Environment Agency which works as a consultative body for environmental issues and industrial interest groups and environmental groups are also try to affect the EU environmental through many mechanisms.

European Commission works as an executive body of the EU. It is initiator of legislation process and tries to finalize it successfully. It represents the EU interests. It is composed of directorates general (DGs) which are responsible for policies, reflecting the policy competences of the EU.<sup>177</sup> DG XI (environment, nuclear safety and civil protection) is responsible for dealing with environmental issues, drafting environmental legislation and the implementation of the environmental policy.<sup>178</sup>

EP has legislative, budgetary and supervisory powers. It works as committee sessions. The committees debate and draft proposals, prepare the reports about European Commission's legislative proposals, and propose amendments.<sup>179</sup> EP has a strict environmental vision because of the Greens. Greens entered the EP in 1984 election. Today, the Greens and the other environment sympathize members of EP impose an effective pressure on environmental policy-making.<sup>180</sup>

The Council of Ministers works both as a legislative and executive body of the EU. Its main difference from other actors is to represent the interests of the MSs. It is made up of national ministers one of which comes from each MS. When any issue is discussed in the Council, related ministers meet in the Council. The Council is assisted by Committee of Permanent Representatives which is composed of national officials of the MSs.<sup>181</sup> It is a technical committee where legislation drafts are discussed technically first. Then the last decisions are given on ministerial level. Generally, MSs want that their preferences are dominated on legislation process. In this context, MSs are categorized into laggard and leader. Leader states press for high environmental

---

<sup>177</sup> Weale et al, 2003, p. 89.

<sup>178</sup> Ibid.

<sup>179</sup> Ibid., p. 92.

<sup>180</sup> Bozkurt, 2010, p. 125.

<sup>181</sup> Weale et al, 2003, p. 94.

standards, whereas laggards generally oppose the increasing of standards for many reasons.<sup>182</sup>

ECJ is judiciary body of the EU. Its main duty is to hear proceeding infringements brought by the European Commission against a MS or by one MS against another for failure to implement any EU legislation.<sup>183</sup> There are many examples which the ECJ ruled in favour of the environment. For instance, ECJ confirmed against Italy on sulphur content of liquid fuel oils that environmental measures could be passed under Article 100 of the Treaty of Rome.<sup>184</sup> Also it clarifies the EU legislation and adjudicates on disputes among EU institutions about the implication and implementation of rules.<sup>185</sup>

The European Environment Agency which was established in 1994 is a consultative body about environmental issues. It collects the environmental data and produces some reports. It is also responsible for disseminating environmental information to the European public.<sup>186</sup>

Industrial interest groups and environmental groups are crucial actors in order to shape Environmental policy too.<sup>187</sup> They try to get involved policy making process and impress EU bodies in order to legislate in favour of them because one of the important features of the EU decision making process is being noticed the active participation of citizens and the groups in this process. There is a regulation in the EU whose name is ‘regarding the public access to European Parliament, Council and Commission document’<sup>188</sup>. According to regulation any citizen or groups are enabled to apply for accessing the all documents of European Commission, EP and EC.<sup>189</sup> There are clear ways for groups and citizens which they have chances to participate the decision making process. One of them is online transparency register system. Anyone

---

<sup>182</sup> Weale *et al*, 2003, p. 94.

<sup>183</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 102.

<sup>184</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 103.

<sup>185</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>186</sup> Bozkurt, 2010, p. 130.

<sup>187</sup> Dr. Sevim Budak, *Avrupa Birliği ve Türk Çevre Politikası*, BÜKE Yayınları: İstanbul, 2000, p. 173.

<sup>188</sup> Regulation (EC), “Regarding the Public Access to European Parliament, Council and Commission document”, No 1049/2001, 30 May 2001, *Official Journal of the European Communities*, [http://www.europarl.europa.eu/RegData/PDF/r1049\\_en.pdf](http://www.europarl.europa.eu/RegData/PDF/r1049_en.pdf) (31.05.2011).

<sup>189</sup> *Ibid.*



who wants to be engaged in EU policy making and policy implementation can register his/her opinion through this web site.<sup>190</sup> Moreover, they have rights to sue to ECJ, if there is an infringement brought by MSs or EU bodies. However, the groups generally use lobbying activities in order to be active in decision making process because EU institutions are very open to lobbying activities. Today, the number of lobbies exceeds ten thousand and their fifty per cent is composed of industrial interest groups, twenty five per cent is interested in agricultural issues, twenty per cent is interested in banking and judicial issues and only five per cent is environmental groups.<sup>191</sup> In order to make effective lobby, the groups try to stay in close touch with EU bodies especially with European Commission and EP. For instance, during proposing a legislation draft, negotiation and consulting process is opened. During this process the European Commission consults the lobby groups through consulting committees. Industrial interest groups use lobbying activities very effectively because industrialists support these groups very strongly both technically and financially.

Contrary to industrial interest groups, environmental groups are very weak both financially and technically. Today, there are ten big Brussels based lobbying organization which are Birdlife International, CEE Bankwatch Network, Climate Action Network Europe, European Environmental Bureau (EEB), Transport and Environment, Friends of Earth Europe, Greenpeace European Unit, International Friends of Nature, Health and Environment Alliance and WWF European Policy Office.<sup>192</sup> These are called as Green 10. They generally make cooperation both among them and other environmental and interest groups. A number of reasons push them to cooperate. First one is having common objective which is environmental protection. Second one is expertise. Environmental groups benefit from each other's profession by cooperating. The last one is having common rival. Generally industrial interest groups support the regulations against environment and they are more powerful than environmental groups. Therefore, environmental groups have to act in concert against industrial interest

---

<sup>190</sup> Transparency Register, [http://europa.eu/transparency-register/index\\_en.htm](http://europa.eu/transparency-register/index_en.htm), (29.12.2011).

<sup>191</sup> Budak, 2000, p. 176.

<sup>192</sup> Green 10 <http://www.green10.org/> (22.07.2011).

groups.<sup>193</sup> Nevertheless, differences on action strategies prevent to make cooperation among environmental groups. For instance EEB gets financial support from European Commission therefore it follows the moderate strategies, whereas Greenpeace refuses European Commission funding and take radical actions.<sup>194</sup>

Environmental Movements in the MSs can be deemed as actors in shaping EU Environmental Policy. As their structures differ from country to country due to the different political, cultural and social effects their impacts on the EU Environmental Policy are also different. For instance, while in the northern countries such as Netherlands, Germany, Sweden and Britain environmental groups are well institutionalized and become key actors in environmental policy making<sup>195</sup>, in the southern countries such as Greece, Portugal and Spain environmental activism has been generally emerged as community-based groups which were more radical and focus on local issues because of their dictatorial pasts. This also causes the weak organizational base and limited resources of most environmental groups in the southern countries contrary to the northern countries.<sup>196</sup> Also, the northern countries have been pioneered to establish green parties in Europe. The first green party was founded in 1973 in Britain. German Green Party was founded in 1980 and now it is the most effective green party in the world. German Green Party canvassed the 8.6 per cent of the vote and had fifty five seats in the German Parliament in 2002 elections.<sup>197</sup> It had fourteen seats in 2009 European Parliament Elections.<sup>198</sup>

### **2.1.2. EU Environmental Policy-Making: General Principles**

When the EU policy-makers have formed the EU Environmental Policy, they have also provided a set of principles which may guide the interpretation of environmental legislation and also environmental developments.<sup>199</sup> These principles can

---

<sup>193</sup> Ahmet Arabacı, “Küresel Sivil Toplum Ağlarına Doğru: Küresel Düzlemde ve Avrupa Birliğinde Çevreci Gruplar, *Sivil Toplum*, (1)3, 2003, pp. 17-31, p. 27.

<sup>194</sup> Christopher Rootes, *Environmental Protest in Western Europe*, Oxford University Press: New York, 2003, p. 14.

<sup>195</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 3.

<sup>196</sup> Rootes, 2003, p. 110.

<sup>197</sup> İsmail Ceritli, “Çevreci Hareketin Siyasallaşma ve Partileşme Süreci”, *Sivil Toplum Dergisi*, 5(20), ss. 63-76, p. 69.

<sup>198</sup> Heijden, 2010, p. 57.

<sup>199</sup> Weale et al, 2003, p. 62.

be listed as ‘polluter pays principle’, ‘prevention principle’, ‘proximity principle’, ‘principle of sustainable development’, ‘high level of protection principle’, ‘integration principle’, ‘derogative principle’, ‘subsidiarity principle’, ‘taking account of scientific and technical data principle’, ‘benefit-cost calculation principle’, ‘international principle’,<sup>200</sup> ‘precautionary principle’, ‘proportionality principle’ and ‘safeguard principle’.<sup>201</sup>

The ‘polluter pays principle’ is one of the oldest principle which was included in the first EAP. It emphasizes that environmental protection is not up to one side. Every polluter should shares the pollution and its cost in order to avoid environmental problems.<sup>202</sup>

The ‘prevention principle’ which was emerged in the Third EAP and included in the SEA emphasizes that environmental problems should be prevented at its early stage.<sup>203</sup> It is realized that prevention is always cheaper than cure and easier than combatting its effects. It minimizes the costs of environmental problems.<sup>204</sup>

A related principle with prevention principle is ‘proximity principle’ which mentions that environmental problems should be solved at source. There are some standards for products and norms in order to limit the pollution and when any environmental problems are realized it should be prevent at source<sup>205</sup>. It was introduced in the first EAP and especially important for waste management policy because the best method is to prevent pollution at its early stage and dispose or recycle the waste as close as possible to its source<sup>206</sup>.

The ‘principle of sustainable development’ is one of the basic principles not only in the EU but also in the world. It was introduced in Brundtland report ‘Our common future’ and then was the main issue in Rio Conference. It was also included in

---

<sup>200</sup> These ten principles were recognized in SEA. Europa, “Single European Act”

[http://ec.europa.eu/economy\\_finance/emu\\_history/documents/treaties/singleeuropeanact.pdf](http://ec.europa.eu/economy_finance/emu_history/documents/treaties/singleeuropeanact.pdf) (22.07.2011).

<sup>201</sup> These three principles were recognized in Treaty of Maastricht “Treaty of Maastricht on European Union”.

<sup>202</sup> Weale et al, 2003, p. 69.

<sup>203</sup> Bozkurt, 2010, p. 135.

<sup>204</sup> Weale et al, 2003, p. 64.

<sup>205</sup> Bozkurt, 2010, p. 135.

<sup>206</sup> European Union, First Environmental Action Programme, Official Journal 1973, C112,1,6, p. 6.

the fifth EAP which was defined as “development which meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs”<sup>207</sup>.

The ‘high level of protection for the environment’ was become an important principle in order to provide environmental competence in EU decision-making process during the 1980s. Because it emphasizes that environment must be consider in order to harmonize the standards in free trade.<sup>208</sup> The ‘integration principle’, is also one of the important principles, mentions that environmental protection requirements must be integrated into other Community policies and activities.<sup>209</sup> The ‘derogative principle’ defines that if implementation of decisions made by quality majority voting is economically burden for pooper state of the Europe, making exceptions are permitted to ease their burden. The principle also allows for transitional periods for the new member states<sup>210</sup>

The ‘subsidiarity principle’ was introduced in the SEA, requires that action against the environmental problem should be taken by the authority as near to this pollution. If any areas in which a member state is not able to act, EU shall take an action in accordance with the subsidiarity principle.<sup>211</sup>

The ‘taking account of scientific and technical data principle’ was included in the SEA and defines that any action related to the environment should take account of scientific and technical data.<sup>212</sup> The ‘benefit-cost calculation principle’ emphasizes that member states should take account of “the potential benefits and cost of action or of lack of action”<sup>213</sup>

The ‘international principle’ emphasizes the need to cooperate with third countries and international organizations on environmental issues.<sup>214</sup> It is one of the important objectives due to the nature of transborder character of environmental problems. The ‘precautionary principle’ was included in the treaty of Maastricht “may

---

<sup>207</sup> European Commission, Environment <http://ec.europa.eu/environment/actionpr.htm> (22.07.2011).

<sup>208</sup> Weale et al, 2003, p. 64.

<sup>209</sup> John McCormick, *Environmental Policy in the European Union*, Palgrave Macmillan: New York, 2001, p. 81.

<sup>210</sup> Ibid.

<sup>211</sup> McCormick, 2001, p. 83.

<sup>212</sup> Ibid., p. 82.

<sup>213</sup> Ibid.

<sup>214</sup> Ibid., p. 84.

be invoked where urgent measures are needed in the face of a possible danger to human, animal or plant health, or to protect the environment where scientific data do not permit a complete evaluation of the risk. It may not be used as a pretext for protectionist measures. This principle is applied mainly where there is a danger to public health. For example, it may be used to stop distribution or order withdrawal from the market of products likely to constitute a health hazard”<sup>215</sup>.

The ‘proportionality principle’ was included in the treaty of Maastricht regulates the exercise of powers by the EU. According to this principle, the involvement of the institutions must be limited to what is necessary to achieve the objectives of the Treaties.<sup>216</sup> The ‘safeguard principle’ allows the MSs to continue or introduce more strict protective measures than EU’s ones as long as they are compatible with the treaty of Maastricht Article 130t and the Commission is informed.<sup>217</sup>

## **2.2. EVOLUTION OF ENVIRONMENTAL POLICY AND ENVIRONMENTAL MOVEMENTS IN CEECs**

During the Socialist period, CEECs was governed through the central planning system. They have mid-term economic plans, long-term sectoral development plans and short-to long-term land-use plans. Environmental considerations were based on land use planning system. Land use planning system was a process which was designated the resource potential territories, and defined conditions for land use. Almost all land use planning system was emphasized importance of protection of environment and public health.<sup>218</sup>

Within the framework of land use planning system, most countries had both environmental laws and institutions. They had environmental ministries, general environmental acts and sets of ambitious standards for discharge to air, water and

---

<sup>215</sup> Europa, Summaries of EU legislation, Consumers, Consumer safety  
[http://europa.eu/legislation\\_summaries/consumers/consumer\\_safety/132042\\_en.htm](http://europa.eu/legislation_summaries/consumers/consumer_safety/132042_en.htm) (27.07.2011).

<sup>216</sup> Europa, Summaries of EU legislation, “Glossary”  
[http://europa.eu/legislation\\_summaries/glossary/proportionality\\_en.htm](http://europa.eu/legislation_summaries/glossary/proportionality_en.htm) (27.07.2011).

<sup>217</sup> McCormick, 2001, p. 84.

<sup>218</sup> Jiri Dusik and Barry Sadler, “Reforming Strategic Environmental Assessment Systems: Lessons from Central and Eastern Europe”, *Impact Assessment and Project Appraisal*, Vol.22 No 2, June 2004, pp. 89-97, p. 90.

soil.<sup>219</sup> For instance, there were legislations on nature and water protection in the early 1930s in Poland.

In parallel with environmental policies, the environmental movement in CEECs has its roots from socialist period, or even before World War II.<sup>220</sup> For instance, ‘League of Nature Conservation’ was established in 1928 in Poland.<sup>221</sup> However they were not dependent, they existed under the supervision of socialist governments and they were established by the communist party or communist youth communist organizations.<sup>222</sup>

Due to the rising level of environmental pollution in the 1970s, CEECs began to establish their comprehensive environmental acts. For instance, Poland formed its environmental act in 1980.<sup>223</sup> Romania established the National Waters Council under the Environmental Protection Law of 1973 since the increasing pollution of rivers and groundwater started to affect irrigation system negatively in the early 1970s.<sup>224</sup> Despite all these institutions and legislations, there were many problems in practice because economic growth, production and national security were more important than environmental problems at the governmental level.<sup>225</sup> Also, environmental administrations were not well developed in CEECs. Environmental ministries had weak positions and they had not enough technical capacity.<sup>226</sup>

Contrary to the government side, there was a growing public awareness on environmental problems during the 1980s. The environmental movements became the voice of public which were assumed a non-political vehicle for opposition to the

---

<sup>219</sup> Ruth Greenspan Bell, “Further up the Learning Curve NGOs from Transition to Brussels”, *Environmental Politics*, Vol.13 No.1, Spring 2004, pp. 194-215. p. 198.

<sup>220</sup> Christy Duijvelaar, *Beyond Borders*, Regional Environmental Center Publications: Hungary, May 1996 <http://archive.rec.org/REC/Publications/BeyondBorders/ch31.html> (29.07.2011).

<sup>221</sup> Nina-Jozefina Bak, “Environmental Movement in Poland and One of its ‘Green Foremen’”, This material was prepared within a research project L’Europe Rebelle carried out by Tischner European University in cooperation with Universite Paris-Est, 2009, p. 1.

<sup>222</sup> Duijvelaar, 1996.

<sup>223</sup> Sonja Guttenbrunner, “Poland: When Environment Governance Meets Politics”, *Coping with Accession to the European Union New Modes of Environmental Governance* in Tanja A. Börzel (ed.), 2009, pp. 148-168, p. 149.

<sup>224</sup> Aron Buzogany, “Romania: Environmental Governance-From without Substance” *Coping with Accession to the European Union New Modes of Environmental Governance*, in Tanja A. Börzel (ed.), 2009, pp. 169-191, p. 170.

<sup>225</sup> Guttenbrunner, 2009, p. 149.

<sup>226</sup> Ibid.

authoritarian regime<sup>227</sup> and pioneered overthrowing the communist regimes. For example, environmental movements began to be appeared on the political arena in Poland during the 1980s. The Polish Ecological Club managed to stop the construction of a nuclear power plant in Zarnowiec, and delegate five of its members to the group of Solidarity representatives in the Ecology Subcommittee of the Roundtable talks with the communist regime which started in 1989.<sup>228</sup>

Growing environmental awareness caused the appearance of green parties during the 1980s and the early 1990s in the CEECs. For instance, after the removal of Ceaușescu regime from power, environment became a hot topic. In the elections of 1990 both the Ecological Movement of Romania (MER) and the Ecological Party of Romania (PER) gained seats in the Chamber of Deputies (387 seats), twelve and eight seats respectively and one seat each in the Senate (119 seats).<sup>229</sup> Like in Romania, environment became an important issue in the 1990 elections in Hungary when all the major parties included environmental policies in their agendas. A green party was also established and participated in elections. Unfortunately, the party did not become successful and was obtained 0.36 per cent of the vote.<sup>230</sup> In Poland the first green party PPZ was established in 1988. Due to the internal conflict, the party could not participated 1989 elections. The liberal party law in 1990 increased the number of green parties in Poland. Nevertheless these parties could not achieve parliamentary representations.<sup>231</sup>

With the collapse of communism, CEECs entered a new and deep political and economic transition process. This process changed the political agendas of the countries and removed the environment from the list of policy priorities. The opposition leaders who previously worked for improvement of environment now got into new political mainstream and gave up working for the environment. Also, governments and societies tried to cope with the challenges of market liberalization and political democratization

---

<sup>227</sup> Thomas O'Brien, "The Environment and Transition in Romania and Hungary", *Griffith Journal of the Environment*, Issue 1, June 2005: Ecopolitics XVI Conference, selected papers, Article 2, pp. 1-25, p. 1.

<sup>228</sup> Bak, 2009, p. 2.

<sup>229</sup> O'Brien, 2005, p. 6.

<sup>230</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 14.

<sup>231</sup> Bak, 2009, pp. 2-3.

and they had not enough energy and time to tackle with environmental problems.<sup>232</sup> The main issue for the people was economy. All these reasons began to fade the environmental activities and movements. However, this issue began to change with the EU accession process.

### **2.3. MECHANISMS USED BY ENVIRONMENTAL MOVEMENTS IN CEECs DURING THE EU ACCESSION PROCESS**

After the collapse of Communist rule, environmental policies of the CEECs have been shaped by the EU membership. CEECs applied for EU membership between 1994 and 1996. EU opened accession negotiations with Czech Republic, Estonia, Hungary, Poland and Slovenia in 1998, and later with Bulgaria, Latvia, Lithuania, Romania and Slovakia. After closing all the chapters in 2002 Czech Republic, Estonia, Hungary, Poland and Slovenia and Slovakia joined the EU in 2004 and Romania and Bulgaria joined in 2007.<sup>233</sup> Accession process was not very easy for CEECs. On the one hand they tried to complete their transformations from authoritarian regimes with centralized planning economies into liberal democracies with market economies. On the other hand they faced with serious challenges in order to reconstruct their economic and political institutions for EU memberships. They had weak capacities which were lack of funding, expertise and administrating capacity.<sup>234</sup> Moreover, environmental movements were also weak. Like governments, they did not have enough tools in order to affect the environmental policy making. However, accession process offered many mechanisms for them in order to strength themselves, deliver their interest and affect the environmental policy making during the accession negotiation process.<sup>235</sup> First mechanism is legal structure which tries to explain how environmental movements were involved the environmental policy making during the EU accession process. Second mechanism is networks which explains how environmental movements in CEECs established relations with other non-state actors in the old MSs and EU in order to

---

<sup>232</sup> Bell, 2004, p. 199.

<sup>233</sup> Joann Carmin and Stacy D. Vandever, "Enlarging EU Environments: Central and Eastern Europe from Transition to Accession", *Environmental Politics*, Vol.13 No.1, Spring 2004, pp. 3–24, pp. 3-4.

