

**ISTANBUL TECHNICAL UNIVERSITY ★ GRADUATE SCHOOL OF ARTS AND  
SOCIAL SCIENCES**

**AN ENVIRONMENTAL JUSTICE ANALYSIS OF HYDROELECTRIC  
POWER PLANT PROTESTS IN TURKEY IN 2002-2016 YEARS**

**M.A. THESIS**

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**Department of Political Studies**

**Political Studies Programme**

**SEPTEMBER 2017**



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**SEPTEMBER 2017**



**İSTANBUL TEKNİK ÜNİVERSİTESİ ★ SOSYAL BİLİMLER ENSTİTÜSÜ**

**TÜRKİYE'DE 2002-2016 YILLARI ARASINDA MEYDANA GELEN  
HİDROELEKTRİK SANTRALİ PROTESTOLARININ ÇEVRESEL ADALET  
ÇERÇEVESİ ÜZERİNDEN ANALİZİ**

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**EYLÜL 2017**



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*To all people who struggle to defend their right to live,*





## **FOREWORD**

First, I would like to thank to my supervisor Assoc.Prof. Aslı Öğüt ERBİL for her support, for guidance and for the time she invested in every aspect of this study. I also would like to thank to Prof.Gürcan Koçan and Assist.Prof.Hande Paker for their significant advices and contributions to the thesis.

I would like to thank to Assist.Prof.Fatma Zeynep ÖZKURT for her precious contribution and significant advices for the thesis.

I would like to thank to Assist.Prof.Emine Akçadağ ALAGÖZ for her significant advices for the thesis.

I should also express my thanks to the department members of Istanbul Technical University Political Studies program that shared their significant ideas about the thesis.

I am also deeply grateful to my family for their endless support and encouragement they give me during the process.

Laslty, I would like to give special thanks to my brother Barbaros ŞAHİN, for his material and mental support.

September 2017

Elif ŞAHİN



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## **ABBREVIATIONS**

|              |   |
|--------------|---|
| <b>COP</b>   | : Conference of the Parties                   |
| <b>EJ</b>    | : Environmental Justice                       |
| <b>EMO</b>   | : Elektrik Mühendisleri Odası                 |
| <b>HEPP</b>  | : Hydroelectric Power Plant                   |
| <b>IEA</b>   | : International Energy Agency                 |
| <b>INDC</b>  | : Intended Nationally Determined Contribution |
| <b>SHW</b>   | : State Hydraulic Works                       |
| <b>MENR</b>  | : Ministry of Energy and Natural Resources    |
| <b>NIMBY</b> | : Not in my Backyard                          |
| <b>PCB's</b> | : Polychlorinated Biphenyls                   |
| <b>TMMOB</b> | : Türk Mühendis ve Mimar Odaları Birliği      |
| <b>UCC</b>   | : United Church of Christ                     |
| <b>WEC</b>   | : World Energy Council                        |





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## **AN ENVIRONMENTAL JUSTICE ANALYSIS OF HYDROELECTRIC POWER PLANT PROTESTS IN TURKEY IN 2002-2016 YEARS**

### **SUMMARY**

This study analyzes the HEPP protests occurred in 2002-2016 years in Turkey through the framework of environmental justice. The problem which inspired this study is based on the idea that the environmental justice concept does not explicitly used for HEPP protests that manifested as a reaction to Turkey's energy politics within last fourteen years. The hypothesis of the research is that environmental justice related discourses are embedded in HEPP protesters' claims in Turkey even though they do not consciously use this framework and its principles. In this context, the aim of the study is to test the hypothesis that whether related dimensions; for example, the distributional dimension procedural dimensions of environmental justice exist in the discourses of HEPP protesters.

To do that, this thesis consists of five chapters. In the first chapter; as introduction, I define the problem, hypothesis and the questions of the study. In this chapter, I also explain the method and the limitations of the study. In the second chapter, I describe the theoretical concept of environmental justice with its brief history and characteristics. This chapter also includes a short history of environmental movements in Turkey and brief explanations of Turkey's energy policy in 2002-2016 years. The aim of the literature review is to explain the conceptual framework of this study. The third part is the analysis part of the study. This section includes the key attributes of HEPP protests that are collected by discourse analysis of the HEPP protest discourses in written media news about the HEPP protests in last twelve years that are thought to be associated with environmental justice rhetoric. In the fourth part, reached HEPP protest attributes are discussed from distributive and procedural environmental justice with examples. In the conclusion part of the study, it is mentioned that the attributes of the right to use water (or access to water), right to life and deprivation of communities' source of livelihood refer to distributional environmental justice and prevention of participation into decision-making attribute refer to the procedural environmental justice.



# **TÜRKİYE’DE 2002-2016 YILLARI ARASINDA MEYDANA GELEN HİDROELEKTRİK SANTRALİ PROTESTOLARININ ÇEVRESEL ADALET ÇERÇEVESİ ÜZERİNDEN ANALİZİ**

## **ÖZET**

Bu çalışma ile Türkiye’de 2002-2016 yılları arasında meydana gelen HES protestolarının çevre adaleti çerçevesinden incelenmektedir. Çalışmanın esas problemi, çevre adaleti çerçevesinin Türkiye’de enerji politikalarına karşı gelişen HES protestolarını açıklamak için tercih edilmeyen bir çerçeve olmasıdır. Çalışmanın hipotezi, Türkiye’de HES protestolarında kullanılan söylemlerde, bilinçli bir şekilde olmasa da, çevre adaleti çerçevesi ve prensiplerinin yerleşik halde olmasıdır. Bu bağlamda, çalışmanın amacı, HES protestocularının söylemlerinde çevresel adalet tanımında yer alan prensiplerin ve buna bağlı boyutlarının; örneğin dağıtımsal boyut, usul boyutunda tasvir edilip edilmediğini test etmektir.

Bu çalışma beş bölümden oluşmaktadır. Birinci bölümde; giriş olarak tezin problemi, hipotezi ve araştırma sorularını açıklanmaktadır. Bu bölümde ayrıca araştırmanın yöntemini ve sınırlarını da açıklanmaktadır. İkinci bölümde; literatür özeti bölümünde, çevre adaleti kavramının kısa tarihçesi ve özellikleri tanımlanmaktadır. Bu bölümde ayrıca Türkiye’de çevre hareketlerinin kısa bir tarihçesi ile Türkiye’nin 2002-2016 yılları arasındaki enerji politikasının kısa açıklamaları da yer almaktadır. Literatür özeti bölümünün amacı bu çalışmanın kavramsal çerçevesini açıklamaktır. Üçüncü bölüm, çalışmanın analiz kısmıdır. Bu bölümde son on iki yılda yazılı basında çıkan HES protesto haberlerinin söylem analizi yapılarak çevresel adalet anlayışıyla ilişkili olduğu düşünülen HES ile ilgili haberlerden toplanan kilit HES protesto söylemleri yer almaktadır. Dördüncü bölümde, ulaşılan HES protesto söylemleri, çevresel adalet kavramsal çerçevesinde dağıtımsal ve usul adaleti örnekler verilerek tartışılmaktadır. Çalışmanın sonuç bölümünde Türkiye’deki HES protestolarında su kullanma hakkı (veya suya ulaşım), yaşam hakkı, toplulukların geçim kaynaklarından yoksun bırakılması söylemlerinin çevresel adalet kavramının dağıtımsal boyutuyla, karar alma süreçlerine katılım söylemi ise çevresel adalet kavramının usul adaleti boyutuyla örtüşmekte olduğu belirtilmiştir.





## 1. INTRODUCTION

Within last fifteen years, rise of hydroelectric power plant (HEPP hereafter) implementations and investments have been attached as an important part of energy politics of Turkey. Because of rising emphasis on HEPPs in Turkey's energy policy, community opposition against the construction of new HEPPs has been increasing and has become the subject of discussion in public. Since Turkey is an energy importing country, -which imports seventy-three percent of its energy-in order to reduce its energy dependence, HEPP projects and investments have been accelerated due to its advantageous character as being 'emission-free, renewable and reliable energy source' that would meet national energy demand and serve national energy policy objectives. This concern about HEPPs dates back to 2001 since there was a legislation change; enacting of Turkish Electricity Market Law which enables private companies to construct HEPPs on rivers, creeks as very critical for Turkey's energy supply process. Since then, as investments and implementations increased and with seeing an increasing wave of interest, the level of public awareness and consideration appears to be at a higher level.

Even though it is thought that HEPPs would solve a large part of domestic energy supply problem of Turkey, people, especially residing in rural areas voice their complaints (mostly mobilizing as protests) against companies and state institutions because of the impacts on their lives and the environment. Along with the protests, legal decision news about protests for HEPP construction processes have a broad section, in which residential communities show act of struggle and conduct legal cases to stop the work of HEPP construction companies. Rising public opposition is based on the notions that the construction of HEPPs damages the environment they live, leads to the deprivation of the source of livelihood and prevention of their participation into decision-making processes. HEPP protesters mainly hold the idea that the construction of HEPPs are irreversibly destructs the environment they live and the ecological life:

İkizdere, with thousands of people, struggles against the HEPPs. These people say the rivers should flow free. We say, İkizdere is one of the most beautiful valleys of the world. No one has a right to destroy the tourism potential of the valley because energy companies will be rich (Sabah, August 18, 2008).

Local communities express their complaints related to the worries of taking away their water sources in case HEPP project in their region is constructed. Their worry echoes the claim of “deprivation of their source of livelihood”. They also complain about not letting them participate into decision-making, since they are not asked for any further information for the construction of HEPPs in their region. Worries and complaints about the lack of participation is another concern of the opponents. The source of the anger comes from the lack of people’s consent about the HEPP construction activities:

The company started the construction activities without asking anyone in the region. They don’t let us to participate. We don’t say yes, and we won’t (Hürriyet, August 19, 2013).

They have expropriated my lands, they haven’t paid any price. They use my land without my consent. I have applied to district governorship and prosecutor but couldn’t get any response (Sabah, May 17, 2013).

However, taking place of numerous HEPP protests are not the only results of Turkey’s energy politics. Hydropower is the most visible ones because investments gain speed to accommodate domestic energy that the country needs. Nevertheless, environmental movements are also seen in other energy related issues; mining, anti-nuclear protests, thermoelectric power plant protests. The most prominent examples after HEPP movements are mining protests. A significant anti-mining movement occurred in Artvin’s province Cerattepe district when thousands of people gathered to protest company’s efforts that aim to extract a copper mine in Artvin Cerattepe region (Hürriyet, 2016).

Also, the biggest mining accident happened in 2014 in Soma Manisa province have led to three hundred and one coal miner’s death after which many people across the country has been called for healing safety conditions and standards of mine workers (Hürriyet, 2015). Nuclear energy protests happened in Akkuyu region, Mersin in

which protesters locked the attendees of the ceremony for Turkey's first nuclear power plant in Akkuyu region to make their voices heard by the media (Url-20). Although very rare, local meetings against wind energy facilities are happening, as well. The latest example was in İzmir, Çeşme region in May 2016 that local communities voice their complaints about taking away their right to live and hazardous impacts of wind facilities on their environment (Yeşil Gazete, 2016).

In general, environmental movement discourses in Turkey that are manifested as a reaction to energy politics seem to be concerning environmental protection claims. In conjunction with environmental protection claims, when the underlying discourses are read, that energy politics and implementations-related environmental movements in Turkey also include social disturbances referring to environmentally unjust processes. This study attempts to reveal that since the energy policy of the country implies acceleration in the use of hydropower, particularly local people and vulnerable groups have started to express their social concerns and worries about the impacts of these practices on their life and the environment within the terms of environmental justice.

### **1.1 Statement of Problem**

In Turkey, especially in recent years, it is seen that there have been an increase in the environmental movements against mining, nuclear and HEPP implementations of the state (Duru, 2013). Because of a neoliberal understanding dating back to 1980's, rising industrialization and unplanned urban development can be counted as the main factors behind rising environmental movements (Adem and Arsel, 2005). Within environmental movements in Turkey, since then, large-scale energy projects as coal mining activities, hydropower plant constructions, nuclear energy developments, wind power projects have created public concern about the risks that those projects would put on the environment. Among the environmental movements in Turkey, the HEPP movements have gained importance in number and became more visible in recent years. Looking at HEPP protests has become significant that could help in understanding the public concern related to risks that would be put on the environment and people's relation to the environment. This concern is related to environment and people's social lives stemming from ecologically destructive

activities of new energy projects. That means, when villagers and local people react against the destruction of the environment they live, they also react against the destruction of their social lives. This has put the environmental activism in a position that environmental and social justice issues are embraced within human-environment relations (Erbil, 2014).

Along with this rising trend of environmental movements in Turkey, there have been different studies conducted about the subject. They attempt to show up different forcing factors behind the environmental movements by referring to different frameworks. One of the approaches is “Social Metabolism Perspective” for the analysis of Gezi Park protests (Özkaynak et. al, 2015). Within this perspective, they focus on Turkey’s growth pattern and dynamics in social and environmental terms, and claiming that Gezi Park resistance and other environmental protests are increasing social metabolism in terms of energy and material exchange.

“Environmentalism of the Malcontent” framework is another perspective used to explain an anti-coal power struggle (Arsel, Akbulut and Adaman, 2015). This analytical framework is used to characterize a type of activism in Turkey in which the relationship between class and environmental consciousness is problematized. Therefore, within this perspective, it is encountered the protesters' location within and ability to integrate into capitalist markets. “Identity and Party Politics Approach” is another perspective for the explanation of environmental conflicts against energy projects (Knudsen, 2016). In this framework, Knudsen (2016) attempts to explore the character of environmental conflicts in Turkey by looking at protesters' ethnic, national, political identity-who they cooperate with and party’s ‘politics.

One other overview of the history of environmental movements in Turkey displays that “Pragmatic Environmental Ethics” has emerged as a response to environmental dynamics in Turkey in which subjective and particularistic claims were hold in environmental mobilizations in Turkey. It has been argued that environmental activism in Turkey has been to identify the issues that affected people’s daily lives and to deal with those issues by actively participating into politics at local, national and international level with the lack of a stronger moral ethical point of view (Öncü

and Koçan, 2011). Another study about environmental movements; especially for HEPP protests is the analysis of how Turkish government respond anti-HEPP movements, in which methods of government for the repression of movements have been analyzed (Özen, 2014).

All these current studies attempted to delineate some of principles such as class-environment relations, protesters' identity, ethical stances, methods of government repression, relationship between the state, capital and the environment that environmental mobilizations can take. They present a selective account of environmental movements with respect to different principles and frameworks.

However, since environmental mobilizations, HEPP movements in particular, are happening in the context of people's lives and their relation to environment, a conceptual framework as "Environmental Justice" (EJ hereafter) has not been explicitly used for HEPP protests.

In the following images, in Figure 1.1, 1.2, 1.3, 1.4, the socio-economic development levels according to the regions in Turkey, the regions where the HEPPs are established intensively, the numerical distribution of HEPPs in Turkey and the rivers in Turkey are shown. Figure 1.1 is the map of provincial socio-economic development levels in Turkey. As can be seen in Figure 1.1, the provinces in the Black Sea region are in the fourth level in terms of development levels among five groups. At this point, it should be noted that the Black Sea region is the region where the protests of the HEPP are mostly taking place (i.e, in Artvin, Rize, Trabzon, Giresun, Ordu, Kastamonu). The provinces in this region are also the regions with the highest level of emigration rates each year (Url-22). In addition to the provinces in the Black Sea region, HEPP protesters also appear in the provinces with low socio-economic development rates as Erzurum and Adıyaman. Figure 1.2 shows the regional concentration of HEPPs in Turkey. As it is shown in the figure, the region where HEPPs are mostly concentrated is the Black Sea region. Moreover, in some parts of the Mediterranean and Eastern Anatolian regions, the HEPP density is higher than in other regions. In Figure 3.1. HEPP numbers in provinces of Turkey are given. As it is seen in the rounded area above, most of the HEPPs have been built in the Black Sea region. In addition, the numbers of HEPPs in the provinces of the

Mediterranean region and in the provinces of Erzurum and Kahramanmaraş are partially higher than in other provinces and regions. Figure 1.4 shows the streams of Turkey. The remarkable point here is that the density of the streams is not seen in the region where HEPPs and protests are concentrated. It is necessary to point out a problem at this point. As it is indicated in the first map, it is seen that the HEPP projects in Black Sea region are predominantly constructed in socio-economically weak cities. When we look at figure 1.2, regional distribution of hydropower plants in Turkey we don't see a very dense number of streams. However, numerous HEPPs are mostly constructed on small rivers, on creeks (Hamsici, 2012) that are not visible in the map<sup>1</sup>. So, whether HEPPs are being built in this region because the water sources are dense remains as a question mark. There is a concern that the construction of HEPP projects on these small rivers, which can be seen as sources of people's livelihood (source of agricultural activities, farming) will have a negative impact on social life because of the concern that construction of these projects will harm nature and water resources that are their livelihood sources.

In HEPP protests discourses, the construction of HEPPs in regions with low levels of socio-economic development and that the livelihoods of the people in these regions are rivers that HEPPs were built and have been continuing to be built reflects the interconnection between human and nature. This interconnection is reflected as when local residents voice their complaints; they oppose a project that they believe that is going to have negative impacts on their social livelihoods, environment and their future (Url-3). In these underlying discourses, parallel to the environmental worries, it is presented the quest of people for self-preservation originated from natural resource use. Therefore, the use of a framework in which human and environmental relation is recognized became necessary. As a result, the ecological and social dimension between these data is expressed in the HEPP protests. It is thought that an actual state of environmental injustice stemming from social concerns has been created. Within this regard, the EJ framework; by its very nature, is an ideological framework that links ecological concerns and social justice issues, by concerning

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<sup>1</sup>Not only in the Black Sea region, but also in the Mediterranean region, there are different HEPP projects on small rivers such as Yuvarlakçay and Alakır river in Antalya.

with environmental issues as they relate to humans, nature, rural and urban environments (Taylor, 2000). It is a conceptual framework that puts forward the relationship between social inequality and the environment in which dominant institutions to address those issues are also encouraged (Pellow and Brehm, 2015). In the conceptual framework of EJ, the environmental dimension is about “people and their individual lives”, and its social-political-economic dimensions are also concerning environmental issues in which environment and society are integrated.

In the following images, in Figure 1.1, 1.2, 1.3, 1.4, the socio-economic development levels according to the regions in Turkey, the regions where the HEPPs are established intensively, the numerical distribution of HEPPs in Turkey and the rivers in Turkey are shown. Figure 1.1 is the map of provincial socio-economic development levels in Turkey. The level of development is given in five groups as colors. Color red represents the first group as high-developed provinces. Orange colored provinces are the second group in development level. Cities with yellow color show the third level and the blue ones are the fourth in the socio-economic development order and the fifth in the burgundy are the ones with the lowest development level. As can be seen in Figure 1.1, the provinces in the Black Sea region are in the fourth level in terms of development levels among five groups. At this point, it should be noted that the Black Sea region is the region where the protests of the HEPP are mostly taking place (i.e, in Artvin, Rize, Trabzon, Giresun, Ordu, Kastamonu). The provinces in this region are also the regions with the highest level of emigration rates each year (Url-22). In addition to the provinces in the Black Sea region, HEPP protesters also appear in the provinces with low socio-economic development rates as Erzurum and Adiyaman. Figure 1.2 shows the regional concentration of HEPPs in Turkey. As it is shown in the figure, the region where HEPPs are mostly concentrated is the Black Sea region. Moreover, in some parts of the Mediterranean and Eastern Anatolian regions, the HEPP density is higher than in other regions. In Figure 3.1. HEPP numbers in provinces of Turkey are given. As it is seen in the rounded area above, most of the HEPPs have been built in the Black Sea region. In addition, the numbers of HEPPs in the provinces of the Mediterranean region and in the provinces of Erzurum and Kahramanmaraş are partially higher than in other provinces and regions. Figure 1.4 shows the streams of Turkey. The remarkable point here is that the density of the streams is not seen in the region









**Figure 1.4:** The Rivers and Lakes of Turkey (Url-5)

In HEPP protests discourses, the construction of HEPPs in regions with low levels of socio-economic development and that the livelihoods of the people in these regions are rivers that HEPPs were built reflect the interconnection between human and nature. This interconnection is reflected as when local residents voice their complaints; they oppose a project that they believe that is going to have negative impacts on their social livelihoods, environment and their future (5N1K, 2015). In these underlying discourses, parallel to the environmental worries, it is presented the quest of people for self-preservation originated from natural resource use. Therefore, the use of a framework in which human and environmental relation is recognized became necessary.

As a result, the ecological and social dimension between these data is expressed in the HEPP protests. It is thought that an actual state of environmental injustice stemming from social concerns has been created. Within this regard, the EJ framework; by its very nature, is an ideological framework that links ecological concerns and social justice issues, by concerning with environmental issues as they relate to humans, nature, rural and urban environments (Taylor, 2000).

It is a conceptual framework that puts forward the relationship between social inequality and the environment in which dominant institutions to address those issues are also encouraged (Pellow and Brehm, 2015). In the conceptual framework of EJ,

the environmental dimension is about “people and their individual lives”, and its social-political-economic dimensions are also concerning environmental issues in which environment and society are integrated. Due to those features, environmental justice framework can be valuable to address the HEPP movement discourses of the society that is taking place at the junction of environment-society relation and scrutinizing the outcomes of this inseparable relation by focusing to the society and its discourses. This becomes a parallel conceptual framework, which is adding to the current frameworks.

## **1.2 Research Hypothesis, Significance and Questions**

Following the above-stated problem, the research is based on the argument that EJ framework and its principles are embedded in HEPP protesters’ claims in Turkey even though protesters do not consciously use environmental justice framework. Within this regard, the aim of the study is the hypothesis-testing in order to find whether general environmental justice with its related dimensions (distributive and procedural) are delineated in the vocabulary of HEPP protesters’ claims in Turkey. In this study, environmental justice refers to the conditions in which basic needs and rights (e.g., the right to live, the right to use water-equal acces to water, the right to a safe and healthy environment-equal accesss to a safe and healthy environment) are freely exercised with the opportunity and equal access to participate in decision-making processes along with open legal procedures and responsive political institutions.

Within this definition, EJ framework is going to be used with its distributive and procedural elements that are mentioned in literature review section. In this research, I expect to answer two interrelated research questions; one is the main question of the research and the second one is the sub-question. The following research questions provide the focus and the direction of the research: What are the dominant principles/dimensions of environmental justice that exist in HEPP movement discourses? What are the distributional and procedural attributes of environmental justice in HEPP protest discourses in Turkey?

The necessary data for answering the study questions will be provided by data collection method and analysis of the collected data that explained in the following section. The findings indicate whether EJ concerns are included in the protests and might add to literature a different understanding that may expand the environmental and social aspects of environmental movements and discourses in Turkey.

### **1.3 Data Collection Method and Rationale**

In this section, the qualitative method for collecting necessary data about HEPP protests in Turkey is presented. Depending on research questions to be investigated, the method for data gathering is the discourse analysis (DA hereafter) of documents. Within documents, the primary sources of data will come from printed media news. Within different protest stories taken from different newspapers, I aim to reach evident discourses that have dominated HEPP protests between 2002-2016 years and other HEPP issues. In this study, the corpus on which the analysis based consists of 166 HEPP protest news stories and other HEPP related news taken from four different Turkish newspapers; Hürriyet, Sabah, Birgün, YeniŞafak, with a limited time domain, between 2002-2016 years<sup>3</sup>. While YeniŞafak is seen as a pro-governmental newspaper, Birgün is seen as the most critical one. In between these two different wings, Sabah and Hürriyet stand in the center of the scale, not totally pro-governmental or critical but considered as mainstream.

Although newspaper as a source is not challenging to reach, the use of newspapers as data sources can pose a common disadvantage that press can review events in unrealistic form, and it can be used as a manipulation tool (Ulutaş, 2005). This can also affect the content of the news. Another disadvantage to rely on newspapers would be related to the newspapers' ideological tendencies. Left, right or center tendencies of newspapers can affect the presentation of news stories. So, for HEPP movement news, in one story, the group of protesters can be shown as the adherents against the activities of government. While in other newspapers, they can be seen as pro-environmental communities who only voice their complaints about hazardous effects of energy facilities on their livelihood. In order to reduce risks based on these disadvantages, relying on and comparing different

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<sup>3</sup>Since Birgün has started publication on 2004, available data will be collected between 2004-2016 years.

news stories from different newspapers may be the healthiest method of reaching the most appropriate data. Additionally, internet sources have been scanned to include more perspective and depth for recent protests. Due to the fact that internet sources are topic-oriented, they reflect the details better and more cases can be reached.

There are two reasons to use DA for data collection. First reason is that discourse analysis' capacity as a method varies from revealing the role of language in politics to the embeddedness of language in social practices (Hajer and Versteeg, 2005). Within this regard, HEPP movements are taken as social practices. Even if it is not in a detailed sense, this study has to do with "language" or discursive themes (what do people say about HEPPs) and its embeddedness in HEPP movements which can be taken as social practices. Second reason is that, discourse analysis is widely used method for studies (See, Buja, 2010; Day, Gough and McFradden, 2004; Khosravini, 2010 ; Metila, 2013; Zhang, 2014; Teo, 2000 ) in which data in textual form (books, newspapers, legal texts, instructions etc.) is used as the main source. This is a study based on exclusively newspaper documents. And since I do have lots of newspaper documents reporting HEPP protests in Turkey, turning those cumulative media news documents into meaningful messages can be done through discourse analysis.

Before introducing the use of DA as the method of data collection of this study, it is important to start with what the DA is about. Although, it is assumed that discourse is an "ambiguous" concept (Lynch, 2006), a compact definition of discourse is given by Hajer and Versteeg (2005): "Discourse is the group of ideas, concepts, categories through which meaning is given to social and physical phenomena, which is produced and reproduced through and identifiable set of actions". A discourse is including spoken and written language as well as other forms of communicative media (Lynch, 2007); the work place is imbued with talk and texts, it is concerned with both actions and practices (Potter, 2004). In that sense, the main material sources of discourse analytical studies are naturalistic materials (talk), interviews, focus groups and texts (Potter, 2004).

Besides the meaning of "discourse" as a term, "discourse analysis" is a name given for various social scientific and literary methods (Lynch, 2007). It is understood in a range of different ways across social sciences, notably from linguistics, sociology, psychology,

social psychology, philosophy, communication, literary and cultural studies (Potter, 2004). Moreover, it can be approached in a number of perspectives and each of them emphasizing some important issues related to the production and interpretation of statements as linguistic and social practice (Buja, 2010). Therefore, the most important contribution of discourse analytical method would be the examination of “how language constructs phenomena, not how it reflects or reveals it” (Phillips and Hardy, 2002, p.8). Yet all those attributes of DA mostly used for linguistic analysis of the materials. Different kinds of analysis include different procedures. Although DA analysis is vastly used by linguistic studies, its use is not limited only to linguistic discipline. It is extensively used by other disciplines such as, law, literary studies, psychology, socio-linguistic studies, sociology and others (Gee and Green, 1998) by using different methods and steps. In this study, the method of using DA is limited to general steps which would be more comprehensible. According to (Keller, 2012) and Berg (2009), the following can be summarized as the general steps of discourse analysis:

1. DA initially starts with determination of the fields of knowledge or discourse to be investigated (Keller, 2013). Then, for the provisional formulation of the research questions of the object of investigation, there should be initially a collection of accessible information about the research project. For this reason, first task is to reach the necessary documents and texts.
2. Second step is to identify the particular themes that arise in reading of texts: This step will be used to be familiar with the objects of analysis.
3. Third step is the most important one in which coding process starts, involving some form of categorization of particular aspects of the objects of analysis.

In this study, DA is used parallel to the indicated steps. I categorize all those steps in separate manners. The first step is representing the determination of the field of discourse to be investigated. This also means the accessible information about the research project. In this research, the field of discourse to be investigated mainly consist of claim-makers' language used in action. In other words, I will look at the arguments of the protesters. This consist of what protesters say about HEPPs, why are they against projects or why do they support the projects. Second step is representing the identification of particular themes arise in reading of the texts. Within this step, I refer to four in order to detect

particular aspects-themes. I classify the questions to be investigated during data collection as Table 1.1 shows.

**Table 1.1:** Questions for the DA of HEPP protest news in Turkey in 2002-2016

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### QUESTIONS TO IDENTIFY DISCURSIVE THEMES

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1. What is the case?
  2. Where it is happening?
  3. What do people oppose at? What are people's justifications for their claims?
    - Are they fitting to previously delineated EJ attributes according to the definition of environmental justice?
- 

In order to make the analysis, news stories' particular aspects and themes are categorized by case (title or headline), the place of the protest or any further processes (e.g. legal cases, court decisions) their main claims-arguments. In this study, key attributes (limited political space for resistance, lack of access to information, fair-decision-making process, worries about the loss of ecological life, complaints about non-responsive political institutions) refer to discursive themes in HEPP protests' media news. Third step is the coding process including the categorization of the particular themes given in the second step. I categorize those discursive patterns or claim-makers' arguments according to procedural and distributional environmental justice issues. In other words, I will embrace EJ-related discourses and categorize them under environmental justice attributes of procedural and distributive justice. Necessary attributes are given in the literature review section.

## **1.4 Organization of the Study**

This thesis contains five chapters. After the introduction of the topic, second chapter is the literature review on environmental justice framework. Literature review provides an insight on the occurrence of environmental justice with a brief historical overview. This chapter is divided into two main sections. Firstly, the roots of environmental justice concept, main discussions within environmental justice framework, and understanding of the concept of justice in environmental justice is discussed. In addition, application of environmental justice in global/neoliberal and cultural scale is mentioned very briefly. In the second section of the literature review, the relationship between environmental justice and energy-related issues is discussed. The ways in which environmental justice takes place with energy-related issues are put forward by examples from different parts of the world with different cases. Following energy politics and environmental justice relationship cases from world, in this section, there is a brief history for environmental movements in Turkey. In order to open the ways and to discover the motives of Turkey's energy policy route and HEPP protests within the framework of EJ, world's general energy politics is briefly introduced.

Third part of the thesis consists of the anti-HEPP movement discourses in Turkey. This part is divided into two sections. First, opposition ideas and supportive ideas about HEPPs in Turkey is given in general. In second section, anti-HEPP discourses in printed media news are mentioned. The number of HEPP-related news by year and newspaper is given. Secondly, the number of EJ—related news by year and newspaper is presented. Then the key discourses detected in this news are given in this section. The fourth chapter of the thesis is the discussion section of the study in which the detected dominant discourses in HEPP news are analyzed through the terms of the framework of environmental justice given in the literature review section. In the final chapter, a general conclusion of the study including the result of the hypothesis testing is realized. It is indicated the findings of the thesis with a focus on the main arguments in the previous chapters.



## **1.5 Limitations of the Research**

In this thesis, there are limitations related to methodology and research process including theoretical limits, data collection limits and personal limits. Theoretical limits come from the applicability of environmental justice framework. Since the framework is too wide, it has a wide scale of principles that could be applied to different cases. The problem is that environmental justice issues differ from one place to another. Second theoretical limitation is concerning with the meaning of justice. In this study, the term “justice” is used in accordance with its meaning in environmental justice framework. “Justice”, in this study, is basically understood as the distribution of environmental-social problems along with the equal recognition of basic needs and rights and procedural equality with the inclusion into the decision making process and access to information about environmental issues. Therefore, the results obtained will generally not form a basis for discussing the concept of justice. Other limitation is related to data collection. The first limit related to data collection is the scope of the data. I limit the number of newspapers (which is the basic data of this study) to four different ones (newspapers presenting critical, pro-governmental and center tendencies). Although it is possible to examine all newspapers and news stories presenting different ideological positions about social-environmental protests in Turkey, the scope and the organization of the research do not allow covering more than four newspapers within the limited time. However, this limitation tried to be overcome with the inclusion of internet sources. Another limitation is related with time and budget of the research. Environmental justice and energy politics studies conducted in different countries mostly carry out field studies by choosing single phenomena or case, with direct observation, having interviews; researchers are directly speaking to people. Yet, in order to make an in depth analysis as other environmental justice related studies do, time and sources was not adequate. In addition, if I would carry out a field study, having access to people for interviews would be challenging for me because it requires time and considerable budget. Therefore, I preferred to analyze numerous cases in media news without having field study, choosing single case and having in-depth interviews.



## **2. LITERATURE REVIEW**

In order to scrutinize the last fourteen years of HEPP protests that are manifested as a reaction to energy policy implications through the EJ framework, the literature review on the environmental justice framework and an overlook to last fourteen years of energy politics is necessary. The aim of this literature review on environmental justice and Turkey's energy policy between 2002-2016 years is to link the proposed research with the current state of relevant knowledge. Environmental justice literature review sheds a light on EJ as a movement, theoretical framework and helps to facilitate to understand the ways that EJ occurs within environmental protests and energy-related issues arena. This literature review is divided into three parts. In the first part, the history of environmental justice as a movement, its expansion from movement to theory, justice concept in environmental justice and its topical and geographical expansion as both movement and framework is briefly mentioned. The second part of the literature review derives from brief environmental movements and environmental justice movement in Turkey. This section of the literature review includes the evolution of environmental movements in Turkey that paves the way for HEPP movements and their relation to environmental justice. The third part of literature review section includes very brief introduction to Turkey's energy policy between 2002-2016 years and hydropower issue that lead to HEPP protests.

### **2.1 Environmental Justice**

Environmental justice is a civil movement that started in the United States following the events (e.g. exposure to toxic waste, quality of life, access to resources, etc.) that disturbed weak groups, especially people of color and the poor people. Since the origins and the development of the movement first began in the U.S, environmental justice protests and discussions emerged first in this geography have been intense. However, with the recognition and expansion of the concept to the world, both the environmental justice movement and the theoretical discussions have diversified and deepened. This section includes both historical development of environmental justice, the basic theoretical discussions and summaries of particular concepts.

Environmental justice is defined with different emphasizes. According to Robert D. Bullard (1996), environmental injustice occurs when “black communities because of their economic and political vulnerability, have been routinely targeted for the siting of noxious facilities, locally unwanted land uses, and environmental hazards are likely to suffer greater risks from these facilities than is the general population” (Bullard, p. 14). In this respect, Bullard (1996) states that environmental justice “...embraces the principles that all people and communities are entitled to equal protection of environmental and public health laws and regulations” (p. 493). Environmental justice is also defined by David Pellow (2017) as “the fair treatment of people with respect to the execution and application of environmental policies with full inclusion of affected populations in decision-making...” (Pellow, 2017, p. 46). A legal definition used by the US. Environmental Protection Agency describes environmental justice as “the fair treatment and meaningful involvement of all people regardless of race, color, national origin, or income with respect to the development, implementation, enforcement of environmental laws, regulations and policies (Url-23). According to Schlosberg (2009), “...the term environmental justice focuses on environmental issues as they pertain to communities of color and the disproportionate risk those communities face” (p. 47). Mohai, Pellow and Roberts (2009) state that “environmental justice studies emerged as an interdisciplinary body of literature that researchers were documenting the unequal impacts of environmental pollution on different social classes and racial/ethnic groups” (p. 405). Salzman and Thompson (2007) assert that environmental justice focuses on the allocation of the burdens of environmental hazards and regulations among society. The boundaries of the concept of environmental justice has also been broadened as pointing out that the idea of environmental justice did not only include the environment notion but also include social justice issues (Schlosberg, 2013). In addition to being an expanding discourse, environmental justice has also been indicated as new paradigm that includes the notion of justice for environmental movements (Taylor, 2000).

### **2.1.1 The history of environmental justice movement**

Environmental movements in the world have undergone a change in which environmental activism goes beyond the environmental protection and including human-related issues stemming from environmental problems (Taylor, 2000). In order to make claims about human-environment relations issues and to advocate environmental policy and actions, “for more than a century, environmental activists have used injustice frame and arguments about environmental rights...” (Taylor, 2000; p. 521-522). The bottom line here is that a framework as “environmental justice” has affected the mainstream environmental movements to defend and analyze environmental issues by considering the social justice implications of environmental problems (Taylor, 2000). Starting as a movement in the U.S, environmental justice became a paradigm and settled in both the action and the theoretical core of the environmental movements since it has contributed to environmental discourse by using social justice issues.

Environmental justice phenomenon geographically stemmed from the U.S and shaped the environmental activism and environmental discourse primarily in this geography. Therefore, understanding the evolution of environmental activism in the U.S is important in terms of understanding how environmental justice frame has gradually settled into environmental movements both in the U.S and expanded to the rest of the world. Taylor (2000) classifies four phases of activism in environmental movement history in the US that paves the way for the born of environmental justice movement.

The first phase of environmental activism in the U.S is the Pre-Movement Era representing that environmental destruction is understood as the consequence of growth, consumption and industrial investment (p. 529). Second phase is called as The Post Hetch-Hetcy era (1914-1959) focusing on the wilderness, wildlife conservation and degradation of wildlife habitats (p. 527). Third wave of environmental activism is represented as the New Environmental Movements period consisting of The Post-Carson Era (1960-1979), and The Post-Love Canal and Three Mile Island Era (1980-present) representing New Environmental Movements and

Environmental Justice Movement. Taylor (2000) contends that The Post-Carson Era (1960-1979) was the critique of the development of high technology like nuclear industry, pollution prevention, risk reduction etc. (p. 531). The Post-Love Canal and Three Mile Island Era (1980-present) is led by people of color; three components constitute the basis of environmental justice movement in this era; autonomy, land rights and civil right movements( Taylor, 2000).

As it is seen from the evolution of environmental activism, the birth of environmental justice movement is mostly traced to the community reaction to toxins in Love Canal in upstate New York by the late 1970's with the initial focus on contaminated communities with threat to human health (Schlosberg, 2007). However, the movement that popularized the term environmental justice is the act of civil right activism by African American Communities against highly toxic industrial material landfill in Warren County, North Carolina in 1982, with the initial focus on unjust distribution of environmental harms within black, minority and poor communities that specifically do not have equal right to participate to decision making processes, which are influencing them (Bullard, 1994, 1999; Mohai and Bryant, 1992, Agyeman, 2002; Martinez-Alier, 2002; Bullard, 2003; Schlosberg, 2007; Sze and London, 2008; Pellow, 2006; Mohai, Pellow and Roberts, 2009). The Warren County protests provided the first step for US General Accounting Office Study "Sitting of Hazardous Waste Landfills and their Correlation with Racial and Economic Status of Surrounding Communities" (Bullard, 1999). The study reveals that three out of the four off-site commercial landfills were located in African – American communities despite the fact that African-American communities made up only twenty percent of the region's population (Bullard, 1999). Warren County protests led to Commission for Racial Justice (1987) that produces first national study; Toxic Waste and Race (1987) sponsored by The United Church of Christ to correlate waste facility sites and demographic characteristics (Bullard, 2001). It has found that race had stronger role than poverty, land use, and home ownership in predicting where those waste facilities will be located. This also led to the coining of a term by Dr Benjamin Chavis, which became 'environmental racism' (Agyeman, 2002).

The United Church of Christ's (UCC) Report, *Toxic Waste and Race* (1987) on the distribution of environmental hazardous waste sites on the United States has been very influential as it raised the public awareness about the disproportionate burden of environmental pollution on minorities (Mahoi and Bryant, 1992) and helped to the birth of environmental justice movement. Then, the First National People of Color Environmental Leadership Summit in Washington, D.C. (1991) also known as the single most important event in environmental justice movement as it incorporates issues of public health, worker safety, land use, transportation, housing, resource allocation, and community empowerment was held (Steger, 2007). The Summit acquired the grassroots of national support for strategies to fight against environmental racism (Bullard and Clinton, 1994). In this summit, African-Americans, Native Americans, Asian Americans, attendants from Puerto Rico, Canada and Central and South America attended and they have developed the "Seventeen Principles of Environmental Justice" (Table 2.1) (Agyeman et.al, 2016). The Seventeen Principles of Environmental Justice were accepted as the ideological foundations of the environmental justice movement in the First National People of Color Environmental Leadership Summit in 1991. These principles displayed the presentation of inadequate community participation of affected communities into decision-making process and the unequal enforcement of environmental laws (see, United Church of Christ, 1993). Taylor (2000) outlines the issues in the principles of environmental justice as "...six major thematic components that deal with (a) ecological principles; (b) justice and environmental rights; (c) autonomy/self-determination; (d) corporate-community relations; (e) policy, politics and economic processes; and (f) social movement building" (pp.538-539). To summarize, those principles outline three major points; no community should bear a disproportionate burden of environmental hazards, all communities should have access to environmental benefits; decision-making process should be transparent and include community voices (Vanderwaker, 2012, p. 52).

Upon rising protests, indicated reports and meetings along with the declaration of environmental justice principles helped to urge the government to take environmental justice concerns in rule making. In 1994, President Bill Clinton signed Executive Order 12898 to take environmental justice concerns in rule making and

calling for assessing the effects on communities and encouraging the participation of disproportionately impacted communities in various phases by prohibiting discriminatory practices of government programs that affect the environment of minority and low-income populations (Mohai et.al, 2009; Teelucksingh and Poland, 2011).

Along the movement's evolution, the boundaries of the movement and the concept have been widened. As a movement, environmental justice geographically spread to different parts of the world. According to Schlosberg (2013), the movement and the concept have expanded horizontally to a range of issues and vertically to global environmental injustices. Environmental justice issues have been diversified based on priorities of political situations, local and international pressures (Agyeman et.al, 2016). The movement has linked justice to different issues such as climate change, food, resource extraction, sustainability etc. (Agyeman, Bullard and Evans, 2003, Walker, 2009; Schlosberg and Collins, 2014; Jenkins et.al, 2016). Besides, environmental justice has become a paradigm that uses the discourse of injustice for environmental mobilizations (Taylor, 2000). When environmental justice has become a solid discourse used by environmental movements, it has also become a strong paradigm in which it becomes no longer possible to use a narrow framework that holds human and environmental issues separately. Because, in this environment where the human being is dominant, environmental movements in which social justice and environmental issues are thought as inseparable, does not keep the human being in a position to protect the environment, but the human being is also affected by this inseparable relationship. Environmental justice movement, too, has occurred as the reflection of this inseparable relationship. Therefore, the characterization of environmental justice as a frame in theory is important in terms of understanding how environmental justice as a discourse is used in environmental mobilizations.



**Table 2.1: Seventeen Principles of Environmental Justice**

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**THE PRINCIPLES OF ENVIRONMENTAL JUSTICE (EJ)**

1. **Environmental Justice** affirms the sacredness of Mother Earth, ecological unity and the interdependence of all species, and right to be free from ecological destruction.
  2. **Environmental Justice** demands that public policy be based on mutual respect and justice for all peoples, free from any form of discrimination.
  3. **Environmental Justice** mandates the right to ethical, balanced and responsible uses of land and renewable resources in the interest of a sustainable planet for humans and other living things.
  4. **Environmental Justice** calls for universal protection from nuclear testing, extraction, production and disposal of toxic hazardous waste and poisons and nuclear testing that threaten the fundamental right to clean air, land, water, food.
  5. **Environmental Justice** affirms the fundamental right to political, economic, cultural and environmental self-determination of peoples.
  6. **Environmental Justice** demands the cessation of the production of toxins, hazardous wastes, and radioactive materials, and that all past and current producers are held strictly accountable to the people for detoxification and the containment at the point of production.
  7. **Environmental Justice** demands the right to participate as equal partners at every level of decision-making, including needs assessment, planning, implementation, enforcement and evaluation.
  8. **Environmental Justice** affirms the right of all workers to a safe and healthy work environment without being forced to choose between an unsafe livelihood and unemployment. It also affirms the right to those who work at home to be free from environmental hazards.
  9. **Environmental Justice** protects the right of victims of environmental injustice to receive full compensation and reparations for damages as well as quality care.
  10. **Environmental Justice** considers governmental acts of environmental injustice a violation of international law, the Universal Declaration on Human Rights, and the United Nations Convention on Genocide.
  11. **Environmental Justice** must recognize a special legal and natural relationship of Native Peoples to the U.S. government through treaties, agreements, compacts, and covenants, affirming sovereignty and self-determination.
  12. **Environmental Justice** affirms the need for urban and rural ecological policies to clean up and rebuild our cities and rural areas in balance with nature, honoring the cultural integrity of all our commitments, and provided fair access for all to the full range of resources.
  13. **Environmental Justice** calls for the strict enforcement of principles of informed consent, and a halt to the testing of experimental reproductive and medical procedures and vaccinations on people of color.
  14. **Environmental Justice** opposes the destructive operations of multi-national cooperation's.
  15. **Environmental Justice** opposes military occupation, repression and exploitation of lands, peoples, and cultures and other life forms.
  16. **Environmental Justice** calls for the education of present and future generation, which emphasizes social and environmental issues, based on our experience and an appreciation of our diverse cultural perspectives.
  17. **Environmental Justice** requires that we, as individuals make personal and consumer choices to consume as little of Mother Earth's resources and to produce as little waste as possible; and make the conscious decision to challenge and reprioritize our lifestyles to ensure the health of the natural world for present and future generations.
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## **2.1.2 Expansion of EJ from protest to theory**

In this section, the process of the expansion of the environmental justice form movement to theory is explained through various concepts. These concepts are important in terms of explaining the sources and underlying processes of environmental justice/injustice issues, therefore their explanations are given in detail in this section. The prominent concepts playing important role in the evolution of environmental justice from movement to theory are race and class concepts, neoliberal and cultural explanations, justice issue in environmental justice and EJ's topical and geographical expansion as supporting its theoretical expansion.

### **2.1.2.1 Race and class discussion, neoliberal-cultural dimension**

The initial theoretical reflections of environmental justice were consisting of the efforts to understand the forcing factors behind the unequal distribution of environmental hazards. Within this regard, the first academic text of environmental justice is known as “Dumping in Dixie: Race, Class and Environmental Quality” (1990) written by Robert Bullard that examines environmental inequalities in the U.S especially in the Southern region of the country. It described the geographic inequity, in which people of color and low-income communities are burdened by various forms of pollution of hazards (Pulido, 1996). By conducting case studies and surveys, Bullard (1990) found that people of color and other economically disadvantaged groups are concentrated in areas that expose to higher levels of toxic pollution (Bullard, 1990; p. 6). More precisely, Bullard (1990) found that people residing in the Southern region of the country (Texas, Louisiana, West Virginia and Alabama) bear disproportionate share of the U.S’ environmental problems.

At first, in the study field of environmental justice, it is argued that environmental injustice occurs when a specific group of people; especially people of color are disproportionately affected by the environmental hazards. The main argument is that the places where especially black people live are consciously chosen as areas where risky and hazardous facilities will be settled. Subsequent studies also confirmed that ethnic minorities, indigenous persons, people of color, low-income communities face

much more environmental pollution likely than other groups (Mahoi and Bryant, 1992; Martinez-Alier, 2002; Pellow, 2006; Brulle and Pellow, 2006; Bowen and Haynes, 2000; Downey, 1998; Mahoi et al, 2009). There is an extended body of environmental justice literature that discusses the primary forces behind environmental injustices are race or class inequalities. Martinez-Alier (2001) focuses on race factor and states that environmental justice has come to a mean by early 1980s as disproportionate allocation of toxic waste to Latino or African- American communities faced.

On the other hand, there are also class- based examinations of environmental justice referring to the fact that when sitting a new facility, industry seeks to place facilities where poor people live (Mohai et.al, 2009). Rinquist (1997), in his detailed analysis for the U.S. regions asserts that class attributes affect the possibility that a residential area might host facility and high concentration of pollutants. Evans and Kanowitz (2002), in “Socio-Economic Status and Health: The potential role of environmental risk exposure” study, also found a significant relationship between the ethnic characteristics and class characteristics of a community and the levels of exposure to the environment the poor, especially the non- white poor people have a disproportionate burden of unhealthy environmental conditions (Evans and Kantrowitz, 2002).

There are also studies for the origin of environmental injustices outside of the U.S. in terms of race and class factors (Agyeman, 2002; Walker, 2009; Laurent, 2011). For example, Laurent (2011), by giving examples from Europe, claims that social isolation and inequalities played a major role in exposing individuals to environmental risk. He finds a valid link between racial, socio economic status, and unequal environmental conditions. In UK, for example, research for environmental injustice focus is not on sitting in relation to patterns of ethnicity where racial dimension does not exist but on patterns of income, age and lack of strong race-based civil rights mobilization (Agyeman, 2002).

As a theoretical approach to environmental justice, Pellow (2000) also proposes a model termed ‘Environmental Inequality Formation (EIF). Pellow (2000) argues that

environmental inequalities emerge in a much more complex process than it has been predicted in previous studies. As environmental justice literature's focus was on racially unequal outcomes of environmental decision-making, EIF model is addressing the connection between three major points: the importance of process by which environmental inequalities are produced and the importance of history, the role of multistakeholder relationships and life-cycle approach (Pellow, 2000, p. 587). Consequently, EIF as a process is not reducible to a discrete set of actions as race and class inequalities. Environmental inequalities are embedded in our social system, and EIF reveals much deeper workings of power in society (Pellow, 2000; p. 597).

Another important dimension to theoretical understanding of environmental justice is the view that neoliberal capitalist economic procedures are underlying reasons of unequal distribution of environmental hazards (Faber and McCarthy, 2003; Holfield, 2010). Martinez-Alier (2001, 2002) underlies the link between globalized economy and environmental degradation by applying environmental racism to the whole world by taking poor people as minorities (Martinez-Alier, 2002). He refers the fact that poor communities as minority communities are generally ignored by globalized economic activities as gold-mining (Martinez-Alier, 2002). According to Martinez-Alier (2002), ecological distribution conflicts are "born from contradiction between economic growth and environmental sustainability" (p. 149) that creates the concept of "environmentalism of the poor". By ecological distribution, what is meant is "...the social, spatial patterns of access to the benefits obtainable from natural resources and from the environment" (p. 73). Those underlying determinants of ecological distribution combines natural, cultural and economic variables seeking for a better understanding of ecological distribution conflicts (Martinez-Alier, 2002).