<sup>234</sup> Tanja A. Börzel and Aron Buzogany, "Governing EU Accession in Transition Countries: The Role of Non-State Actors", *Acta Politica*, Vol.45 1/2, 2010, pp. 158–182, p. 159.

<sup>235</sup> Tanja A. Börzel, "Why you don't always get what you want: EU Enlargement and Civil Society in Central and Eastern Europe", *Acta Politica*, Vol.45 1/2, 2010, pp. 1-10, p. 1.



strengthen their cognitive capacities. And the third one is EU Funds which shows how environmental movements used and benefited from.

### 2.3.1. Legal Structures

Involvement of non-state actors in the implementation of the policies is very crucial for the EU. Therefore it forced the CEECs for involving the social partners during the preparation of government positions on the various chapters of the *acquis*. Moreover, EU encouraged the CEECs in order to establish economic and social councils which modelled the European and Social Council in order to improve civic dialogue on economic and social developments.<sup>236</sup> Also, many EU policies encourage the public participation, access to information and transparency.<sup>237</sup> However, non-state actors in CEECs were involved in policy making process in different structures. ‘Water Framework Directive’ (WFD) is a good example in order to explain this issue. WFD provides to strength management structures in the river basins and to develop horizontal and vertical coordination structure.<sup>238</sup> It aims to achieve good water status.<sup>239</sup> There are twelve water notes which are key aspects of the implementation of the WFD and one of them is public participation in River Basin Management Planning.<sup>240</sup> The directive is informed the public and involved in the preparation of river basin management plans.<sup>241</sup>

In the case of Hungary, during the 1980s and 1990s environmental problems in water management system caused by the rapid industrialization and liberalization raised the public awareness and increase the public protests. Mobilization against the centrally planned, environmentally dangerous and non-transparent policy making process in water management system became very important both for the emergence of environmental movements and socialist regime change. This process encouraged more

---

<sup>236</sup> Börzel and Buzogany, 2010, p.161.

<sup>237</sup> Ibid.

<sup>238</sup> Aron Buzogany, “Hungary: The Tricky Path of Building Environmental Governance”, *Coping with Accession to the European Union New Modes of Environmental Governance*, in Tanja A. Börzel (ed.), 2009, pp.123-147, p.176.

<sup>239</sup> Guttenbrunner, 2009, p. 155.

<sup>240</sup> European Commission, Environment, Water [http://ec.europa.eu/environment/water/participation/notes\\_en.htm](http://ec.europa.eu/environment/water/participation/notes_en.htm) (08.08.2011).

<sup>241</sup> European Commission, Environment, Water, Participation [http://ec.europa.eu/environment/water/participation/pdf/waternote/water\\_note12\\_public\\_participation\\_plans.pdf](http://ec.europa.eu/environment/water/participation/pdf/waternote/water_note12_public_participation_plans.pdf) (08.08.2011).

inclusive planning and public participation in water management policy.<sup>242</sup> During the negotiations on WFD, Hungary chose to merge the old system with the new one rather than transposing the directive. It prepared a National River Management Plan and opened to public debate. Sixty stakeholders presented their opinion to the government within two hundred days and contributed to the plan. Hungarian government and stakeholders made collaboration in the policy process in order to overcome the challenges of membership. Different stakeholders put network in order to move together and provide experts to the government.<sup>243</sup>

Unlike the Hungarian case, Polish government did not very welcome the involvement of environmental movements and other stakeholders in the environmental negotiations. However in order to fulfil the participatory requirements of the WFD, a water council was established in each of the seven ‘water management authorities’<sup>244</sup> for public participation. These councils act as advisory bodies which are composed of thirty different stakeholders such as different water users, local authorities, NGOs, experts and so on. Apart from water councils, Polish government established commissions for public participation having no legal basis and work at a more informal level. The meetings were held within these bodies and the aim was to inform public and to involve in conducting and organizing public participation about water management. Although lack of political will and frequent government changes have caused to decrease the involvement of non-state actors, so do environmental movements to the policy making process, public participation to the water management reflected positively because, different stakeholders focused on different aspects of water management and provided better improvement of water management system and become easy to harmonize with WFD.<sup>245</sup>

---

<sup>242</sup> Buzogany, “Hungary: The Tricky Path of Building Environmental Governance”, 2009, pp. 127-128.

<sup>243</sup> Ibid., p. 132.

<sup>244</sup> “Seven regional water management aouthorites were established in Poland in 1991 modelled Western European water management systems. They are responsible for the maintenance of state hydraulic structures, such as dams and reservoirs; are in charge of water ways and and state rivers; collect and organize data about waterresources and use and put forward opinions concerning projects of water use. They have also important roles in water management such as for hydroelectricity, river regulation and flood prevention, and carry out investment in hydraulic projects of national importance”. Guttenbrunner, 2009, p. 153.

<sup>245</sup> Ibid., p. 157.

Romania had a centralized system on water management. In order to implement WFD, eleven river basin committees were established in 2001. These committees did not include the NGO representatives. In order to meet public participation of the directive, Romania had to include the NGO representatives. The committees were a chance for many environmental movements in order to get involved policy making process. However, they worked mostly on raising awareness and communication activities rather than on policy making because there were a few environmental movements which were professional on water management in Romania. There were also other shortcomings which prevent environmental movements to participate policy making process such as weak coordination capacities and conflicts among environmental movements.<sup>246</sup>

### **2.3.2. Networks**

During the accession process, European Commission supports environmental movements in order to participate transnational networks with environmental movements from old countries and European umbrella organisations in order to strength their capacities.<sup>247</sup> Through these networks environmental movements try to learn how to shape and implement EU environmental policies both at the national and the EU level. Hungary is one of the examples which used this mechanism in the accession process. Hungarian environmental movements realized that EU's solutions for environmental problems were not the best all the time. Their solutions and implementations were better than EU's one therefore they had to protect their interests. Because of this, they had to be involved in negotiation process and they had to influence not only the government side but also the EU side.

In order to put across their interest, Hungarian environmental movements contacted Green 10, it was called as Green 8 in the Hungary accession negotiations, in Brussels which were very effective relations with European Commission, EP and Council. But influencing their agenda was very difficult. However, Hungarian environmental movements benefited from political arena. EU's enlargement to ten

---

<sup>246</sup> Buzogany, "Romania: Environmental Governance-Form without Substance", 2009, pp. 173-179.

<sup>247</sup> Börzel, 2010, p. 3.

CEECs was very important issue in these days and EU wondered that what civil society thought about enlargement. Therefore, to attract public and decision makers' attention in the EU became easy. Besides, there was Regional Environmental Center (REC) which was established by the EU and the USA in 1990. It is an independent international organization which has worked about sustainable development, environmental policies, climate change, biodiversity, renewable energy, environmental information and waste management issues and tried to strength the capacities of environmental NGOs through training, education and direct support for environmental initiatives and to encourage CEECs to recognize and work with NGOs.<sup>248</sup> REC has good relations with some CSOs especially Green 10. Its center is in Hungary therefore during the accession process it was a good channel for Hungarian environmental movements in order to reach Brussels.<sup>249</sup>

During the accession process, Hungarian environmental movements realized that EU wanted to work with them and it wanted to listen to them. However, there were great number of environmental movements and it was very difficult to contact for both environment movements and the EU. They had to specify an addressee. Therefore, they established a network which was composed of representatives of environmental movements in order to follow the accession negotiations and transmitted their interests to Brussels.<sup>250</sup> One of these networks was National Environmental Meeting. Hungarian environmental movements came together and discussed the environmental issues in these meetings. They also chose representatives which represent their interest in the governmental committees. The other one was National Environment Council which was composed of members from environmental movements, business and science worlds. This council worked as a consultant to Ministry of Environment.<sup>251</sup>

Hungarian environmental movements also established networks with environmental movements in other nine CEECs, because they also conducted accession

---

<sup>248</sup> Carmin and Vanderveer, 2004, p. 10.

<sup>249</sup> Bölgesel Çevre Merkezi, *Avrupa Birliği Katılım Sürecinde Sivil Toplum Kuruluşlarının Rolü- Toplantı Sunumları ve Tartışmalar*, 19-20 Mart 2005, Bölgesel Çevre Merkezi REC Türkiye: İstanbul, 2006, p. 36.

<sup>250</sup> Ibid., p. 37.

<sup>251</sup> Ibid., p. 39.

negotiations. Because, their problems resembled with each other, therefore to clarify the common issues and to present the Brussels was easier than to move alone.<sup>252</sup>

In order to do all these things, Hungarian environmental movements needed resources, because they and also environmental movements in other CEEC were not more powerful and well established like environmental movements in the EU. In the accession process they supported by their national resources and resources of other countries. However, EU Funds were the big supporter for them which is the third mechanism in order to be involved in EU accession process.

### **2.3.3. EU Funds**

EU Funds are another mechanism for environmental movements in order to participate environmental policy making process. CEECs began to receive many kinds of funds after the regime changes in order to overthrow the challenges of transition to the democracy and liberal economy. West European states, United States, Canada and Japan, and also intergovernmental organizations such as World Bank and International Monetary Fund offered assistance to them. Moreover, environmental issues got big shares that many donors provided financial assistance for pollution of remediation and the development of environmental institutions.<sup>253</sup> EU provided financial assistance nearly 3.5 billion ECU for environmental remediation and protection between 1990 and 1995, too<sup>254</sup>. Funders not only provided funds for states but also for environmental movements. For instance, REC supported environmental initiatives in CEECs during the accession process.

After CEECs were declared as candidate countries and accession negotiations started, EU funds raised and EU became the main funder in the region. However, structure of financial assistance was changed which aimed to develop the capacities of accession countries for preparation of EU Accession. In this framework, financial assistance for pre-accession has three instruments which were Poland and Hungary Assistance for the Reconstruction of the Economy (PHARE), the Instrument for

---

<sup>252</sup> Bölgesel Çevre Merkezi, 2006, p. 37.

<sup>253</sup> Carmin and Vanderveer, 2004, p. 10.

<sup>254</sup> Ibid.

Structural Policies for Pre-Accession (ISPA) and the Support for Pre-Accession Measures for Agriculture and Rural Development Programme (SAPARD).

The PHARE Programme was the first assistance programme for CEECs which started in 1989 to support the economic and political changes in Poland and Hungary.<sup>255</sup> Then it was extended to other CEECs. It aimed to strength institution building and the administrative capacity in the candidate countries, to promote harmonization of *acquis communautaire* and to promote economic and social convergence.<sup>256</sup> Ten CEECs received 13 billion Euros between 1990-2003 years from PHARE Programme.<sup>257</sup> 665.4 million Euros were spent for environment between 1999 and 2004 years<sup>258</sup>. ISPA Programme supported the candidate countries in order to strength their infrastructure, environmental protection and transport for preparation of EU membership. Generally it was designed to support development projects concerning water purity and the protection of the air, as well as the utilisation of wastes and the development of transport infrastructure in 1999.<sup>259</sup> Ten CEECs received 4.1 billion Euros between 2000-2003 years from this programme.<sup>260</sup> And SAPARD Programme was established in 1999 which aimed to strength structural adjustments of 10 CEECs in their agricultural sectors and rural areas, as well as in the implementation of *acquis* concerning the Common Agricultural Policy.<sup>261</sup> Ten CEECs received 2.8 billion Euros between 2000-2003 years from this programme.<sup>262</sup>

Among these three pre-accession funds, civil society and also environmental movements-except green parties- were supported by PHARE programme. As CSOs had weak capacities in the accession countries, a major percentage of the funds used for

---

<sup>255</sup> Office of the Committee for European Integration, “Pre-Accession Funds Polish Experience”, Poland, p. 4 [http://polskawue.gov.pl/files/Dokumenty/Publikacje\\_o\\_UE/Pre-accession\\_funds\\_Polish\\_experiences-publikacja.pdf](http://polskawue.gov.pl/files/Dokumenty/Publikacje_o_UE/Pre-accession_funds_Polish_experiences-publikacja.pdf) (14.08.2011).

<sup>256</sup> European Commission Enlargement “Phare” [http://ec.europa.eu/enlargement/how-does-it-work/financial-assistance/phare/index\\_en.htm](http://ec.europa.eu/enlargement/how-does-it-work/financial-assistance/phare/index_en.htm) (14.08.2011).

<sup>257</sup> Nihal Samsun, “Merkezi ve Doğu Avrupa Ülkelerine Yönelik Avrupa Birliği Mali Yardımları ve Türkiye”, Unpublished MA thesis, Ankara, 2005, p. 76.

<sup>258</sup> MHW Consortium, “Phare ex post Evaluation. Phase 3, Thematic Evaluation: Environment”, European Commission DG Enlargement Evaluation Unit, May 2007, p. 39.

<sup>259</sup> Jerzy Banski, “European Union Pre-Accession Aid in the Development of Poland’s Rural Areas”, Stanislaw Leszczycki Institute of Geography and Spatial Organisation PAS, p. 2.

<sup>260</sup> Samsun, 2005, p. 76.

<sup>261</sup> European Commission Enlargement, “SAPARD” [http://ec.europa.eu/enlargement/how-does-it-work/financial-assistance/sapard\\_en.htm](http://ec.europa.eu/enlargement/how-does-it-work/financial-assistance/sapard_en.htm) (14.08.2011).

<sup>262</sup> Samsun, 2005, p. 76.

strengthening and widening the capacity, involvement of the NGO sector in civil society and political transformation, and creating a sustainable framework for the role of NGO in the development of civil society.<sup>263</sup> CSOs in CEECs benefited from PHARE funds since 1992. Between 1992 and 2001 years sixteen national programmes and eleven multi-country programmes implemented in ten CEECs for CSOs accounting for a total amount of 164.5 million Euros. The assistance was divided between direct civil society programmes in five countries which were, Bulgaria, Czech Republic, Lithuania, Romania and Slovak Republic, and multi-country LIEN, Partnership and Democracy Programmes.<sup>264</sup>

Unlike the pre-accession assistance, CEECs benefited from the community programmes during the accession negotiation. Community programmes are generated in order to strengthen the cooperation among the MSs regarding Community policies.<sup>265</sup> All candidate and acceding countries have an opportunity to participate any community programme. The budgets of community programmes are financed from both general budget of the EU and participant candidate and acceding countries. For instance, LIFE Programme is the EU financial instrument for the Environment which supports environmental and the nature conservation projects throughout the EU, as well as in some candidate, acceding countries and neighbouring countries.<sup>266</sup> Between 1992 and 2004 years, 152 projects were implemented in the LIFE Programme by eight CEECs and thirty four of them were implemented by environmental movements. Also, fifty three projects were implemented by Romania and Bulgaria between 1992 and 2007 years, and four of them were implemented by environmental movements.<sup>267</sup> CEECs also benefited from sixth framework programme (FP6) during the accession negotiation. However none of environmental movements were implemented any project to the FP6.

---

<sup>263</sup> OMAS Consortium, "Assessment of the European Union Phare Programmes, Multi-Country, Thematic Report on Civil Society", Report No. S/ZZ/CIV/01004, 10 September 2001

[http://ec.europa.eu/enlargement/pdf/financial\\_assistance/phare/interim\\_s\\_zz\\_civ\\_01004\\_en.pdf](http://ec.europa.eu/enlargement/pdf/financial_assistance/phare/interim_s_zz_civ_01004_en.pdf) p. I.

<sup>264</sup> Ibid., p. III.

<sup>265</sup> Community programmes <http://www.2007-2013.eu/community.php> (24.04.2011).

<sup>266</sup> LIFE, <http://ec.europa.eu/environment/life/index.htm> (14.08.2011).

<sup>267</sup> Ibid.

#### **2.3.4. General Evaluation on Environmental Movements Participation into the EU Accession Process**

EU Accession process had a great impact on environmental movements in CEECs. They took the opportunities to deliver their interests and to be involved the decision making process during the democratic transition and after EU Accession negotiations periods. However, this process did not function smoothly when both state and non-state actors suffered from the weak capacities such as lack of funding, expertise and administrative capacities. Governments in CEECs did not know the ways of cooperation between environmental movements. Moreover, governments had little incentives for cooperation due to the fact that they were not accustomed to cooperate with non-state actors in the socialist culture. All in all, the governments in CEECs were afraid of ‘state capture’ by non-state actors.<sup>268</sup> Since most of the times governments were under time pressure for approximation of EU environmental legislation, governments perceived the involvement of environmental movements as time consuming.<sup>269</sup> However, there were also many exceptions to this widely-held perception. In the example of the WFD, while Hungarian government was more open to involvement of environmental movements, Poland perceived it as accession requirements. The environmental movements in CEECs had prejudices, too which come from the socialist background. Many environmental movements saw themselves as ‘watchdogs’ rather than interdependent partners of the state<sup>270</sup>, therefore they did not prefer to cooperate with states.

Many environmental movements also suffered to use three main mechanisms due to their weak capacities. Actually these mechanisms are interdependent. As they did not have enough expertise about specific issues many environmental movements could not get involved in the accession process. This was the case in Romania. Romania established river basin committees and included the NGOs for implementation of the WFD. However many environmental movements could not get involved in the implementation due to their lack of expertise about water issues. Also they had troubles

---

<sup>268</sup> Börzel, 2009, p. 193.

<sup>269</sup> Börzel, 2010, p. 5.

<sup>270</sup> Börzel, 2009, p. 193.



reaching the EU Funds. Reallocation of EU funds is a project based process. As many environmental movements did not employ qualified personnel for writing and managing a project, and they did not have enough financial capacity to provide the co-finance, they were not able to use EU funds.

Having financial capacity was also the case for reaching networks. Many environmental movements could not reach the networks as they did not have enough financial resources to go to Brussels or to open an office in Brussels.

Briefly, although EU accession negotiation process increased the both the capacity of environmental movement and government, involvement of environmental movements in CEECs during the accession negotiation process remained limited. Generally speaking, only the environmental movements which were able to use these mechanisms managed to be involved in this process.

### III

## ENVIRONMENTAL MOVEMENTS IN TURKEY: EVOLUTION OF ENVIRONMENTAL MOVEMENTS AND THE IMPACT OF EU ACCESSION PROCESS

Dramatic rise in the frequency and intensity of environmental disasters have increased the importance of environment and environmental policies both in national and international level particularly in the 2000s. Due to increase of the frequency and impact of these disasters environmental movements have gained importance and increased their effectiveness. Recently environmental issues have occupied an increasing place in the socio-political agenda of Turkey too. Accordingly environmental movements have gained momentum. For instance, the Big Anatolia March (Anadoluyu vermeyoz) has been started by Association of Nature in April 2011 against the construction of hydroelectric power plants which might threaten ecosystems and rural life in important natural sites and the Platform against the Nuclear protested the nuclear energy in April 2011.

There is also a slow but gradual interaction between environmental movements in Turkey and Turkey-EU relations particularly since 1999. Although many platforms and NGOs think that all of the environmental policies in EU are not perfect, most accept that EU has a better performance than Turkey on the environmental practices. As environmental movements have understood the importance of accession to the EU and tried to follow and get involved the EU accession negotiation process. However, in some cases, platforms, NGOs and other forms of environmental movements have either difficulties involving in and benefiting from EU accession process due to their organizational structure or refuse to take part in due to ideological reasons.

Turkey has still developing environmental policies and it is often assumed that compliance with EU environmental *acquis* helps to develop the Turkish environmental policy.<sup>271</sup> In order to find out tentative position of environmental movements in the EU

---

<sup>271</sup> Personal Interviews with experts from ten NGOs and Green Party between February 2010 and February 2011.

accession negotiation process, the link between historical evolution of environmentalism and Turkish environmental policy need to be investigated. In this framework, first of all the evolution process of the environmental policy and environmental movements in Turkey will be examined within a historical perspective. There are many kinds of environmental movements and their categorization is very crucial in order to understand the environmental movements in this process. Therefore, Turkish environmental movements are classified according to their goals and strategies as well as their ideologies and relations with the state which are examined in the first chapter in detail. This chapter also examines certain mechanisms to be involved in the EU accession negotiation process such as use of EU funds, legal structures, networks and EU Communication Strategy and makes a general evaluation on Turkish environmental movements into the EU Accession Negotiation process.

### **3.1. Evolution of Turkish Environmental Policy**

Until the 1970s, the environment policy was not a concern in policy making Turkey. Parallel to the international developments in early 1970s, environmental considerations became a concern in policy making in Turkey too. In the 1980s environmental problems gradually increased, therefore many developments were seen in both policy making and institutional process.<sup>272</sup>

First attempt related to environmental policy making was seen in the 1973-1977 Five Year Development Plan. The Five Year Development Plans prepared by State Planning Organization (SPO) aim at achieving economical, social and cultural development all over the country in balanced and harmonious way.<sup>273</sup> The First Five Year Development plan was prepared in 1963. For the first time, environment was included as a separate chapter in the Third Five Year Development Plan.<sup>274</sup> This plan listed the environmental problems such as water, weather and land pollution and indicated that these problems had to be examined under the plan as a whole. However

---

<sup>272</sup> Bozkurt, 2010, p. 21.

<sup>273</sup> State Planning Organization was founded in 30 September 1960 in accordance with the law no 91. It was transformed to the T.R. Ministry of Development in 3 June 2011 by decree law no 641. Kalkınma Bakanlığının Teşkilat ve Görevleri Hakkında Kanun Hükmünde Kararname, Karar sayısı: KHK/641 <http://mevzuat.dpt.gov.tr/khk/641.pdf> (04.09.2011)

<sup>274</sup> Serap Öztürk, “Çevre”, *Türkiye’de Hak Temelli STK’lar*, ed. by Merve Erol, Odak Ofset Matbaacılık: Ankara, 2007, p. 74.

the plan emphasized that any environmental policy which would hinder the economic development could not be adopted. It also mentioned the necessity of an institution in order to coordinate all environmental activities.<sup>275</sup> In this framework, the Prime Ministry Undersecretariat for Environment was founded in 1978 through decree of the council of ministers.<sup>276</sup> In 1991 it was replaced by the Ministry of Environment. The main duties of the ministry were to generate environmental policies where they were necessary, and the coordinated the all environmental facilities at national and international level.<sup>277</sup>

Different from the previous plans, sustainable development became the strategy of the Seventh Development Plan (1996-2000) influenced by Rio Conference in 1992.<sup>278</sup> *National Environment Strategy and Action Plan (NEAP-UÇEP)*<sup>279</sup> was prepared and published in 1998 within this term of plan. UÇEP was a document which was composed of concrete actions in order to accord environment and development.<sup>280</sup> The plan was the first environmental action plan of Turkey and shared similarities with EU Fifth Action Plan in terms of actions and terminology used in the plan.<sup>281</sup> In this framework, the plan had five main goals; reduction and prevention of pollution; facilitate the access of all citizens to environmental infrastructure and services; promoting sustainable use of renewable resources; promoting the policies, projects, programmes and suggestions enabling to sustain the environment and economy and reduction of exposure to environmental risks.<sup>282</sup>

---

<sup>275</sup> Devlet Planlama Teşkilatı, *Üçüncü Beş Yıllık Kalkınma Planı*,(1973-1977), [The Third Five Year Development Plan], Ankara, T.C Başbakanlık Devlet Planlama Teşkilatı Müsteşarlığı, 1973,

<http://ekutup.dpt.gov.tr/plan/plan3.pdf>, p. 866 (14.07.2011) and Keleş and Hamamcı, 2002, p. 324.

<sup>276</sup> In Undersecretariat for Environment transformed to the General Directorate for Environment under the Prime Ministry in 1984. It transformed again to the undersecretariat form in 1989. It was abrogated in 1991 by being established T.R. Ministry of Environment. In 2003 It has merged with Ministry of Forestry and has been called as T.R. Ministry of Environment and Forestry. The ministry was abolished in 2011 and T.R. Ministry of Forestry and Water Affairs and T.R. Ministry of Environment and Urban Planning were founded.

<sup>277</sup> Keleş and Hamamcı, 2002, p. 296.

<sup>278</sup> Devlet Planlama Teşkilatı, *Yedinci Beş Yıllık Kalkınma Planı (1996-2000)* [The Seventh Five Year Development Programme], Ankara. T.C Başbakanlık Devlet Planlama Teşkilatı Müsteşarlığı, 1996 <http://ekutup.dpt.gov.tr/plan/vii/> (27.09.2011) and Keleş, Hamamcı and Çoban, 2009, p. 509.

<sup>279</sup> It was decided in Rio Conference that all participant countries had to prepare a national environmental plan in harmony with Agenda 21. İktisadi Kalkınma Vakfı, *Türk Çevre Politikasına Kısa Bir Bakış*, İktisadi Kalkınma Vakfı yayınları: İstanbul, 2005.

<sup>280</sup> Bozkurt, 2010, p. 144.

<sup>281</sup> Yıldırım and Budak, 2005, p. 199.

<sup>282</sup> Devlet Planlama Teşkilatı, *Ulusal Çevre Stratejisi ve Eylem Planı* [National Environmental Action Plan], Ankara, T.C Başbakanlık Devlet Planlama Teşkilatı, 1998. <http://ekutup.dpt.gov.tr/cevre/eylempla/ucep.html> (11.07.2011).

Until the Eighth Five Year Development Plan (2001-2005), the development plans emphasized that any environmental policy which would hinder the economic development could not be adopted.<sup>283</sup> The Eight Five Year Development Plan indicated that economical and social development would be provided in harmony with environment and nature. It was also emphasized that environmental policies would harmonize with EU and international standards<sup>284</sup>. The Ninth Five Year Development Plan, which has been planned the years between 2007 and 2013, has included the necessities and implementations in order to harmonize the Turkish Environmental Policy with the EU Environmental Policy.<sup>285</sup> In this framework, it can be said that the plan determines a road map in order to comply with EU Environmental Policy.<sup>286</sup>

Parallel to the developments on five year development plans, legal regulations on environment were started to take place in 1980s. There was no any clear explanation about environment in the 1961 Constitution. Only Article 49 which was called as the right to health was referred to the environment. According to it, one of the duties of the state is to provide a physical and mental health for everyone.<sup>287</sup> Contrary to 1961 Constitution, there are rules directly or indirectly related to the environment in 1982 Constitution.<sup>288</sup> For example Article 56 mentions that everyone has a right to live a healthy and balanced environment. To develop environment, to protect environment and to prevent environmental pollution are duties of both state and citizens.<sup>289</sup> Moreover articles 43, 44, 45, 63 and 23 in 1982 Constitution mention about the environment indirectly.

The detailed regulations on environment were taken place with First Environmental Law which was entered into force in 1983. Environmental Law aimed to protect and improve environment, to protect and use of natural resources without

---

<sup>283</sup> Yıldırım and Budak, 2005, p. 198.

<sup>284</sup> Devlet Planlama Teşkilatı, *Sekizinci Beş Yıllık Kalkınma Planı (2001-2005)* [The Eight Five Year Development Programme], Ankara, T.C Başbakanlık Devlet Planlama Teşkilatı Müsteşarlığı, 2001 <http://ekutup.dpt.gov.tr/plan/viii/plan8.pdf> (27.09.2011)

<sup>285</sup> Bozkurt, 2010, p. 143.

<sup>286</sup> Devlet Planlama Teşkilatı, *Dokuzuncu Kalkınma Planı (2007-2013) Çevre Özel İhtisas Komisyonu Raporu* [The Ninth Development Plan, Report of the Environment Special Expertise Commission] no. 2737, OİK: 688, Ankara, 2007, [www.dpt.gov.tr/DocObjects/Download/3192/oik688.pdf](http://www.dpt.gov.tr/DocObjects/Download/3192/oik688.pdf)- (27.09.2011)

<sup>287</sup> Keleş and Hamamcı, 2002, p. 335.

<sup>288</sup> Ibid.

<sup>289</sup> Grand National Assembly of Turkey, "The Constitution of the Republic of Turkey", <http://www.tbmm.gov.tr/anayasa.htm> (01.06.2010)

wasting them, to protect natural and historical wealth and to prevent water, air and land pollution.<sup>290</sup> Some articles of the law changed in 1984, 1986, 1987, 1988, 1990, 1991, 2001 and 2004. However the biggest changes took place in 2006. New concepts entered the law such as sustainable environment and development.<sup>291</sup> With the last changes current environmental law points out the necessity of the cooperation between CSOs, professional and other kinds of unions and government in order to save the environment and prevent pollution. Also it states the right of participation in environmental policy making and right to environmental information.<sup>292</sup>

Since 1990s there were developments not only at national level but also at international level. Turkey signed and ratified the many international and regional conventions on environment such as United Nations Convention to Combat Desertification, Convention on the Protection of the Black Sea Against Pollution (Bucharest Convention), United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change and the Kyoto Protocol, Convention on International Trade in Endangered Species, Convention on Biological Diversity, The Convention for the Protection of the Marine Environment and the Coastal Region of the Mediterranean (Barcelona Convention) and Basel Convention on the Control of Transboundary Movements of Hazardous Wastes and Their Disposal.<sup>293</sup> Especially in the 2000s, the possibility of EU membership has reinforced Turkey to implement environmental measures both national and international level.

Within the bounds of evolution of Turkish environmental policy, the general view of Turkish environmental movements on Turkish environmental policy is that it needs to be developed.<sup>294</sup> An expert from Buğday Association for Supporting Ecological Living made an interesting evaluation about environmental policies who stated that there was respect for nature in rural areas of Turkey. Many activities are very environment friendly. However, there is a problem at state level. There is no coherence

---

<sup>290</sup> Keleş and Hamamcı, 2002, p. 337.

<sup>291</sup> Çevre Kanunu.

<sup>292</sup> Ibid.

<sup>293</sup> Republic of Turkey Ministry of Foreign Affairs, <http://www.mfa.gov.tr/sub.en.mfa?cf805f3f-5f1b-47b7-8be8-48df98367122> (01.11.2010).

<sup>294</sup> Personal Interviews with twelve environmental movements at different times.

within policies at the state level.<sup>295</sup> And an expert from Sport Fishing Association of Turkey indicated the main cause of environmental pollution as the industrial revolution. According to the expert, the Western Europe destroyed the environment for more production and consumption. Therefore, European countries developed the environmental policies in order to decrease the environmental disasters. However Turkey met with industry later than the Europe, so awareness of environmental problems was raised later than the Europe. In this framework, it is very normal that Europe has more environmentalist policies than Turkey. Expert continued that environmental problems and their effects on human health have raised sensitivity to environment in recent years. Moreover governments began to take into consideration the environment and nature while specifying their agendas compulsorily due to this raising sensitivity and EU accession process.<sup>296</sup>

### **3.2. Evolution of Environmental Movements in Turkey**

Civil society participation has very crucial role in environmental policy making because civil society is directly affected by the environmental pollution and legal environmental implementations. As it is said before, movements are collective actions and they are closely related with civil society. Movements are the tools for civil society in order to demand and change something. Since the foundation of the Republic of Turkey, environmental movements have been realized in various forms such as NGOs, platforms, and trade unions. However they have been overshadowed than other kind of movements. For instance, according to Ministry of Interior the rate of associations related with environment is 3 per cent, the rate of associations related with culture, sport and recreation is 32.1 per cent and the rate of associations related with religion is 17.3 per cent.<sup>297</sup> Since being declared as a candidate country, legal structures about freedom of associations have been improving in Turkey. According to Turkey 2011 Progress Report Turkey's legislation on freedom of association is broadly in line with EU

---

<sup>295</sup> Personal Interview with Buğday Association for Supporting Ecological Living, 08.01.2011.

<sup>296</sup> Personal Interview with Sport Fishing Association of Turkey, 20.02.2011.

<sup>297</sup> Republic of Turkey Ministry of Interior, Directorate of Associations [http://www.dernekler.gov.tr/index.php?option=com\\_content&view=category&layout=blog&id=52&Itemid=12&lang=tr](http://www.dernekler.gov.tr/index.php?option=com_content&view=category&layout=blog&id=52&Itemid=12&lang=tr) (01.11.2010).

*acquis*.<sup>298</sup> However, there are still problems in the enforcement of laws. Civil society is not totally independent from state. State has still supervisory power over the civil society.<sup>299</sup> According to ‘The Evaluation on Association Law through the Perspective of Freedom of Association’, there are many problems on the freedom of associations which are about institutional structure, regulations of CSOs, internal operations of CSOs, audit, international relations of CSOs and the other organizational form. Moreover, the punishments for CSOs are defined as very severe. There are also limitations about the law on meetings and demonstrations, charity collection, release and taxation.<sup>300</sup>

Due to the having different activity, size, scope, philosophy, degree of institutionalization and range of issues they addressed, categorization of environmental movements is very difficult.<sup>301</sup> Although there are many criteria for elaboration of evolution of environmental movements in Turkey, this study first takes a historical point of view as the base to make a categorization as pre-1980s and post-1980s periods. 1980s are notable periods for Turkish environmental movements because these are the years which Turkey lived a transformation both in economically and politically. Before the 1980s, the core civil and military bureaucracy restricted development of civil society as they had an ideology that civil rights and freedoms might damage the unitary nature of Turkey.<sup>302</sup> The developments both in national and international level diminished this concern. Especially during the 1960s and 1970s, there was a high of political polarization within the society. The society was divided as leftist and rightist. Within this platform, environmental degradation was not a first priority at public and state level. Therefore, environmental issues and movements remained relatively weak in pre-1980s period.

---

<sup>298</sup> European Commission, *Commission Staff Working Paper, Turkey 2011 Progress Report*, SEC(2011) 1201, Brussels, 12.10.2011, p. 27

[http://ab.gov.tr/files/AB\\_Iliskileri/AdaylikSureci/IlerlemeRaporlari/tr\\_rapport\\_2011\\_en.pdf](http://ab.gov.tr/files/AB_Iliskileri/AdaylikSureci/IlerlemeRaporlari/tr_rapport_2011_en.pdf) (21.12.2011)

<sup>299</sup> Orhan Kemal Cengiz, “Dernekler Mevzuatının Örgütlenme Özgürlüğü Açısından Değerlendirilmesi Raporu” *Türkiye’de Derneklerin Örgütlenme Özgürlüğü Önünde Engeller*, (ed.) Tefik Başak Ersen, Tüsev yayınları: İstanbul, Nisan 2010, p. 19.

<sup>300</sup> *Ibid*, p. 19-42.

<sup>301</sup> Çiğdem Adem, “Non-State Actors and Environmentalism”, *Environmentalism in Turkey*, in Fikret Adaman and Murat Arsen (eds.), Ashgate: England and USA, 2005, p. 73.

<sup>302</sup> Zülküf Aydın, “The State, Civil Society, and Environmentalism”, *Environmentalism in Turkey*, in Fikret Adaman and Murat Arsen (eds.), 2005, p. 58.



During and after the 1980s, some developments triggered environmental movements which were military intervention, globalization and democratization process. After military coup political activities were abolished. Therefore, people tended to social issues in order to speak up such as human rights, women rights, environmental issues and so on. Environmental degradation began to gain a global character after the 1980s. This made people conscious on environmental movements in the world. Finally, the world entered a neo-liberalization process both politically and economically. It was impossible that Turkey would not be affected from this process. It abandoned the inward-looking import substitution mode in economy and adopted neo-liberal economic policies.<sup>303</sup> These neo-liberal economic policies catalysed Turkey's integration to global world economy and brought deregulation in all spheres of life.<sup>304</sup> The process also paved the way for democratization process. The domination of the state on society loosened and social movements found more space for their activities.<sup>305</sup> Therefore, their numbers began to increase and began to have active roles in order to protect and develop the environment day by day.<sup>306</sup>

### 3.2.1. Environmental Movements in the pre-1980s period

This period can be defined as the embryonic stage of the environmental movements in Turkey.<sup>307</sup> Before 1950s, there was not a common idea both in government and public level that environment and nature should be protected and should not be polluted. When a problem occurred, the state and local governments were authorized in order to eliminate it. Therefore there was not any kind of social movement which was established for protection, improvement and development of the environment.<sup>308</sup> Generally, there were a few of structures which might be called as environmental movements during that period mainly dealt with reconstruction, forestation, protection of animals and beautification of cities and districts such as Çamlıca, Boğaziçi and Uludağ Beautification Associations.<sup>309</sup> Moreover, these were

---

<sup>303</sup> Aydın, 2005, p. 59.

<sup>304</sup> Ibid., p. 58.

<sup>305</sup> Ibid.

<sup>306</sup> This issue analyzes in detail under the title "3.1.2. Environmental Movements in the post-1980s period".

<sup>307</sup> Adem, 2005, p. 73.

<sup>308</sup> Keleş and Hamamcı, 2002, p. 313.

<sup>309</sup> Akın Atauz, "Çevreci Sivil Toplum Hareketinin Yakın Tarihi", *Türkiye'de Çevrenin ve Çevre Korumanın Tarihi Sempozyumu*, in Zeynep Boratav (ed.), Türkiye Ekonomik ve Toplumsal Tarih Vakfı: İstanbul, Ekim 2000, p. 199.

voluntary organizations which were established by social elites, and they were not independent from the state because, they were under state control.<sup>310</sup>

After 1946, Turkey entered into a relatively process of liberalization. During these years the number of environmental organizations began to increase which was one in 1946, two in 1948, six in 1952, twenty four in 1956, and forty one in 1960 in Ankara; and six in 1946 and one hundred sixty six in 1960 in İstanbul.<sup>311</sup> In 1950s and 1960s, the environmental organizations became appear with environmental concerns than the previous ones. Because of rapid urbanization, intense internal migration and industrialization process letting to the environmental problems such as water, soil and air pollution, they prompted to protect environment.<sup>312</sup> For example in 1955, the Turkish Association for the Conservation of Nature and Natural Resources was established by high-level bureaucrats who were generally forestry engineers in Ankara in order to increase consciousness for environmental conservation. It was mainly interested in erosion, problems associated with urban heating, natural parks and nature protection areas. In 1969, the Ankara Struggle against Air Pollution Association was founded in order to prevent the urban air pollution.<sup>313</sup> Mainly before 1970s, it was not possible to state a real environmental activism, because the environmental movements were mainly elitist structure, were not able to criticize the state policies which were harmful for the environment and did not represent the mass society.

1970s were the years when the environmental pollution began to be widely recognized. These years were also signs of the increase on movements and activism both in the world and in Turkey.<sup>314</sup> In these years, environmental movements began to do away with their elitist structure. Although the participation was low, organization process began to spread among public. Environmental Protection and Greenification Association in 1972, the Society for the Protection of Nature in 1975 and the Environment Foundation of Turkey in 1978 were significant examples for this process.<sup>315</sup> There were also two important public protests about environment. The first

---

<sup>310</sup> Atauz, 2000, p. 199.

<sup>311</sup> Adem, 2005, p. 73.

<sup>312</sup> Ibid.

<sup>313</sup> Ibid., pp. 73-74.

<sup>314</sup> Ibid., p. 74.

<sup>315</sup> Ibid.

protest was organized in 1975 in Samsun by residents of twenty one villages due to the fact that their agricultural products were damaged by poisonous gases released from a copper plant near to the villages.<sup>316</sup> They organized a silent rally and wanted a reimbursement from the government.<sup>317</sup> The second protest was organized by fishermen in İzmir in 1978 due to the coastal water pollution.<sup>318</sup>

Generally before 1980s, participation on environmental movement remained low. Organizations were mainly established by related professionals such as foresters, geomorphologists and so on. Apart from the Natural Protection Foundation in Samsun, environmental organizations were founded in İstanbul and Ankara.<sup>319</sup>

### **3.2.2. Environmental Movements in the post-1980s period**

Inclusion and effectiveness of the public on environmental problems began in 1970s and continued after 1980s by increasing its volume. As mentioned before during the post-1980s period environmental movements in Turkey underwent a transformation. There are many reasons which have caused this transformation. First reason is 1980 military coup which suppressed all political conflicts suddenly. All political parties were closed, the Constitution was suspended and a military government was established. In other words, all the channels which people let to define themselves politically were prohibited. This apolitical process pushed the people looking for relatively apolitical issues in order to speak up freely. While the environmental movements were based on environmental protection and consciousness in 1970s, they were took shape as public opposition against public policies on nuclear energy, thermal power plants and so on.<sup>320</sup> Güvenpark (1986), Zaferpark (1987), Gökova, Yatağan (1989-1992), Aliğa (1989-1992), Antinuclear (1992- ) and Bergama (1996- ) movements were the best examples.<sup>321</sup> Environmental movements became as a mean/platform to reflect public opposition during the 1980s.

---

<sup>316</sup> Adem, 2005, p. 74.

<sup>317</sup> Ibid.

<sup>318</sup> Ibid.

<sup>319</sup> Atauz, 2000, p. 200.

<sup>320</sup> Semra Cerit Mazlum, "Dış Politika Sorunu Olarak Çevre: Rio'dan Johannesburg'a Türkiye'de Çevre Dış Politikası ve STK'lar", *Sivil Toplum ve Dış Politika: Yeni Sorunlar Yeni Aktörler*, in Semra Cerit Mazlum and Erhan Doğan (eds.), Bağlam Yayınları: İstanbul, 2006, p. 303.

<sup>321</sup> Adem, 2005, p. 76.

Second reason for the transformation of environmental movements is globalization. In the global world, environmental problems also became global and began to be affected all over the world. Moreover, people began to become aware of all issues in the world by means of developed communication technologies. Özdemir emphasizes the importance of globalization by arguing that environmental awareness in Turkey has been affected by the global environmental movements due to global nature of the environmental problems and rising global communication.<sup>322</sup>

The last reason is democratization process. Neo-liberal process in economy in 1980s highlighted the development of social movements. Free market economy decreased the intervention of the state to the many economical areas, and obtained withdrawal of the state from the political and social areas.<sup>323</sup> Democratization process was also affected by EU accession process. After applying for EU membership in 1987 and officially declared as candidate country in 1999, civil participation began to be faded in public area step by step. Enhancement the effectiveness of civil participation supported with many legal regulations. After its recognition as candidate country, Turkey had to make some changes in its legal codes in order to adopt Copenhagen political criteria.<sup>324</sup> In this framework Turkey entered into force seven EU harmonization laws packages between 2001 and 2003. Basic laws which are very important for social movements such as Turkish penal code, press law, association law and foundation law changed completely.<sup>325</sup>

In conjunction with military coup, globalization and democratization process, two events were a turning point for environmental movements which are Conference on Human Settlements (HABITAT II), and The World Summit on Sustainable Development (Johannesburg Summit). Therefore, the post-1980 period is elaborated based on these two events.

---

<sup>322</sup> İbrahim Özdemir, "The Development of Environmental Consciousness in Modern Turkey", *Environmentalism in the Muslim World*, in Richard Foltz (ed.), MIT Press: Boston, 2003, p. 8.