Mollet (2014) also asserts that any effort to address environmental inequalities without focusing on neoliberal economic processes will be inadequate because environmental injustices result from the motivation of the states' goal of development and modernization. Because modernizing states with their neoliberal economic policies would make large-scale projects that rely on their developmental and imposing state-led development projects on local communities (Mayes, 2014). Therefore, it is also argued that there is a need to address the neoliberal capitalist

procedures by determining the processes that result in an unequal distribution of environmental problems, and at the same time, the fair distribution of environmental inequalities.

While there is extended body in environmental justice studies claiming it is race, class, and neoliberal policies, there are also studies focused on cultural aspects of environmental justice. However, literature on this aspect is quite limited. Taylor (2000) asserts that environmental justice framework does not only recognize environmental injustices as it relates to harming nature, but it also recognizes that environmental injustice arise from race, class and also from gender discrimination. It has been noted that environmental justice principles recognizes the importance of respecting cultures of all people, honoring cultural diversity and appreciated a variety of belief systems that related to natural world. This broadens up the EJ scale. With that respect, the use of culturalism that refers to the fact that variations in environmental practices originating in cultural differences become an effective struggle (Pulido, 1996).

Cultural preservation emerges as a goal, the role of culturalism becomes important in order to achieve ecological legitimacy<sup>4</sup> being used by those fighting for environmental justice (Pulido, 1996). For example, Mei-Fang Fan (2006) focuses on the importance of cultural diversity, assuming the fact that environmental justice is also including issues of recognition, cultural difference and democratic political process; he is making a case study to discover the role of environmental justice when it comes to cultural diversity. At the end, cultural diversity is put on hold and it opens up new political space to develop culturalist arguments to fight for environmental justice.

So far, the most often cited and the most obvious evidence of environmental injustice is in the realm of unequal distribution of environmental hazards that communities of color and poor communities live with. Initially, the interest areas of the concept were limited to distributional inequalities stemming from environmental wastes along with

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<sup>4</sup>Ecological legitimacy, here, refers to a framework to be used for fighting environmental justice. It is associated with environmental practice of caring for the land (Pulido, 1996).

racial and economic differences (Tschakert, 2009). The concept of environmental justice has also moved from focusing on distributional inequalities to other dimensions. It is also argued that theoretical attempts to explore environmental injustices should also go into the issues of recognition, participation and capabilities that are the issues of justice (Schlosberg, 2007; Carruthers and Schlosberg, 2010, Bryner, 2012). More precisely, it becomes important that the mentions of the distribution of environmental damages, recognition (cultural and racial), procedural justice and capabilities (overall of affected communities and individuals) should be addressed within environmental justice. Therefore, one of the most important issues within the theoretical debates of environmental justice is how the concept of “justice” is devised within the concept of environmental justice. The next section briefly summarizes different articulations of justice concept within the framework of environmental justice.

#### **2.1.2.2 The articulation of “justice” in environmental justice phenomenon**

What is “justice” of environmental justice? When a community uses the phrase of environmental justice, it becomes critical to understand how they construct their conception of justice (Schlosberg, 2007). Given its very nature by having ‘justice’ at its core, EJ literature includes a number of concepts of justice. It is important to note that the mere ‘justice’ concept is too wide. Thus, here, the intention is to present the articulation of justice concept only within its vocabulary in environmental justice framework including distributive justice, procedural justice, recognition and capabilities approach. As it is mentioned above, most and primary discussions of environmental justice focus on unequal distribution (maldistribution) in which communities of color, indigenous communities and poor communities are more exposed to environmental bads and get fewer environmental goods (Schlosberg, 2007).

Therefore, the most classical approach of environmental justice development is rooted in the expectations of distributive justice (Bryner, 2002). The most often used evidence of environmental justice is in the distributive realm specifically means the inequitable share of environmental ills that people of color and poor communities face and live with (Schlosberg, 2001; Schlosberg, 2007). Some of the distributive

indicators of environmental justice are equal access to water, equal access to sanitation, equal access to clean air, equal access to safe transport etc. (Bell, 2014).

Initial phases of EJ activism were interested in “who should get what” (Taylor, 2000) and statistical studies focused on the patterns of distribution of environmental bads in relation to racial and income profiles of affected communities (Walker, 2009). The distributional approach in the environmental justice phenomenon illustrates that people of color and the poor people are unequally burdened by environmental hazards and risks, so environmental inequality occurs when environmental risks and benefits are not distributed equally (Schlosberg, 2007). As Walker (2010) states that, the questions of distributional environmental justice may also be “center on responsibility for the production of the distribution of outcomes” (p. 32). In other words, distributional environmental injustice may happen when the people who are affected by the environmentally adverse impacts that may arise are not the responsible who bring about these unequal distribution of impacts, but they undertake this burden.

While distributive realm is one dimension of environmental justice, Schlosberg (2001) argued that environmental justice struggles are also embedded in “struggles against oppression and dehumanization” (p. 9). It is thought that environmental justice activists make a direct link between defence of their communities and demand for respect (Schlosberg, 2007). This leads the environmental justice movement a way to have key component “recognition”. Schlosberg (2004) notes that numerous movements in the U.S encompass the notion of environmental justice in terms of distribution of environmental goods and bads, participatory demands related to environmental decision-making, and recognition of cultural ways of living with nature (Schlosberg, 2004). Following Nancy Fraser (2000)’s project which focuses on ‘bivalent’ conception of justice -where both distribution and recognition is accommodated (Fraser, 2000, p. 5) - recognition as an element is thought as a central concern for environmental justice groups. According to Fraser (2000), examination of the concept of oppression is central to the issues of justice and how individuals and communities are recognized has become crucial (Fraser, 2000). Fraser (2000) argues that, “culture is a legitimate terrain of struggle, a sight of injustice in its own

right and deeply imbricated with economic inequality” (p. 109), her focus is on the construction of subordinate and disrespected identities and communities and the mldistribution that those groups experience. Therefore, in environmental justice, lack of recognition and validity of identities are thought as the central factor of the distribution of environmental risks. Recognition element stems from the misrecognition and disrespect on deprived communities in decision-making and misrecognition of disadvantaged communities’ cultures and their collective identity (Schlosberg, 2011).

According to Schlosberg (2007), “In addition to inequity, environmental justice movement focuses on individual and community recognition, the point is to gain recognition of one self, for one’s own community, and for the movement as a whole”. So here, recognition is aimed to demand self-respect, mutual respect for identities and cultures, and autonomy for individuals and communities fighting for environmental justice (Schlosberg, 2007), since their identities are devalued, ignored and misrecognized. At the end, demand for recognition for those fighting for environmental justice becomes a matter of cultural survival and cultural preservation (Schlosberg, 2007). The point is to focus on direct link between a lack of respect, recognition and a decline in a person’s membership and participation in the greater community including the political and institutional order (Schlosberg, 2007, p. 26). In this respect, EJ activists demand for policy-making procedures that opens up the way in which those deprived communities can actively participate into decision-making process, encourage recognition of oppressed communities and culturally devaluation, recognition of community knowledge, and institutionalize public participation (Schlosberg, 2004).

In addition to demand for equity in the distribution of environmental goods and bads and recognition, environmental justice is also charged as the fair process and procedures that governs the principles of social equity, access, recognition and political influence. This mark opens up another dimension of the theory of EJ representing the procedural justice aspect. This dimension of the concept of justice mainly means “fair and equitable institutional processes of the state” (Schlosberg, 2007, p. 25). Procedural justice for environmental justice acknowledges the idea that



all communities in the society should have the equal right to access the mechanisms and information that allows them to participate into environmental decision-making process that directly affect their environment (Laurent, 2011). A few procedural justice indicators in environmental justice can be counted as, the consistent application of relevant rules, receiving accurate and accessible information, invitation to contribute to decision-making process, open legal procedures, inclusion in all stages of decision-making, responsive political institutions ,accountable and responsible parties (Bell, 2014, p. 31). Because as Schlosberg (2007) states, environmental justice activists calls for equal policy making procedures that allows them to participate decision making, recognize their knowledge and intitiionalize public participation. Thus, a demand for procedural justice to achieve environmental justice would mean that communities are willing to support an environmental decision as long as they feel that their concerns have been heard and taken seriously in a fair sitting process (Ottinger et. al, 2013). Drawing from both distributional and procedural justice makes EJ as a concept, that not only caring about equitable outcomes but also about fair processes in reaching those environmental outcomes. This also covers the demand for participation, more precisely, “the construction of inclusive, participatory decion-making institutions equal, informed and respectful participation also lie at the heart of environmental justice. The emphasis is on ensuring the underrepresented groups are empowered to participate in decision-making process fully and effectively (Bryner, 2002). At the end, public participation creates procedural expectations, for environmental or natural resource policy making in which fair procedures are established and all interests are represented (Bryner, 2002).

The articulation of environmental justice is also based on the notion of community capabilities and functioning. The focus on the capability of approach in justice of is based on the idea the necessity of the examinaniton o f the impact of distributions on the well-being and functioning of lives (Sen, 2009). Functioning represents the “parts of the state of a person, in particular the various things that he or she manages to do or to be in life” (Sen, 2009, p. 31). Functinings can be the activites like eating, reading and seeing (state of a person) or being well-nourished and being free from disease (things manage to do) (Sen, 1999 cited in Schlosberg, 2007). Justice of

capabilities in environmental justice refers to the availability of capabilities such as health, safety, well-being, employment, equality with recognition and participation (Schlosberg, 2007; Carruthers and Schlosberg, 2010). As Taylor (2000) argues, environmental justice struggles revolved around the issues such as better housing conditions, worker rights and worker health, disgregation of public spaces (p. 535).

More precisely, the understanding of the justice in environmental justice was also having to with the general functioning of communities depending on the capabilities necessary for people to continue to function and thrive (Schlosberg, 2007). Consequently, environmental justice movements use a wide range of vocabulary of justice; including distribution, recognition, participation and capability approaches (Schlosberg, 2007; Carruthers and Schlosberg, 2010). Clearly, environmental justice has meant more than the lack of inequity in the distribution of environmental damages. More broadly, environmental justice as both movement and framework addresses different conceptions of justice as the interplay of equity, distribution, participation, recognition and capabilities (Bryner, 2002; Schlosberg, 2007; Carruthers and Schlosberg, 2010).

The evolution of environmental justice from movement to theory is also supported by its expansion both topically and geographically. The topical expansion of environmental justice has been with different global issues such as climate change, food, energy (Martinez-Alier, 2002; Carruthers, 2010; Jenkins et.al, 2016; Schlosberg and Collins, 2014). The concept has also moved geographically to different parts of the world to different regions (e.g. Europe, Africa, and Asia) (Walker, 2009) as both movement and theoretical framework. In the following section, this geographical and topical expansion of the concept is summarized by giving examples from different parts of the world.

### **2.1.2.3 Geographical and topical expansion of environmental justice**

While the focus of EJ discourse and literature has been the inequity in the distribution of environmental goods and bads especially for the people of color and poor people in the United States, there has been a spatial expansion of the use of the term in both topical and geographical phases (Schlosberg, 2013). Taylor (2000)

argues that people have been concerned a broader range of issues crossing racial and social class lines which makes the EJ concerns local, regional and international in scope (Taylor, 2000). Since EJ paradigm is assured as the leading paradigm in the U.S. environmental movement history, it is argued that its contemporary form is transitioned from local efforts to broader national and global mandates (Perez et. al, 2015). Therefore, although environmental justice terminology was born in the U.S, the scope of the movement and EJ research have broadened and continue to expand both topically and geographically (Chakraborty, Collins and Grineski, 2016). This geographical and topical expansion can be understood as an effort to globalize EJ as an explanatory discourse with two dimensions that are horizontal and vertical expansion of environmental justice frame (Walker, 2009).

The horizontal transfer of the environmental justice frame is about the emergence of environmental justice framing in new places, countries, cultures and the vertical extension of the frame is about “scaling up to international and global issues and to international activist networks” (Walker, 2012, p. 17). The vertical and the horizontal extension of environmental justice frame prove that environmental justice or ecological distribution conflicts are fought with different vocabularies, even the environmental racism term is powerful, it cannot be used in all environmental injustice cases (Martinez-Alier, 2002, p. 172). Therefore, race and ethnicity, as in the U.S, can be important factors in understanding the fight for environmental justice but may change as a discourse from one geography to another. Consequently, it can be said that there may be similarities and contrasts between the experiences of environmental justice frame within different geographies.

Walker (2009) claims that environmental justice is moving horizontally across space. It means that as both movement and framework, environmental justice has gone outside the borders of the U.S, diffusion of the language and ideas from the U.S led to the travel and emergence of environmental justice into new places, Africa, Asia, South and Central America, Europe, Australasia (Walker, 2009). This can be called as the geographical expansion of environmental justice to new places and contexts. Briefly, it is thought that the international and global use of environmental justice can open up new possibilities to set up transboundary solidarity network to make

substantial progress in the future (Roberts, 2007). As examples of geographical expansion of environmental justice, Europe is one of the geographies that environmental justice debate has been seen for a while. Early beginning of the European environmental justice approach in European Union is dating back to drafting of UNECE Convention on Access to Information, Public Participation in Decision-Making and Access to Justice in Environmental Matters (Laurent, 2011). Following the convention, the involvement of environmental justice in social policy implications in the European Union was achieved in the UK and Scotland (Beretta, 2012). Elvers, Gross and Heinrichs (2008) argued that environmental justice in the UK was about the distribution of environmental goods and healthy living conditions and also about to access recreational opportunities in which the focus was not explicitly on race but also on social class issues. But this diffusion of environmental justice frame into the UK is regarded as its adoption into discourses and policies of the government (Agyeman and Evans, 2004). Consequently, community struggles for equal treatment in the distribution of environmental hazards in UK have been represented by focusing not on patterns of race or ethnicity as it is in the U.S., but on patterns of income and age (Walker, 2009; Harper et.al, 2009). Apart from the UK, spatial representation of environmental justice in Europe was also in Scotland where the focus of environmental justice is on the practices and policies that leads to disparate environmental impacts on the living conditions of people of low-income groups (Dunion and Scandrett 2003).

For another example of environmental justice in Europe, K.Harper et al. (2009) in their study called “Environmental Justice and Roma Communities in Central Eastern Europe supports idea that environmental justice research in Central Eastern Europe has also grew. Drawing observation from Central Eastern Europe Roma communities, they argue that ethnic minorities, communities of lower socio-economic status and least educated communities are more exposed to environmental discrimination and hazards (Harper et. al., 2009). Meanwhile, it is argued that the broadening work of environmental justice in Central Eastern Europe has also focused on ethnic and class issues. Laurent (2011) states that European environmental justice understanding focuses on social conditions producing injustices. Therefore, the difference between European and the U.S. approach of the illustration of

environmental justice is that Europeans highlight the social conditions producing environmental injustices while Americans' environmental justice concerns are analyzed and framed by racial and ethnic terms (Laurent, 2011). One other illustrator of the geographical scope of environmental justice research, Nordic countries, particularly Finland, is the other geography that environmental justice approach is seen. Compared to other examples in Europe, the class issue about environmental justice is also foregrounded in Finland. The placing of industrial facilities in areas where working class and low income communities live while the tendency to preserve certain areas from industrial facilities show that environmental injustice, as a class based-issue, also occurs in Finland (Schönach, 2016).

In addition to Europe and Nordic countries, in Africa, institutional racism is found to be responsible from the differences between environmental qualities similar to the U.S. experience (Kelbessa, 2012). However, environmental justice concerns are not limited to racial discrimination in Africa because of the absence of national environmental policy, lack of environmental laws, absence of functioning government (Kelbessa, 2012). In Africa, environmental movements also organized not in the roots of racial, ethnic discriminatory practices but especially against transnational companies and local governments that destroyed the lands (Kelbessa, 2012). Similarly, struggles against the operation of oil refineries and other sources of pollution in South Africa are thought as significant to give a profile about the emergence of environmental justice activism in South Africa. Within the geographical expansion of environmental justice, South Africa is one of the geographies that environmental justice frame is used as frame for grassroots mobilization that is similar to the U.S trajectory including race as the key discourse (Walker, 2012, p. 33).

Latin America is one of the geographies that environmental justice has been seen. Especially in Latin America, geographical expansion and varieties of environmental justice can be seen in different cases in Brazil, Argentina, and Mexico. (Acsehrad, 2008; Wolford, 2008; Reboratti, 2008; Moore, 2008; Diyes and Reyes, 2008). According to Carruthers (2008), environmental justice as a framework and as a discourse for policy action signifies important questions of Latin America's

problems of inequality and injustices. He claims that environmental justice in Latin America takes shape in fields related to people's lives and livelihoods. Ascelrad (2008) points out the emergence of the struggles for environmental justice in Brazil as the struggles in defence of rights to culturally specific environments, struggles in defense of the right to equal environmental protection, equal access to environmental resources and defense of future generations (p. 93). On the other hand, in Argentina, the idea of the quest of environmental justice does not target the problems of racially and economically discriminated communities but rather target the problem of unequal distribution of the negative effects led by the use of the environment (Reboratti, 2008). Diez and Rodriguez (2008); drawing from the Penoles case that includes the problem of industrial pollution and hazardous impacts on public health stated that the environmental justice activism in Mexico has a potential to emerge.

In addition to environmental justice's geographical expansion, the topical expansion of the frame has also been visible around the world. This can be the "vertical" extension of environmental justice to embrace the new scales and concerns involving different issues as climate change, food, waste transportation, trade agreements etc (Walker, 2009). Especially with the geographical extension, visibility and occurrence of environmental inequalities at local level, it has been obvious that the nature of contemporary environmental issues and their social responses led to the development of a global environmental justice perspective within diversity of issues (Carmin and Agyeman, 2011; Martin, 2013). For example, resource extractions of various forms (Martinez-Alier, 2001) cross-border energy issues, (Carruthers, 2008), movements and disposal of hazardous waste (Adeola, 2000) which creates a relationship between the environment, a globalized economy and the society (Carmin and Agyeman, 2011). This can be called as a 'vertical' sense (Walker, 2009) in which EJ has been globalized around a range of different topics. As for the topical expansion of environmental justice, Agyeman et.al (2016) argue that international environmental justice issues have started to include human rights, slavery, genocide, deforestation, land appropriation, pollution and toxics, globalization, immigrant rights, energy production free trade agreements and climate change. For example, in Taiwan, movements for indigenous rights are counted as environmental justice struggles including human rights issues (Huay and Hwang, 2009). In China, large-scale dam

projects- energy issues- lead to environmental justice concerns and protests by communities and push government to provide environmental justice. Protests against the construction of dam projects on Nu River, though local, have also established a situation for environmental justice for a change to create fairer decision-making process about environmental protection issues (Balme, 2014). Although not fully focused on racial or class inequality as in the U.S, environmental justice as movement and discourse has come out of in China in order to ensure the existence of fair decision-making process about the environmental issues (Walker, 2009, Balme, 2014).

As seen from the examples presented above, in recent years, the environmental justice research has broadened to consider new emerging issues such as exploring of environmental justice implications of energy production processes; nuclear power plants and uranium minings, environmental justice implications of flooding cases especially in the U.S , sustainability and environmental justice issues ( Brook and Holloman, 2016; Kyne and Bolin, 2016; Jennings et.al, 2016). But, particularly two issues in between those issues have gained more attention than the others. The first one is climate justice. Climate justice issue has become one of the major environmental justice discourses as activism focus on the impacts and vulnerabilities of most affected communities to climate change (Agyeman et. al, 2016). Therefore, climate justice is one of the most important representators of the global influence of environmental justice discourse as it helps to frame the inequity between north and the south (Schlosberg and Collins, 2014; Agyeman et.al, 2016). Climate justice concept derives from the issue of climate change as environmental justice scholars started to see climate change as “another environmental condition that demonstrates the broader social injustice of poor and minority communities” (Schlosberg and Collins, 2014, p. 362). The heart of climate justice is the understanding that the most vulnerable people (African communities and indigenious people) carry the burdens of climate change unequally and unfairly.

The second issue is food justice. As for climate justice issue, food justice as focusing on inequities and injustices with the food supply chain, food security and food access and energy justice issues are also the illustrators of the global expansion of the

environmental justice (Gottlieb, 2010; Jenkins et. al, 2016). It shows that everyday practices like food, energy and climate issues are finding their ways in environmental justice movement and theory (Agyeman et. al, 2016). In this regard, recent EJ movements have been addressing the injustice both at individual and community level (Schlosberg, 2013). Literally, while most of the EJ battles known as battling against inequity, exclusion from decision-making, there is a growth of groups focusing on justice for communities, sustainability and climate justice in order to address or implement more sustainable relationship between just communities and a working environment (Schlosberg, 2013).

## **2.2 Energy-Related Issues and Environmental Justice**

In the light of brief information on the scope of EJ framework, this part of literature review consists of the emergence of environmental justice issues by drawing its lessons from energy policies, projects, and case studies. The even relationship between environmental justice and energy politics helps to analyze the process of practicing energy policies and its influence on distribution of harmful; not that only health but social influences (including recognition issues), procedural inequalities (including participatory practices) that have been created during energy project process to address environmental justice/injustice activities within energy policies and projects.

Energy is vital for social and economic development. The more its importance is characterized, the worse people may suffer from consequences of tighter energy policies to meet energy demand. Those policies, inevitably, have an impact on people's lives, environmental conditions, and those impacts eventually create positive or negative consequences. So, energy development is seen as a new front-line in EJ research and activism (Sze and London, 2008). Within this regard, the local and national energy policies and projects within and between nations directly linked to the people and the environment. The concern here is that whether governments can make easier the practice of new energy policies and the construction of new energy facilities to meet increasing energy demand while ensuring EJ for the people and the environment most affected by those facilities?'



Since this study is about the analysis of the HEPP protests manifested as a reaction to energy politics, it is necessary to mention existing studies that shows how and EJ analysis of energy politics is carried out. Most of the scholars (Carruthers, 2008; O'Rourke and Connolly, 2003; Wan, 2013; Keir, Watts and Inwood, 2014; Ottinger, 2013) point out the importance of the understanding of what kind of environmental injustices that communities face exist. Those studies are about international energy policies, wind energy facilities, hydro-electrical dam projects, coal mining activities and its health impacts, gold-mining activities and the use of justice as a language and analytical tool to explain which dimensions of justice that those communities face. In particular, energy-related issues in the direction of movement and evolution of the geographical and theoretical aspects of the paradigm have also become significant as mentioned above. Since this study's focus is on environmental justice situation in energy-related issues, it is necessary to mention how the framework of environmental justice is represented in the energy issues. Therefore, in this section of the research, a number of EJ-Energy related examples of EJ being presented and the ways that EJ is issued and took place in energy related issues is cited along with the examples of different studies.

Because of the focus of the research, it is necessary to present different cases separately with their own specific qualities. Although presented cases are coming from different geographies, culture, time-scales, they have a commonality by being energy related EJ cases which point EJ principles. These commonalities and specifics of the cases are briefed in the Tables 2.2-3-4-5-6-7-8-9 by indicating their topics, movement timing, network type and key attributes. Although presented cases are coming from different geographies, culture, time-scales they have a commonality by being energy-related EJ cases which point EJ principles. The following part briefly describes each case, and indicates their major attributes in relation with this thesis' research.

*CASE 1: Environmental Justice and Energy Politics Between US- Mexico Border (David Carruthers, 2008)*

David Carruthers (2008) employs lessons from two different energy issues about LNG, Liquid Natural Gas, terminal and other one is about thermoelectric power plant) in Baja California region in Mexican side. He puts forward three kinds of environmental justice attributes; participatory, distributional and procedural justice. This case is about the construction of LNG facility to meet the US energy demand in Baja California region in Mexican side. He puts forward the idea that Mexican region has to chosen to construct an energy facility because of the existence of limited political space of resistance in the region (participatory justice). In order to serve for the US energy need, Mexican side carries environmental damages and pays for disproportionate human and environmental cost, however, benefits go to the other side (distributional justice). Also because of the lack of access to information of Mexican local organizations, political institutions are not responsive and effective to respond mobilizations for perceived threats.

**Table 2.2:** Environmental Justice and Energy Policy Between US-Mexico Border, David Carruthers

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CASE 1: Environmental Justice and Energy Policy Between US-Mexico Border, David Carruthers

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| SUBJECT AND PLACE  | TRIGGER ANY PROTEST? - NETWORK TYPE OF THE PROTEST   |
|--|--|
| <p><b>-US-Mexico Border, Baja California Region</b></p> <p><b>- Construction of Thermoelectric power plants and LNG pipelines in Northern Baja California region to meet US energy demand.</b></p>   | <p><b>-YES:</b> During the planning and development stages of the project, environmental groups on both sides raised alarm for adverse impacts on water and air quality.</p> <p><b>-NETWROK TYPE:</b> Local networks and national struggles.</p> |
| <p>KEY ATTRIBUTES</p> <p>Distributional Justice:</p> <p><b>-Paying disproportionate human and environmental rights.</b></p> <p><b>-Limited political space for resistance.</b></p> <p><b>-Paying disproportionate environmental damages</b></p> <p><b>-Lack of access to information.</b></p> <p>Procedural justice:</p> <p><b>-Non-responsive political institutions.</b></p> |  |

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*CASE 2: Environmental Justice and Gold-mining Project in Ghana (Pei Man Jessica Wan, 2014)*

Another example is a large- scale gold-mining project in Ghana through a study of three affected communities by gold-mining activities. Wan (2013) analyzes environmental and social impacts of gold-mining activities of AngloGold Ashanti (AGA) and its operations near Obuasi neighborhood. Depending on her interviews with three affected communities; Kokotenta, Dokiyawa, Nhyiaeso, she reports that even if there are local mining advocacy groups, NGOs presenting the concerns of people, nothing remains for local people at the end. Because of mining activities, communities lose their farmlands and they are not informed about company's intentions (Wan, 2013).