<sup>323</sup> Niyazi Kocalar, "Avrupa Birliği İle Bütünleşme Sürecinde Türkiye'de Sivil Toplum'un Yeri", Unpublished thesis, 2006, p. 54.

<sup>324</sup> EU declared Copenhagen criteria in Copenhagen Summit in 1993 and stated that any candidate country had to perform these criteria which were political, economic and administrative criteria.

<sup>325</sup> T.C. Dışişleri Bakanlığı Avrupa Birliği Genel Sekreterliği Siyasi İşler Dairesi Başkanlığı, *Avrupa Birliği Uyum Yasa Paketleri*, Cezaevi Matbaası: Ankara, 2004, p. 1.

### 3.2.2.1 Between 1980 Military Coup and Conference on Human Settlements (HABITAT II)

1980s was the births of NSMs.<sup>326</sup> They were the tools to reflect the public opposition. Citizen initiatives are the most distinct social movements during the 1980s and the 1990s, having no any institutional structure, reactionary and concerning protection of environment. Güvenpark (1986), Zaferpark (1987), Gökova, Yatağan (1989-1992), Aliğa (1989-1992), Antinuclear (1992- ) and Bergama (1996- ) are the examples of environmental citizen initiatives.<sup>327</sup> Especially Bergama movement is the most popular among them. It was started by local people of Bergama against Eurogold Company. The company attempted to extract gold and decompose by using cyanide-leaching chemical process. A group of people from Bergama protested the company, because operation of gold mine was a threat for environment.<sup>328</sup> The group became successful on putting the issue in the country's agenda. Then the movement disseminated nationally. The other social groups such as academicians, university students, journalists supported the Bergama movement. The protesters sued against the company. The court decided to close the mine; they won the court in favour of the environment. However the state permitted to open the gold mines. Bergama movement perpetuated the struggle successfully during fifteen years.

1980s were the years new political issues come into prominence rather than providing economical wealth and national security such as environment, human rights and so on. By being affected the issues in the world, Turkey went into a liberalization process both politically and economically. Green party is product of this process which was established in 1988. It was different from the other parties with its discourses such as supporting of protection of nature, ecological system, all creatures, public peace and human rights.<sup>329</sup> Although it called as a party, it was treated as a CSO, because it did not have any aim for gaining the elections and coming to power. It mostly aimed to raise

---

<sup>326</sup> Adem, 2005, p. 74.

<sup>327</sup> Ibid., p. 76.

<sup>328</sup> Hayriye Özen, "Located locally, disseminated nationally: the Bergama Movement", *Environmental Politics*, Vol.18 No.3, May 2009, p. 413.

<sup>329</sup> Aylın Özman, "Türkiye'de Yeni Siyaset: Yeşiller Partisi ve ÖDP üzerine", *Birikim*, Haziran 1998, no 110, p. 24.

public awareness on its advocated values.<sup>330</sup> Moreover it had a weak organization and due to the internal struggles, bureaucratic and economic shortcomings, the party was closed in 1994.<sup>331</sup>

Bergama Movement and Green Party are the crucial social movement examples, even they are successful or not they inspired the other environmental movements. For instance local people of Artvin started a resistance for closure a gold mines after Bergama movement, and after the Green Party experience the environmental resistance activities increased such as Akkuyu nuclear power plant and Aliğa thermic power plant.<sup>332</sup>

### **3.2.2.2. Between Habitat II Conference and Johannesburg Conference**

During the 1990s environmental movements began to change, they were appeared not only as citizen initiatives but also as institutional organizations. And Habitat II conference triggered this process.<sup>333</sup> The conference was taken place in İstanbul, Turkey in 3–14 June 1996, the first one is held in 1972 in Stockholm. The two issues were emphasized in the conference which were ‘Adequate Shelter for all’ and ‘Sustainable Human Settlements’<sup>334</sup>. It mainly focused on the healthy and productive life in harmony with nature.<sup>335</sup> Habitat II Conference is a turning point for environmental movements in Turkey.<sup>336</sup> Many environmental movements were able to attend the conference, and they found a chance to meet with other environmental movements in the world.<sup>337</sup> The conference increased the visibility of environmental movements in Turkey and cause to increase members of environmental movements after the conference. Moreover, their structures, resources, strategies, goals and activities widened and become varied.<sup>338</sup>

---

<sup>330</sup> Özman, 1998, p. 25.

<sup>331</sup> Adem, 2005, p. 75.

<sup>332</sup> Ibid.

<sup>333</sup> Mazlum, 2006, p. 303.

<sup>334</sup> United Nations Conference on Human Settlements <http://www.un.org/Conferences/habitat/> (20.03.2011).

<sup>335</sup> Ibid.

<sup>336</sup> Mazlum, 2006, p. 303.

<sup>337</sup> Adem, 2005, p. 79.

<sup>338</sup> Mazlum, 2006, p. 303.

At this period it began to be understood in Turkey that environmentalism were not the local, it had multinational character.<sup>339</sup> In this process quality and quantity of resources which movements were used increased which pushed the movements to become more institutionalized and professionalized. Due to the global networks which were mainly established in the conference, environmental movements found a chance to meet many environmental funds such as United Nations Developmental Programme, Global Environmental Fund, EU programmes and so on. Environmental movements began to produce environmental projects both locally and internationally.<sup>340</sup> This professionalized process also changed their relations with state. Now, the state admitted them as an actor which was able to ask their advices on environmental policies and they began to take part common projects together.<sup>341</sup> In other words, environmental movements used their professionalism and institutionalism to participate decision making process.<sup>342</sup> From the Habitat II Conference to Johannesburg Summit (2001), the effects of environmental movements on both environmental problems and policies increased perceptibly. It was clearly seen in the preparation process of Turkey's to the Johannesburg Summit. The movements admitted every process from preparing the Turkey's agenda to represent the Turkey in Johannesburg. The process was gone on totally with a movements and state partnership.<sup>343</sup> Moreover, they have begun to have rights to say something about Turkish environmental foreign policy.

### **3.3. Classification of Turkish Environmental Movements**

Giving a general perspective on Turkish environmental movements a systematic analysis is necessary. Therefore, Turkish environmental movements are classified according to their goals and strategies, their ideologies and their relations with state.

As mentioned before, environmental movements can be categorized into three types according to their goals and strategies. First type is movements which remain movements. They are composed of gathering a few people who share the same

---

<sup>339</sup> Adem, 2005, p. 80.

<sup>340</sup> Mazlum, 2006, p. 305.

<sup>341</sup> Ibid.

<sup>342</sup> Ibid.

<sup>343</sup> Ibid., p. 312.

problems and ideas on specific issues. They do not have any concern about being professionalized and institutionalized. After they reach their aims, they disappear. They are called as citizen initiatives and platforms. They are very valuable; they constitute the core of environmental movements.

At present there are many platforms and citizen initiatives in Turkey which come together against the specific environmental problems such as ‘No to GMO’, ‘No to Third Bridge’, ‘Brotherhood of Brooks’, ‘The Platform against the Nuclear’ and ‘Protection of Loç Kanyon’. Especially, citizen initiatives against the hydroelectric power plants have taken more attention. According to the General Directorate of State Hydraulic Works, there are 1738 hydroelectric power plant projects in Turkey, 172 of them were constructed and 148 of them are still under construction.<sup>344</sup> ‘Protection of Loç Kanyon’, ‘The Blacksea Uprising’, ‘Protection of Munzur’ and the many other platforms and citizen initiatives support the idea that these hydroelectric power plants damage the brooks and ecological system irrevocably.<sup>345</sup> Brotherhood of Brooks is the most famous one among these initiatives. It was established in 2005. In order to stop constructions of hydroelectric power plants, it uses effective actions. It uses slogans such as ‘Brooks are free, flow over freely’ and ‘Water is life, it cannot be sold’. It informs the public about all the events and news through its website.<sup>346</sup> Unlike the citizen initiatives and platforms against hydroelectric power plants, there are other platforms and initiatives which were founded against nuclear power plants. For example, the Platform against the Nuclear was established in 2006 against nuclear power plants. Like Brotherhood of Brooks, it makes activities such as protests, demonstrations, press releases, posters, brochures and so on. Also it tries to affect the government with lobbying activities.<sup>347</sup>

Second type is pressure groups, interests groups or NGOs. According to Turkish legal system, environmental NGOs are diversified as foundations and associations. Unlike the first type their numbers are clear. Data of Ministry of Interior Department of Associations indicates that the amount of Associations in Turkey is

---

<sup>344</sup> Mahmut Hamsici, *Dereler ve İsyancılar*, NotaBene Yayınları: Ankara, 2. Baskı, Ocak 2011, p. 36.

<sup>345</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 29.

<sup>346</sup> Derelerin Kardeşliği Platformu <http://www.derelerinkardesligi.org> (15.07.2010).

<sup>347</sup> Nükleer Karşıtı Platform <http://www.nukleerkarsitiplatform.org> (15.07.2010)



86.495.<sup>348</sup> Its 1519 is composed of environmental associations.<sup>349</sup> And data of General Directorate of Foundations indicates that the amount of Foundations which is 4.547. 192 foundations work for environment.<sup>350</sup> There are also various interest groups which are not environmental oriented but work for environment at the same time such as chambers and cooperatives. For instance, the chamber of architects of Turkey works on issue of ecological architecture.<sup>351</sup>

Last type is green parties. The first green party was established in 1988 in Turkey. But it was closed in 1994. In 2008 another green party was established. It defined the green principles such as harmony with nature, sustainability, global struggle, refusal of patriarchy, refusal of violence, direct democracy, localness, fair distribution, freedom and protection of diversity. Like a classical political party it has party statute, programme and local organizations. However unlike a classical party, it does not have a plan for elections. Also it does not have any concern on coming to power. In this respect it moves as an NGO. It makes many campaigns cooperatively with environmental social movements such as ‘Stop the Climate Change, Sustain the Life’, ‘Without Nuclear’, ‘No to Plastic Box’, ‘Third Bridge is not the Solution’ and ‘Two Million People from İstanbul’.<sup>352</sup>

Ideologically Turkish environmental movements can also be categorized into four types.<sup>353</sup> First type is greens. They have very holistic and humanistic worldview.<sup>354</sup> They support that human beings have to change their life styles in order to protect the nature. In Turkey, Buğday Association may be the good example for this type. The basic aim of Buğday Association is to prompt people to be able to live without polluting and extinguishing the nature. They help people to change their life styles by providing

---

<sup>348</sup>Republic of Turkey Ministry of Interior

[http://www.dernekler.gov.tr/index.php?option=com\\_content&view=category&layout=blog&id=52&Itemid=12&lang=tr](http://www.dernekler.gov.tr/index.php?option=com_content&view=category&layout=blog&id=52&Itemid=12&lang=tr) (15.07.2010).

<sup>349</sup>Ibid.

<sup>350</sup> Türkiye Üçüncü Sektör Vakfı, *Türkiye’de Sivil Toplum: Bir Dönüm Noktası Uluslararası Sivil Toplum Endeksi Projesi Türkiye Ülke Raporu II*, Türkiye Üçüncü Sektör Vakfı Yayınları: İstanbul, Mart 2011, p. 186.

<sup>351</sup> The Chamber of Architects of Turkey [www.mimarlarodasi.org.tr](http://www.mimarlarodasi.org.tr) (29.04.2011).

<sup>352</sup> Green Party, <http://www.yesiller.org> (09.10.2010)

<sup>353</sup> Nohl, 1994, pp. 23-27.

<sup>354</sup> Amilia Voulvouli, *From Environmentalism to Transenvironmentalism: The Ethnography of an Urban Protest in Modern İstanbul*, Peter Lang International Academic Publishers: Bern 2009, p. 103.

many tools.<sup>355</sup> By using the ‘Another World is Possible’ slogan they have established ecological bazaars and solidarity home in order to push the people to live within a natural life. They have also established the organic farm stays in Turkey. They present an alternative holiday to people in the various organic farms. In these farms people find chances to experience the ecological life. Second type is radical environmentalists. They thought that ecological problems are related with democratic problems. Public has to be informed about ecological problems and they has to right to participate decision making process on environmental problems. They are not totally against the industrialism. According to them, environmental problems can solve with good and green technology.<sup>356</sup> Nohl gives SOS Mediterranean as an example for this type. Third type is conservationists. They only focus on the protection of nature and for this, they generally make projects. They are professionals on conservation of nature. They cooperate with government occasionally.<sup>357</sup> The Turkish Foundation for Combating Soil Erosion, for Reforestation and the Protection of Natural Habitats (TEMA) and Environment Foundation of Turkey are good examples of this type. The last type is protector of industry and environment. These are industrialist movements. Nohl gives Foundation for Environmental Protection and Packaging Waste Assessment (ÇEVKO) as an example of this kind of movements.

When relations between the environmental movements and the state are examined, they can be categorized as insider and outsider movements. While the insider groups support environmental discourse of state and work with it cooperatively, outsider groups are totally against this. Within this thesis, interviews were made with various eleven Turkish environmental movements, and asked them the relations between the environmental movements and the state. According to results of interviews, only Protection of Environment Foundation of Turkey can be defined as insider. It was established in 2001 to protect human, human health and environment; prevent the environmental pollution; and protect the plant, animal welfare and historical and cultural wealth of Turkey harmonizing with supporting and strengthening the

---

<sup>355</sup>Personal Interview with Buğday Association for Supporting Ecological Living, 08.01.2011.

<sup>356</sup> Nohl, 1994, p. 24.

<sup>357</sup> Ibid., p. 25.

environmental actions of ministry of environment and forestry.<sup>358</sup> Also it gave the most optimistic reply about the evaluation of Turkish environmental policy which stated that Turkish environmental policy has been developed since seven years especially accession process has triggered this development.<sup>359</sup>

Green party did not define itself as an outsider. However, it argued that government has to change its environmental implementations. It tried to contact with government many times, but they could not become successful.<sup>360</sup>

There is also another type of movements which define themselves as neither insider nor outsider. Unlike the others, most of the environmental movements argued that they did not totally support the state discourses, however they preferred to contact with state on specific issues especially on project base. Some of them also added that they cooperate with state not only on project base but also on legislative base. They affect the state by lobbying actions on legislation process. Buğday Association, WWF and Sport Fishing Association of Turkey can be examples of this type. For instance, Buğday Association is one of the members of organic agriculture national steering committee which were established by T.R. Ministry of Agriculture and Rural Affairs.<sup>361</sup> They prepared the law on organic agriculture and the programme of nature friendly agriculture together.<sup>362</sup>

### **3.4. Relations of Turkey and European Union on Environment**

The relations between EU and Turkey started in 1959 with Turkey's application for associated membership of the EU. Ankara Agreement was signed in 1963 and Turkey became one of the EU associated members. However Turkey attempted to change its associated status by applying for EU fullmembership in 1987. Moreover, it was declared as candidate country in Helsinki Summit in 1999. After five years in Brussels Summit, EU declared to open the accession negotiations with Turkey

---

<sup>358</sup> Protection of Environment Foundation of Turkey <http://www.tucev.org/tanitim.htm> (23.01.2011).

<sup>359</sup> Personal Interview with Protection of Environment Foundation of Turkey, 28.06.2010.

<sup>360</sup> Personal Interview with Green Party, 09.11.2010.

<sup>361</sup> T.R. Ministry of Agriculture and Rural Affairs was transformed to T.R. Ministry of Food, Agriculture and Livestock through decree law numbered 639 in 3 June 2011. Gıda Tarım ve Hayvancılık Bakanlığının Teşkilat ve Görevleri Hakkında Kanun Hükmünde Kararname, Karar Sayısı: KHK/639 <http://www.resmigazete.gov.tr/eskiler/2011/06/20110608M1-7.pdf> (05.09.2011).

<sup>362</sup> Personal Interview with Buğday Association for Supporting Ecological Living, 08.01.2011.

in October 3, 2005. The negotiations are still continuing and since 2005, thirteen chapters opened and one chapter closed temporarily.

Turkey carried out the opening benchmarks<sup>363</sup> for the chapter on the environment and has started to negotiate with EU on 21 December 2009. Moreover, Turkey has to carry out the closing benchmarks which have been set in the EU Common Position in order to finish the negotiations successfully. There are five technical closing benchmarks. These are:

- Turkey adopts legislation aimed at transposing the EU's horizontal and framework environmental legislation, including its transboundary aspects.
- Turkey adopts legislation aimed at transposing the *acquis* in the field of water quality, notably its Framework Water Protection Law; establishes River Basin Protection Action Plans; and makes further significant progress in legislative alignment in this sector by adopting implementing legislation.
- Turkey adopts legislation aimed at transposing the *acquis* in the field of industrial pollution control and risk management;
- Turkey continues its alignment with the *acquis* in the remaining sectors of this chapter, including nature protection and waste management, in line with the Plan for Setting up Necessary Administrative Capacities at National, Regional and Local Level and Required Financial Resources for Implementing the Environmental *acquis* and demonstrates that it will be fully prepared to ensure the implementation and enforcement of the EU requirements at the date of accession;

---

<sup>363</sup> Two opening benchmarks were set in the screening report. The first one is that Turkey presents to the Commission its comprehensive strategy for the gradual, well coordinated transposition, implementation and enforcement of the *acquis* in this chapter, including plans for building up the necessary administrative capacity at national, regional and local level and required financial resources, with an indication of milestones and timetables. The second one is that Turkey fulfils its obligations as regards the implementation of applicable environment *acquis* in line with the relevant EC-Turkey Association Council Decisions.

- Turkey continues capacity building of the administrative bodies at all levels, including inspection services, in line with the Plan for Setting up Necessary Administrative Capacities at National, Regional and Local Level and Required Financial Resources for Implementing the Environmental *acquis*, further improves coordination of work and demonstrates that all appropriate administrative structures will be in place in good time before accession to enable implementation and enforcement of the *acquis* in all sectors of this chapter.<sup>364</sup>

There is also one more political criterion which is fulfilment of the obligations of Additional Protocol. Before opening accession negotiation, the Additional Protocol extending the Ankara Agreement to sixteen EU MS was signed among Turkey, the European Commission and the Council on 29<sup>th</sup> July 2005. Turkey also made an official declaration that Turkey by signing the Additional Protocol did not recognize the ‘Republic of Cyprus’ by any means. In response to Turkey’s declaration EU made a counter declaration on 21<sup>st</sup> September 2005. In the counter declaration EU stated that Turkey’s declaration was a unilateral declaration and it was not a part of the EU *acquis*. This declaration would not change the Turkey’s commitments. EU would evaluate the carrying of the agreement since the end of the 2006. On the 26<sup>th</sup> November 2006, the European Commission announced a recommendation regarding accession negotiations with Turkey. It stated that Turkey has not fully implemented the Additional Protocol and recommended that the Intergovernmental Conference on Accession with Turkey should not open negotiations on chapters related with Turkey’s restrictions regarding the Republic of Cyprus until the European Commission confirms that Turkey fulfilled its commitments. These chapters are ‘Free Movement of Goods’, ‘Right of Establishment and Freedom to Provide Services’, ‘Financial Services’, ‘Agriculture and Rural Development’, ‘Fisheries’, ‘Transport Policy’, ‘Customs Union’ and ‘External Relations’. Moreover, the European Commission recommended that no chapter be

---

<sup>364</sup> Dr. Erol Saner, “AB Çevre Müktesebatı ve Yerel Yönetimler”, Sektörel Politikalar Başkanlığı, Avrupa Birliği Genel Sekreterliği, 2011 [http://www.abgs.gov.tr/files/PUYB-Egitimler/belediyeler/cevre\\_tbb\\_2011.pdf](http://www.abgs.gov.tr/files/PUYB-Egitimler/belediyeler/cevre_tbb_2011.pdf) (20.12.2011)

provisionally closed until the European Commission has confirmed that Turkey has implemented its commitments with respect to the Additional Protocol.<sup>365</sup>

In order to adopt the environmental *acquis*, Turkey has determined a road map. In this framework, there are some documents which have planned how it has marched on this way and have showed its progress during this way. These are Progress Reports, Accession Partnership Documents, National Programme and EU Integrated Environmental Approximation Strategy (UÇES).

Progress report is a document which is prepared by the EU every year for every candidate country in order to analyze their adaptation level to the EU *acquis communautaire*.<sup>366</sup> The first progress report for Turkey was prepared in 1998 and the last one was prepared in 2011. When fourteen progress reports have been examined, it is possible to see the developments on environmental policy. 1998 progress report stated that “Although some progress has been made in the last fifteen years in the adoption of legislation, conservation schemes and institutional machinery, the standard of environmental protection in Turkey leaves a great deal to be desired.”<sup>367</sup> It continued that the law in Turkey was very different from that in the Community, adoption and adaptation of the *acquis* is a long term process and provides large scale investment<sup>368</sup>. 2010 progress report stated:

Overall, progress was made towards further alignment. Preparations in the field of environment are at an early stage. Turkey has made good progress on waste management whereas limited progress can be reported on horizontal legislation, air and water quality, industrial pollution, chemicals and administrative capacity. Turkey has made very limited progress as regards climate change and no progress in the area of nature protection. Turkey made progress on administrative capacity by putting in place mechanisms to coordinate the administrative bodies at different levels in this field. Investments in the field of the environment need to be increased.<sup>369</sup>

---

<sup>365</sup> Republic of Turkey Ministry of Foreign Affairs, “Relations Between Turkey and European Union” <http://www.mfa.gov.tr/relations-between-turkey-and-the-european-union.en.mfa> (05.12.2011).