Those communities are worrying about the loss of their farmlands, bulldozing of community farms without the knowledge of local people, loss of biodiversity, decrease of water and air quality and most importantly, deprivation of the source of their livelihood (river). Here, deprivation of an environmental good refers to distributional injustice. In addition to this, there is dissatisfaction with formal and informal routes of complaints, because complaints about these activities get no response from state officials and company. This situation refers to procedural justice aspect of environmental justice (Wan, 2013). According to her interviewees, there is no alternative employment out of fishing and cocoa nurseries, they cannot feed themselves out of river, this is the only job they do (Wan, 2013). Consequently, losing the farmlands (as a way of rural communities' lives) to mining operations refers to misrecognition of dependence on agriculture devaluation of certain social and cultural values (Wan, 2013).

**Table 2.3: EJ and Injustices of large scale gold-mining in Ghana: a study of three mining communities near Obuasi, Pei Man Jessica Wan**

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CASE 2: EJ and Injustices of large scale gold-mining in Ghana: a study of three mining communities near Obuasi, Pei Man Jessica Wan

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| SUBJECT AND PLACE  | TRIGGER ANY PROTEST? - NETWORK TYPE OF THE PROTEST   |
|--|--|
| <p>- Ghana near Obuasi. Gold mining activities of AngloGold Ashanti(AGAs) company<br/>-Mining operations near Obuasi where three affected communities live</p>   | <p>-YES:Local mining advocacy groups both during and at the end of the mining process.<br/>-NETWROKTYPE:Local Networks and Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs)</p> |
| KEY ATTRIBUTES   |  |
| <p>-Loss of biodiversity-Ecological destruction<br/>-Decrease in air and water quality.<br/>-Deprivation of the source of livelihood<br/>-Bulldozing of community lands without knowledge of local people.<br/>Distributinal justice:<br/>-Unequal distribution of air pollutions.</p> |  |

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*CASE 3: Environmental Justice and Energy Transitions (Gwen Ottinger, 2013)*

At first glance, it seems that full attachment of environmental justice in energy politics can be achieved by ‘green, renewable’ energy policies. However, even for renewable energy projects, it is possible to undermine the progress towards EJ. For example, by drawing upon renewable energy transitions; especially wind energy facilities, Ottinger (2013) claims that thinking on a community scale can make the development of new energy facilities more compatible with environmental justice. EJ attributes may refer to the creation of knowledge gaps (procedural justice), official disregard of local knowledge of environmental hazards (procedural justice). (Ottinger, 2013; p. 226). He also proposes that renewable energy technologies can be compatible with EJ if they designed to promote equal distribution of environmental goods (distributinal justice) and facilitates decision-making and regulations.

**Table 2.4: The Winds of Change: EJ in Energy Transitions,  
Gwen Ottinger**

CASE 3: The Winds of Change: EJ in Energy Transitions, Gwen Ottinger

| SUBJECT AND PLACE  | TRIGGER ANY PROTEST? /NETWORK<br>TYPE OF THE PROTEST |
|--|--|
| <p>-USA<br/>-Focusing on wind power as the fastest<br/>growing form of energy</p>  | <p>-NO: Renewable Energy Policy<br/>Examination</p>  |
| <p>KEY ATTRIBUTES<br/>-Creation of knowledge gaps<br/>Need for thinking on a community scale<br/>Disregard of the local knowledge of environmental hazards</p> |  |

*CASE 4: Environmental Justice Dimensions in anti-gold mining movements in Latin America (Leire Urkidi, Mariana Walter, 2011)*

Urkidi and Walter (2011) studied for environmental justice movements in Esquel, in Patagonia Argentina and Pascua-Lama, Chilean border with Argentina. They focus on anti-gold mining movements in these two different regions. They point to the relevance of different dimensions of environmental justice with procedural and distributive justice in those movements. Those EJ details are consisting of protests against foreign investment policies and natural resource privatization as harmful for public. According to Urkidi and Walter (2011), local people have doubts about quality and reliability of the information presented and limited space for political participation (procedural justice), in which two different dimensions of EJ is presented. Another presentation of procedural justice is the fact that local people have also protested against the destruction of traditional economic activities (agricultural activities as their social and cultural traditions) that represents the exclusion of people's livelihood and identity. They found that people also have struggled for distributive justice within the claims of unequal distribution of

economic goods and bads in which while, local people suffer the socio environmental impacts, extraction company would benefit paying financially little to national treasury (distributional justice).

**Table 2.5:** Three Dimensions of Environmental Justice in Anti-Gold mining movements in Latin America, Leire Urkidi, Mariana Walter

CASE 4: Three Dimensions of Environmental Justice in Anti-Gold mining movements in Latin America, Leire Urkidi, Mariana Walter

| SUBJECT AND PLACE   | TRIGGER ANY PROTEST? - NETWORK TYPE OF THE PROTEST   |
|---|--|
| <p>- Resource Extraction Conflicts between Canadian gold-mining company Barrick and people in two different regions in Argentina: in Esquel and Pascua-Lama</p> | <p>-YES: Focusing on local ,national conflicts and conduction of legal cases<br/>                     -NETWROK TYPE: Local, supra-local, national and international networks</p> |

KEY ATTRIBUTES

- Exclusion of local values and interests, Distributive Justice:
- Unequal distribution of economic goods and bads.
- Procedural Justice:-Doubts about the quality and reliability of the information presented,-Poor space for political participation.
- Transparent public participation
- Neglecting the right to participate and decision- making.

*CASE 5: Environmental Justice and Coal Mining in Czech Republic (Bohumil Frantal and Eva Novakova, 2014)*

Frantal and Novakova 's (2014) study for coal mining in Czech Republic also sheds a light on the absence of environmental justice when it comes to an energy issue. The hypothesis of their study is the “areas affected by coal mining and coal combustion are characterized by worse environmental conditions and lower socio economic potential and higher concentration of ethnical minorities and/or socially deprived population” (Frantal and Novakova, 2014, p. 60). Share of negative impacts by the populations who live in nearby coal mining facilities means unjust distribution while benefits go to shareholders-distributional justice). At the end, they suggest that economic profits from coal should be more fairly distributed and the residents of affected communities should have the last word in decision-making process about the future of coal energy policy (Frantal and Novakova, 2014).

**Table 2.6:** A Curse of Coal? Exploring Unintended Regional Consequences of Coal Energy in the Czech Republic, Bohumil Frantal, Eva Novakova

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CASE 5: A Curse of Coal? Exploring Unintended Regional Consequences of Coal Energy in the Czech Republic, Bohumil Frantal, Eva Novakova

| SUBJECT AND PLACE  | TRIGGER ANY PROTEST? -<br>NETWORK TYPE OF THE PROTEST                |
|--|--|
| <b>-Czech Republic, North Bohemian Basin</b>                                   | <b>-NO:</b> Policy examination, examination of habitants' priorities |
| KEY ATTRIBUTES   |  |
| <b>- Socially uneven distribution of mining benefits.</b>                      |  |
| Distributive justice:  |  |
| <b>-Having the burden of negative impacts</b>                                  |  |
| <b>-Being deprived of economic benefits</b>                                    |  |
| Procedural Justice   |  |
| <b>-Need for participation of residents about the future of energy policy.</b> |  |

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*CASE 6: Environmental Justice and Sustainable Energy Vision in Canada (Cherly Teelucksingh and Blake Poland, 2011)*

Incorporation of marginalized communities into the energy vision of a country has been illustrated with another example from Toronto. In response to green capitalism<sup>5</sup> and neo-liberal policies in Toronto, Canada Teelucksingh, (2011) argues that strategies to improve the sustainable energy policy must also include the mechanisms to address the issues of social inequalities and conflicts. Environmental justice can be an alternative to green capitalism to have sustainable energy in Toronto, Canada since it opens up the nature of environmental and social inequalities result from neo-liberal policy regimes, and market derived privatization (Teelucksingh and Poland, 2011). For the case of Toronto, they offer a systematic solution to use the environmental justice in order to solve energy-related problems and acquire sustainable energy vision. This includes construction of broad-based networks, having greater focus on community benefits rather than making communities especially immigrants and poor people being alienated and exclusionary (recognition and justice).

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<sup>5</sup> “Green capitalism reflects the ‘win-win scenario where environmental solutions are rendered compatible with a pro-growth, urban development orientation’” Teelucksingh and Poland (2011; p.186)



**Table 2.7:** Energy Solutions, Neo-Liberalism, and Social Diversity in Toronto, Canada, Cherly Teelucksingh Blake Poland

CASE 6: Energy Solutions, Neo-Liberalism, and Social Diversity in Toronto, Canada, Cherly Teelucksingh Blake Poland

| SUBJECT AND PLACE   | TRIGGER ANY PROTEST? - NETWORK TYPE OF THE PROTEST                             |
|---|--|
| -Toronto, CANADA  | -NO: Sustainable energy policy examination                                     |
| -Sustainable Energy Vision of Toronto, green capitalism and environmental justice |  |
|   | KEY ATTRIBUTES   |
|   | Procedural Justice   |
|   | - Incorporation of marginalized communities into energy vision of the country. |

*CASE 7: Environmental Justice and Energy Politics case: Electric Transmission line in the US (Laura Keir, Richard Watts and Shoshanah Inwood, 2014)*

In addition to determination of environmental sitting and risk, understanding citizen opposition can be a matter of environmental justice in energy politics, too. For example, Keir, Watts and Inwood (2014) examine an energy transmission line in USA. The aim of their study is to illustrate the importance of decision-making process to understand citizen opposition to a proposed energy infrastructure plan. Drawing from procedural justice framework they found that while developers claim that citizens' opposition represents the idea of NIMBY (not in my backyard), unequivocally, the question becomes that whether it is an opposition of self-interested citizens concerned about impacts on their values, personal health and property values.

**Table 2.8:** Environmental Justice and Citizen Perceptions of a Proposed Electric Transmission Line, Laura Keir, Richard Watts, Shoshanah Inwood

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CASE 7: Environmental Justice and Citizen Perceptions of a Proposed Electric Transmission Line,  
Laura Keir, Richard Watts, Shoshanah Inwood

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| SUBJECT AND PLACE   | TRIGGER ANY PROTEST? -<br>NETWORK TYPE OF THE PROTEST   |
|---|---|
| <p><b>-USA</b><br/> <b>- The Northern Pass High Voltage Transmission line (HTVL) in New England: Conflict about the siting of electricity transmission lines</b></p>  | <p><b>-YES:</b> Focusing on local protests and legal cases conducted by communities<br/> <b>-NETWORK TYPE:</b> Both local and national networks</p> |
| <p>KEY ATTRIBUTES</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Procedural Justice</li> <li><b>-Fair decision-making process</b></li> <li><b>-Community engagement</b></li> <li><b>-Recognition of involvement and opposition</b></li> </ul> |   |

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*CASE 8: Environmental Justice and Dam Project between six sovereign States (Dani J. Barrington, Stephen Dobbs, and Daniel I. Loden, 2012)*

Environmental justice framework for energy policies does not have to be within nations. Its implications can also be demonstrated between nation's policies. Barrington, Dobbs and Loden's (2012) study for hydro-power projects on Mekong River which flows through six sovereign states China, Myanmar, Cambodia, Thailand, Laos, and India, neatly displays the relationship of dam construction and EJ. It is governments' policies along Mekong River assuming that dams are necessary for economic growth; it is in their national interest. It has been mentioned that policy alterations are ignoring the rights of local, traditionally underrepresented communities around the rivers region (recognition and justice). As a solution, local communities and engineers should be active in ensuring that not only higher

technical standards in the dam projects are met. They also should be aware of meeting the higher standards in social, environmental impact assessments and public consultation (Barrington, Dobbs and Loden, 2012; p. 34).

**Table 2.9:** Social and Environmental Justice for Communities of the Mekong River, Dani J. Barrington, Stephen Dobbs and Daniel I.Loden

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CASE 8: Social and Environmental Justice for Communities of the Mekong River, Dani J. Barrington, Stephen Dobbs and Daniel I.Loden

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| SUBJECT AND PLACE  | TRIGGER ANY PROTEST?  |
|--|---|
| <p style="text-align: center;">- <b>China, Myanmar, Cambodia, Thailand, Laos and India</b></p> <p style="text-align: center;">- <b>Policy alterations and its effect on local communities around the region</b></p>            | <p style="text-align: center;">-</p> <p style="text-align: center;"><b>NETWORK TYPE OF THE PROTEST</b></p> <p style="text-align: center;">-<b>NO:</b> Policy process and implications</p> |
| <p>KEY ATTRIBUTES</p> <p>Environmental Justice and Human Rights Issues</p> <p>-<b>The rights of traditionally underrepresented communities.</b></p> <p>-<b>Need for local communities’ involvement in decision-making.</b></p> |   |

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In this study, there is an environmental justice assumption in Turkey as geography and on the subject of HEPP as an energy politics issue and environmental movement. Therefore, the next section will focus on the brief history of environmental movements in Turkey that paves the way for environmental justice claims in HEPP movements.

### 2.3 Brief for Environmental Movements in Turkey

As in the rest of the world, in 1970’s, social awareness about the environment and environmental movements has emerged in Turkey (Mazlum, 2011). Mazlum (2011) classifies the evolution of environmentalism in Turkey within four phases as; Environmental Awakening Period (pre-1980), Ecological Movements Period (1980-the mid 1990s), Institutionalism of Environmentalism (the second half of the 1990’s),

and Loc(glob)alization<sup>6</sup> Period (2000s) (p.233). Table 2.10 indicates the periods of the evolution of environmental activism in Turkey.

**Table 2.10:** The Periods of Environmental Activism in Turkey by Mazlum (2011)

| Environmental Awakening Period (pre-1980)   | Ecological Movements Period (1980-the mid 1990s)   | Institutionalism of Environmentalism (the second half of the 1990's)   | Loc(glob)alization Period (2000s)   |
|---|--|--|---|
| -Local environmental movements emerging<br>-State started to interest in environmental issues | -Transition to free market economy<br>-Emerging environmental movements related to energy and tourism investments of the state | -Participate in decision-making process<br>-Involvement of environmental platforms and Greenpeace in environmental movements | -Reflection of neoliberal economic activities in mining, energy and agriculture fields<br>-Rising local environmental protests against threats on sources of livelihood and living areas<br>-Rise of HEPP movements |

In Environmental Awakening period, there were local environmental movements emerging and it was the period when the state started to concern with environmental issues. Towards the end of 1970s, it is observed that the effects of the problems of industrialization and urbanization become widespread and different social groups were organized around environmental protests (Baykan, 2013). Paker (2013) states that the beginning of environmentalism in Turkey has taken the foreground for the nature awareness and enriching the environment. Ecological Movements Period is the period of the transition to the free market economy, which envisaged growth based implementations on exports in Turkey during the 1980s. Growth-based policies and implementations have increased the pressure of economic activities on the natural environment, which has triggered environmental resistance movements. This period was also home to neoliberal-turn in Turkey, which created more open society setting the stage for the rise of environmental activism (Adaman and Arsel, 2010). The decisive feature of this period is deepening of ecological destruction with

<sup>6</sup> In Turkish, the author uses this term as Yer(küres)elleşme (Mazlum, 2011, p.233).

the adoption of developmentalist-liberal policies that gives priority to large-scale infrastructure, energy and tourism investments. Therefore, the struggles against those destructive processes have started to be seen with the participation of the local actors in to the process (Baykan, 2013). As the reflection of opening up capital flows and foreign direct investments had severely impacts on nature (Adaman and Arsel, 2010), environmental movements (e.g. Gökova thermo electric power plant protests, protests against thermo power plant in Aliğa) started to emerge against the energy and tourism investments (as having negative impacts of ecological balance and society's source of livelihood) of the state and expanded from local to a national level (Adaman and Arsel, 2010, p. 233).

In Institutionalization Period (the second half of the 1990's), access to public decision-making processes in environmental movements increased and there were two movements in terms of institutionalization of the environmental movements; Akkuyu Nuclear protests and famous Bergama Movement against gold mining activities in Bergama, İzmir. Particularly, Bergama movement is counted as one of the most influential environmental movement in Turkey's environmental movement history. Bergama movement has obtained considerable public support form local representatives of political parties, environmental organizations, international environmental networks (Mazlum, 2011). Following this period, as ecological degradation has raised enough and public concern about environmental issues in Turkey have gained significant support; environmental issues became an important part of the political agenda (Paker et.al, 2013). As a result, it can be said that during this period, environmentalism has institutionalized with the participation of national environmental organizations and international environmental networks (Paker, 2013). In the Loc (glob)alization Period (2000s) of environmentalism in Turkey, environmental movements have increased and become "deeper in local and global level" (Mazlum, 2011, p. 236). In this period, nuclear power plant projects, increasing mining activities and the rise of hydropower plant investments where the reaction against environmental problems increased has deepened the environmental movements in Turkey both locally and nationally (Duru, 2013). In this period, movements against nuclear plants in the Black Sea and HEPP movements in Black Sea and Meditteranean, movements against mining projects in Artvin, Cerattepe, Kaz

Mountains and movements against urban transformation projects such as Gezi Park resistance have started to be seen in environmental activism in Turkey.

With the development of the energy, mining and agriculture sector, the deepening and increase in environmental movements has become to a large extent related to energy sector developments (Knudsen, 2016). Cerattepe mining protests can be one of the most recent and visible example of 2000s environmental activism in Turkey. Those protests have been one of the most influential protests in environmental movement history of Turkey. People from different regions around the country gathered to oppose top-down government implementation that would lead to environmental and social life deterioration in the region. In this period, emergence and rise of HEPP movements also started to take place among the increasing local environmental movements (Mazlum, 2011, p. 236). Movements against the construction of HEPPs which become quite visible in the media and public arena have also started to be frequently in this period. For example, HEPP protests in Fındıklı, Rize, protests against HEPP projects in Alakır Valley Antalya, the protests which the right to life was defended against HEPP projects in Fırtına Valley, Rize, protests against the HEPP projects to be established in Dersim, Tunceli, and the movements against the HEPP project that creates concerns for the loss of livelihood sources in Yuvarlakçay are only a few examples of the environmental activism in Turkey happened in this period (Hamsici, 2012). The potential threats on living areas and opposition to government's growth oriented neoliberal impositions played important role.

It should be noted that environmental protests in Turkey have been happening at the local level in which mostly local people, rural poor and environmentalists voice their environmental and social concerns. This is to say, local environmental protests take place as a reaction to the deterioration of the environment and livelihood of people (Baykan, 2013; Duru, 2013). Protests against construction of large scale and small-scale hydropower plants, mining projects and construction of nuclear power plants are under those local environmental movements categorization. However, those protests are sometimes called as showing "not in my backyard" (NIMBY) attitude in which protesters are only against the construction of the projects in the region they

live (Duru, 2013). Duru (2013) notes this attitude of protesters as relevant for HEPP movements where local people do not have any problem with any energy type; but they have problem if the project is planned to be constructed in their neighborhood (p. 7).

In 2000's, HEPP movements as the part of strong environmental activism in Anatolia, have become one of the most visible and intensified reflections of the evolution of environmentalism in Turkey. The unrest about the construction of hydropower plants in Turkey is dating back to early 2000's when Turkish Electricity Market Law No.4628 was implemented as a part of the neoliberalisation of the energy market (Url-6). More precisely, The Electricity Market Law allowed private companies to lease the water of the rivers of Turkey for forty-nine years to private companies for the production of electricity (Islar, 2012). Hydropower is thought as should be used to produce electricity due to Turkey's dependence on external energy sources. In addition, the emphasis on the rise of the use of hydropower was also a European Union ideal of the country in which government has initiated a reform package to produce electricity from renewable energy (Islar, 2012).

The neoliberal- marketization process of water through opening up the ways for the construction of HEPPs for private companies has created environmental and social concerns among society. In fact, it is mostly argued that neoliberal developmental policies, implementations and investments are responsible for the deterioration of environment in many parts of Turkey (Özen, 2009; Baykan, 2013). In other words, the source of the environmental problems and rising environmental activism is seen as "the growth at all cost approach" (Url-7). This is the tradition of a top-down decision-making to benefit energy sources and at the end to achieve economic growth (Url-7). One of the most important indicators of neo-liberal developmental mindset in the energy field has been the almost 2000 HEPP projects and growing social reaction against it (Türkyılmaz, 2015).

The main issue with HEPP investments and protests can be expressed as the change in the water management system mentioned above. Following the developments on water management, it is argued that opening of water sources to market economy

leads to social, cultural, economic impacts and further deepens the already existing inequalities (Şen and Şen, 2016). The rising concerns about the construction of HEPPs mostly come from the local people who were directly affected by construction processes. In the local environmental movements against HEPPs, there has been an opposition language created in terms of neoliberal implementations' effects on livelihood opportunities and neglect of the water rights (Erensu and Özlüer, 2013). On the other hand, according to United Nations Committee on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (2011), considering hydropower implementations; dams and HEPP projects implemented in past and currently under construction create human right violations including the violation of access to water and health, lead to losing livelihoods and very inadequate participation in Turkey (Url-10). According to Hamsici (2012), people who are referred to their views on HEPPs often express their fear of being deprived of their source of livelihood.

Movements against HEPPs brought together many Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs) and local environmental platforms from different regions of Turkey; such as Derelerin Kardeşliği Platformu (The Brotherhood of Rivers Platform), Karadeniz İsyandadır Platformu (The Blacksea Rebels), Munzur Koruma Platformu (Munzur Protection Platform), Su Platformu (Water Platform), Türkiye Su Meclisi (Turkish Water Assembly), Hasankeyf Yaşatma Girişimi Platformu (Hasankeyf Sustaining Initiative Platform) (Hamsici , 2012). These platforms have opposed to construction of HEPP and dam projects in Rize, Artvin, Tunceli, Trabzon, Ordu, Giresun, and in other parts of the country. When the explanations of platforms that actively act in HEPP movements are examined, discourses based on infringement of rights and livelihoods are frequently encountered. For example, according to The Black Sea Rebel Platform, because of the HEPPs, the ecological balance in the valley is deteriorated, the living spaces of all living things are threatened, and basic livelihoods, especially agricultural activities, are in danger (Url-15). Dating back to early 2000s, in protests against HEPP projects in Yuvarlakçay Köyceğiz, according to Yuvarlakçay Protection Platform, HEPPs to be built in the region would destroy the cultural values, violate the water rights, damage the biodiversity and would negatively affect the living areas of living places. Another example is according to Hamsici (2012), The Brotherhood of the Rivers Platform, especially in 2010 when



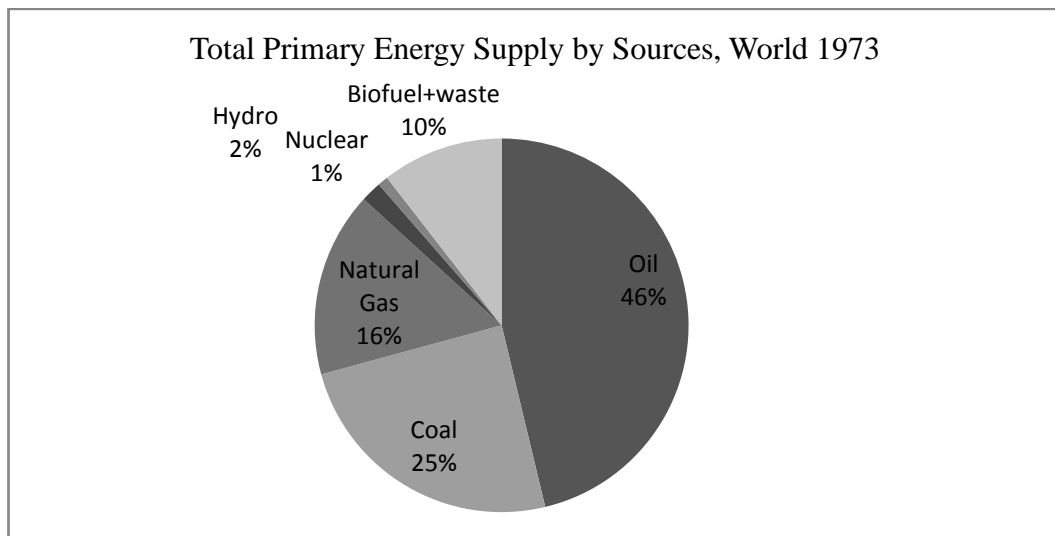
investments and protests have risen up, have mostly stated that during construction and planning process of HEPPs in the Black Sea region environmentally negative effects (destruction of biodiversity) and destruction of agricultural lands and loss of sources of livelihoods are disregarded. Environmental organizations, local platforms and local people involved in HEPP movements take into account not only environmental; but also social worries. Social concerns arising from environmental concerns in Turkey have reflected on environmental activism in recent years, especially in the increasing HEPP movements. For example, according to Erensu (2011), environmental organizations, platforms and people actively involved in anti-HEPP activities especially in the Black Sea region emphasize social equity, social justice and democratic rights issues. According to Erensu (2011), the anti-HEPP movements that emerged as a consequence of the government's understanding of renewable energy have turned into an environmental-social justice movement in Turkey. Hence, the concerns of anti-HEPP movements that emerged in 2000s represent a significant discursive curve in environmental activism in Turkey.

#### **2.4 Turkey's Energy Policy: Rise of the Emphasis on to be Independent in Energy Resources between 2002-2016**

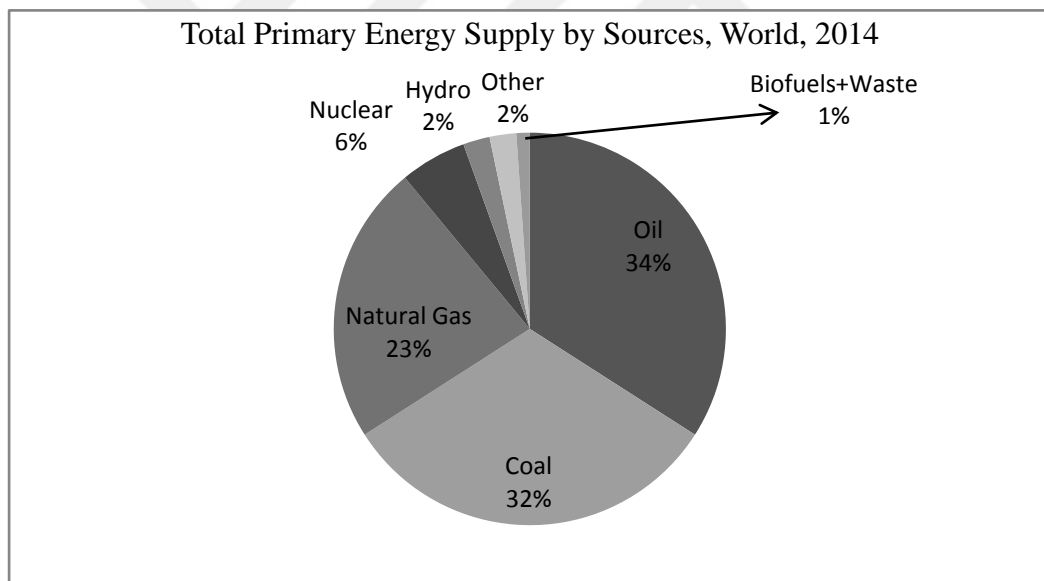
In order to understand the HEPP protests, it is necessary to look closely at the energy policy practices of Turkey that had more straightforward results in terms of environmental and social life. In this section, main motivations for Turkey's energy policy will be introduced briefly and hydropower politics for 2002-2016 years is depicted within the framework of energy politics and HEPP struggles. However, in order to make Turkey's energy policy outlook more grounded, it is needed to draw the picture of energy politics that the world has been experiencing within last 20-30 years. Turkey's energy policy is influenced by the world energy politics trend, an orientation to world politics is necessary to understand how energy politics process have evolved and implemented over time.

Energy is the key player in wealth and development, in terms of every aspects of life it is an inevitable indicator of social and economic development. Since energy is one of the most important inputs of economic development, it goes back to industrial

revolution when there was a rapid growth in the forms of energy supplied and consumed. To give a periodical scheme, with the beginning of the ninetieth century, coal had dominated the energy supply, in twentieth century; oil especially for transportation, use has started to dominate energy supply and consumption. In addition, in the second half of the last century, we see a range of new sources from natural gas to nuclear and new developments in renewable (Keay, 2007). But according to International Energy Agency (IEA) 2016 data, among the range of new sources, natural gas has got the priority at supply and consumption scale from 1973 to 2014 which shows that there are no major changes within years. Even though fossil fuels are known as not environmentally friendly and somehow have negative impacts on people's livelihood, they still have the highest share of energy consumption among other sources (Pamir, 2015). As Figure 2.1 shows, from 1973 to 2014, total primary energy supply rates of fossil fuels (coal and natural gas) except oil have increased. In 1973, supply rate of oil was forty six percent, in 2014 that ratio has down to thirty-one percent. In 1973, rate of coal supply was thirty-four percent, while it became twenty-eight percent in 2014. Natural gas has also risen from sixteen percent to twenty-one. Yet, in addition to changing rates of fossil fuels, share of renewable sources does not indicate any major shifts. In 1973, share of hydropower in total primary energy supply was two percent and in 2014, with the addition of other sources it became still four percent. Likewise, share of renewable in total primary energy consumption was two percent in 1973, in 2014; it became three percent with only one percent increase between 41 years.



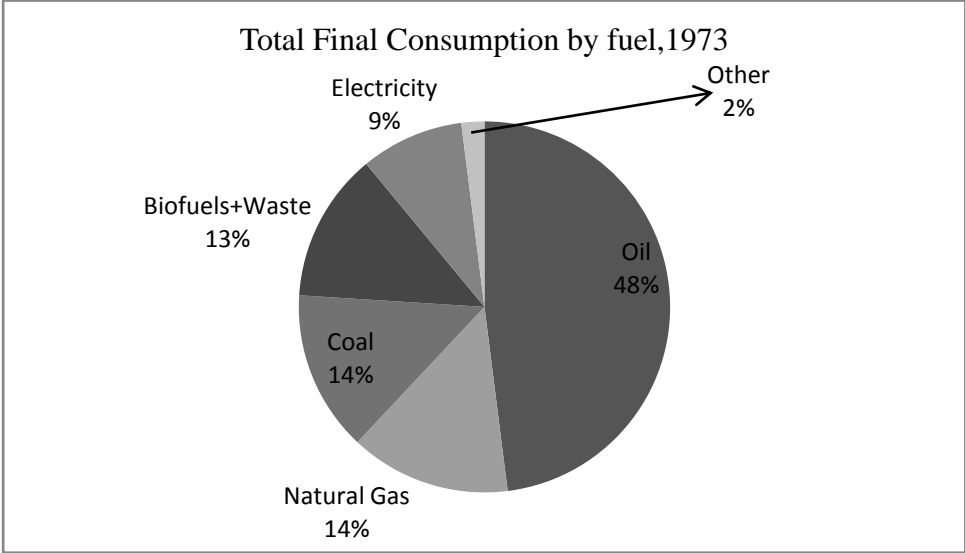
**Figure 2.1:** World Total Primary Energy Supply by Fuel, 1973  
Source: IEA Key World Energy Statistics, 2016



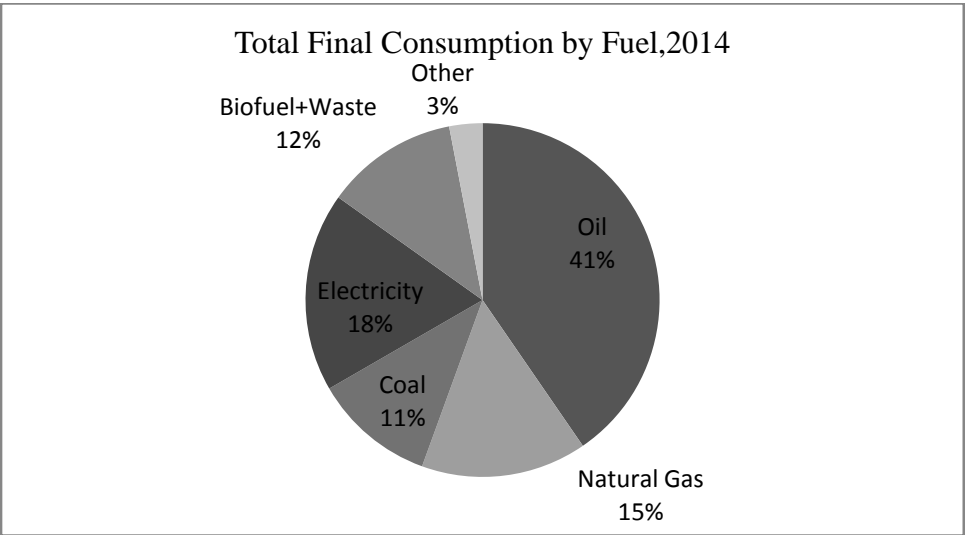
**Figure 2.2:** Total Primary Energy Supply by Sources, World, 2014  
Source: IEA, Key World Energy Statistics 2016, p.28

In line with world total energy supply, total energy consumption rates have also changed from 1973 to 2014. As Figure 2.2 indicates, even though consumption rates of oil and coal have decreased in 2014, they still have the highest share of consumed energy. In 1973, total final consumption of oil was forty eight percent, but in 2014, this ratio has down to forty percent. Even though coal and natural gas consumption

rate was fourteen percent in 1973, by 2014, natural gas consumption rate became fifteen percent while coal has down to twelve percent.



**Figure 2.3:** World Total Final Consumption by Fuel, 1973  
Source: IEA, Key World Energy Statistics 2016, p.28



**Figure 2.4:** World Total Final Consumption by Fuel, 2014  
Source: IEA, Key World Energy Statistics 2016, p.6

To recap these data, in Figure 2.3 and in Figure 2.4, although the use of renewable energy sources has been emphasized globally in 21<sup>st</sup> century, according to world total primary energy supply rates, instead of renewable sources, fossil fuels are still dominating supply and consumption. In addition to those rates of supplied and consumed energy sources, according to World Energy Outlook New Policies Scenario 2015, world energy demand will grow by thirty-seven percent by 2040 (Pamir, 2015). This expected increase in energy demand, unavoidably, echoes an expectation that whether it may be possible to meet this growing demand by using clean, renewable energy sources (Bilgin, 2011) while dealing with environmental-social worries resulted from growing demand and consumption. With the development of technical expertise on energy issues, it is clearly demonstrated that the world is facing with environmental challenges and in an effort to combat climate change, energy security<sup>7</sup> of fossil fuels, environmental loss and damage, access to water, food, and human rights etc.

Those challenges have raised awareness of the use of fossil fuels' impacts on the environment and people's lives. Along with this awareness, renewable energy investments and international agreements are done to achieve transformational changes on the use of new energy sources (e.g. 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development, Paris Climate Change Agreement, 2015). They open up a pathway not only for the use of renewable energy sources but also about the priorities of global energy policies. For example, according to FOE (Friends of the Earth), An Energy Revolution is Possible Report (2015), the priorities of global energy policies must be energy access for all human as a basic human right, no energy sources should lead to abuse of the rights of local communities with a result of toxic waste. Decisions about the production and the use of energy should be democratic, participative and open; respect the rights of communities to define their energy need and all affected communities should be given sufficient power to influence decisions (FOE, 2015). The level of renewable investments is changing by region and country and this pathway of world's energy policies motivates countries to develop new policies in

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<sup>7</sup>The term "energy security" refers to sufficient amount of sources of energy at correct place and time with affordable costs with diverse issues of environmental-socio-economic factors (Bilgin, 2011)

order to meet their energy demand. Turkey is one of those countries attempt to develop energy policy objectives to respond its growing energy demand. Subsequently, by the motivation of world energy policy outlook, in the next section, Turkey's energy politics vision is portrayed in order to have a grounded focus to understand hydropower implementations.

#### **2.4.1 Current state of energy in Turkey: energy production and consumption rates**

Since energy is one of the main indicators of development, it is mostly put together with economic growth. This relationship between energy and economic development is valid and not new for Turkey, too. The idea of economic development has been in the agenda of Turkish state starting from the foundation of The Republic of Turkey, as it is important part of modernization and national security (Özen, 2014). Grasping modernization and economic progress has been the long-standing objective of Turkish policymakers (Akbulut, 2011). Therefore, Turkey's developmentalist-modernization approach dates back to early Republic times by emphasizing that development can be achieved by the industrialization and it constructs the basis of today's Justice and Development Party's developmentalist vision. However, especially since 2002, when Justice and Development Party came into power, "energy and economic growth" phrase has been emphasized in a more straightforward manner. As the global energy politics is driven by population and industrial development, growing demand in energy calls for an increase in the supply and diversity in energy mix to reduce the dependency on a single source and provide supply security (Url-9). Parallel to the vision of this energy politics trend, Turkey's efforts to deal with those issues became more straightforward in Justice and Development Party period. As adopted energy policies are put into practice, demonstrations against these practices come to the fore. Eventually, in the implementation process of governmental policies, inclusions of different actors become appear but some problems seem to continue.

In order to understand the relationship between JDP government's policy implications and the level of community opposition against energy issues, it is

necessary to see the rates of energy produced and consumed in Turkey up-to date<sup>8</sup>. According to Ministry of Energy and Natural Resources (MENR) data, energy demand in Turkey for 2013 has become equal to 123 toe (tons of oil equivalent) (Pamir, 2015). While in 1990, total energy demand in Turkey was 52, 9 toe, this ratio has risen %127, 39 percent in 2013. In 1990, while the rate of domestic energy in energy production was 25, 6 toe, in 2013 it became 31, 4 toe which means there is %24,78 percent of rising of the share of domestic energy in energy production. In 1990, total energy import of Turkey was 30, 9 toe, while in 2013 it has risen to 96, 29 toe with %211,62 percent increase. More crucially, the ratio of domestic production to meet energy demand was %48 in 1990, however it has become %28,5 in 2013 with %40, 63 decrease. Table 2.11 depicts those rates for Turkey's energy balance between 1990-2013 years.

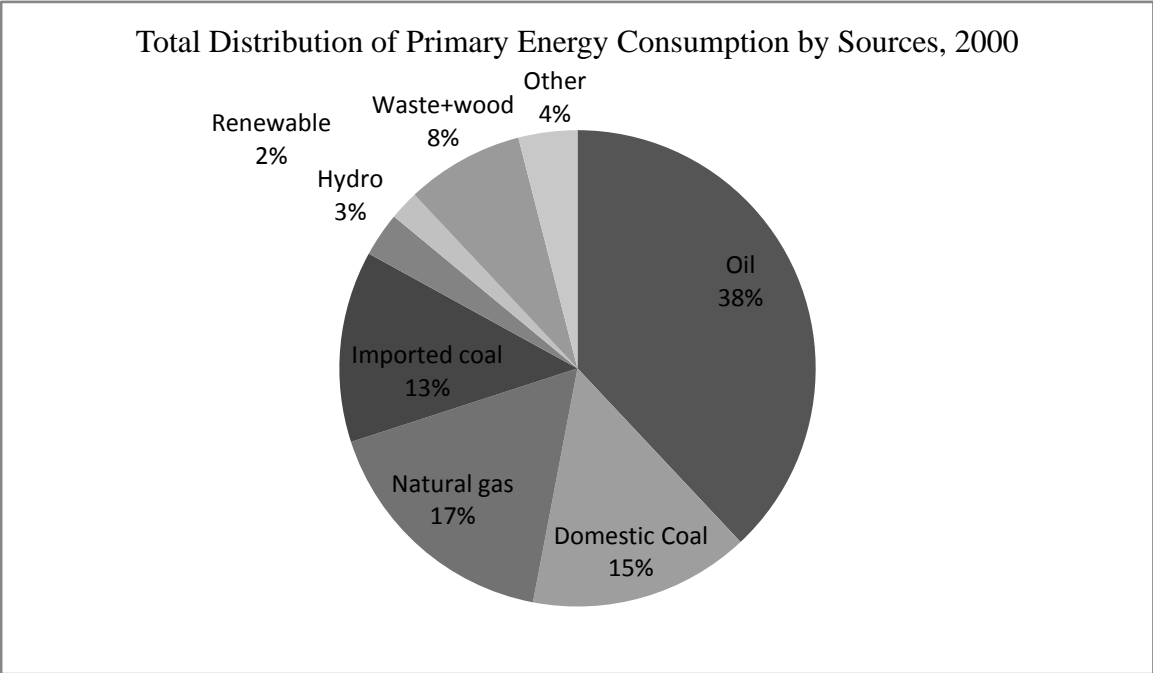
**Table 2.11: Turkey's Energy Balance (1990-2013)**  
Source: MENR, TMMOB Türkiye'nin Enerji Görünümü Raporu, 2015.

| Energy Data   | 1990 | 2013   | Rates of Change |
|---|------|--------|-----------------|
| <b>Total Energy Demand(toe)</b>                                 | 52,9 | 120,29 | %127,39         |
| <b>Total Domestic Production (toe)</b>                          | 25,6 | 31,94  | %24,78          |
| <b>Total Energy Import(toe)</b>                                 | 30,9 | 96,29  | %211,62         |
| <b>The ratio of domestic production for meeting consumption</b> | %48  | %28,5  | %40,63          |

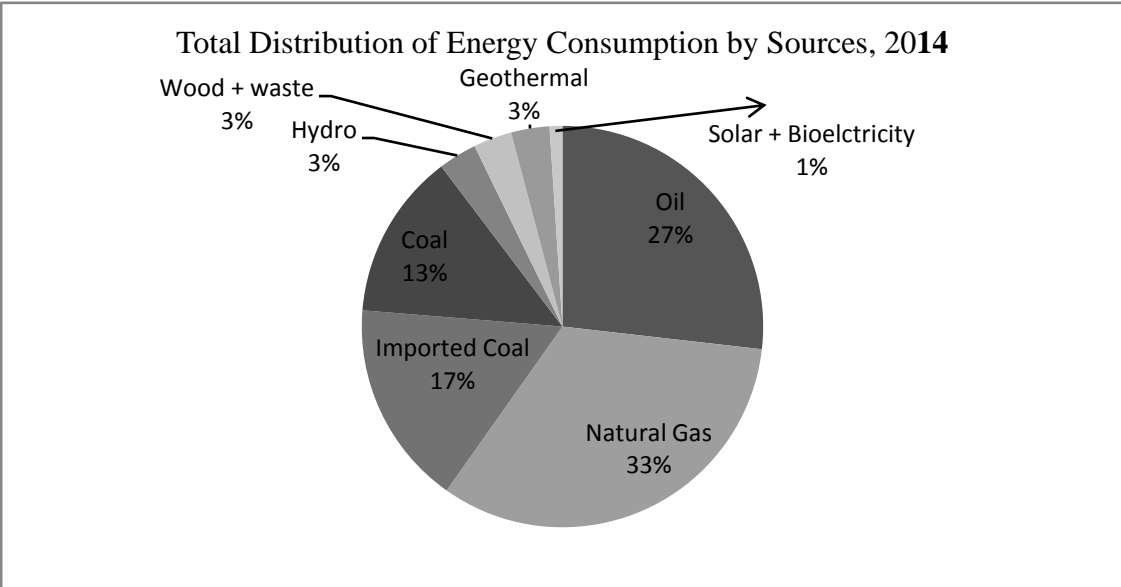
In between 2000- 2014 years, the share of energy sources in consumption rates has changed as well. The most important change is the increasing rates of imported sources of fossil fuels. In 2000, while the rate of imported natural gas to meet energy demand was sixteen percent, in 2014, this ratio has risen to thirty- one percent (in which 98% of natural gas is imported). Oil was the first between imported sources

<sup>8</sup>In this research, energy production-consumption rates are given between 1990-2015 years since it was challenging to reach the data of early years of republic until the end of 1980's.

with thirty seven percent in 2000, however, in 2014 this ratio has down to twenty-seven percent. The rate of domestic coal to meet energy demand was fifteen percent and imported coal rate was thirteen percent. In 2014, while there is a decrease in the share of domestic coal with twelve percent, the rate of imported coal has risen to sixteen.



**Figure 2.5:** Total Distribution of Primary Energy Consumption by Sources, 2000, Source: TMMOB Türkiye’ nin Enerji Görünümü Raporu 2015



**Figure 2.6:** Total Distribution of Primary Energy Consumption by Sources, 2014



Currently, by looking at those rates, Turkey has become a country that is dependent on imported energy sources, more than seventy percent (%73, 5) of its energy consumption is generated by imported sources; with natural gas, oil and coal (Pamir, 2015; Yılmaz, 2007). Because of sharp social and economic development over the last decade, Turkey's energy demand is gradually increasing (Ulutaş, 2005; Toklu, Güney, Işık, Comalı, Kaygusuz, 2010). However, in spite of rapid growth, energy consumption rate shows forty-three percent increase while production remains behind with thirty-four percent (MENR, 2014). Because of the inadequate performance of energy production rates to meet the gradual energy demand, energy import became inevitable for Turkey in order to respond its growing need. It is also expected to increase gradually in the foreseeable vision of governing party's Vision 2023 plan (Melikoglu, 2013). For example, electricity generation is already increasing with seven percent annual average, and consumption rates are increasing between four to ten percent. (SHW, 2012). As a result, the input of energy production- consumption rates and the expected increase, for the last fifteen years of Justice and Development Party government, shows that Turkey's energy policy is shaped by the motivation of being independent on energy sources by decreasing energy imports. In the next section, it is aimed to see the main energy politics between 2002 and 2016 years with the statistical data and further plans.

#### **2.4.2 Turkey's main energy politics for 2002-2016 years and further plans**

Turkey's energy strategy and politics is defined by Ministry of Energy and Natural Resources based on following priorities: Energy supply security, alternative energy sources, energy mix and resource diversity, priority of domestic and renewable sources, sustainability, liberalization of energy markets, and energy efficiency. Within the context of those main strategic assumptions, Turkey's energy strategy and politics is defined in 2016 Budget Presentation: Providing resources diversity by using domestic and renewable sources,

- Increasing the share of renewable sources in total energy supply,
- Increasing energy efficiency,
- Adoption of full liberalization of free market conditions and improve investment opportunities

- Providing resource diversity in the field of oil and natural gas and preventing risks of imports (MENR, 2016).

Along with the utilization of energy, the objective of the Turkey's energy politics is to contribute to economic growth and to maximize the use of national resources to meet growing energy demand. Maximization on the use of national resources is, in fact, not limited to MENR's 2016 Budget Presentation. High rates of external sources and its expected increase alongside with consumption has already mentioned in 8<sup>th</sup> Five Year Development Plan (2000-2005). In 8<sup>th</sup> Five Year Development Plan Chapter Eight, it is mentioned that Turkey's dependence on external resources accounts to sixty two percent (62%) and will increase along with increasing consumption. Similarly, in 58.Government Program between November 2002-March 2003, the priority of the use of domestic sources for energy production is clearly emphasized. In 9<sup>th</sup> Five Year Development Plan (2007-2013), it is cited that along with Turkey's economic growth and population increase, significant increases were observed in primary energy consumption by the increased use of external sources (p. 35). Therefore, in order to respond this increase, benefiting from all energy sources (including nuclear energy) has been prioritized. Use of all energy sources in the most efficient way has opened the way for the use of domestic and renewable sources with the utmost potential. Because in 10<sup>th</sup> Development Plan (2014-2018), it is emphasized that Turkey's import dependency is continuing and electricity energy consumption has increased by nearly six percent (p. 102).

In addition, when dependency rate reached seventy four percent (Pamir, 2015), maximum use of domestic and renewable sources in energy production has become one of the main object and target of Turkey's recent energy policies. To summarize, Turkey's energy policy has evolved to meet a growing economy and population, mitigating rising import dependence and to meet country's energy demand (IEA, 2016). During Justice and Development Party, because of high rates of dependence on imported energy sources and the expected increase in the energy consumption in the future, importance of energy production through domestic natural resources has been implemented to provide cheap energy for production and consumption (Özen,

2014). Nevertheless, energy policy targets and production-consumption rates points to a gap between discourse and practice. That means, even though the use of domestic sources in energy production is strongly emphasized, rates indicate that their use, instead, decreasing in a crucial manner. For the current state and the future plans, in Ministry of Energy and Natural Resources 2009 Energy Supply Security Strategy Paper, until 2023, it is targeted that;

- Whole potential of domestic lignite, coal reserves and hydropower will be used for electricity generation (p.8),
- The share of nuclear energy in electricity generation is planned to be reached at five (5%) percent (p. 9),
- Share of renewable sources for electricity generation is planned to be reached at thirty (30%) percent (p. 9).