<sup>366</sup> Bozkurt, 2010, p. 148.

<sup>367</sup> European Commission, *Regular Report from the Commission on Turkey's Progress Towards Accession*, 1998 [http://www.abgs.gov.tr/files/AB\\_Iliskileri/Tur\\_En\\_Realitons/Progress/Turkey\\_Progress\\_Report\\_1998.pdf](http://www.abgs.gov.tr/files/AB_Iliskileri/Tur_En_Realitons/Progress/Turkey_Progress_Report_1998.pdf) (26.03.2011), p. 41.

<sup>368</sup> Ibid.

<sup>369</sup> European Commission, *Commission Staff Working Document, Turkey 2010 Progress Report*, Brussels 9 November 2010, SEC(2010)1327 [http://www.abgs.gov.tr/files/AB\\_Iliskileri/Tur\\_En\\_Realitons/Progress/turkey\\_progress\\_report\\_2010.pdf](http://www.abgs.gov.tr/files/AB_Iliskileri/Tur_En_Realitons/Progress/turkey_progress_report_2010.pdf), (26.03.2011), p. 92.

When 2011 progress report compare with 2010 progress report it can be clearly seen that there is limited progress on the field of environment. There is limited progress on Environmental impact assessment (EIA). The EIA Directive is largely transposed. However it has not been fully implemented yet.<sup>370</sup>

After the declaring Turkey as candidate country, EU prepared a document in 2000 which is called as Accession Partnership Document. This document introduced a programme on implementation of the obligations in order to complete compliance with the *acquis*. In this framework, it stated short term and medium term priorities. The document was reviewed in 2003, 2006 and 2008 in line with the progress of Turkey. The Accession Partnership Document (2008) stated short term and medium term priorities on environment as follows:

**Table 3.1**  
**Short term and Medium Term Priorities on Environment**

<b>Short term Priorities</b>	<b>Medium term Priorities</b>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Adopt a comprehensive strategy for the gradual transposition, implementation and enforcement of the <i>acquis</i>, including plans for building up the necessary administrative capacity at national, regional and local level and required financial resources, with an indication of milestones and timetables,</li> <li>- Continue transposition, implementation and enforcement of the <i>acquis</i>, in particular horizontal and framework legislation, such as the environmental impact assessment, including transboundary aspects, as well as strengthening of administrative capacity.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Continue to transpose and implement the <i>acquis</i> related to the framework legislation, international environmental conventions and legislation on nature protection, water quality, chemicals, industrial pollution and risk management and waste management,</li> <li>- Pursue integration of environmental requirements into other sectoral policies.</li> </ul>

**Source:** Accession Partnership Document, 2001  
[http://www.abgs.gov.tr/files/AB\\_Iliskileri/Tur\\_En\\_Realitons/Apd/Turkey\\_APD\\_2001.pdf](http://www.abgs.gov.tr/files/AB_Iliskileri/Tur_En_Realitons/Apd/Turkey_APD_2001.pdf) (26.03.2011), pp. 6-9

In response to Accession Partnership Document, Turkey stated its own short term and medium term priorities in National Programme in order to complete adaptation of *acquis*. First National Programme was prepared in 2001 after the first Accession Partnership Document. In the first National Programme, prevalent proposals on legal and institutional regulations were mentioned and further actions in short term and

<sup>370</sup> European Commission, *Commission Staff Working Paper, Turkey 2011 Progress Report*, p. 99.

medium term were indicated in order to complete adaptation of EU *acquis*.<sup>371</sup> The document reviewed in 2003 and 2008. The last National Programme gives a detailed programme and time table about the harmonization of EU *acquis*.<sup>372</sup> According to the plan in National Programme, there are twenty three legal regulations which Turkey has to make between 2009-2011 years to harmonize EU *acquis*. As of December 2011, thirteen of them were made and published in the official journal.<sup>373</sup>

UÇES was prepared by Republic of Turkey Ministry of Environment and Forestry in 2006. It draws up an environmental strategy including technical and institutional and legal arrangements which Turkey has to follow between 2007 and 2013 in order to comply with EU Environmental *acquis*.<sup>374</sup> UÇES gives detail information about the present situation of the country with respect to the environmental issues, the legislative and organizational structure, the policy that was followed with respect to the environmental issues, the legislative and organizational structure, the policy that was followed until recently with respect to the issues of environment, the expenses incurred as well as the difficulties and the bottlenecks faced.<sup>375</sup> Then it states priority areas in terms of environmental problems in Turkey which are water, waste, air, industrial pollution control, noise, chemicals and genetically modified organisms, natural protection sectors and environmental impact assessment. UÇES clarifies the targets and objectives related with these sectors and the strategies and activities which have to be conducted.<sup>376</sup> The strategy also emphasizes that this document was prepared by Ministry of Environment and Forestry in coordination and cooperation with related institutions and organizations such as NGOs, private and public institutions.<sup>377</sup>

---

<sup>371</sup> Yıldırım and Budak, 2005, p. 201.

<sup>372</sup> National Programme of Turkey for the Adoption of EU *Acquis*, 2008 <http://www.abgs.gov.tr/index.php?p=42260&l=2> (26.03.2011).

<sup>373</sup> Official Journals between 26 December 2008-27 February 2011 <http://www.resmigazete.gov.tr/default.aspx> (05.12.2011)

<sup>374</sup> Republic of Turkey Ministry of Environment and Forestry (2006), *EU Integrated Environmental Approximation Strategy, (2007-2013)* [http://www.delta-eko.org/docs/f6e6cf8efd\\_uces\\_eng.pdf](http://www.delta-eko.org/docs/f6e6cf8efd_uces_eng.pdf), p. 1 (05.12.2011).

<sup>375</sup> Ibid.

<sup>376</sup> Ibid.

<sup>377</sup> Ibid., p. 2.



### **3.4.1. Main Mechanisms for Environmental Movements Participation into the EU Accession Process**

Generally accession negotiations take place at a formal platform between governments of member countries and candidate countries. When accession negotiations are completed successfully, the parties sign the documents in order to approve the membership of candidate countries. However, there is also an informal platform where civil society, hence social movements are able to participate in and communicate within this process. Accession negotiations are different from any kind of negotiation between parties. Turkey negotiates that when and how it adopts the EU *acquis* rather than content of the *acquis*. On the other hand EU *acquis* includes the many regulations and directives which directly affect the public life from the quality of food to civil rights and obligations. Therefore without public support, implementation and enforcement of EU environmental *acquis* would face various difficulties. Including the civil society in social and political life in candidate countries and potential candidate countries is one of the European Commission's policies. In this framework there are four important legal documents which stated importance of civil society and strategies for civil society in candidate and potential candidate countries. These are 'Recommendation on Turkey's Progress Towards Accession', 'Communication on Civil Society Dialogue Between the EU and Candidate Countries', 'Communication Enlargement Strategy and Main Challenges 2007-2008' and 'Communication on Western Balkans: Enhancing the European Perspective'.

European Commission gave a recommendation to Turkey in October 2004. It suggested a strategy for accession negotiations based on three pillars. The first pillar concerns that reform process in relation to Copenhagen political criteria are reinforced and supported. Second pillar emphasized the specific way where the accession negotiations are to be approached. Each chapter will be opened and closed in the intergovernmental conference consisting of all EU member states and Council must lay down opening and closing benchmarks for each chapter. Moreover, legal obligations relating to *acquis* must be fulfilled before negotiations on the concerned chapters are closed. The third pillar concerns a civil society dialogue between the people of EU MSs

and Turkey.<sup>378</sup> Although the effects of social movements are clear within third pillar, European Commission also supports the actions of social movements within first and second pillars. It is the social movement which constitutes bridge of between citizen and government and is an initiator of many reforms.

In June 2005, European Commission issued a communication about civil society dialogue between the EU and candidate countries. Communication aimed to promote “the dialogue and exchange of experiences between civil society of MSs and candidate countries; better inform public opinion in the MSs about the impact of accessions and in the candidate countries about the history, functioning and values of the union.”<sup>379</sup>

In 2007, European Commission formulated policy for civil society in candidate countries and potential candidate countries in the Enlargement Strategy. The strategy mentioned about the importance of financial assistance in order to further development of civil society and of dialogue between EU MSs and the enlargement countries.<sup>380</sup> Besides, financial assistance for civil society development and dialogue renamed as Civil Society Facility in the Communication on the Western Balkans: Enhancing the European Perspective.<sup>381</sup> Briefly, EU supports the inclusion of civil society into the accession negotiation process. In this framework, environmental movements have to be active within this process. They have to increase their knowledge about accession negotiation process by communicating their counterparts in the EU and participating international networks and they have to be informed public by sharing their knowledge. There are main mechanisms in order to provide to be articulated social movements to

---

<sup>378</sup> European Commission, Recommendation of the European Commission on Turkey’s progress towards accession (COM(2004) 656 final- Not published in the Official Journal)  
[http://europa.eu/legislation\\_summaries/enlargement/ongoing\\_enlargement/e50015\\_en.htm](http://europa.eu/legislation_summaries/enlargement/ongoing_enlargement/e50015_en.htm) (24.04.2011).

<sup>379</sup> European Commission, “Communication on Civil society dialogue between the EU and candidate countries”, 29 June 2005, (COM (2005)290 final- Not published in the Official Journal)  
[http://europa.eu/legislation\\_summaries/enlargement/ongoing\\_enlargement/e50022\\_en.htm](http://europa.eu/legislation_summaries/enlargement/ongoing_enlargement/e50022_en.htm) (24.04.2011).

<sup>380</sup> European Commission, “Communication on the Enlargement Strategy and Main Challenges 2007-2008”, 6 November 2007, COM(2007) 663  
[http://ec.europa.eu/enlargement/pdf/key\\_documents/2007/nov/strategy\\_paper\\_en.pdf](http://ec.europa.eu/enlargement/pdf/key_documents/2007/nov/strategy_paper_en.pdf) (24.04.2011).

<sup>381</sup> European Commission, “Communication on the Western Balkans: Enhancing the European Perspective”, 5 March 2008, COM(2008) 127  
[http://ec.europa.eu/enlargement/pdf/balkans\\_communication/western\\_balkans\\_communication\\_050308\\_en.pdf](http://ec.europa.eu/enlargement/pdf/balkans_communication/western_balkans_communication_050308_en.pdf) (24.04.2011).

accession negotiation process which are legal structures, networks, EU Communication Strategy and EU funds.

### 3.4.1.1. Legal Structures

Environmental movements have chances to involve in environmental decision making process in national and EU levels. One of the experts from Ministry for EU Affairs<sup>382</sup> explained that the strategic documents have been prepared by being consulted to the environmental movements. When Accession Partnership Document was prepared for environmental negotiations opinion of many environmental movements were asked about the document. Also Multi–Annual Indicative Planning Document<sup>383</sup> is prepared with contribution of all kinds of environmental actors. The same expert also maintained that the Ministry for EU Affairs had a database on actors and documents were sent by e-mail and fax through this database in order to get their opinion on the subject. Generally Ministry for EU Affairs tries to include all opinion which it receives.<sup>384</sup> Also one expert from the TEMA asserted a similar view stating that opinion of environmental movements about nature protection was added to 2010 progress report.<sup>385</sup>

Turkish environmental movements can also participate in the environmental decision making process at the EU level. They are enabled to attend online public consultation process and register their opinion about any code by online transparency register system. Turkish environmental movements have a chance to present their interests and opinion through this way. In this system there is a database which the profile of interest representative can be seen. There are two Turkish movements in this database<sup>386</sup> which participated to environmental policy making.<sup>387</sup>

The general idea provided from interviews that Turkish environmental movements are involved in policy making process in Turkey through information

---

<sup>382</sup> Personal Interview with Ministry for EU Affairs, 21.06.2010.

<sup>383</sup> Multi-Annual Indicative Planning Document is the strategic document for planning and programming of the IPA which is established for a three year rolling period, with annual reviews.

<sup>384</sup> Personal Interview with Ministry for EU Affairs, 21.06.2010.

<sup>385</sup> Personal interview with Turkish Foundation for Combating Soil Erosion, for Reforestation and the Protection of Natural Habitats, 09.06.2011.

<sup>386</sup> Pharmaceutical Manufacturers Association of Turkey and Association of Protection of Yenişehir Wild Life and Animals.

<sup>387</sup> European Commission [http://ec.europa.eu/yourvoice/consultations/index\\_en.htm](http://ec.europa.eu/yourvoice/consultations/index_en.htm) (03.05.2011).

sharing. Government drafts all documents by itself and asks the opinion of environmental movements. However it should prepare the draft document in cooperation with environmental movements. Law of nature and biological diversity conservation is an example of involvement of environmental movements on policy making process. Preparation of the draft process started with the contribution of many environmental movements in 2003. However, general principles and content of the law were change and final draft was prepared by being excluded the environmental movements from the process. In order to collect the opposing view and fight against the draft, 46 environmental movements established 'Monitoring Initiative' in May 2010<sup>388</sup>. It gave a press release and stated that there were many problems on the basic approach and framework of the law. They were also against the abolition of natural protected area status and ignoring the civil society participation. Moreover the final draft of the law was delivered to the Commission of Environment of the Grand National Assembly of Turkey in 26 October 2010.

The Monitoring Initiative followed the process and attended the commission working process on behalf of 74 environmental movements and delivered their opinion through oral and written way. The commission was adopted the draft in 16 March 2011. The monitoring initiative stated that draft adopted by commission is better than the earliest form of the draft. However, it still has serious defects against the nature.<sup>389</sup> The law has not been put on the agenda of the Grand National Assembly of Turkey yet. Therefore it has not been entry into force yet. However, Monitoring Initiative has been still fight for a nature-friendly law.

#### **3.4.1.2. Networks**

Turkish environmental movements have a chance to lobby to European Commission and EP. Lobbying activities on environment are very strong in EU level. There are some Turkish organizations which open an office in the Brussels and make a very effective lobby to European Commission and EP such as Turkish Industry and Business Association (TÜSİAD), Buğday Association, TEMA, WWF and İKV. EEB is

---

<sup>388</sup> Monitoring Initiative of Law of Nature <http://tabiatkanunu.wordpress.com/> (06.09.2011).

<sup>389</sup> Ibid.

a way to make lobby and participate to decision making process at the EU level. It is “Europe’s largest coalition of grassroots environmental organizations”<sup>390</sup> which was established in 1974 by a few of CSOs. The main aim of the Bureau is to represent its members, to make lobby and to make pressure on the EU institutions in order to make environment friendly law.<sup>391</sup> It has up to 140 member organizations and fifteen millions members in thirty one countries.<sup>392</sup> Buğday Association and TEMA are the Turkish member organizations of EEB. EEB have close relations with EP, European Commission and Council of Ministers. For instance, when a regulation or a directive is begun to be prepared by European Commission, EEB contacts quickly with it at any level, because it is realized that involvement to the policy making process from the outset is better than to improve respective legislation. After legislation texts are sent to EP and Council of Ministers by European Commission, it lobbies the EP and Council of Ministers in order to put across the legislation. It participates in the meetings in the EP and when a workshop is organized it invites the members of EP and European Commission.<sup>393</sup>

EEB tries to add its members into this process. EEB organizes general assembly with participation of all the members annually in order to accept budget and annual working programmes. EEB also has an executive board, which is composed of one representative from EU MSs and candidate countries, in order to implement working programme. Moreover, EEB have permanent working groups in twelve issues such as agriculture, air, biodiversity, chemicals, ecolabel, ecological product policy, enlargement, environmental tax policy, noise, waste, water and urban environment order to connect with its members. These working groups meet twice a year in order to specify the policies of EEB in detail.<sup>394</sup>

### **3.4.1.3. Turkey’s European Union Communication Strategy (EUCS)**

As support of both Turkish and EU citizens are very important for membership of Turkey, Ministry for EU Affairs generated a communication strategy both for EU

---

<sup>390</sup> European Environmental Bureau <http://www.eeb.org/index.cfm/about-eeb/how-the-eeb-works/> (04.05.2011).

<sup>391</sup> Bölgesel Çevre Merkezi, 2006, p. 13.

<sup>392</sup> European Environmental Bureau.

<sup>393</sup> Bölgesel Çevre Merkezi, 2006, pp. 13-16.

<sup>394</sup> Ibid.

and Turkey in 2009 in order to improve their support. The main characteristic of this strategy is that it prepared with participation of all stakeholders including Council of Ministers, public bodies, CSOs, communication experts, think tanks and media and it is announced in January 2010.<sup>395</sup> Main aim of this strategy is to make developments in Turkey's accession process more visible in Turkey and MSs, to promote relations with the MSs, by having closer relations, understanding each side's concerns, beliefs, interests and expectations about Turkey's accession, and to inform, enrich and influence the public debates both in Turkey and the EU.<sup>396</sup>

In order to implement this strategy a structure was established. There is Ministry for EU Affairs at the top of the structure as coordination secretary. There are also consultation and steering commission which is composed by public bodies<sup>397</sup> and CSOs<sup>398</sup>, EUCS Participants Commission, EUCS Monitoring and Evaluation Commission, EUCS Volunteers, EUCS Contact Point and EUCS Working Groups.<sup>399</sup>

There are many EUCS activities for both Turkish side and EU side, four meetings were held in March 2009, June 2009, February 2010 and December 2010.<sup>400</sup> Many CSOs –and also environmental movements- found a chance to deliver their ideas about the EU process. Within the scope of this thesis, interviews were made with eleven different kinds of environmental movements and wanted to make an evaluation about civil society dialogue meetings in terms of environmental movements and environment accession negotiations. Many of them saw these meetings as positive initiatives and giving suggestions such as holding sectoral or regional meetings. A few of them gave no comment.

---

<sup>395</sup> Republic of Turkey Ministry for Eu Affairs, TR. 20100135.01- Civil Society Dialogue Between EU and Turkey-III.

<sup>396</sup> Ibid.

<sup>397</sup> Ministry for EU Affairs, Ministry Of Foreign Affairs, Ministry of Interior, Ministry of National Education, Ministry of Culture and Tourism, Undersecretariat of the Prime Ministry for Foreign Trade, The Council of Higher Education, Directorate General of Press and Information and Secretary of Promotion Fund.

<sup>398</sup> The Union of Chambers and Commodity Exchanges of Turkey, Turkish Industry and Business Association (TUSIAD), Economic Development Foundation (IKV), Istanbul Foundation for Culture and Arts, Confederation of Businessmen and Industrialists of Turkey and Turkey – EU Joint Committee.

<sup>399</sup> T.R. Prime Ministry Secretary General for EU Affairs <http://www.abgs.gov.tr/index.php?p=45457&l=1> (25.04.2011).

<sup>400</sup> Ibid.

#### 3.4.1.4. EU Funds

Turkey benefited from the EU funds as a third country until 1999. Since Turkey declared as candidate country at the Helsinki Summit functions, qualities and quantities of funds have been increasing. EU fund mechanism is important in various respects. Firstly, EU funds make easy the accession process. Environmental movements can also contribute to the process in order to solve any environmental problem by receiving grants. For instance, Buğday Association took project in 2006 under EU micro grants programme in order to inform the farmers about EU accession process and provide keeping up with this process.<sup>401</sup> Secondly, adoption and adaptation of EU *acquis* is not enough in this process. Referendums will be held in the EU member states and their public will determine that Turkey will be a member or not. Generally, projects encourage the partnerships. When environmental movements establish partnerships through projects with their counterparts in EU countries, the prejudices against Turkey will be eliminated.

Generally EU funds were divided as pre-accession assistance and Community programmes. Specifically, pre-accession assistance aims to develop the institutional capacity, the quality of legislation and make easy the implementation of legislation so as to prepare candidate country for EU membership.<sup>402</sup> The budget is composed of shares which are allocated from EU budget. The amounts of pre-accession assistance were 1.320 million Euros between 2000 and 2006 for Turkey. In 2007 the pre-accession assistance system was changed and renamed as instrument for pre-accession assistance (IPA). There are five IPA component which are Transition Assistance and Institution Building (IPA I), Cross-border Cooperation (IPA II), Regional Development (IPA III), Human Resources Development (IPA IV) and Rural Development IPA V. Between 2007 and 2013 prescribed amount for Turkey is 4.908,9 million Euros<sup>403</sup>. The allocation of funds among five IPA components is as follows:

---

<sup>401</sup> Buğday Association for Supporting Ecological Living [www.bugday.org.tr](http://www.bugday.org.tr) (03.05.2011).

<sup>402</sup> Republic of Turkey Ministry for EU Affairs <http://www.abgs.gov.tr/index.php?p=5&l=2> (14.08.2011).

<sup>403</sup> Ibid.

**Table 3.2**  
**IPA Funds Allocated to Turkey by Components (Million Euro)**

COMPONENT	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	TOTAL
Transition Assistance and Institution Building	257	256	240	211	229	234	238	1665
Cross-border Cooperation	2,1	2,9	3	9,6	9,8	10	10	48
Regional Development	168	174	183	238	293	368	378	1801
Human Resources Development	50	53	56	63	78	90	96	486
Rural Development	21	53	86	131	173	198	213	874
<b>TOTAL:</b>	<b>497</b>	<b>539</b>	<b>566</b>	<b>654</b>	<b>782</b>	<b>900</b>	<b>936</b>	<b>4873</b>

**Source:** Republic of Turkey Ministry for EU Affairs, TR-EU Financial Cooperation <http://www.abgs.gov.tr/index.php?p=5&l=1> (27.08.2011).

The funds are delivered to local as grant programmes. According to Central Finance and Contract Unit (CFCU)<sup>404</sup> data, thirty different kinds of grant programme were implemented and 2878 bodies<sup>405</sup> were benefited from the grant programmes under pre-accession assistance between 2001-2010 years. Within 2878 bodies, 55 environmental associations<sup>406</sup>, 12 environmental foundations<sup>407</sup> and 46 cooperatives related with environmental issues<sup>408</sup> benefited from the grant programmes.

As civil society participation in the accession process is very important, grant programmes have been opened for civil society dialogue in Turkey under pre-accession

<sup>404</sup>T.R. Prime Ministry Undersecretariat of Treasury Central Finance and Contract Unit (CFCU) has been established by the Memorandum of Understanding which is signed between EU Commission and Turkish Government on 14th February 2002 which was subsequently ratified by the Grand National Assembly on the 29th January 2003. CFCU is taking the responsibility for the overall budgeting, tendering, contracting, payments, accounting and financial reporting aspects of all procurement in the context of the EU funded programmes in Turkey. As a central unit CFCU is operating as an independent body but is attached to the EU Secretariat General and the National Aid Coordinator. [www.cfcu.gov.tr](http://www.cfcu.gov.tr) (24.04.2011).

<sup>405</sup> It includes associations, chambers, colleges, cooperatives, farmer groups, foundations, guidance and research centers, high schools, municipalities, others, pre-schools, primary schools, public bodies, public education centers, SMEs, special provincial administrations, trade unions, unions, universities, villages, villages service unions, and vocational high schools.

<sup>406</sup> Associations related with development were included.

<sup>407</sup> Foundations related with development were included.

<sup>408</sup> Cooperatives related with agricultural development were included.



assistance. Between 2004-2006 years nine civil society dialogue grant programmes<sup>409</sup> were implemented and 415 projects took nearly 34 million Euros. Among 415 projects, 76 projects were related with environment and 56 of them were implemented by environmental movements and movements related with environment.<sup>410</sup> After 2006, six civil society dialogue grant programmes<sup>411</sup> were produced, and evaluation of four of them have been still continued. Four environmental projects were implemented under the Civil Society Dialogue- II: Micro Grant Scheme programme.<sup>412</sup>

Like environmental movements in CEECs, environmental movements in Turkey benefit from the Community programmes. There are twenty six community programmes<sup>413</sup> and Turkey has participated nine community programmes which are Fiscalis 2013, Customs 2013, Seventh Framework Programme (FP7), Integrated Action Programme in Lifelong Learning (LLP), Youth in Action, Culture (2007-2013), European Capital of Culture, Progress and Competitiveness and Innovation Programme (CIP). Unlike the IPA grant programmes, different bodies responsible from the different programmes. For instance, T.R. Prime Ministry State Planning Organization Center for European Union Education and Youth Programmes (National Agency)<sup>414</sup> is responsible for coordination of LLP and Youth in Action Programmes. The Scientific and Technological Research Council of Turkey (TÜBİTAK) is responsible for coordination of FP7.

---

<sup>409</sup> Civil Society Dialogue:Europa Bridges of Knowledge Programme, Strengthening Social Dialogue for Innovation and Change in Turkey, Promotion of Cultural Rights in Turkey, Strengthening Civil Society in Turkey: Supporting Networks, Capacity Building and Participatory Local Projects, Strengthening Civil Society Dialogue: Participation in NGO Events in the EU, Strengthening Civil Society in the Pre-accession Process: NGO Grant Facility, Promotion of the Civil Society Dialogue Between European Union and Turkey, Civil Society Dialogue - EU-Turkish Chambers Forum EU-Turkey Chambers Partnership Grant Scheme Programme, Strengthening Civil Society in Turkey: Integrated Approach to the Civil Society and the Participatory Local Projects [www.cfcu.gov.tr](http://www.cfcu.gov.tr) (06.05.2011).

<sup>410</sup> Central Finance and Contract Unit [www.cfcu.gov.tr](http://www.cfcu.gov.tr) (07.05.2011).

<sup>411</sup> Civil Society Dialogue: Istanbul 2010 European Capital of Culture, Civil Society Dialogue II: Culture and Arts, Fisheries and Agriculture and Micro Grants, EU-Turkey Intercultural Dialogue-Museums, Developing Civil Dialogue among NGO's, The Civil Society Facility: EU-Turkey Intercultural Dialogue - Culture and Arts Grant Scheme, Empowering Civil Participation at Local level [www.cfcu.gov.tr](http://www.cfcu.gov.tr) (07.05.2011).

<sup>412</sup> Ibid.

<sup>413</sup> Civil Protection and Financial Instrument, Customs 2013, CIP- Competitiveness and Innovation Framework Programme, Consumer Programme 2007-2013, Culture Programme (2007-2013), Europe for Citizens, Fiscalis 2013, FP7-Seventh Framework Programme, Fundamental Rights and Justice, Galileo, Hercule II, ISA-Interoperability Solutions for European Public Administration, LIFE+, Lifelong Learning Programme, Marco Polo II, Media 2007, Pericles Programme, Progress, Public Health Programme, Safer Internet Plus, Security and Safeguarding Liberties Framework Programme, Solidarity and Management of Migration Flows Framework Programme, Youth in Action eContentplus Programme, Erasmus Mundus, IDABC and Public Health <http://www.2007-2013.eu/community.php> (24.04.2011).

<sup>414</sup> The center is affiliate of T.R. Ministry for EU Affairs since June 2011 which was renamed as T.R. Ministry for EU Affairs Center for European Union Education and Youth Programmes.

Among these programme the amount of participation to the LLP and Youth in Action programme are higher than the other programmes. While the structures of the LLP and Youth in Action programmes are both centralized and decentralized, the structures of the other community programmes are only centralized. It means that the LLP and Youth in Action Programme proposals are submitted to both Turkish National Agency as Turkish and Education, Audiovisual and Culture Executive Agency. Proposals for other programmes are submitted to related body in the EU such as a consortium or relevant Directorate Generals of the European Commission. Because of the decentralized structure collection of the data about environmental movements is very difficult. However, data on LLP and FP7 can give an idea about the performance of environmental movements.

Turkey has been participated to LLP and Youth in Action programme since 2004. LLP is divided into four different grant programmes as Comenius, Erasmus, Jean Monnet, Grundtvig and Leonardo da Vinci (LdV). Environmental movements can submit their proposals to Grundtvig and LdV programme. Because Comenius is related with pre-school, elementary and secondary school, and Erasmus and Jean Monnet are related with high education. However Grundtvig is related with adult training; and LdV is related with vocational training. There are three main decentralized sub-programmes in LdV which are Mobility, Transfer of Innovation and Partnership, and between 2005 and 2010 76 projects were related with environmental issue and two of them were submitted by environmental movements.<sup>415</sup> There are Learning Partnerships and Senior Volunteering Projects as main decentralized sub-programmes in Grundtvig and between 2005-2010 years three projects were submitted by environmental movements.<sup>416</sup> Actions for LLP managed by the Executive Agency are separated as sectorial programmes and transversal programmes. LdV and Grundtvig are the sectorial projects and there are three centralized sub-programmes under each programme which are multilateral projects, multilateral networks and accompanying measures. Transversal Programmes are Policy Cooperation and Innovation, Languages, Information and Communication Technologies and Dissemination and Exploitation of Results. Between

---

<sup>415</sup> National Agency [www.ua.gov.tr](http://www.ua.gov.tr) (24.04.2011).

<sup>416</sup> Ibid.

2007 and 2010, eight projects under the sectorial and transversal projects were implemented by Turkish organizations and unfortunately none of them were related with environmental issues.<sup>417</sup> Also Turkish organizations can be included the projects by being partners. Between 2007 and 2010, Turkish organizations became partners in 96 projects and six projects are directly related with environmental issues. Unfortunately neither applicants nor partners were one of the Turkish environmental movements.<sup>418</sup>

EU Framework programmes began in 1984 which support the research and technology development projects. Programme is planned as multi annually.<sup>419</sup> Turkey participated to Sixth Framework Programme (FP6) which was prevailed between 2002 and 2006. FP7 has been prevailed between 2007-2013 years. Within FP6 and FP7 four projects were submitted by environmental movements among 119 projects.<sup>420</sup> Turkey also benefited from LIFE programme. Between 1992 and 1999 years, 32 projects were implemented by institutions and two of them were implemented by environmental movements.<sup>421</sup>

Unlike IPA for Turkey and Community programmes, European Commission has supported financially all over the world under Europe Aid Development and Cooperation Directorate General which is called as Multi-beneficiary IPA. It has opened for grant programmes twice or three times a year and Turkey is able to benefit from this grants. For instance, WWF Turkey implemented a project within ‘Developing the capacity of Environmental NGOs, through transfer of best practices from NGOs in the EU 25’ in 2007. As in CEECs, REC opened grant programmes to environmental movements. REC Turkey was established in 2004. Main aim of REC Turkey is to develop judicial, institutional and technical capacity of Turkey on environment, therefore accelerate the EU adaptation process. In this framework, 48 environmental

---

<sup>417</sup> Education, Audiovisual and Culture Executive Agency, [http://eacea.ec.europa.eu/llp/results\\_projects/project\\_compendia\\_en.php](http://eacea.ec.europa.eu/llp/results_projects/project_compendia_en.php), (24.04.2011)

<sup>418</sup> Ibid.

<sup>419</sup> Seventh Framework Programme <http://www.fp7.org.tr/home.do?ot=10&lang=en&sid=3100&pid=0> (24.04.2011).

<sup>420</sup> Community Research and Development Information Service (CORDIS) [http://cordis.europa.eu/results/home\\_en.html](http://cordis.europa.eu/results/home_en.html) (24.04.2011).

<sup>421</sup> LIFE, [http://ec.europa.eu/environment/life/project/Projects/index.cfm?fuseaction=search.dspPage&n\\_proj\\_id=1615](http://ec.europa.eu/environment/life/project/Projects/index.cfm?fuseaction=search.dspPage&n_proj_id=1615) (14.08.2011).

movements were supported by REC Turkey under four grant programmes between 2005 and 2008.<sup>422</sup>

### **3.5. General Evaluation on Environmental Movements Participation into the EU Accession Process**

Many environmental movements have tried to be included into the EU Accession Process since 1999 through the mechanisms which are mentioned above. However, these mechanisms do not always operate efficiently. Among these mechanisms, the most effective one is EU funds. However rate of projects of environmental movements is low. As it mentioned before 2878 bodies were benefited from the grant programmes under IPA between 2001-2010 years and 55 environmental associations, 12 environmental foundations and 46 cooperatives related with environmental issues benefited from the grant programmes. There are some reasons for this low rate of application for EU funds.

First of all, many environmental movements cannot use the EU fund mechanisms due to their organizational structure. Environmental movements have to have legal personality in order to benefit from EU funds. Therefore many environmental platforms and citizen initiatives cannot apply for EU funds. Green party also cannot apply as it is because a party. Secondly, many environmental movements have not enough capacity in order to write and manage an EU project. Also, providing co-financing for a project is a big problem for many Turkish environmental movements. One of the rules for benefitting from the EU funds is that each applicant has to provide at least ten per cent of the project budget. Since many Turkish environmental movements do not have enough financial capacity, most of the time they miss the opportunity for benefitting from the EU funds.<sup>423</sup> Thirdly, there are some prejudices on EU funds. For instance although some environmental movements have capacity, they do not apply because they believe idea that preparing and managing an EU project is very difficult and exhaustive process. Finally, EU funds make a contribution to professionalization of environmental movements. They specialize gradually in specific

---

<sup>422</sup> REC Turkey [http://www.rec.org.tr/?module=db&item=db\\_grants](http://www.rec.org.tr/?module=db&item=db_grants) (24.04.2011).

<sup>423</sup> Personal interview with Turkish Foundation for Combating Soil Erosion, for Reforestation and the Protection of Natural Habitats, 09.06.2011.

issues such as wet land conservation, improvement of air, soil and drinking water quality, conservation of animal species and so on. However, as institutionalization increased, the idea of voluntariness is ignored. Some environmental movements are against the EU funds on the ground of maintaining voluntariness.

Participation in environmental decision making process both at the national and the EU level is important process. Within the scope of this thesis, interviews were held with eleven environmental movements -except platforms-<sup>424</sup> and persons involved in certain environmental movements and one expert from Ministry for EU Affairs to assess their relations with state. Some of environmental movements told that they cooperated with the state. For instance Buğday Association was the member of ‘Organic Agriculture National Steering Committee which was established by T.R. Ministry of Agriculture and Rural Affairs. They prepared the law on organic agriculture and the programme of nature friendly agriculture.’<sup>425</sup> Moreover one expert from Protection of Environment Foundation of Turkey explained that state was very open to environmental movements, and ideas of environmental movements were very important for it.<sup>426</sup>

However some of them asserted that the state was not always open to cooperation with environmental movements. An expert from WWF, for instance, explained that WWF cooperates with public bodies according to its activities. The state invites public bodies and is invited by them to meetings. She added that public bodies asked their ideas on an already agreed issue or a prepared document. But documents or legislations should be prepared together. She gave an example that the state had a meeting with environmental movements one week before ‘Climate Change Conference’ in Copenhagen in 2009 and shared its strategy which would support in the conference. But this was a one sided sharing. The state did not ask the ideas of environmental movements. Also when the state asked opinion, it wanted to a reply from them in one or two days, which was not an enough time to give an opinion.<sup>427</sup> An environmental

---

<sup>424</sup> There are two kinds of platforms in Turkey, one of them is that individuals who have common aims or grievances gather without any legal base, the CSOs constitute the other one. During this thesis, several attempts were made to make interviews with them, so interview requests were sent to some of them but received no reply.

<sup>425</sup> Personal Interview with Buğday Association for Supporting Ecological Living, 08.01.2011.

<sup>426</sup> Personal Interview with Protection of Environment Foundation of Turkey, 28.06.2010.

<sup>427</sup> Personal interview with Turkish Foundation for Combating Soil Erosion, for Reforestation and the Protection of Natural Habitats, 12.02.2010.

activist also explained that state generally established project based cooperation with environmental movements and benefited from their specialities. By supporting this idea an expert from Turkish Environmental and Woodlands Protection Society explained that they cooperated with state on project base.<sup>428</sup> In this framework a member of Green party indicated that the state tried to solve the environmental problems only if they recognized them as a problem. Put differently, the state decides what the environmental problem is. In this process, it appears that the state gets help from environmental movements on technical issues<sup>429</sup>.

Participation in policy making process at EU level is easier than at national level. Environmental movements have more possibilities at EU level than national level. Lobbying activities are the most effective way because generally EU institutions are very open to these kinds of activities. However financing is very big problem in this process. Many environmental movements have not enough financial capacities in order to make lobby in Brussels or to join a meeting at abroad. Even to be a member of EEB is a big cost for most of them. Therefore, their participation in policy making process at the EU level is also limited.

Turkey's EU Communication Strategy can be the perceived as a mechanism for Turkish environmental movements which they are able to use during the EU accession process. When interviews are evaluated, it can be deduced that the strategy is a positive step for both state and Turkish environmental movements since it creates a platform where both parties took an opportunity to meet and deliver their own views and opinions one another. However this mechanism needs to be developed in order to be used effectively. Some interviewees suggested that the civil society meetings, which are the main activities of the strategy, should be organized as issue specific such as environment, human rights, women rights and so on. Also some interviewees suggested that the meetings should be organized as regional rather than national.

---

<sup>428</sup> Personal Interview with Turkish Environmental and Woodlands Protection Society, 10.12.2010.

<sup>429</sup> Personal Interview with Green Party, 09.11.2010.

## CONCLUSION

Eric Hobsbawm defined the short twentieth century (1914-1991) as 'Age of Extremes'. Because it witnessed many catastrophic events including two world wars and a cold war, a number of severe economic crisis and also a large scale environmental degradation all of which pointed out deep-rooted conflicting interests and collective action problems as well as the perception of the environment as a sum of natural resources for economic growth and competitiveness. Among all, the increased frequency and intensity of natural disasters also brought to the environment to the centre stage. Scientific data clearly show that human impact on the environment has caused serious human suffering and damaged various ecosystems so far. Since the emergence of environmental problems, various actors have tried to take part in environmental politics. However experts and environmentalists raised their voices more than other actors in the society. They got organized through various means and tried to affect the policy-makers. Gradually not only them but also increasing number of ordinary people wants to become part of the solution. They get mobilized with the aim of having better living conditions in harmony with nature, so movements began to have a voice both in national and international politics increasingly to find solutions to environmental problems. This can be a local protest for local problems such as 'Bergama Movement' in Turkey and '*Lurraldea* Coordinator' in Basque Country or can be a global initiative such as 'Not In Anybody's Back Yard' campaign against toxic waste and campaign 'Against Climate Change' in different parts of the world.

Although environmental concerns are not initial motives in the European integration, now the EU assumes the role of global environmental leadership which prefers cooperation and collaboration with non-state actors to find solutions to environmental problems. In this framework it has developed various means through which environmental movements can raise their concerns. For instance, there are many environmental lobby groups, which are composed of NGOs, CSOs and professionalized environmental associations, in Brussels. Although they are not very powerful like industrial interest groups, European Commission consults them before it initiates a proposal. Environmental movements are also represented in the EP. The Greens have

remarkable votes and are able to involve during the environmental policy making. Furthermore environmental movements have chance to stop any directive which is against the environmental policy by bringing an action in the ECJ. Environmental movements are also supported financially at the EU level. For instance, EC gives financial supports to environmental movements in order to develop their institutional and financial capacities.

The EU also encourages the environmental movements and forces the governments both in the candidate countries and MSs in order to involve movements in the environmental decision making process. This thesis highlights the three main mechanisms which environmental movements are able to use to participate in the accession process. These are namely; legal structures, networks and EU funds. In the case of the EU accession process of CEECs, it can be said that these mechanisms did not work well.

First of all, both sides had little incentives for cooperation. Since CEECs have socialist background, most of the time states perceived the cooperation as power sharing with non-state actors. Also, many environmental movements did not want to cooperate with states due to the fact that environmental movements in CEECs perceived themselves as ‘watchdogs’ rather than partners of the state. Furthermore, governments saw the involvement of environmental movements into the approximation of EU environmental legislation process as time consuming because, most of the time the approximation process has gone on in a rather short period of time. Secondly, many environmental movements had difficulties while using these mechanisms because of the weak institutional and financial capacity at first. Many environmental movements could not participate in the accession process because of lacking expertise on the specific issue. Moreover, they had difficulties to reach the EU Funds. The environmental movements which did not have enough institutional and financial capacity in order to produce and manage an EU project could not benefit from this mechanism. As they did not have enough resources they had difficulties establishing contacts with different environmental movements in other countries and Brussels.



Involvement of environmental movements in Turkey into the EU environmental approximation process resembles to the experiences of environmental movements in CEECs in many aspects. Within this thesis twelve interviews were made with environmental movements and persons involved in certain environmental movements and initiatives and Ministry for EU Affairs. It appears that cooperation between state and environmental movements is established on project-base and mainly works through information sharing. While some environmental movements argue that the state cooperates with them on project base in order to benefit from their experiments, others argue that the state is closed to any cooperation. Briefly, interaction is limited and of *ad hoc* nature. For instance, according to the one interviewee, government asks opinions of environmental movements occasionally. But this usually happens to comment on an already completed document. The interviewee also argued that the government asked their opinion and wanted quick reply in one or two days, which did not leave for the NGOs an enough time to give an opinion.

The EU funds provide several opportunities for Turkish environmental movements in order to develop their institutional and financial capacities. The EU funds are allocated through project base process. In order to benefit from the EU funds, Turkish environmental movements have to prepare an EU project and apply for grant programmes. Moreover, having a legal personality is a must for applying most of the grant programmes. Unfortunately, many Turkish environmental movements such as platforms and citizen initiatives which do not have legal personalities cannot benefit from the EU funds. Green party also cannot benefit from it due to its political character. Secondly, like in CEECs many Turkish environmental movements have not enough project management capacity. Therefore they abstain from applying for grant programmes. Moreover, EU projects work with co-finance methods. When any Turkish environmental movement applies for any grant programme it has to find at least ten per cent of the project budget. The EU generally does not finance the all budget. Unfortunately, many environmental movements cannot apply the EU funds since environmental movements have difficulties to find the balance. Thirdly, there are some prejudices on EU funds. Even some environmental movements have the capacity to apply for these funds, they tend to hesitate because, they think that preparation and

management of the EU projects is very difficult and exhaustive process. Finally, some environmental movements do not want to apply for EU funds. While it paves the way for institutionalization and professionalization, some environmental movements believe that voluntariness is a must for environmental movements and these funds transform the environmental movements into the professional companies.

Nevertheless many environmental movements in Turkey cannot establish necessary networks to access the EU funds because they lack financial capacities to do so. Plainly, many environmental movements have not enough financial capacities in order to make lobby in Brussels or to join a meeting at abroad.