In the light of those targets, it is seen that as prior domestic sources, renewable energy, domestic coal and lignite and to some extent nuclear energy are prioritized to decrease the dependence on imported oil and natural gas in order to reach optimum resource diversity (Acar, Kitson and Bridle, 2015). Meanwhile, an ambitious energy policy has been initiated with the significant role of renewable energy (ISPAT, 2013). Additionally, the share of renewable sources in energy mix and resources diversity is both emphasized in politics and future plans. Therefore, for providing supporting mechanisms for renewable energy investments, Turkish government had adopted several targets for electricity generated from renewable sources (ISPAT, 2013). Since 2001, new regulations have been made for the use of renewable sources in more efficient way and for diversification of energy sources. These are Electricity Market Law with No.4628, which aims to ensure a competitive electricity market and privatization of electricity generation, Water Use Right Agreement which allows the forty nine years of leasing of the right to use water to private companies is the most important regulation concerning HEPPs, and The Renewable Energy Law with No. 5346 which strengthens country's decentralized energy sector and provide supportive mechanisms for new investments from private sector (Saygın and Çetin, 2013; Güneş, 2014). Here , it is essential to note that according to Water Use Right Aggrement, the companies have become obliged to have Environmental Impact Assesment Report (EIA), in order to get approval of the projects form the Minsitry of

Environment and Forestry. Those regulations, at the end, have facilitated the participation of private sector into new energy investments, which shows the neoliberalization trend of the market that already started in 1980s.

In recent years, there has been an increase in the discourses built around the use of HEPPs as renewable and domestic energy, especially for the electricity production. According to MENR, HEPPs are the most important renewable sources in Turkey, due to its environmental, economic and strategic advantages (MENR, 2016). Ironically, although HEPPs are seen as the critical sources for Turkey's energy, there are worries about their impacts on social and environmental life, hence, this leads to the demonstrations of environmental groups and local communities opposing HEPPs in Turkey for long years.

On the other hand, there are critical perspectives to the current state of the Turkey's energy politics. Since the Ottoman era, the issues of modernization has been under political dominance (Akbulut and Arsel, 2013). The idea of modernization has transformed from time to time, however, it has been continuing until the present. Since the implementations of energy politics is thought as parallel to "growth at all cost" approach with the idea of modernization, the growth targets have also brought criticisms. One of the most prominent critiques to strict energy policies are that policy implications ignores environmental concerns. In this context, the importance attributed to economic growth and modernization is to bring about environmental costs (Adaman, Akbulut and Arsel, 2016).

The aims of reducing energy dependence while ensuring energy security are seen as part of neoliberal developmental character of the state (Türkyılmaz, 2015). Therefore, basic criticism related to energy policy of Turkey is expressed through the neoliberal developmental state. As Turkey has continued and experienced industrialization and economic growth over fifteen years, portraying the country as in a great energy need has legitimized its developmental projects in the field of energy (Oğuz, 2017). According to Oğuz (2017), the way those developmental projects have been built lead to vulnerabilities among the local populations that they have to defend their right to life. One of the important points is that the phrase that "energy

should be preferred first for development" is based on the idea of "more profit" of capitalism (Hamsici, 2012). It is thought that the expected profit from the investments of the private companies create unequal power relations by excluding the local community while protecting the companies' (Islar, 2012). As a result, the growing modernist understanding has remained within the above mentioned energy policies understanding, but the protection of rights and nature conservation objective have changed (Islar, 2012; Adaman, Akbulut and Arsel, 2016). Moreover, in relation to the modernist and developmentalist understanding, it is emphasized as Turkey's neoliberal implications in the energy policy field are internalized as a form of development, especially for HEPP implications, a local source as water is turned into a profit via those policies (Aksu, 2016).

Another critique to energy policy practices of the country is related to the priority of the use of domestic coal. The use of domestic coal for electricity generation is stated in the 10. Development Plan<sup>9</sup> of the government in order to provide supply security. In this sense, it is stated that "national mining policy", the policy laid down in the context of security supply, domestic energy use and foreseeability, aimed at the use of the full potential of domestic coal is mentioned (Url-24). According to the statement of Ministry of Energy and Natural Resources Berat Albayrak, coal mining policies are going to be strengthened in the following years: "...We will save 300-400 million \$ (three hundred-four hundred million dollars) annually. We will make a serious move with the priority of the use of domestic coal with new technologies (Url-25). However, such a priority is criticized as it is thought that it will lead to more dependence on fossil fuel if Turkey continues to insist on support and incentives for coal (Şahin et.al, 2016). At the same time, it is emphasized that such practices in the energy policy agenda would create problematic issue to cope with climate change, therefore it is thought that sustainable energy policies should be adopted and within energy politics of the country, incentives for coal should be removed (Şahin et. al, 2016). Accordingly, it is stated that there must be radical changes in the energy policy of the country such as improving investments on domestic renewable sources,

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<sup>9</sup> See, Ministry of Development, Domestic Resource Based Energy Generation Program Action Plan (2014-2018), November, 2014.

energy savings, improving grids (Şahin et. al, 2016).

Because of the targets for increasing domestic energy production as part of neoliberal consideration, HEPPs haven been in the agenda of government and public for long years (Uluatam, 2011). The following part briefly describes hydropower development in Turkey between 2002-2016 years.

### **2.4.3 Hydropower development as domestic resource in Turkey**

The aim of the utilization of domestic renewable energy sources such as hydro, wind, solar, geo-thermal, biomass and their incorporation into the economy is seen crucial for providing the resource diversity and in the long-run to decrease country's energy dependence (MENR, 2013). Among other renewable energy resources in Turkey, it has been emphasized that hydropower use in energy supply is going to increase due to country's high potential (Kentel and Alp, 2013). According to State Hydraulic Works, hydropower development policies are implemented due to three major factors: Hydropower energy is needed to deal with climate change, carbon trade, to reduce energy imports and to provide energy supply security (SHW, Environment and Clean Energy). Even though Turkey does not have the obligation to reduce the gas emissions since the Kyoto Protocol (SHW, Environment and Clean Energy), in order to tackle with climate change issues and to improve carbon intensive markets, it has a Carbon Market. According to SHW, via the market's initiative, numerous HEPPs have been constructed and the aim is to increase the awareness of climate issues and partially contribute to reduce carbon emissions (SHW, Environment and Clean Energy). This factor has been updated in COP 21 (21<sup>st</sup> Conference of the Parties) 2015 Paris Climate Conference as Turkey promised to reduce its emissions by twenty one percent over the next fourteen years (INDC<sup>10</sup>, 2015) (Url-8).

Second and perhaps the most important factor for hydropower use is to reduce country's energy dependence. According to SHW statistics, Turkey's energy import constitutes twenty-two percent of country's general import, which creates inevitable

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<sup>10</sup>INDC means Intended Nationally Determined Contribution that is declared by Republic of Turkey in COP 21 Paris Climate Summit in 2015.

negative impacts on society and the environment regarding justice, internal-external security, education and other services (SHW, Environment and Clean Energy).

Due to these factors, it is emphasized that HEPP investments should immediately increase, in order to deal with those burdens on society and the environment. Third factor is the energy supply security. When energy is obtained from imported sources, rising costs of production is also preventing industrial development. Within current seven to ten percent increase in electricity demand, in the future, Turkey will have to improve more energy capacity than current 200 billion kWh electricity capacity. Just as in the rest of the world, in order to have sufficient, reliable, sustainable and economic electricity energy, it has been emphasized that domestic energy sources such as hydropower should be taken into consideration as the alternative energy source (SHW, Environment and Clean Energy). Since 2002, installed capacity of hydropower in Turkey has reached from 12,241 MW to 22,289 MW (Pamir, 2015). This capacity is planned to be reached at 32,000 MW which is equivalent twenty-two to twenty-seven percent of total electricity supply (Melikoglu, 2013). More precisely, hydropower has become the primary renewable energy source in Turkey supplying twenty-five percent of country's electricity by the end of 2015 (IEA, 2016). In addition to current state, share of renewable energy sources in primary energy supply and electricity is expected to increase to thirty percent (MENR, 2009). Overall, it is thought that hydropower would solve a large part of Turkey's energy problem in coming years with 60-80 billion KW contribution (Pamir, 2015). Tabel 2.12 depicts the rates of planned installed power values based on renewable energy sources.

**Table 2.12:** Planned Installed Power values based on renewable energy sources

Source: MENR (2014), National Renewable Energy Action Plan

| <b>Planned Installed Power Values based on Renewable Energy Sources (MW)</b> | <b>Base Year (2013)</b> | <b>2015</b> | <b>2017</b> | <b>2019</b> |
|--|-------------------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|
| <b>Hydraulic</b>   | 22,289                  | 25,000      | 27,700      | 32,000      |
| <b>Wind</b>  | 2,759                   | 5600        | 9,500       | 10,000      |
| <b>Geothermal</b>  | 311                     | 360         | 420         | 700         |
| <b>Solar</b>   | -                       | 300         | 1,800       | 3,000       |
| <b>Biomass</b>   | 237                     | 380         | 540         | 700         |

Even though hydropower investment emphasis of Turkish state is dating back to 1963-1967 First Five Year Development Plan (Uluatam, 2011), in Justice and Development Party period, number of investments and projects have increased in crucial manner. If we look at the number of active HEPPs in 2002, there were 130 HEPPs (World Energy Council, 2002). That means from 1902 when the first HEPP was built (SHW) to 2002, there were only 130 active HEPPs while between 2002-2016, this number has become 467. In 100 years period, this huge gap between the numbers is worthwhile to look at 2002-2016 years in order to understand HEPPs in Turkey. By the end of September 2016, the number of HEPPs in Turkey became 579 (MENR, 2016). But ironically, there are no major changes of the contribution of HEPPs in total electricity generation and at the end in total primary energy supply. In 2002, the share of hydropower in total electricity generation was twenty-six percent, (WEC, 2002), however, by the end of 2015 this rate has become twenty-five percent. As a result, share of hydropower in total energy production has risen from three percent to four percent between 2002-2015 years (WEC, 2002; IEA, 2016) in which one percent increase has observed.



According to SHW 2015 Activity Report, there are 597 HEPP projects in operation, 104 HEPP projects are under construction and there are 717 projects on planning process. In total, 1400 HEPP projects are planned to be completed until 2023. Table 2.4 shows the capacity of hydropower, number of HEPP projects in operation, under construction and planned projects in Turkey. It has been stated that Turkey has 433 billion kWh/year potential of hydropower (Pamir, 2015) and according to Electricity Energy Market and Supply Security Strategy Document, until 2023, and it is planned to be activated the whole potential which can be evaluated technically and economically. Renewable energy rates indicate that, in 2002, the share of renewable energy in primary energy supply was almost thirteen percent and, in 2015, the share of renewable energy in primary energy supply was equivalent twelve percent (IEA, 2016). Rates clearly shows the fact that even though the government emphasizes domestic renewable energy use, from 2002 to 2015 no major changes are observed in the field of domestic energy use and hydropower contribution.

**Table 2.13:** Number of Hydroelectric Power Plants in Turkey (SHW, 2015).<sup>11</sup>

| <b>Current State</b>      | <b>Number of HEPPs in Country-Wide</b> |
|---------------------------|--|
| <b>In operation</b>       | 597                                    |
| <b>Under Construction</b> | 104                                    |
| <b>Planned Projects</b>   | 717                                    |
| <b>Total</b>              | 1400                                   |

<sup>11</sup>Those numbers are taken from State Hydraulic Works 2015 Activity Report. The updated number of current HEPPs in Turkey is given in Ministry of Energy and Natural Resources statistics. However, number of under construction and planned projects are not given in MENR data.

To conclude, even though hydropower is thought that would solve large part of country's energy problem, its contribution in last fifteen years has been four percent. More importantly, if the whole hydropower potential of the country is going to be used, it is estimated that it will rise to five percent in total energy supply. In the construction of HEPPs, as noted above, the observed significant increases and investments represent the neoliberal structure through which energy policy implications have (Adaman, Akbulut and Arsel, 2016). One of the most widespread critiques to HEPP implications of government is that the possible ecological and social destruction is overlooked by emphasizing the contribution of hydropower plants to economic growth and stability (Adaman, Akbulut and Arsel, 2016). According to Adaman, Akbulut ve Arsel (2016), HEPP investments, which have been increasing since the beginning of 2000s are a part of broad consent building operation in which the state embodies the ideal of modernization and development for collective interest and benefit. Hence, 2000s have been a process that "social investmenst are in the forefront while ignoring social costs", and it has been ta process in which HEPP developments are resisted at especially at local points (Adaman, Akbulut and Arsel, 2016).

According to Oğuz (2017), HEPP policies and implications that are the results of neoliberal policies lead to human rights problem in local community. At this point, it is estimated that HEPP implications lead to ignorance local rights, and EIA reports are prepared without interating with the community, resulting ack of participation and exclusion (Oğuz, 2017). According to Amendment to the Law Concerning Electricity production by renewable Energy Sources "natural parks, protected forests, natural monuments, nature and wildlife preservation areas, and special environment protection areas" (Resmi Gazete 2011, 27809) have become open to the construction of HEPPs. Such a move is thought as important to struggle against HEPP constructions. Therefore, according to Oğuz (2017), critiques to hydropower implementations and policy of the state is related to environmentally destructive activities that disregards the rights of locals (p. 31). According to Islar (2012), the construction of HEPPs in Turkey is justified with the discourse of "the prevention of the waste of water sources without the the use of electricity", however, this leads to the lack of recognition that excludes other uses of water (p. 323). Therefore, the

expected profit from the investments of companies and the flow of the river produce unequal power relations and leads to injustice as it leads to the exclusion of local communities, disregard of a particular way of life and redefining the ownership of the river (Islar, 2012). As a result, political implications and investments of HEPPs in Turkey are thought as a matter of recognition in which neglect of rights is visible, and it is thought that an injustice is created in this sense. Oğuz (2016) stated that the HEPP investments as renewable energy investments of the government are legitimized under the name of ecological efficiency. However, it is also stated that the main goal of the state by HEPP investments is to provide rent and make more profit. So the critique to HEPP implications of Turkey is that even small streams have been used to make profits; not for ecological efficiency (Oğuz, 2016). Therefore, it is thought the emphasis on the HEPP use is a cover of the state to create a plundering economy. The rise in the emphasis on the use of hydropower potential as a part of energy policy of Turkey is also seen as a challenge for Turkey. According to Kentel and Alp (2013), maximizing the utilization of hydropower as a domestic resource while maintaining development in an environmentally conscious manner has become a challenging issue for the country. According to them, the planning, development and operation of hydropower plants also leads to social and environmental impacts that inevitably leads to a realization a sustainable implementation processes of the projects. Therefore, it is thought that since so many HEPP projects are taken to court and canceled, the current system for the utilization of hydropower potential of the country has not been working properly (Kentel and Alp, 2013). Consequently, they argue that in order to provide the development of hydropower potential of the country, there need to be the initiatives to protect the environment and the inclusion of stakeholders, especially local people into decision-making process (p. 42).

Finally, on the subject of HEPPs, because the companies have taken the rivers out of their natural areas and trapped them in the pipes, adopting such a policy means that government sees water as useless and tries to turn into direction of the water where it is consumed more and brings more benefit (Url-21).

This chapter has summarized the official perspective of the state for energy politics with critical approaches to both energy politics and hydropower plant implementations. Against the implementations of Turkey's energy politics, a crucial environmental activism has emerged many of which have concerned with country's environmental conditions and social effects stemming from energy policy implications of the state (Şen and Şen, 2016). In the next section, it is attempted to reveal the opposition discourses used in HEPP movements in Turkey during 2000's.



### **3. ANTI-HEPP MOVEMENT DISCOURSES IN TURKEY**

This section firstly consists of the summary of opposition and supportive discourses of authorities and communities about HEPPs. Then, the quantity of HEPP protests news including opposition discourses is presented. Lastly, out of those opposition discourses, environmental justice related attributes that are presented at community level as HEPP protests and in written media are summarized.

#### **3.1 Opposition and Supportive Discourses against Energy Policy and HEPP Implementations**

HEPP projects have become a public issue in Turkey since there have been increasing anti-HEPP movements by local communities. As seeing the rising level of public opposition against HEPPs between 2002-2016 years, there have been two different views regarding HEPP- related discourses in Turkey. Pro-HEPP discourses argue that hydropower is domestic, renewable, safe and cheap energy source, which should be used to deal with energy dependence of the country (SHW, Environment and Clean Energy, 2015). From government wing, President Recep Tayyip Erdoğan, in one of the opening ceremony of HEPPs in Black Sea region, Artvin, stated that:

People used to say when the water flows the Turk watches, but now we are changing it as the water flows and the Turk builds. HEPPs are the most environmentally friendly and clean electricity generation sources in the world. We do not have oil reserves and we cannot live without electricity. We need this energy, we should accommodate this energy either by thermoelectric power plants or by HEPPs. If there were not HEPPs...we had to pay extra fifteen billion dollars for imports” (Cumhuriyet, 2014).

Similarly, the Minister of Forestry and Water Affairs Veysel Eroğlu emphasized, When all planned HEPPs are completed, they are going to generate 110 billion kWh electricity and this is very important contribution to decrease the import rates of natural gas. It is very beneficial we are supporting it. Some NGOs are opposing those projects but this is not necessary. Their claims are wrong...Especially in Black Sea region, they manipulate the locals in the wrong way... HEPPs are the guarantees of Turkey’s electricity generation. We are importing oil, natural gas and high quality coal. Therefore, we at least have to decrease dependence...HEPPs are critical for energy supply security, energy diversity and clean energy (Sabah, 2012).

More importantly, to further support for the idea of using HEPPs, Prime Minister Erdoğan stated that; “The water was running in vain by flowing into Black Sea. We remain unable to use the water we have, when the world is in progress” (Cumhuriyet, 2014).

Although very rare, it is also possible to see such pro-HEPP discourse among local community people other than authority figures who implement energy policies. About HEPP projects in Loç Valley in Cide, Kastamonu, Hamsici (2012) reports that some of people living in Çamdibi village, near Loç valley support the HEPP projects:

There is a shrinking energy in growing Turkey. Those streams should be used to contribute to Turkish economy. Look, there is electricity, the lights are fired,, but a lot of people have disturbances about it. ...This is the least damaging place for dams, there is no need to scream today. ...Without energy, there is no technology...Our authorities would have thought about it... This is a necessity (Hamsici, 2012, p. 32).

As a result, pro-HEPP discourses strongly emphasized that as for the whole world, energy is a vital issue, therefore hydropower should be taken into consideration for providing cheap electricity and it is vital for the decrease of energy import rates as it is reliable, cheap and domestic (MENR, 2015-2019 Strategic Plan). Defenders for the use of hydropower in Turkey share the idea that because Turkey is a country dependent on foreign energy, water sources and naturally HEPP for energy production becomes a necessity to produce domestic energy (SHW, Environment and Clean Energy). Contrary to the positive views about HEPPs, there are also opinions arguing that HEPPs have many problems in terms of social, economic, cultural, and ecological aspects. According to WWF, if all planned HEPP projects are completed, damages on rivers and ecosystem will be unavoidable (Url-1). Moreover, it is thought that; even the whole potential of HEPP is used; energy dependency will continue (Url-1). It is argued that every HEPP and dam affects the structure of the rivers depending on the size and the HEPP or dam (Url-6). This may cause a decrease in the quality of water. This would lead to some problems such as the extinction of certain species (Url-6). In addition to those impacts, it is stated that there can appear some problems in construction processes. Since the construction process is challenging, there may be problems related to carriage of letters, the

expropriated places for HEPPs may not be compensated and there can appear erosion problems, adverse impacts ecosystem, animals, other living beings and work accidents (Güneş, 2014).

It is also argued that HEPPs would bring economic, social and cultural problems;

- Intervention of the HEPPs into water mass affects the living areas of people and forces them to migrate to other places,
- When people are forced to migrate and leave their living places, they become poorer since they are not given enough living places and jobs,
- People become forced to leave their lands since their lands are expropriated for HEPP projects,
- If water sources and living places are accepted as cultural values in case water sources are taken away it creates cultural worries related to the construction of HEPPs (Elektrik Mühendisleri Odası, 2013; p. 48).

In line with those impacts of HEPPs, there have been anti-HEPP struggles against current projects and ongoing construction processes. In addition to the fact that HEPPs have an important place in the energy policy of the country, the impacts of this source of energy on the environmental and social life is frequently mentioned. Those anti-HEPP struggles mostly turn into mobilizations in different forms such as protests (Sabah, September 10, 2006), development of various networks (Url-11), conducting legal cases (Hürriyet, August 21, 2014), public campaigns (Yenişafak, September 16, 2010), and the involvement of NGOs against the construction of new hydroelectric facilities (Url-11). People generally emphasize the idea that HEPPs will have negative influence on their social, environmental, cultural livelihood. In the discussion section of the research, the content of the opposition discourses related to environmental justice concerns is given in detail. In order to reveal the negative influences, the next section explores those selective anti- HEPP discourses of protesters along with 2002-2016 years in printed media news.

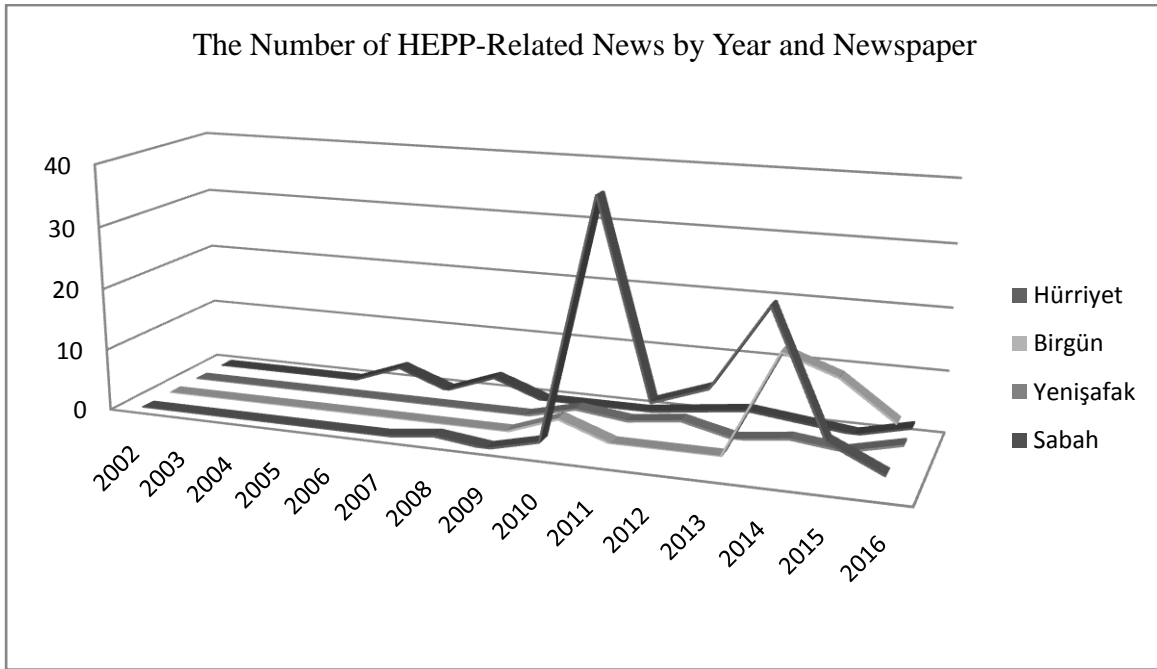
### **3.2 Anti-HEPP Discourses in Printed Media News in 2002-2016**

It is stated above that there is a rising discourse against HEPP policies and implementations in Turkey. In order to reach reach those discourses in a systematic way, HEPP protest news, which appeared in the media between 2002-2016 (when HEPP investments have increased), are examined through four different newspapers. While this examination was carried out, a significant difference has been observed in the number of news items by newspapers and in total of fourteen years. The Table 3.1 and Figure 3.1 below are given to clearly see the difference observed in the news items over the years. In fourteen years period, a total number of one hundred and sixty six (166) news reports are found. Since the main topic of all of the news is HEPP, this total of one hundred and sixty six news reports are on HEPP protests, statements on HEPPs from government wing and court decisions for HEPP projects. However, since news on government's statements and court decision news are beyond the boundaries of this study, only HEPP news related to public action and discourses have been used to analyze. Here, it is important to note that in addition to four different newspapers, news from local platforms and websites as a source will also be used for the discussion of attributes.



**Table 3.1:** The Number of HEPP news in 2002-2016

| THE NUMBER OF HEPP-RELATED NEWS by YEAR<br>AND NEWSPAPER |                  |                  |                  |                  |            |
|--|------------------|------------------|------------------|------------------|------------|
| YEAR   | YENİŞAFAK        | BİRGÜN           | HÜRRİYET         | SABAH            | TOTAL      |
| 2002-  | NO               | NO               | NO               | NO               | <b>0</b>   |
| 2005   | RELEVANT<br>NEWS | RELEVANT<br>NEWS | RELEVANT<br>NEWS | RELEVANT<br>NEWS |            |
| 2006   | NO               | NO               | NO               | <b>3</b>         | <b>3</b>   |
| 2007   | RELEVANT<br>NEWS | RELEVANT<br>NEWS | RELEVANT<br>NEWS | NO               | <b>0</b>   |
| 2008   | NO               | NO               | <b>1</b>         | <b>3</b>         | <b>4</b>   |
| 2009   | RELEVANT<br>NEWS | RELEVANT<br>NEWS | NO               | NO               | <b>0</b>   |
| 2010   | NO               | NO               | RELEVANT<br>NEWS | RELEVANT<br>NEWS |            |
| 2011   | <b>2</b>         | <b>3</b>         | <b>2</b>         | NO               | <b>7</b>   |
| 2012   | <b>1</b>         | NO               | <b>40</b>        | RELEVANT<br>NEWS | <b>41</b>  |
| 2013   | <b>2</b>         | NO               | <b>10</b>        | <b>1</b>         | <b>13</b>  |
| 2014   | NO               | NO               | <b>13</b>        | <b>2</b>         | <b>15</b>  |
| 2015   | RELEVANT<br>NEWS | RELEVANT<br>NEWS |                  |                  |            |
| 2016   | <b>2</b>         | <b>17</b>        | <b>26</b>        | <b>1</b>         | <b>46</b>  |
| 2015   | NO               | <b>14</b>        | <b>7</b>         | NO               | <b>21</b>  |
| 2016   | RELEVANT<br>NEWS | <b>8</b>         | <b>3</b>         | RELEVANT<br>NEWS |            |
| TOTAL  | <b>10</b>        | <b>42</b>        | <b>102</b>       | <b>12</b>        | <b>166</b> |



**Figure 3.1:** The number of HEPP News according to Years and Newspapers

This visible difference between newspapers and years can be explained by various factors. In the Table 3.1 and Figure 3.1, between 2002 and 2005, there are no HEPP-related news reports in each of the four newspapers. Then the first HEPP protest new was reported in Sabah newspaper in 2006. However, the gap between 2002- 2005 years is seen noteworthy. Between 2002 and 2005, the number of HEPPs constructed by private sector and State Hydraulic Works is relatively low as it is seen in Table 3.2 and Table 3.3 below.

**Table 3.2:** Number of HEPPs Constructed by General Directorate of SHW

| <b>Number of HEPPs Constructed by General Directorate of State Hydraulic Works</b> |                        |
|--|------------------------|
| <b>YEAR</b>  | <b>Number of HEPPs</b> |
| 2000   | 3                      |
| 2003   | 3                      |
| 2005   | 1                      |
| 2006   | 1                      |
| 2007   | 1                      |
| 2008   | 1                      |
| 2009   | 1                      |
| 2012   | 4                      |
| 2013   | 1                      |
| 2014   | 2                      |
| 2015   | -                      |

**Table 3.3:** Number of HEPPs Constructed Between 2002-2015 by Private Sector

Source: State Hydraulic Works

| <b>Number of HEPPs Constructed Between 2002-2015 by Private Sector</b> |                                    |
|--|------------------------------------|
| <b>YEAR</b>  | <b>Number of Constructed HEPPs</b> |
| 2002   | 5                                  |
| 2003   | 2                                  |
| 2004   | 6                                  |
| 2005   | 4                                  |
| 2006   | 10                                 |
| 2007   | 7                                  |
| 2008   | 18                                 |
| 2009   | 32                                 |
| 2010   | 34                                 |
| 2011   | 48                                 |
| 2012   | 76                                 |
| 2013   | 86                                 |
| 2014   | 47                                 |
| 2015   | 56                                 |

In 2002-2005, there are seventeen HEPPs constructed by SHW and the private sector. The low number of HEPPs constructed within this process can be considered as the reason why there is no news about HEPPs between 2002-2005 years. On the other hand, HEPP construction applications made by private sector have been increased between 2003-2006 years as can be seen in Table 3.4 below.

**Table 3.4:** Private Sector HEPP Applications by Years

Source: State Hydraulic Works

| <b>Private Sector HEPP Applications by Years</b> |  |
|--|--|
| <b>YEAR</b>                                      | <b>Number of Applications for the Construction of HEPP</b> |
| 2003   | 17   |
| 2004   | 91   |
| 2005   | 222  |
| 2006   | 257  |
| 2007   | 208  |
| 2008   | 282  |
| 2009   | 24   |
| 2010   | 10   |
| 2011   | 3  |
| 2012   | -  |
| 2013   | 2  |
| 2016   | 1  |

In 2003-2006 the total number of HEPP project applications by private sector is five hundred and eighty seven. Hence, it may be the reason that first HEPP related protest new was found in 2006. In 2007, no HEPP related news was found. In this year, the number of HEPP applications by private sector and the HEPPs constructed by the private sector; even though not in a crucial manner, has decreased. That decrease can be understood as the reason of the lack of any HEPP related news in 2007. In 2008, the number of HEPP-related protest news has increased and there appeared two newspapers; Hürriyet and Sabah that reported HEPP protests. Parallel to rising news, in this year, the number of HEPPs built by the private sector rise from seven to eighteen and HEPP applications made by private sector becomes two hundred and eighty two. Therefore, it can be considered that the reason for the increase in the number of the news in 2008 can be the increase in the number of HEPPs built in 2008.

Likewise, in 2008, in 2010, the total number of HEPP-related news has increased and the number of the newspapers reporting HEPP protests became three as the number of HEPPs constructed by private sector in this year has increased compared to the previous year. In 2011-2014, there is a significant increase in the number of HEPP-related news especially in Hürriyet newspaper. The forcing factor behind the increase in the quantity can be explained by looking at 9<sup>th</sup> Development Plan. In the 9<sup>th</sup>

Development Plan covering 2007-2013 years, it was emphasized that the liberalization process of the energy sector should be accelerated (9<sup>th</sup> Development Plan, p. 36). Despite the emphasis on the acceleration of the liberalization process, there is a decrease in the number of private sector HEPP applications. Nevertheless, the number of HEPPs built in this period has increased gradually. Therefore, it can be said that the significant increase in the number of HEPP-related news in this period can be explained by the number of HEPPs built. Here, it is important to note that as the largest number of HEPPs was built in 2013, and following this development, 2014 has become the year that the most of the HEPP protests news have seen in 2002-2016 years. In 2015 and 2016, the number of news items has decreased although the number of HEPPs built has increased slightly; number of applications has decreased along these years.

According to Diagram 3.1, there are no major changes in the number of news in Yenişafak and Sabah newspapers from 2002 to 2016. However, especially since 2011, there has been a sharp increase in the number of the news in Hürriyet. In Birgün, the number of news starts to increase in 2014. Also in Hürriyet, with a decline in 2012 and 2013, the number of news increases in 2014, too. After 2014, as being more visible in Hürriyet and Birgün, there is a decrease in the number of news items in each of four newspapers. Finally, in 2016, decline in the number of HEPP-related news is observed in Birgün and Hürriyet, while there are a few number of HEPP-related news in both Yenişafak and Sabah.

In Diagram 3.1, the divergence in the number of HEPP related news items can be explained by the ideological positions of the newspapers. In Yenişafak newspaper, until 2014, there have been HEPP protest news reported; however, after this year, there have been reports of HEPPs' contribution to the national economic development. In HEPP-related news in Yenişafak, especially after 2012, there is the tendency that supports government's HEPP implementations. In the Birgün newspaper, from 2008 to 2016, there is a tendency of HEPP related news content on defending the judgments against HEPPs. Similarly, in HEPP related news published in Hürriyet newspaper, the content of the news mostly includes protests and the expressions of the opponents. Another feature of HEPP related news in Hürriyet is

that it leaves behind other newspapers in the number of the news as it is seen in Diagram 1. The reason of this difference may be the reporter's difference. As it is seen in Appendix B Table B.3, much of the news have been reported by the same reporter of one newspaper (Muhammet Kaçar). It appears that the news provided by the same reporter consist of particular HEPP protest cases in the Black Sea region. Therefore, report of certain HEPP protests in a particular region might increase the number of the news in Hürriyet. Consequently, in Yenişafak and Sabah newspapers, the number of HEPP protest news is significantly lower than other two newspapers. Because, particularly after 2012, there was not any HEPP news report about HEPP protests. On the contrary, Birgün and Hürriyet have reported a large number of HEPP protest cases. In the following section, the EJ-related news are given in detail as the key attributes of HEPP protesters, and the quantity of those EJ-related news.

The key EJ-related attributes reported in protests are identified through the questions given in data collection method section (see Table 1.1) and through the principles included in the definition of environmental justice given in introduction section. The questions to identify key attributes consist of the case, place of the protest, and to test whether people's claims are fitting to previously delineated EJ principles given in environmental justice definition. The principles of environmental justice given in the concept's definition consist of the right to live, the right to use water, the right to a safe and healthy environment, equal access to participate in decision-making, open legal procedures and responsive political institutions. Therefore, in order to detect the attributes of protesters connected to environmental justice, it is aimed to look at these mentioned principles in the discourses of people reported in the news.

It is important to note that the quantity of EJ-related news reported are changing through newspapers. The number of EJ-related news is estimated through their key attributes detected. In 2002-2016 time period, among 166 HEPP related news, approximately one hundred and thirty nine (139) of them are directly related to above mentioned environmental justice principles. Table 3.5 indicates the numbers of EJ-Related news by newspaper.

**Table 3.5:** The Number of EJ-Related News by Newspapers in 2002-2016 years

| NUMBER OF EJ-RELATED NEWS AMONG HEPP-RELATED PROTEST NEWS |        |          |       |
|---|--------|----------|-------|
| YENİŞAFAK   | BİRGÜN | HÜRRIYET | SABAH |
| 4   | 42     | 87       | 6     |

As the number of EJ-related news indicates differences among four different newspapers, in Yenişafak newspaper, out of total eight reports, four of them are seen as EJ-related. In 2010, both of the news is directly environmental justice related news. The only report in 2011 is also EJ-related news reporting protesters' discourses and demands. In 2012, one of the news reports comment from private sector about the HEPPs' contribution to Turkey and the other new is about an attack on HEPP construction in Black Sea region (this report has also taken into consideration). In 2010, one HEPP new is EJ-related by reporting protesters' claims. In Sabah newspaper, six news can be counted as EJ-related. Three news reports from 2006 are directly EJ-related news reported protesters' claims and their demands. In 2008, out of three news, two of them are EJ-related. In 2012, there is no EJ-related news; however, in 2013 and 2014, all of the news are directly EJ-related in which HEPP protesters' claims and arguments are presented.

In 2016, Birgün newspaper has five EJ-related news reported; one of them is protest new-mentions protesters' claims and arguments related to cancellation of differen HEPP projects in different regions. In 2015, the whole fourteen new reports are EJ-related including the arguments of protesters. Out of seventeen news in 2014, eleven new reports are directly EJ-related by reporting protesters' demand. Out of three news in 2010, all of the news are directly EJ-related reporting the protesters' claims and people's worries about an HEPP project in case. In Hürriyet newspaper, almost all of the news, except 10 reports in 2011 and four news reports in 2014, are related to environmental justice.

When internet sources related to HEPP protests between 2002 and 2016 year were reviewed there are not so many report available befor 2006. Especially after the year 2008, there have ben numerous protest news reports and HEPP related charters of the the environmental especially HEPP platform websites as karadenizisyandadir.net and alakirnsesi.org. When we look at the platfrom reports and chartes, they mostly consist of the reports of specifichi damages of HEPPs in specific regions rather than protest news repots as in the newspapers. For example, in karadenizisyandadir.net website, no protest news found, rather it is seen the charter of the platform stating that “ ...to struggle against any type of ecological destruction is necessary” (See Url 15). In the case of HEPPs there are explanations about HEPPs’ potential damages stated as “HEPPs have been destroying the ecosystem as well as distorting the agricultural activities of people and forcing them to migrate to other regions whose livelihoods are depending on agricultural activities”. Likewise, in alakirnsesi.org, which is one of the other prominent HEPP platform website that is mostly seen in newspaper news, too. Although there are no specific HEPP protets news reports, the harmful effects aof HEPPs on the environment and human life are expressed in detail. Since these websites are representing anti-HEPP stand, from this point of view, it is possible to determine whether envioronmental justice issues are presented in HEPP issues in Turkey by looking athe charters and different HEPP reports of those websites of the platforms. Apart from platform websites as data sources, when the local websites and local newspapers’ websites are examined, numerous news found as HEPP protest news in those websites.

However, it is necessary to to point out that it is nearly a slight possibility to state the exact number of HEPP protest news appeared in websites in 2002 and 2016 years. Therefore, the research was carried out on specific websites, since it is not possible to have a systematic and limited analysis of the data on theinternet as a whole as it is done on four different newspapers. Those local websites are hopam.com, karasaban.net doğaderneği.org, enerjihaber.com, and haberler.com and yeşilgazete.org. Except of these websites, even though there are too many local websites reporting HEPP protests, the most prominent examples related to years and places are founr in those websites. The reason why local web sites are used is that the news given in these sources is thought to reflect more in detail about what people



living in the areas experience where the HEPP protests take place. For example, because the site hopam.com is related to Artvin and protests are also very intense in Artvin, so it is likely to be more detailed and representative news.

According to years and newspapers, the tendency of the attributes has proven partially differences. When we look at Birgün newspaper, environmental justice related news were including the discourses of water rights complaints, complaints about the violation of the right to live and environmental concerns over HEPPs. In Yenişafak newspaper, until 2014, in HEPP protest news, expressions of people related to the expressions about safe and healthy environment which is fall within environmental justice, and attributes related to water rights. In Hürriyet newspaper, environmental justice related news were consisting of discourses related to right to a safe and healthy environment which is fall within the worries about ecological destruction, water rights, procedural concerns related to equal access to participation and complaints about political institutions. In environmental justice related news in Sabah newspaper, the key attributes, except after 2014, were about water rights, ecological concerns, worries about being deprived of life sources and complaints about political institutions. It is significant to mention that if we look at the bigger picture, the attributes related to access to water, the right to use water and the right to live are mentioned as the worries about being deprived of the source of their livelihood and worries about the violation of the right to live. Those dominant attributes are given in Table 3.6 below by classifying the main claims.

It has been determined in two stages whether the protesters' discourses found in four major newspapers and digital platforms are environmental justice related attributes. First, to give details about the method, data collection is based on the four questions mentioned in the introduction section as; the case, the place and which principles of environmental justice were mentioned in the discourses of the HEPP protests. The critical point is the issue of the principles of environmental justice. These principles of environmental justice in HEPP protesters' discourses have been determined on the basis of the environmental justice definition: environmental justice refers to conditions in which basic needs and rights (e.g. the right to live, the right to use and equal access to water, the right to a safe and healthy environment, equal access to a

safe and healthy environment) are freely exercised with the opportunity and equal access to participate in decision-making process along with open legal procedure and responsive political institutions. However, in order to reach the necessary environmental justice related attributes of HEPP protesters' discourses, the attributes of international energy issue related environmental justice cases' are used. As it is clear from this definition, environmental justice is read in this work through six main principles. First, it is looked at how the principles given in the definition of environmental justice are represented in international energy and environmental justice related studies. Then, as in the energy issue related environmental justice cases, it has been examined whether the attributes of environmental justice take place in protest discourses about HEPPs, an energy related issue in Turkey. That is to say, the environmental justice attributes reached by international energy issue environmental justice related cases have been searched and attempted to be found in HEPP protest discourses in 2002-2016 years. Detailed scheme of the principles of environmental justice and attributes of the international cases are given in Table 3.6 below.

When we look at the first principles of environmental justice definition related to free exercise of basic needs and rights, water rights, the right to live and equal access to water and safe and healthy environment are presented in the attributes of international cases on the quest of disproportionate environmental-human rights and environmental damages, deprivation of the source of livelihood and on the unequal distribution of environmental damages. For example in Case 2, EJ and Injustices of Mining Operations in Ghana in the literature review, the attribute of deprivation of the source of livelihood is seen as an environmental injustice issue since the fear of losing farmlands via mining operations are thought as the devaluation of dependence on agriculture as the source of livelihood. When it is thought that agricultural activities in people's lands are their living sources, and when they claim that they have the right to use their sources of livelihood, in case they are devalued, this means people's right to live via their sources of livelihood is not recognized. That attribute is thought as an environmentally unjust situation that an energy related issue (mining operations) leads to a direct social and environmental concern. These types of complaints and discourses are frequently encountered in the HEPP protest news in

Turkey. The saying of lacking the source of life that is used against HEPP activities, which is an energy issue, is mentioned as an example: "...if this HEPP project continues, eighty five percent of our lands, which are our main sources of livelihood, will be flooded, people will be deprived of their life sources, their agricultural activities" (Url-12).

Another environmental justice related HEPP discourse in Turkey concerns the right to life and water in the principles of environmental justice: " This is a struggle beyond the struggle for the environment and nature, this is a struggle for water right; more importantly, since the water is fundamental, this is the struggle fo the fundamental right right to live" (Hürriyet, July 28, 2011). As it is seen, not necessarily in international cases, but the environmental justice principles does also direct exist in discourses. As a result, in order to understand the whether discourses are related to environmental justice, the attribute of beign deprived of the sources of livelihood was found as the ej-related attribute drawing from the principles (the right to use water, the right live) and cases (deprivation of the source of livelihood).

Another classification, as seen in the Table 3.6, is made based on the participation characteristics (equal opportunity to participate in decision-making process, transparent decision-making process, access to reliable and accurate information, open legal procedures and responsive political institutions) of the principles of environmental justice and those principles were found in the attributes of international cases. For example, in international case 1; Environmental Justice and Energy Politics Between US-Mexico Border, the environmental justice principle of non-responsive political institutions is presented as the lack of access to information about the future of an LNG project as political institutions are seen as not responding and not effective to respond perceived environmental and social threats resulting from LNG facility project. In case 4; Environmental Justice Dimesnions in Anti-Gold mining movements in Latin- America, the principles of transparent decision-making process and equal opportunity to participate in decision-making process are presented as environmental justice attrbiutes of energy-related issue. Those attributes ar thought as environmental justice-related since it is mentioned that locals have doubts about the quality and reliability of the information presented.

When it is attempted to be found those attributes in HEPP protest discourses, there are numerous examples about the issues of participation in decision-making process and access to reliable information and transparent decision making process and non-responsive political institutions. The attribute of neglect of the right to participate is directly seen in one of the HEPP protest discourses: “The HEPP company started construction activities without asking anyone in the region. They do not let us to participate...” ( Hürriyet, August, 9, 2013). Another ej-related attribute of HEPP protest discourses is also about decision-making process and access to reliable and accurate information attribute that is of the international cases: “...Water right is a human right...Local community and their representatives should be included into decision-making process about EIA report of the HEPP Project. But they only inform the community, not let them involve in “ (Url-18). As a result, the main principles of environmental justice given in the definition of environmental justice have been identified in international energy-related environmental justice cases. For the HEPP issue in Turkey, in order to understand whether HEPP protests’ discourses are related to environmental justice, it has been looked at the environmental justice related attributes of the cases, they are attempted to be observed in protest discourses. It is found that those attributes are included in the HEPP protest discourses reported in the news. Table 3.7 shows in detail the basic attributes associated with environmental justice used by protesters in the HEPP protests in Turkey. In the next section, these attributes of HEPP protest will be elaborated by direct quotations from the news, and will be discussed through distributive and procedural environmental justice.

**Table 3.6:** Environmental Justice principles and Attributes found in HEPP protest discourses

| Environmental Justice Principles according to the definition | Attributes of international EJ-Energy Related Environmental Justice Cases         | Attributes found in HEPP protesters' claims in Turkey                       |
|--|---|---|
| -Free exercise of basic needs and rights                     | -Paying disproportionate environmental and human rights and environmental damages | -Deprivation of the source of livelihood and violation of the right to live |
| <b>-The right to use water</b>                               | -Deprivation of the sources of livelihood   | <b>-Access to water</b>   |
| <b>-The right to live</b>                                    | --Unequal distribution of environmental damages                                   | <b>-The right to use water</b>  |
| <b>- Equal access to water</b>                               | -Use of community properties without the knowledge of local people                | <b>- The right to a safe and healthy environment</b>                        |
| <b>- The right to a safe and healthy environment</b>         | -Non-responsive political institutions<br>-Limited political space for resistance | <b>- The right to a safe and healthy environment</b>                        |
| <b>-Equal access to a safe and healthy environment</b>       | -Doubts about the reliability of information (Lack of access to information )     | -Prevention of the access to decision-making process                        |
| -Equal opportunity to participate in decision-making process | -Disregard of the local knowledge of environmental hazards                        | <b>-Equal access to participation and information</b>                       |
| -Transparent decision-making process                         | -Poor space for political participation   | <b>- Open legal procedures</b>  |
| -Access to reliable and accurate information                 | -Fair decision-making process   | <b>- Responsive political institutions</b>                                  |
| -Open legal procedures                                       | -Recognition of involvement and opposition  |   |
| -Responsive political institutions                           |   |   |

**Table 3.7:** Key attributes of HEPP protesters' found in newspapers

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DOMINANT ATTRIBUTES FOUND IN HEPP PROTESTERS' CLAIMS

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ATTRIBUTE 1 →A) Deprivation of the Source of Livelihood  
and Violation of the Right to Live

a) Access to Water

- The right to use water
- The right to a safe and healthy environment

ATTRIBUTE 2 →B) Access to Decision-Making Process

- Equal access to participation and information
  - Open legal procedures
  - Responsive political institutions
-

#### **4. DISCUSSION OF THE RESEARCH FINDINGS**

In this section, the purpose of discussing the research findings or analysis result is to test the key attributes of HEPP protests whether they represent the distribution and procedural environmental justice dimensions. The key attributes detected through the above-mentioned principles in the definition of environmental justice, are discussed through the distributional and procedural dimensions of the environmental justice framework.

The reason for the discussion of the attributes over distributional and procedural environmental justice is that both dimensions encompass the remaining aspects. In fact, according to the justice articulation mentioned in the theoretical section, the environmental justice term is understood along with different dimensions of the concept of justice. The central emphasis of the concept has thus started as the equal distribution of environmental goods and bads among people (Schlosberg, 2007). Along with the equal distribution, the opportunity of communities' involvement into decision-making process constructs the participatory aspect of the concept. This means the ensuring the participation of affected communities in decision-making fully and affectively (Bryner, 2002). In order to ensure the participation of underrepresented communities, it is argued that all communities should have the equal right to access the necessary mechanisms and information that allows them to participate. Therefore, recognition issue derives from the distribution of environmental risks and participation can happen in case there are fair processes and open political procedures. During the analysis of the attributes of communities in HEPP protests, the most remarkable feature of the attributes is that protesters voice worries about their personal lives over environmental problems.

The main argument of the HEPP opponents and protesters is that because of HEPPs, their source of livelihood is destroyed, their right to live, right to use of water and right to participate in decision making about HEPPs are violated. In other words, underlying opposition attributes are related to the the equal access to the source of livelihood (water) and access to mechanisms to participate the decision-making process (procedural mechanisms) about an HEPP issue; which is counted as an

environmental issue that is part of the energy policy. Those underlying attributes of HEPP protesters are the result of their relationship with the environment. The main attributes to be discussed are the elements given in the previous section in Table 3.6; deprivation of the source of livelihood and the prevention of participation into the decision-making.

#### **4.1 Deprivation of the Source of Livelihood**

The first and the most dominant attribute of HEPP protesters is related to the worries about the loss of the source of livelihood. In HEPP protests in Turkey, the concern of “being deprived of livelihood sources” has been expressed many times in four different newspaper’s news (i.e.; Sabah, 2006; Birgün, 2010, 2014; Hürriyet, 2011, 2013, 2014; Yenişafak, 2010). This concern is related to the violation of the right to live because in case people think that they going to be deprived from their life sources, they will also be deprived of their right to live. Related to this attribute, life source is mostly attributed to the water sources they benefit. In one of the protests in 2016 against an HEPP project in Adıyaman that is planned to be constructed on Kahta creek, protesters state that they do not want this project to be constructed, if the project will damage the environment, since their source of livelihood depends on farming and agriculture, they will also be deprived of their livelihood sources:

We are opposed to the project due to the damages on our source of water, environment, agriculture and farming. Agriculture and farming is the source of our livelihood. Kahta Çayı HEPP project should be canceled without any damage that cannot be compensated (Url-2).

Here, it should be noted that the main concern of the opposition is related to the access to water source. Since the construction of HEPP project damages the environment and prevents the access to water, local people living in the region would be deprived of livelihood opportunities as agriculture and farming. From a distributional environmental justice perspective, opposing people will be the ones that directly bear the burden of the construction processes even though they are not the main beneficiaries of the project. If their water source is taken away, their access to water will also be taken away as the water is going to be used by the private HEPP company. But the fact that environmental damage caused by the use



of water source will be burdened by a group of local vulnerable people would create injustice. Therefore, the distribution of the benefit of the use of water by HEPPs will not be equal. Getting more exposed to environmental bad by the HEPP construction leads to the violation of the access to water, violation of the access to water leads to the violation of the access to a healthy environment and at the end, leads to a social life distortion (loss of the source of livelihood).