Different from the CEECs, there is also one more mechanism in Turkey for civil society to participate in accession process which is a communication strategy both for EU and Turkey. The strategy was prepared in 2009 to improve the support for civil society participation during the accession process. Within this strategy four meetings were held in March 2009, June 2009, February 2010 and December 2010. Many CSOs –and also environmental ones- found chances to deliver their ideas about the EU process. According to interviews, this strategy can be seen as positive step which can preliminary conditions for cooperation between government and environmental movements. However it needs to be developed in order to become effective. While some interviews suggested that civil society meeting should held as focusing on one specific issue, others suggested that they should held as regional.

All in all, environmental movements in Turkey have evolved during the time when other NSMs such as women, human right movements started to emerge. According to Kaldor, activist version of the civil society caused the emergence of NSM. Nevertheless what is understood by civil society has changed over time. However civil society in Turkey has not been totally separated from the existence of a state what Mary Kaldor defines as *societas civilis* version. And this feature of civil society in Turkey has so far affected the structure of environmental movements, and especially perspective on environmental movements at the state level.

Briefly, this thesis is an attempt to understand the position of Turkish environmental movements in the EU accession process. While accession process has a limited impact on Turkish environmental movements, their efforts to be involved in the accession process are irrefutable. Moreover, some of the policy making dynamics and certain procedures are changing due to the accession process itself. For instance, many experts claim that due to the accession process now they can have chances to participate in different processes and work together with state cooperatively which they thought they could not ever take part in the past. For instance, they manage environmental projects in cooperation with the state and can present their opinions about any environmental legislation, although it is a rare incident. Therefore it can be argued that EU candidacy has improved access to information for the environmental movements and increased the opportunities to participate in the policy-making processes. However, not all types of environmental movements are influenced by EU accession negotiation and can participate in the process at the same extent and in the similar ways. While institutionalized environmental movements especially CSOs use these four mechanisms, and are able to communicate directly with the state, platforms, which individuals who have common aims or grievances gather without any legal base, generally are not interested in EU issues. They are only interested in their goals which are the reasons for their formation. Moreover, they do not use these mechanisms in order to reach their goals. Nevertheless it can be said that, although participation and consultation procedures seem rather limited and at some cases are not genuine but pretended, both environmental movements and the state enhanced their capacities to act together in Turkey through EU accession negotiations.

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Accession Partnership Document. 2001  
[http://www.abgs.gov.tr/files/AB\\_Iliskileri/Tur\\_En\\_Realitons/Apd/Turkey\\_APD\\_2001.pdf](http://www.abgs.gov.tr/files/AB_Iliskileri/Tur_En_Realitons/Apd/Turkey_APD_2001.pdf). Retrived on 26.03.2011.
- Adem, Çiğdem. “Non-State Actors and Environmentalism”, *Environmentalism in Turkey*, in Fikret Adaman and Murat Arsen (eds.), Ashgate: England and USA, 2005, pp. 71-86.
- Aka, Asiye. “Antonio Gramsci ve Hegemonik Okul”, *Balıkesir Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü Dergisi*, Cilt 12, Sayı 21, Haziran 2009, pp. 329-338.
- Arabacı, Ahmet. “Küresel Sivil Toplum Ağlarına Doğru: Küresel Düzlemde ve Avrupa Birliğinde Çevreci Gruplar”, *Sivil Toplum*, (1) 3, 2003, pp. 17-31.
- Atauz, Akın. “Çevreci Sivil Toplum Hareketinin Yakın Tarihi”, *Türkiye’de Çevrenin ve Çevre Korumanın Tarihi Sempozyumu*, in Zeynep Boratav (ed.), Türkiye Ekonomik ve Toplumsal Tarih Vakfı: İstanbul, Ekim 2000, pp. 17-22.
- Avrupa Birliği Bakanlığının Teşkilat ve Görevleri Hakkında Kanun Hükmünde Kararname, Karar Sayısı: KHK/634  
[http://www.abgs.gov.tr/files/files/Kanunlar/avrupa\\_birligi\\_bakanliginin\\_teskilat\\_ve\\_gorevleri\\_hakkinda\\_kanun\\_hukmunde\\_kararname.pdf](http://www.abgs.gov.tr/files/files/Kanunlar/avrupa_birligi_bakanliginin_teskilat_ve_gorevleri_hakkinda_kanun_hukmunde_kararname.pdf) Retrieved on 06.09.2011.
- Aydın, Zülküf. “The State, Civil Society, and Environmentalism”, *Environmentalism in Turkey*, in Fikret Adaman and Murat Arsen (eds.), Ashgate: England and USA, 2005, pp. 53-69.
- Bak, Nina-Jozefina. “Environmental Movement in Poland and One of its ‘Green Foremen’”, This material was prepared within a research project L’Europe Rebelle carried out by Tischner European University in cooperation with Université Paris-Est, 2009.
- Balcı, Hüma. “Environmental Governance in the European Union: A Comperative Approach with Special Reference to Turkey”, Unpublished MA thesis, İstanbul, 2006.
- Banski, Jerzy. “European Union Pre-Accession Aid in the Development of Poland’s Rural Areas”, Stanislaw Leszczycki Institute of Geography and Spatial Organisation PAS [http://www.igipz.pan.pl/zpz/banski/PDF/17\\_European\\_Union.pdf](http://www.igipz.pan.pl/zpz/banski/PDF/17_European_Union.pdf) Retrieved on 14.08.2011.
- Batliwala, Srilatha. “Grassroots Movements as Transnational Actors: Implications for Global Civil Society”, *Creating a Better World Interpreting Global Civil Society*, in Rupert Taylor (ed.), Kumarian Press, Inc: USA, 2004.

Bell, Ruth Greenspan. "Further up the Learning Curve NGOs from Transition to Brussels", *Environmental Politics*, Vol.13, No.1, Spring 2004, pp. 194-215.

Bomberg, Elizabeth. *Green Parties and Politics in the European Union*, Routledge: London and New York, 1998.

Bozkurt, Dr. Yavuz. *Avrupa Birliđi'ne Uyum Sürecinde Türkiye'de Çevre Politikalarının Dönüşümü*, Ekin Basın Yayın Dağıtım: Bursa, 2010.

Bölgesel Çevre Merkezi, *Avrupa Birliđi Katılım Sürecinde Sivil Toplum Kuruluşlarının Rolü-I Toplantı Sunumları ve Tartışmalar*, 19-20 Mart 2005, İstanbul, Bölgesel Çevre Merkezi: Ankara, 2006.

Bölgesel Çevre Merkezi, *Avrupa Birliđi Katılım Sürecinde Sivil Toplum Kuruluşlarının Rolü-II AB-STK Diyalođu Toplantı Sunumları ve Tartışmalar*, 23 Şubat 2006, Ankara, Bölgesel Çevre Merkezi: Ankara, 2006.

Bölgesel Çevre Merkezi, *Avrupa Birliđi Katılım Çevre Müktesebatının Uyumlaştırılması için Stratejiler: Türkiye'yi Neler Bekliyor? Toplantı Sunumları ve Tartışmalar*, 28-29 Nisan 2005, Ankara, Bölgesel Çevre Merkezi: Ankara, 2006.

Börzel, Tanja A. "Introduction", *Coping with Accession to the European Union New Modes of Environmental Governance* in Tanja A. Börzel (ed.), Palgrave Macmillan: UK and USA, First Edition, 2009, pp.1-6.

Börzel, Tanja A. "Why you don't always get what you want: EU Enlargement and Civil Society in Central and Eastern Europe", *Acta Politica*, Vol.45 1/2, 2010, pp. 1-10.

Börzel Tanja A, and Aron Buzogany, "Governing EU Accession in Transition Countries: The Role of Non-State Actors", *Acta Politica*, Vol.45 1/2, 2010, pp. 158-182.

Budak, Dr. Sevim. *Avrupa Birliđi ve Türk Çevre Politikası*, Büke Yayınları: İstanbul, 2000.

Buzogany, Aron. "Hungary: The Tricky Path of Building Environmental Governance", *Coping with Accession to the European Union New Modes of Environmental Governance*, in Tanja A. Börzel (ed.), Palgrave Macmillan: UK and USA, First Edition, 2009, pp.123-147.

Buzogany, Aron. "Romania: Environmental Governance-From without Substance" *Coping with Accession to the European Union New Modes of Environmental Governance*, Palgrave Macmillan: UK and USA, First Edition, 2009, pp. 169-191.

Carmin, Joann and Stacy D. Vandever. "Enlarging EU Environments: Central and Eastern Europe from Transition to Accession", *Environmental Politics*, Vol.13 No.1, Spring 2004, pp.3-24.

Cengiz, Orhan Kemal. "Dernekler Mevzuatının Örgütlenme Özgürlüğü Açısından Değerlendirilmesi Raporu" *Türkiye'de Derneklerin Örgütlenme Özgürlüğü Önünde Engeller*, (ed.) Tefik Başak Ersen, Tüsev yayımları: İstanbul, Nisan 2010.

Ceritli, İsmail. "Çevre Hareketinin Siyasallaşma Süreci", *Sivil Toplum Dergisi*, 5(20), 2007, pp. 63-76.

Civitas. "Treaty of Amsterdam"  
<http://www.civitas.org.uk/eufacts/FSTREAT/TR4.htm> Retrieved on 26.06.2011.

Cohen, Jean L and Andrew Arato. *Civil Society and Political Theory*, the MIT Press: Cambridge, Massachusetts and London, 1992.

Cohen, Robin and Shirin M. Rai. "Global Social Movements Towards a Cosmopolitan Politics", *Global Social Movements*, in Robin Cohen and Shirin M. Rai (eds.), The Athlone Press: London and New Brunswick, NJ, 2000, pp.1-17.

Comaroff, John L. and Jean Comaroff. *Civil Society and the Political Imagination in Africa: Critical Perspectives*, University of Chicago Press: Chicago and London, 1999.

Connelly, James and Graham Smith. *Politics and the Environment: From Theory to Practice*, Routledge: London and New York, Second Edition, 2003.

Council of the European Union. "Treaty of Lisbon"  
<http://www.consilium.europa.eu/showpage.aspx?id=1296&lang=en> Retrieved on 26.06.2011.

Çalı, Hasan Hüseyin. "Çevreci Toplumsal Hareketler Olarak Greenpeace-Türkiye Hareketi", Unpublished Phd thesis, Ankara, 2006.

Çevre Kanunu. Kanun No 2872, Resmi Gazetede Yayınlanma Tarihi 11.08.1983, No: 18132 <http://www2.cevreorman.gov.tr/yasa/k/2872.doc>. Retrieved on 10.11.2010.

Çörtoğlu, Feza Sencer. "Bergama Çevre Hareketi'nin Türkiye'deki Çevre Yönetimi Açısından Önemi", *Çevre ve Politika Başka Bir Dünya Özlemi*, in Ayşegül Mengi (ed.), İmge Kitabevi: İstanbul, 2007, pp 109-121.

Delikara, Aslı. "Bergama: Moral ve Ders", *Birikim*, Sayı 98, Haziran 1997, pp. 7-9.

Della Porta, Donatella and Mario Diani. *Introduction to Social Movements*, Blackwell Publishing: USA, UK, Australia, 2006.

Devlet Planlama Teşkilatı (1973). *Üçüncü Beş Yıllık Kalkınma Planı (1973-1977)* [The Third Five Year Development Plan] Ankara: T.C Başbakanlık Devlet Planlama Teşkilatı Müsteşarlığı, 1973 <http://ekutup.dpt.gov.tr/plan/plan3.pdf> Retrieved on 14.07. 2011.

Devlet Planlama Teşkilatı (1979). *Dördüncü Beş Yıllık Kalkınma Planı (1979-1983)* [The Fourth Five Year Development Plan] Yayın No: DPT 1664 Ankara, T.C Başbakanlık Devlet Planlama Teşkilatı Müsteşarlığı [www.dpt.gov.tr/DocObjects/Download/1973/plan4.pdf](http://www.dpt.gov.tr/DocObjects/Download/1973/plan4.pdf) Retrieved on 27.09.2011.

Devlet Planlama Teşkilatı (1984). *Beşinci Beş Yıllık Kalkınma Planı (1985-1989)* [The Fifth Five Year Development Plan] Yayın No: DPT 1974 Ankara, T.C Başbakanlık Devlet Planlama Teşkilatı Müsteşarlığı <http://ekutup.dpt.gov.tr/plan/plan5.pdf> 1974 Retrieved on 27.09. 2011.

Devlet Planlama Teşkilatı (1989). *Altıncı Beş Yıllık Kalkınma Planı (1990-1994)* [The Sixth Five Year Development Plan], Yayın No: DPT 2174. Ankara, T.C. Başbakanlık Devlet Planlama Teşkilatı, 1989 [www.dpt.gov.tr/DocObjects/Download/1971/plan6.pdf](http://www.dpt.gov.tr/DocObjects/Download/1971/plan6.pdf)- Retrieved on 14.07. 2011.

Devlet Planlama Teşkilatı (1996) *Yedinci Beş Yıllık Kalkınma Planı (1996-2000)*, [The Seventh Five Year Development Programme], Ankara, T.C. Başbakanlık Devlet Planlama Teşkilatı <http://ekutup.dpt.gov.tr/plan/vii/> Retrieved on 27.09. 2011.

Devlet Planlama Teşkilatı (1998). *Ulusal Çevre Stratejisi ve Eylem Planı* [National Environmental Action Plan]. Ankara, T.C Başbakanlık Devlet Planlama Teşkilatı, 1998 <http://ekutup.dpt.gov.tr/cevre/eylempla/ucep.html> Retrieved on 11.07. 2011.

Devlet Planlama Teşkilatı (2007). *Dokuzuncu Kalkınma Planı (2007-2013) Çevre Özel İhtisas Komisyonu Raporu* [The Ninth Development Plan, Report of the Environment Special Expertise Commission] no. 2737, OİK: 688 (Ankara, 2007) [www.dpt.gov.tr/DocObjects/Download/3192/oik688.pdf](http://www.dpt.gov.tr/DocObjects/Download/3192/oik688.pdf)- Retrieved on 14.07. 2011.

Doyle, Timothy and Doug Mc Eachern. *Environment and Politics*, Routledge: USA and Canada, Third Edition, 2008.

Duijvelaar, Christy. *Beyond Borders*, Regional Environmental Center Publications: Hungary, May 1996 <http://archive.rec.org/REC/Publications/BeyondBorders/ch31.html>, Retrieved on 29.07.2011.

Dusik, Jiri and Barry Sadler, "Reforming Strategic Environmental Assessment Systems: Lessons from Central and Eastern Europe", *Impact Assessment and Project Appraisal*, Vol.22, No 2, June 2004, pp. 89-97.

Eising, Rainer. "Institutional Context, Organizational Resources and Strategic Choices: Explaining Interest Group Access in the Europe Union", *European Union Politics*, Vol. 8 (3): 329-362.

Elliot, Lorraine. *The Global Politics of the Environment*, Macmillan Press: London, 1998.

Ertan, Birol. "Bir Danıştay Kararının Değerlendirilmesi: Bergama ve Çevrecilerin Haklı Zaferi", *Birikim*, Sayı 113, Eylül 1998, pp. 84-88.

Europa. Summaries of EU Legislation, "Treaty of Maastricht on European Union"  
[http://europa.eu/legislation\\_summaries/economic\\_and\\_monetary\\_affairs/institutional\\_and\\_economic\\_framework/treaties\\_maastricht\\_en.htm](http://europa.eu/legislation_summaries/economic_and_monetary_affairs/institutional_and_economic_framework/treaties_maastricht_en.htm) Retrieved on 26.06.2011.

Europa. Summaries of EU Legislation, "Treaty of Nice: A Comprehensive Guide"  
[http://europa.eu/legislation\\_summaries/institutional\\_affairs/treaties/nice\\_treaty/nice\\_treaty\\_introduction\\_en.htm](http://europa.eu/legislation_summaries/institutional_affairs/treaties/nice_treaty/nice_treaty_introduction_en.htm) Retrieved on 26.06.2011.

Europa. "Single European Act"  
[http://ec.europa.eu/economy\\_finance/emu\\_history/documents/treaties/singleeuropeanact.pdf](http://ec.europa.eu/economy_finance/emu_history/documents/treaties/singleeuropeanact.pdf) Retrieved on 22.07.2011.

European Commission, "Communication on Civil society dialogue between the EU and candidate countries", 29 June 2005, (COM (2005) 290 final- Not published in the Official Journal)  
[http://europa.eu/legislation\\_summaries/enlargement/ongoing\\_enlargement/e50022\\_en.htm](http://europa.eu/legislation_summaries/enlargement/ongoing_enlargement/e50022_en.htm) Retrieved on 24.04.2011.

European Commission, "Communication on the Enlargement Strategy and Main Challenges 2007-2008", 6 November 2007, COM(2007) 663  
[http://ec.europa.eu/enlargement/pdf/key\\_documents/2007/nov/strategy\\_paper\\_en.pdf](http://ec.europa.eu/enlargement/pdf/key_documents/2007/nov/strategy_paper_en.pdf) Retrieved on 24.04.2011.

European Commission, "Communication on the Western Balkans: Enhancing the European Perspective", 5 March 2008, COM(2008) 127  
[http://ec.europa.eu/enlargement/pdf/balkans\\_communication/western\\_balkans\\_communication\\_050308\\_en.pdf](http://ec.europa.eu/enlargement/pdf/balkans_communication/western_balkans_communication_050308_en.pdf) Retrieved on 24.04.2011.



European Commission, *Commission Staff Working Document, Turkey 2010 Progress Report*, Brussels, 9 November 2010, SEC(2010) 1327  
[http://www.abgs.gov.tr/files/AB\\_Iliskileri/Tur\\_En\\_Realitons/Progress/turkey\\_progress\\_report\\_2010.pdf](http://www.abgs.gov.tr/files/AB_Iliskileri/Tur_En_Realitons/Progress/turkey_progress_report_2010.pdf) Retrieved on 26.03.2011.

European Commission, *Commission Staff Working Paper, Turkey 2011 Progress Report*, SEC(2011) 1201, Brussels, 12.10.2011, p.27.  
[http://ab.gov.tr/files/AB\\_Iliskileri/AdaylikSureci/IlerlemeRaporlari/tr\\_rapport\\_2011\\_en.pdf](http://ab.gov.tr/files/AB_Iliskileri/AdaylikSureci/IlerlemeRaporlari/tr_rapport_2011_en.pdf) Retrieved on 21.12.2011.

European Commission, Environment  
<http://ec.europa.eu/environment/actionpr.htm> Retrieved on 22.07.2011.

European Commission, Environment, “Sixth Environmental Action Programme” <http://ec.europa.eu/environment/newprg/intro.htm> Retrieved on 26.06.2011

European Commission, *Regular Report From the Commission on Turkey’s Progress Towards Accession*, 1998  
[http://www.abgs.gov.tr/files/AB\\_Iliskileri/Tur\\_En\\_Realitons/Progress/Turkey\\_Progress\\_Report\\_1998.pdf](http://www.abgs.gov.tr/files/AB_Iliskileri/Tur_En_Realitons/Progress/Turkey_Progress_Report_1998.pdf) Retrieved on 26.03.2011.

European Commission Recommendation of the European Commission on Turkey’s progress towards accession (COM(2004) 656 final- Not published in the Official Journal),  
[http://europa.eu/legislation\\_summaries/enlargement/ongoing\\_enlargement/e50015\\_en.htm](http://europa.eu/legislation_summaries/enlargement/ongoing_enlargement/e50015_en.htm) Retrieved on 24.04.2011.

European Commission. “The Treaty of Rome”  
[http://ec.europa.eu/economy\\_finance/emu\\_history/documents/treaties/rometreaty2.pdf](http://ec.europa.eu/economy_finance/emu_history/documents/treaties/rometreaty2.pdf) Retrieved on 19.06.2011.

European Union, First Environmental Action Programme, Official Journal 1973, C112, 1, 6.

Gıda Tarım ve Hayvancılık Bakanlığının Teşkilat ve Görevleri Hakkında Kanun Hükmünde Kararname, Karar Sayısı: KHK/639  
<http://www.resmigazete.gov.tr/eskiler/2011/06/20110608M1-7.pdf> Retrieved on 05.09.2011.

Gillham, Patrick F. “Participation in the Environmental Movement: Analysis of the European Union”, *International Sociology*, January 2008, Vol. 23(1), pp. 67-93.

Guttenbrunner, Sonja. “Poland: When Environment Governance Meets Politics”, *Coping with Accession to the European Union New Modes of Environmental Governance* in Tanja A. Börzel (ed.), Palgrave Macmillan: UK and USA, First Edition, 2009, pp.148-168.

Hamsici, Mahmut. *Dereler ve İsyandar*, NotaBene Yayınları: Ankara, Ocak 2011.

Heberle, Rudolf. *Social Movements: Introduction to Political Sociology*, Appleton-Century-Crofts, Inc: New York, 1951.

Heijden, Hein Anton van der. *Social Movements, Public Spheres and the European Politics of the Environment: Green Power Europe?*, Palgrave Macmillan: England and USA, 2010.

Hicks, Barbara. "Setting Agendas and Shaping Activism: EU Influence on Central and Eastern European Environmental Movements", *Environmental Politics*, Vol.13 No.1, Spring, 2004, pp. 216-233.

İktisadi Kalkınma Vakfı. *Türk Çevre Politikasına Kısa Bir Bakış*, İktisadi Kalkınma Vakfı Yayınları: İstanbul, 2005.

Kaldor, Mary. *Global Civil Society: An Answer to War*, Blackwell Publishing ltd: UK, 2003.

Kaldor, Mary. "The Idea of Global Civil Society", *International Affairs* 79, March 2003, pp. 583-593.

Kalkınma Bakanlığının Teşkilat ve Görevleri Hakkında Kanun Hükmünde Kararname, Karar sayısı: KHK/641 <http://mevzuat.dpt.gov.tr/khk/641.pdf> Retrieved on 04.09.2011.

Keleş, Ruşen and Can Hamamcı. *Çevrebilim*, İmge kitabevi: Ankara, 4. Baskı, 2002.

Keleş, Ruşen, Can Hamamcı and Aykut Çoban. *Çevre Politikası*, İmge Kitabevi: Ankara and İstanbul, Ekim 2009.

Keyman, E. Fuat. *Türkiye'de Sivil Toplumun Serüveni: İmkansızlıklar İçinde Bir Vaha*, Sivil Toplum Geliştirme Merkezi Yayınları: Ankara, Kasım 2006.

Klandermans, Bert and Conny Roggeband. *Handbook of Social Movements Across Disciplines*, in Bert Klandermans and Conny Roggeband (eds.), Springer: London, 2010.

Kocalar, Niyazi. "Avrupa Birliği İle Bütünleşme Sürecinde Türkiye'de Sivil Toplum'un Yeri", Unpublished MA thesis, Konya, 2006.

Kousis, Maria, Donatella Della Porta and Manuel Jimenez. "Southern European Environmental Movements in Comperative Perspective", *American Behavioral Scientist*, Vol. 51 No. 11, July 2008, pp. 1627-1647.

Köprülü, Aslı. “Europeanization of the Environmental Policy in the Mediterranean Region: Case Study of Cyprus, Unpublished MA thesis, İstanbul, 2006.

Lipschutz, Ronnie D. “Reconstructing the World Politics: The Emergence of Global Civil Society”, paper presented in the annual meeting of the International Studies Association, Atlanta, Georgia, USA, 31 March-4 April 1992.

Mamay, Sergey. “Theorization of Social Movements and Their Current Development in Soviet Society”, *The Center for Social Anthropology and Computing Monographs*, University of Kent, Canterbury  
<http://lucy.ukc.ac.uk/csacpub/russian/mamay.html> Retrieved on 09.05.2011.

Mayal, James. *Nationalism and International Society*, Cambridge University Press: Cambridge, 1990.

Mazlum, Semra Cerit. “Dış Politika Sorunu Olarak Çevre: Rio’dan Johannesburg’a Türkiye’de Çevre Dış Politikası ve STK’lar”, *Sivil Toplum ve Dış Politika: Yeni Sorunlar Yeni Aktörler*, in Semra Cerit Mazlum and Erhan Doğan (eds.), Bağlam Yayınları: İstanbul, 2006, pp. 291-324.

Mazlum, Semra Cerit. “Yerel Politikadan Yeryüzü Politikasına: Küresel Çevre Yönetiminde Çevre Örgütleri”, *Sivil Toplum Dergisi*, 5(20), 2007, pp. 91-108.

MHW Consortium, “Phare ex post Evaluation. Phase 3, Thematic Evaluation: Environment”, European Commission DG Enlargement Evaluation Unit, May 2007.

McCormick, John. *Environmental Policy in the European Union*, Palgrave Macmillan: New York, 2001.

National Programme of Turkey for the Adoption of EU *Acquis*. 2008  
<http://www.abgs.gov.tr/index.php?p=42260&l=2> Retrieved on 26.03.2011.

Nohl, Arnd – Michael. “Türkiye’de Hükümet dışı Örgütlerde Ekoloji Sorunsalı”, *Birikim*, Ocak-Şubat 1994, pp. 23-27.

O’Brian, Thomas. “The Environment and Transition in Romania and Hungary”, *Griffith Journal of the Environment*, Issue 1, June 2005: Ecopolitics XVI Conference, selected papers, Article 2, pp. 1-25.

Office of the Committee for European Integration. “Pre-Accession Funds Polish Experience”, Poland  
[http://polskawue.gov.pl/files/Dokumenty/Publikacje\\_o\\_UE/Preaccession\\_funds\\_Polish\\_experiences-publikacja.pdf](http://polskawue.gov.pl/files/Dokumenty/Publikacje_o_UE/Preaccession_funds_Polish_experiences-publikacja.pdf) Retrieved on 14.08.2011.

Official Journals between 26 December 2008-27 February 2011  
<http://www.resmigazete.gov.tr/default.aspx> Retrieved on 05.12.2011.

OMAS Consortium. "Assessment of the European Union Phare Programmes, Multi-Country, Thematic Report on Civil Society", Report No. S/ZZ/CIV/01004, 10 September 2001  
[http://ec.europa.eu/enlargement/pdf/financial\\_assistance/phare/interim\\_s\\_zz\\_civ\\_01004\\_en.pdf](http://ec.europa.eu/enlargement/pdf/financial_assistance/phare/interim_s_zz_civ_01004_en.pdf) Retrieved on 05.12.2011.

Özdemir, İbrahim. "The Development of Environmental Consciousness in Modern Turkey", *Environmentalism in the Muslim World*, in Richard Foltz (ed.), MIT Press: Boston, 2003, pp. 1-22.

Özen, Hayriye. "Located locally, disseminated nationally: the Bergama Movement", *Environmental Politics*, Vol.18 No.3, May 2009, pp. 408-423.

Özman, Aylin. "Türkiye'de Yeni Siyaset: Yeşiller Partisi ve ÖDP üzerine", *Birikim*, No. 110, Haziran 1998, pp. 21-29.

Öztürk, Serap. "Çevre", *Türkiye'de Hak Temelli STK'lar*, in Merve Erol (ed.), Odak Ofset Matbaacılık: Ankara, 2007. pp. 65-100.

Porritt, Jonathon. *Yeşil Politika*, trans. Alev Türker, Ayrıntı: İstanbul, October 1989.

Rakıcı, A. Gökhan. "EU Environmental Policy and Turkey with Special Reference to Industrial Pollution", Unpublished MA Thesis, İstanbul, 2010.

Regulation (EC). "Regarding the Public Access to European Parliament, Council and Commission document", No 1049/2001, 30 May 2001, Official Journal of the European Communities, [http://www.europarl.europa.eu/RegData/PDF/r1049\\_en.pdf](http://www.europarl.europa.eu/RegData/PDF/r1049_en.pdf) Retrieved on 31.05.2011.

Republic of Turkey Ministry of Environment and Forestry (2006). *EU Integrated Environmental Approximation Strategy (2007-2013)* [http://www.delta-eko.org/\\_docs/f6e6cf8efd\\_uces\\_eng.pdf](http://www.delta-eko.org/_docs/f6e6cf8efd_uces_eng.pdf) Retrieved on 05.12.2011.

Republic of Turkey Ministry for EU Affairs. "TR.20100135.01- Civil Society Dialogue Between EU and Turkey-III".

Rootes, Christopher. "Environmental Movements", *The Blackwell Companion to Social Movements*, in David A. Snow, Sarah A. Soule and Hans Peter Kriesi (eds.), Blackwell Publishing: USA, UK, Australia, 2004, pp. 608-640.

Rootes, Christopher. "1968 and the Environmental Movement in Europe", *1968 in Europe A Handbook on National Perspectives and Transnational Dimensions of 1960/70s Protest Movements*, in Martin Klimke and Joachim Scharloth (eds.), Palgrave Macmillan: New York, 2008, pp. 1-10.

Rootes, Christopher. "Environmental Movements: Local, National, Global", *Special Issues Environmental Movements Local And Global*, Vol:8 No:1, 1999 Spring, pp. 1-34.

Samsun, Nihal. "Merkezi ve Doğu Avrupa Ülkelerine Yönelik Avrupa Birliği Mali Yardımları ve Türkiye", Unpublished MA thesis, Ankara, 2005.

Saner, Erol. "AB Çevre Müktesebatı ve Yerel Yönetimler", Sektörel Politikalar Başkanlığı, Avrupa Birliği Genel Sekreterliği, 2011  
[http://www.abgs.gov.tr/files/PUYB-Egitimler/belediyeler/cevre\\_tbb\\_2011.pdf](http://www.abgs.gov.tr/files/PUYB-Egitimler/belediyeler/cevre_tbb_2011.pdf)  
Retrieved on 20.12.2011.

Scholte, Jan Aart. "Global Civil Society: Changing the World?", CSGR Working Paper, No. 31/99, May 1999.  
[http://wrap.warwick.ac.uk/2094/1/WRAP\\_Scholte\\_wp3199.pdf](http://wrap.warwick.ac.uk/2094/1/WRAP_Scholte_wp3199.pdf) Retrieved on 03.11.2009.

Selamoğlu, Pınar. "Avrupa Birliğine Giriş Sürecinde Sivil Toplum Örgütleri", Unpublished MA thesis, Kırıkkale, 2008.

Snow, David A. and Sarah A. Soule. *A primer on Social Movements*, W W Norton & Co Inc: New York and London, 2010.

Şahin, Ümit. "Bir Sivil Toplum Teması Olarak Çevrecilik: Ekoloji Hareketlerinin Siyaset Dışına İtilmesi", *Sivil Toplum Dergisi*, 5(20), 2007, pp.77-89.

Talu, Nuran. *Avrupa Birliği Sürecinde Türkiye'de Çevre Politikaları*, TMMOB, Çevre Mühendisleri Odası, Ankara, 2006.

Taylor, Rupert. "Interpreting Global Civil Society", *Creating a Better World Interpreting Global Civil Society*, in Rupert Taylor (ed.), Kumarian Press, Inc: USA, 2004, pp.1-12.

T.C. Dışişleri Bakanlığı Avrupa Birliği Genel Sekreterliği Siyasi İşler Dairesi Başkanlığı, *Avrupa Birliği Uyum Yasa Paketleri*, Açık cezaevi Matbaası: Ankara, Nisan 2004.

The Maastricht Treaty. <http://www.eurotreaties.com/maastrichtec.pdf>  
Retrieved on 26.06.2011.

The World Commission on Environment and Development Our Common Future, Oxford University Pres: Oxford, 1987.

Topkaya, Bülent. "Çevre Başlığı", Akdeniz Üniversitesi Çevre Mühendisliği Bölümü/Çevre Sounları Araştırma ve Uygulama Merkezi  
[www.atso.org.tr/download/432/prof-dr-bulent-topkaya.html](http://www.atso.org.tr/download/432/prof-dr-bulent-topkaya.html) Retrieved on 15.04.2011.

Türkiye Üçüncü Sketör Vakfı. *Türkiye’de Sivil Toplum: Bir Dönüm Noktası Uluslararası Sivil Toplum Endeksi Projesi Türkiye Ülke Raporu II*, Türkiye Üçüncü Sektör Vakfı Yayınları: İstanbul, Mart 2011.

Türkiye Ekonomik ve Toplumsal Tarih Vakfı. Avrupa Birliği Devlet ve STK’lar, Türkiye’de Sivil Toplum Kuruluşları Sempozyumu-VII, Avrupa Birliği Yolunda Türkiye’de Devlet-STK İlişkileri, 2-3 Haziran 2000 ve Türkiye’de Sivil Toplum Kuruluşları Sempozyumu-VII, Türkiye-AB Bütünleşmesinde Sivil Toplum Kuruluşlarının Rolü, 15-16 Aralık 2000, Numune Matbaacılık: İstanbul, Mayıs 2011.

Türkiye Ekonomik ve Toplumsal Tarih Vakfı. *AB Uyum Süreci ve STK’lar*, 12-13 Aralık 2003, Step Ajans: İstanbul, Haziran 2004.

Vanderveer, Stacy D. and Joann Carmin. “Assessing Conventional Wisdom: Environmental Challenges and Opportunities beyond Estern Accession”, *Environmental Politics*, Vol. 13, No.1, Spring 2004, pp.315-331.

Vedder, Hans. “The Treaty of Lisbon and European Environmental Policy”, *Social Science Research Network, Working Paper Series*, 2 December 2008 [http://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract\\_id=1310190](http://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract_id=1310190) Retrieved on 28.06.2011.

Voulvouli, Amilia. *From Environmentalism to Transenvironmentalism: The Ethnography of an Urban Protest in Modern İstanbul*, Peter Lang International Academic Publishers: Bern, 2009.

Weale, Albert, Geoffrey Pridham, Michelle Cini, Dimitrios Konstadakopulos, Martin Porter and Brendan Flynn. *Environmental Governance in Europe*, Oxford University Press: Oxford and Newyork, 2003.

Wild, Leni. “Strengtening Global Civil Society”, Institute for Public Policy Research’s International Conference, Italy, April 2006.

Yıldırım, Uğur and Sevim Budak. “Son Gelişmeler Işığında Avrupa Birliği Çevre Politikasında Değişimler ve Türkiye’nin Politik Yaklaşımı”, *Avrupa Araştırmaları Dergisi*, Cilt 13, Sayı 1-2, 2005, pp. 177-216.

Zirakzadeh, Cyrus Ernesto. *Social Movements in Politics: A Comperative Study*, Longman: London and New York, 1997.

### ***Internet Sources***

Buğday Association for Supporting Ecological Living. <http://www.bugday.org.tr> Retrieved on 03.05.2011.

Callahan, David. “What is Global Civil Society”, 2001 <http://www.civicnet.com> Retrieved on 01.11.2010.

Campaign against Climate Change. [http://www.campaigncc.org/what\\_we\\_do](http://www.campaigncc.org/what_we_do)  
Retrieved on 09.05.2011

Community programmes. <http://www.2007-2013.eu/community.php> Retrieved  
on 24.04.2011.

Community Research and Development Information Service (Cordis).  
[http://cordis.europa.eu/results/home\\_en.html](http://cordis.europa.eu/results/home_en.html) Retrieved on 24.04.2011.

Derelerin Kardeşliği Platformu. <http://www.derelerinkardesligi.org> Retrieved  
on 15.07.2010.

Environmental Movements, the History of the Environmental Movement,  
Public Support and Prospects for the Future, Nongovernmental Organisations.  
<http://www.libraryindex.com/pages/3265/Environment>. Retrieved on 27.08.2011.

Europa, Summaries of EU legislation, Consumers, Consumer safety.  
[http://europa.eu/legislation\\_summaries/consumers/consumer\\_safety/132042\\_en.htm](http://europa.eu/legislation_summaries/consumers/consumer_safety/132042_en.htm)  
Retrieved on 27.07.2011.

Europa, Summaries of EU legislation, Glossary.  
[http://europa.eu/legislation\\_summaries/glossary/proportionality\\_en.htm](http://europa.eu/legislation_summaries/glossary/proportionality_en.htm) Retrieved on  
27.07.2011.

European Commission.  
[http://ec.europa.eu/yourvoice/consultations/index\\_en.htm](http://ec.europa.eu/yourvoice/consultations/index_en.htm) Retrieved on 03.05.2011.

European Commission, Enlargement, “Phare”.  
[http://ec.europa.eu/enlargement/howdoesitwork/financialassistance/phare/index\\_en.htm](http://ec.europa.eu/enlargement/howdoesitwork/financialassistance/phare/index_en.htm)  
Retrieved on 14.08.2011.

European Commission Enlargement, “SAPARD”.  
[http://ec.europa.eu/enlargement/how-does-it-work/financial-assistance/sapard\\_en.htm](http://ec.europa.eu/enlargement/how-does-it-work/financial-assistance/sapard_en.htm)  
Retrieved on 14.08.2011.

European Commission, Environment, Water.  
[http://ec.europa.eu/environment/water/participation/notes\\_en.htm](http://ec.europa.eu/environment/water/participation/notes_en.htm) Retrieved on  
08.08.2011.

European Commission, Environment, Water, Participation.  
[http://ec.europa.eu/environment/water/participation/pdf/waternotes/water\\_note12\\_public\\_participation\\_plans.pdf](http://ec.europa.eu/environment/water/participation/pdf/waternotes/water_note12_public_participation_plans.pdf) Retrieved on 08.08.2011.

European Environmental Bureau. <http://www.eeb.org/index.cfm/about-eeb/how-the-eeb-works/> Retrieved on 04.05.2011.



Education, Audiovisual and Culture Executive Agency.  
[http://eacea.ec.europa.eu/llp/results\\_projects/project\\_compendia\\_en.php](http://eacea.ec.europa.eu/llp/results_projects/project_compendia_en.php) Retrieved on 24.04.2011.

European Parliament, Parliamentary Questions.  
<http://www.europarl.europa.eu/sides/getDoc.do?pubRef=-//EP//TEXT+WQ+E-2011-007039+0+DOC+XML+V0//EN&language=CS> Retrieved on 21.12.2011.

Globalization 101, The Levin Institute The State University of New York.  
[http://www.globalization101.org/What\\_is\\_Globalization.html](http://www.globalization101.org/What_is_Globalization.html) Retrieved on 08.05.2011.

Grand National Assembly of Turkey. “The Constitution of the Republic of Turkey” <http://www.tbmm.gov.tr/anayasa.htm> Retrieved on 01.06.2010.

Green Party. <http://www.yesiller.org>. Retrieved on 09.10.2010.

Green Peace Akdeniz. <http://www.greenpeace.org/turkey/tr/> Retrieved on 09.05.2011.

Green 10 <http://www.green10.org/> Retrieved on 22.07.2011.

International Institute for Sustainable Development. <http://www.iisd.org/sd/> Retrieved on 25.06.2011.

LIFE, <http://ec.europa.eu/environment/life/index.htm> Retrieved on 14.08.2011.

Monitoring Initiative of Law of Nature <http://tabiatkanunu.wordpress.com/> Retrieved on 06.09.2011.

Nükleer Karşıtı Platform. <http://www.nukleerkarsitiplatform.org> Retrieved on 15.07.2010.

Protection of Environment Foundation of Turkey.  
<http://www.tucev.org/tanitim.htm> Retrieved on 23.01.2011.

Regional Environmental Center Turkey.  
[http://www.rec.org.tr/?module=db&item=db\\_grants](http://www.rec.org.tr/?module=db&item=db_grants) Retrieved on 24.04.2011.

Republic of Turkey Ministry of Environment and Forestry.  
<http://www.cevreorman.gov.tr/COB/Bakanlik/BakanlikKurulusu.aspx?sflang=en> Retrieved on 01.11.2010.

Republic of Turkey Ministry for EU Affairs  
<http://www.abgs.gov.tr/index.php?p=5&l=2> Retrieved on 14.08.2011.



Republic of Turkey Ministry of Foreign Affairs.  
<http://www.mfa.gov.tr/sub.en.mfa?cf805f3f-5f1b-47b7-8be8-48df98367122> Retrieved on 01.11.2010.

Republic of Turkey Ministry of Foreign Affairs, “Relations Between Turkey and European Union” <http://www.mfa.gov.tr/relations-between-turkey-and-the-european-union.en.mfa> Retrieved on 05.12.2011.

Republic of Turkey Ministry of Interior Directorate of Associations.  
[http://www.dernekler.gov.tr/index.php?option=com\\_content&view=category&layout=blog&id=52&Itemid=12&lang=tr](http://www.dernekler.gov.tr/index.php?option=com_content&view=category&layout=blog&id=52&Itemid=12&lang=tr) Retrieved on 01.11.2010.

Seventh Framework Programme.  
<http://www.fp7.org.tr/home.do?ot=10&lang=en&sid=3100&pid=0> Retrieved on 24.04.2011.

The Chamber of Architects of Turkey. <http://www.mimarlarodasi.org.tr>  
Retrieved on 29.04.2011.

Transparency Register. [http://europa.eu/transparency-register/index\\_en.htm](http://europa.eu/transparency-register/index_en.htm)  
Retrieved on 29.12.2011.

T.R. Prime Ministry Secretary General for EU Affairs.  
<http://www.abgs.gov.tr/index.php?p=45457&l=1> Retrieved on 25.04.2011.

T.R. Prime Ministry State Planning Organization Center for European Union Education and Youth Programmes. <http://www.ua.gov.tr> Retrieved on 24.04.2011.

T.R. Prime Ministry Undersecretariat of Treasury Central Finance and Contract Unit <http://www.cfcu.gov.tr> Retrieved on 24.04.2011.

United Nation Conference on Human Settlements  
<http://www.un.org/Conferences/habitat/> Retrieved on 20.03.2011.

### ***Interviews***

Personal Interview with Buğday Association for Supporting Ecological Living, 08.01.2011

Personal Interview with Green Party, 09.11.2010.

Personal Interview with Protection of Environment Foundation of Turkey, 28.06.2010.

Personal Interview with Ministry for EU Affairs, 21.06.2010.

Personal Interview with Sport Fishing Association of Turkey, 20.02.2011.

Personal Interview with Turkish Foundation for Combating Soil Erosion, for Reforestation and the Protection of Natural Habitats, 09.06.2011.

Personal Interview with Turkish Environmental and Woodlands Protection Society, 10.12.2010.

Personal Interview with World Wildlife Fund Turkey, 12.02.2010.

Personal Interview with Environment Foundation of Turkey, 16.09.2010.

Personal Interview with Consumer and Environmental Education Foundation, 28.06.2010.

Personal Interview with Alternative Energy and Bio-diesel Manufacturers Union, 28.06.2010.

Personal Interview with a retired official expert, Ministry of Environment and Forestry, 15.05.2010.