In 2006, for a dam project in Yusufeli, Artvin in Black Sea region rural people living in the region have expressed their worries about being deprived of the source of their livelihood: "...If this project continues, eighty five percent of our lands, which are the main source of livelihood, will be flooded, people will be deprived of their life sources their agricultural activities" (Url-12). In case of Yusufeli dam project, the object of the opposition is not explicitly expressed through the concepts of distribution and inequality. However, the argument is that "flooding" situation will lead to environmental degradation or risks, which will directly affect the access to the source of livelihood and will violate the access to a healthy environment. As it is presented in the introduction section in Figure 1, Black Sea region is one of the disadvantaged regions in Turkey with a low-level socio-economic development. The construction of the project in Artvin "where poor communities live" inevitably leads to the carrying of environmental and social burden on the poor community living in Yusufeli district. As in the HEPP project issue in Adıyaman, those poor communities are more inclined to face the unequal distribution of environmental risks and social risks deriving from environmental risks as they will not be the main beneficiaries. In terms of struggling against the construction of HEPPs, water right is accepted as a fundamental right to be respected as it is also a part of the fundamental right of living. According to a news report of Hürriyet in 2011, the attorney of the opposition to an HEPP project in Artvin Camili valley case says that: "This is a struggle beyond the struggle for the environment and the nature, this is a struggle for water right; more importantly, since the water is fundamental, this is the struggle for the fundamental right to live" (Hürriyet, July 28, 2011).

From a distributional environmental justice perspective, access to water or the right to use water is thought as a social concern since it is related to the right to live. Because one of the main worries of rural people living near the HEPP projects is that they don't have any other place to go and live (Hamsici, 2012). Living place to go and live is a social issue. That is why the concern for the source of livelihood is thought as an environmental justice concern since living area is directly related to the environment. Loss of livelihood is resulted from the violation of the right to access to a safe and healthy environment and unjust distribution of the right to access to water. The access to a safe and healthy environment is thought as an environmental concern, it is, in fact, related to a social concern. Unequal access to water, as poor communities living in the regions where HEPPs are planned to be constructed suffer, leads to being deprived of the life sources since the water is thought as the base for the life source.

The phrase of the “the right to use water” or in environmental justice vocabulary, “access to water”, was first mentioned in 2010. Protesters’ concern for the access to water is based on the implementation of “Water Use Right Agreement”. Water Use Right Agreement Regulation is a legal framework that provides the evaluation of hydroelectric energy according to free market rules (Güneş, 2014). According to this agreement, the water is leased to private company for forty-nine years and this regulation on the use of water was put into force in 2003 (see Official Gazette 25150, May 26, 2003). However, the main opposing idea is that the use of water by private companies is the violation of the access to water. This means that when the water source is leased, when private companies have access to water, communities are deprived of using it that leads to injustice. This is the dominant complaint element when communities struggle against the lease of water sources. Since they claim, “the water belongs to them”, they think that water is their right. In February 5, 2011 in of the protest news in Yenişafak, it has been reported that; “Water right cannot be sold (Su haktır, satılamaz). Our water sources, creeks, valleys are invaded by the capitalist destruction, by Water Use Right Agreement “(Yenişafak, February 5, 2011).

The fact that the access to water of people living in the area that HEPPs will be built is violated because they are “poor communities”, and that the removal of this source

from their hands causes environmental and social disturbances can be described as the unfair distribution of social and environmental damages. One other example is the HEPP protest that took place in Ahmetler village in Manavgat, Antalya. The protest against the HEPP to be built in Ahmetler Canyon also presents the attribute of the communities that HEPPs will violate the access to water and destruction of life sources: "...the villagers provide their livelihood through agriculture, forestry and farming...If the HEPP is built, farmers engaged in agriculture will be ruined, seven thousand and four hundred acres will be deprived of water" (Sabah, September 11, 2013).

The fact that it will be deprived from the water to be used for agricultural irrigation, in other words, the concern that access to water will be prevented, brings to the mind the idea that communities' agricultural activities as life sources will be taken away. At the expense of prevention of the access to water, social and environmental damage will be undertaken. At the end of the day, socially deprived people will not be able to benefit from the outcome and this creates injustice. In the HEPP protests in Çelebi district, Kırıkkale, in Divriği, Sivas and in Şavşat, Artvin, local community people react to the authorities due to the construction of HEPP in their region depending on the deprivation of the sources of livelihood:

...As the village people, we will have problems in agricultural irrigation if the HEPP is constructed. Agriculture and farming will be negatively affected...They dig our water. We cannot use this water for agricultural lands and for our farming activities... We don't have anything in the village, we don't know what we are going to eat if this project is completed (Hürriyet, July 17, 2014). ...Most of our villagers' source of livelihood is farming...We wanted to stop the other applications that would damage the water sources and ecological balance in here (Url-13). We do not want HEPP in Şavşat Papart valley in Artvin. The irrigation channels are vital in summer months, for our agricultural activities, which are our life source (Url-14).

As it is seen in those protest examples, the construction of HEPP in a region where a group of people's life source is nothing but agriculture and farming is another indication of unfair distribution of environmental resources. If an HEPP is planned to be constructed in the region and if people who will benefit from it are not the people living in that region, if they are environmentally harmed and adversely affected on

their social lives, then it can be said that environmental risks and benefits are not being distributed fairly in case of HEPPs.

Worries about equal access to water and deprivation of the source of livelihood are also expressed in HEPP protests in Artvin, Bursa and Manisa that took place in 2014 and 2015. Among the reasons for opposing the HEPP projects in Arhavi, Artvin, in Kestel, Bursa, and in Salihli, Manisa is the saying that the construction of hydroelectric power plants will prevent access to water. The worries about being deprived of the life sources are the main causes of the locals' concerns in case HEPPs are constructed.

What does the Prime Minister want from us? We have a handful of streams of water. They took her too. What's left of us? We do not want HEPPs! (Birgün, July 12, 2014)

If the water flowing from the mountains is trapped in the pipes, the creeks will dry. Thanks to these waters, agriculture is being done. These lands are the economic income of the villagers. Our living spaces should not be destroyed by making HEPPs in these lands. This is an attack on the right to live (Birgün, February 26, 2015).

The area where the HEPP is planned is the fruit gardens, where cherries grow. If HEPP is constructed, it will not flow like the old times and agriculture will not be efficient. We do not want to be deprived of our sources of life (Birgün, September, 11, 2015).

In the examples given above, the concern of deprivation of life sources arises from the fact that access to water is prevented. If access to water is violated it is thought that there will be no agricultural activities as a source of life. The issue of access to water, a feature of distributive environmental justice is observed in these examples. The fact that the HEPP firms are going to use water and that the right of the villagers to access is dismissed is claimed as an unfair situation. It is pointed out that the villagers will be displaced and their habitats will be attacked.

In another news report about HEPP projects in Ardanuç, Artvin in Black Sea region, local community people voice that the project activities cannot be carried out they will be deprived of their life sources:

...If the HEPP projects will be completed, water activities would not be carried out...Our villagers will not be able to irrigate, living activities will be taken away from us...We don't want to have problems on people and on the economy of the region. The project's basin planning should be done in the region. The HEPPs that will be established without the planning will damage the geography and will prevent tourism which is one of the major income sources of the district. When water is not adequate, especially in summer months, if HEPP projects are implemented in the points that are not enough to meet the irrigation needs of the village, we will be deprived of our source of livelihood (Url-16).

As can be seen from the above mentioned explanation, the concern that the HEPP project destroys and gives harms the geography that communities live represents an environmental problem. The emerging environmental risks deriving from the HEPP reveal the extent environmental injustice in this region, when people in that area are exposed to unfair distribution of environmental risks (as they will be the first group who will be directly affected, access to water is blocked and violated). This unjust environmental situation is based on a social issue such as the worry about the loss of the deprivation of the source of livelihood.

Apart from protests, if we look at one of the local platform's; Black Sea Rebels Platform (Karadeniz İsyandadır Platformu) charter for HEPPs, it is also stated that the access to water is the main problem related to HEPPs. The restriction of access to the water, more precisely, is based on the discourse of inequality, which claims that the right to access the water will be given to the company and taken from the people. The transfer of the right to use water to the firm for forty nine years represents the distributional environmental injustice issues. Because as local's right to access to water is violated and local people will be the ones affected by the potential harm that may occur in the environment when the company benefits from the water source.

The main purpose of Hydroelectric Power Plants is to transfer our water and water resources to the companies. Companies that will receive the right to use water for their 49 years will now turn the water into their own property. Stream waters that we can access from our valleys for years now open to the access of the companies. In the next period, companies will first bottleneck and pre-empt the water, making the water a profit share. ...Since all of the water in the HEPPs is used by the water coming from the small valleys to leads to a totally dry in the summer and the ecological balance in the valleys is deteriorating (Url-15).

## 4.2 Prevention of Participation into Decision-Making Process

The second most dominant discourse related to HEPPs and environmental justice in Turkey is the prevention of participation into decision-making processes about the HEPP issues. People claiming for the intervention into decision-making process is mostly local communities who are directly affected by the potential adverse impacts of the HEPP projects to be constructed or already in operation. Access to decision-making process attribute consists of the complaints and demand for the equal access to participation and information, access to open legal procedures and (non) responsive political institutions. Those attributes are discussed through procedural environmental justice since all of them are directly related to procedural dimension of the environmental justice framework.

One of the foremost examples of procedural environmental injustice in HEPP context can be seen in a news report in 2013 about an HEPP protest against HEPP construction activities in Yağca village, Erzincan:

They constructed their roads through our lands...They used the local area, they have expropriated my lands, they haven't paid any price. They destructed the environment...They use my land without my consent. I have applied to district governorship and prosecutor but couldn't get any response...They pass through the lands of the peasants, they have prevented our access to water" (Sabah, May 17, 2013).

As can be clearly understood from the example of this protest in Erzincan, the attributes used to complain about an HEPP project are about lack of an answer from political institutions and closed political procedures that are directly related to procedural principle of environmental justice. As it is mentioned in the literature reviews section, principles of procedural environmental justice are about open legal procedures, accountable and responsive parties, and responsive political institutions. In the HEPP protest in Erzincan, when the villager of the region claim that he cannot get any response from the officials, this represents an unfair procedural process about the HEPP issue. If the villager cannot get any response, this also means that there is a lack of responsible parties about this decision. It is also possible to look at this issue from participation aspect of the procedural environmental justice. The use of the lands owned by the villagers without their

consent means that the owner of the property is not involved into decision-making process about this issue. Therefore, it can be said that when people living in Yağca village in Erzincan are treated as environmentally procedurally unjust, since they are the first parties who will directly affect by the construction process of HEPPs in their region. In another report, the villagers who complaint about HEPP to be built in Isparta-Antalya border directly express their worries about the sources of life by using the word of “justice “.

They said they will construct a dam. They forced us to move to other places, we left our homes, sources of livelihood, everything...They disrespected to the public. Thanks to those who govern us, justice does not come to this village...We have written to Energy Market Regulatory Authority about our homes, they said this issue is not their responsibility. Yet, we know it is...No one sees the state and democracy here...They destructed people’s past, their future, their nature, their lands, their forests. They attackted them with disrespect. What are these people going to do who do not have a land and not a single planted tree here? Where is that justice? (Url-17)

If we look at this complaint about an HEPP project near Isparta-Antalya border, the question that “where is that justice” can be directly understood as the procedural environmental injustice that those villagers suffer. People living in the region are complaining when they are forced to move to other places because of the construction of HEPP, they apply to the authorities but they claim they have not yet heard their voice (not taken into consideration). They state that the responsible authorities do not accept their responsibility. At this point, being not responsible parties can be seen in a procedural aspect. When they as “where is that justice”, they mean this procedural justice in which there are responsive and responsible insitutions. Their situation also refers to the lack of participation as they are forced to leave their places without their involvement in the process of decision-making about this issue that is directly related to the environment. It can be said that people living in the village near Isparta-Antalya border are expose to environmentally procedurally unjust situation, as they cannot see any responsible parties for their demands.

Worries and complaints about the lack of participation is another concern of the opponents. The source of the anger comes from the lack of people's consent about the HEPP construction activities: "The company started the construction activities without asking anyone in the region. They do not let us to participate. We do not say yes, and we won't" (Hürriyet, August 19, 2013).

As it is mentioned in the literature review section environmental justice activists demand for policy-making procedures that opens up the ways to participate in decision-making process with the inclusion in all stages. In this example of HEPP protest, when the community people complain about the lack of participation in decision-making about the construction of the HEPP in the region they live, they actually refer to the lack of procedures that let them to be included in the process. Even if many legal cases against the construction of HEPPs were conducted and have been continuing to be conducted in Turkey (Hamsici, 2012), more precisely, even if it is thought that legal procedures are open for people, the unjust treatment at the beginning of the process does not change. The fact that the process is beginning unfairly, and that it is expressed with such discourses as lack of participation does not change the experience of environmentally procedural injustice that affected communities had. In 2009, a protest against the HEPP projects in the Black Sea region in Trabzon highlighted the access to water by using the phrase of water right, and emphasized the importance of participating in decision-making processes related to HEPP construction and to access accurate information: "...Water right is a human right...Local community and their representatives should be included into decision-making process about EIA report of the HEPP Project. But they only inform the community, not let them involve in" (Url-18).

As far as this phrase is concerned, although people say that they are being informed, complaints have been made at the point of access to accurate information because of their lack of involvement in the decision making process related with the HEPP projects. The fact that there is a lack of participation in the process of the preparing Environmental Impact Assessment report, which is a formal procedure, supports the fact that the procedures related to the accurate information about an environmental issue are not applied. Therefore, at first glance, although they have stated that they



are informed in some way, it reinforces the idea that they cannot reach the accurate information unless they are involved in the process.

This situation, as stated in the literature review summary, represents the access to accurate information and participation aspect of procedural environmental justice. At this points, as long as those demands are not satisfied about the environmental issue of HEPP in case, this means that people regarding those complaints are suffering from procedural environmental injustice. Another example of procedural environmental injustice is the famous HEPP protests in İkitidere, Rize, which has an important place in the history of HEPP protests in Turkey. In fact, İkitidere HEPP protests emphasize not just procedural injustices including participation demands, but also distributional environmental justice: “How dare you come here in İkitidere and violate the rights of İkitidere people without asking them? Did you get the permission from people living in İkitidere? Are you violating our rights to give electricity to Northern Iraq?” (Url-19).

As can be seen from the above statement, the direct emphasis is on the lack of participation of people who will be directly affected by the HEPP construction activities. As the potentially affected communities are not invited to contribute to the decision making process about the HEPP issue, it can be said that the opportunity to participate is not given along with formal procedures which leads to a procedural environmental injustice. The issue of distributional environmental justice can be explained by referring to the assumption that while the ones that will be directly affected will suffer from environmental damages and will be prevented to access basic sources and the other side (they say Northern Iraq) will benefit from it. A similar issue to this dimension of distributional environmental justice does also exist in one of the international cases of energy related issues and environmental justice. It is stated in the literature review energy related cases and environmental justice Case1 about an energy transmission line between the U.S-Mexico border. One of the main attributes of environmental justice is stated as while the U.S side will benefit from the energy obtained facility, Mexican side would be exposed to environmental damages. It is explained as paying disproportionate environmental damages as one side benefit and the other suffers. In the case of HEPP projects in İkitidere Rize,

people's claim is based on the idea that people living in a far place as Northern Iraq will benefit from electricity. However, people living in İkizdere will be the community who will be the ones that directly exposed to social damages caused by environmental damages which leads to an unfair distribution of the environmental-social damages resulted from an energy project.

Apart from a distinctive community and collective action, people express their complaints about HEPP construction processes as being individually exposed to environmental procedural injustice by intervening in their living spaces. In a tv news report, a family living in Artvin's Arhavi district expresses their complaints about HEPP construction activities near their house:

Because of the HEPP construction works, there are cracks in the houses. The construction of HEPPs are deadly threats for our lives. There is "inhabitable" (oturulamaz) report for the building we are living in, this report is ignored by the HEPP firm. Nobody listens to us, cares about us (Url-4).

In the above explanation, even if there is a complaint due to the environmental damage of HEPP construction activities, they complain about the fact that no one has listened to them in this process as they cannot get any response from the responsible and officials. It is a sign of procedural environmental injustice that they cannot get response concerning complaints about HEPP activities, even if they are the ones who are directly exposed to environmental and social damages. In the Black Sea Region, there are complaints about an ongoing HEPP project in Ordu, that the project continues despite the cancellation decision of the court. According to local community, even though the court has decided to stop the work of the project that would damage the environment badly, the governorship did not recognize the decision:

There has been an expert report presented to Giresun Civil Court of Peace on the irreversible damages of the project on the environment. The court has decided to stop the work. But the activities continue with the permission of the governor...The governorship does not provide accurate information...This project harms the environment...Despite the decision to cancel, they want to complete the project without asking anyone (Birgün, August 5, 2014).

At this point, the fact that the decision of the court is not applied and the continuation of an HEPP project that can harm the environment without sharing the correct information about its negative impacts supports the environmental procedural injustice aspects. Environmental procedural injustice frequently used in the time of EIA meetings of HEPP projects. In one of the HEPP projects in Fındıklı, Rize, community people reacted against the EIA report meetings since they think that there won't be responsible and accountable process in the meetings:

We came here to the EIA report participation meetings but we could not find anyone. They cannot come because there is nothing they can tell and there is no accurate information to give...There is no company representative here, where is participatory process and information? The meeting was delayed to an unknown date. To whom they ask? This is insincerity and there is no transparency (Birgün, February 2, 2015).

The fact that the meeting is not held because the responsible party is not involved means that the participation process of the public has not been taken into account. The participation of the party to be affected by the environmental damages, at the end of the day, has not been realized. It is possible to talk about environmental procedural injustice in this case where it is though that it is impossible to reach anyone in to be accountable and therefore it becomes impossible to access the accurate information. In one of the HEPP protest in Tunceli in 2013, it is also emphasized that the project will harm the environment and it si said that the work of the project is illegal:

HEPPs give harm to nature. This project will directly destroy the environment and our life. At present, the projcet does not have a zoning plan, there is no mention of this project in Dersim HEPP and Dams map for Tunceli. The ongoing works are illegal (Hürriyet, September 14, 2013).

In this HEPP protest about an HEPP project in Tunceli, which is thought to give harm to environment and which will directly affect the social life of the communities in the region there is the strike of environmental procedural injustice. The fact that the HEPP project is not shared with the public, no access to correct information, and the fact that the project continues without being asked and without a decision-making process support the procedural environmental injustice arguments.



## 5. CONCLUSION

Drawing from the HEPP example, it can be said that environmental movements in Turkey have started to rise in the neoliberal developmental system. For this reason, environmental movements originating from energy production have started to be seen more frequently. The environmental justice framework that has become widespread all over the world in the course of examining these movements is not explicitly used even though the discourses in Turkey refer to the environmental justice principles, rather those movements are explained through other theoretical frameworks. These theoretical perspectives do not adequately explain all the issues and principles involved in the intersection of human and environmental relations that are mentioned in discourses. At this point, the environmental justice framework provides a clear explanation. In addition to being a movement discourse, the concept of environmental justice has also become a paradigm and is being used as a theoretical framework. Geographically it has been a global influence extending from USA to Europe, Asia, Latin America and even Australia. As a matter of fact, it has become a frame which is also used in issues such as climate, food, energy and extraction issues.

In terms of a movement discourse and paradigm, the concepts of environment and social justice have come together both theoretically and actively in the concept of environmental justice. These concepts are conceived with the assumption that the environment and human beings are thought together. In Turkey, especially in the environmental movements that took place in 2000's, people's lives and environment relations are started to be emphasized more. In fact, in environmental movements that take place in 2000's, the concept of environmental justice, which clearly embodies such a relationship, has become visible. Especially in the context of the HEPP movements, attributes of environmental justice began to take place on a topic related to energy.

In this study, it was aimed to show that whether the concept of environmental justice emerges as a movement discourse in the context of HEPP protests in a geographical region like Turkey. The purpose of testing whether such a framework exists in the context of HEPP protests is that HEPP implementations of the government have caused increasing environmental movements in the 2000s. More precisely, it was aimed to test the hypothesis that HEPP protests in Turkey between 2002 and 2016 included environmental justice attributes. The result of the hypothesis testing shows that the concept of environmental justice has found its place in HEPP protest statements, and injustice is expressed in the framework, especially in terms of distributional and procedural justice dimensions. At this point, as indicated in the hypothesis, although the concept of justice does not directly seen, the research found that the attributes detected fit with the aspects that were outlined in the literature review of the conceptual framework of the study. In order to test the concept of environmental justice in Turkey in the context of HEPP, a discourse analysis of HEPP protest news within 2002-2016 years was made. As a result of this analysis, the discourses used in HEPP protest are in accordance with the principles stated in the definition of environmental justice stated in this study. Those principles of environmental justice were equal access to water, equal right to access water, equal access to participate in decision making process and equal access to the mechanisms and information that allows to participate in environmental decision making process through open legal procedures and responsive political institutions. The discourses found in accordance with those principles were discussed through the distributional and procedural justice aspects of environmental justice framework.

Looking at the prominent elements, the concern of being deprived of life resources expressed in HEPP protest was expressed in the aspect of distributional justice. The discourse of prevention of participation in decision-making processes has been represented in procedural justice. The issue of distributed environmental justice is represented by the right to water transportation in Turkey. The attributes used in the HEPP protests are similar, especially in terms of procedural justice, when compared with the concepts obtained in studies related to energy and environmental justice in the world.

To put in more detail, when the attributes of HEPP protesters are discussed within procedural and distributional dimensions, it is stated that the distributional environmental injustice attribute is deprivation of the source of livelihood. Since the water sources of people are taken away and their access to the right to use water is violated, it is thought that the damages resulting from the violation of the access to water are unfairly distributed. It is thought that those who will be deprived of their life sources will be the people who are directly and unequally exposed to the damages. The attributes related to procedural environmental injustice has been determined in terms of the absence of participation in the pre and post process of the construction of HEPPs, lack of access to information, the lack of responsible and accountable people along with non-responsive insitutions and lack of open legal procedures.

The attributes that have been discussed and tested in the study are based on the worries that the environment will be deteriorated in case any HEPP projet is constructed. The possibility of the potential environmental damage resulted from HEPP construction processes is being debated and accepted by many. However, the issue is not only about the environment, bt also about the social problems that would arise from potential environmental damage. Therefore, it is though that the social problems arise from human-environment relation leads to environmentally unjust processes about HEPPs in Turkey. The point that should be mentioned here is that the mere justice phrase does not used by people directly which is already mentioned in the news samples.

To give a conclusion in a broader context, The discourses that refers to environmental justice frameworks and principles in HEPP protests in Turkey is such that a concept like justice is hidden in HEPP's movements originating from energy production, even if it is not used by people themselves. It can be said that in Turkey, HEPP movements are based on a fundamental search for justice. Not only in HEPP movements but also in other environmental movements, for example anti-mining movements or movements against large projects (third bridge project, and the third airpot project) that can be counted as a reflection of neoliberal developmentalist implementations are also in a search for justice based on human and environmental

relations. In this sense, the environmental justice framework, which uses the human and environment-related concept of justice that can be seen in the discourses of environmental movements, may be a framework parallel to the frameworks in other academic studies. Therefore, the potential significance of this study is that a new and so-called unfamiliar framework for Turkey, such as environmental justice, has been explicitly used to understand the contested HEPP issue (a frequently discussed issue among public and government agenda) originating from energy policy implications dating back to 1980's. It can be said that as the HEPP protesters' attributes related to environmental justice are based on the effects on social life resulting from environmental damages on human life, the environmental justice issue which is started to show itself in Turkey emerges as a human centered concept that is used in this geography, as seen in the examples of HEPP movements.

Environmental justice framework can also be used for further issues, environmental justice studies within energy field in Turkey can be extended to mining, or thermoelectric power plants. In order to reach in-depth analysis for different cases, there may be the conduction of case studies in Turkey in order to go beyond the limitations this study. Because in addition to hydropower plant projects, coal, copper mining incidents are also discussed in public forums because of their negative impacts on people's livelihood. Especially, in 2016, Ministry of Energy and Natural Resources announced its strategic plan for the use of domestic energy sources, which indicates an emphasis on the use of domestic coal, sources besides mining related accidents and deaths are increasing. With that respect, a sector-based study should be carried out in mining industry in accordance with environmental justice demonstrations. Another theme could be thermoelectric power plant constructions and rising protests in different regions. In addition, field studies and case studies can be made by directly talking to local communities and state officials in order to go further for environmental justice analysis and energy politics issues in Turkey. Differing from energy politics and energy related cases, environmental justice studies could also have a broader range concerning water, housing, climate, food, transportation issues.



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**APPENDICIES**  
**APPENDIX A: News Examples**  
**APPNEDIX B: News List**



## APPENDIX A

BİRGÜN/2010- 26.11.2010

### PROTEST NEWS

- I. CASE 1: Protests against Draft Law on the Protection of Nature and Biological Diversity/HEPP threat in the Black Sea Region

Place: ANKARA/ TURKISH PARLIAMENT BUILDING

Key Attributes:

- Deprivation of the source of livelihood (water and land)
- Privatization of Water

Actors Involving: DerelerinKardeşliğiPlatformu/Brotherhood of Streams Platform

- II. CASE 2: Protests against the second HEPP Project in Manavgat Creek /Şule YILDIRIM

Place: Antalya-Manavgat

Key Attributes:

- Ignorance of hazardous impacts during construction processes
- Violation of human and other beings' rights
- Deprivation of forests and wildlife
- Hazardous impacts on nature

Actors Involving:

- Villagers of Korkuteli,Sülekler and Gümüşdamla
- Türkiye Tabiatı Koruma Derneği (Association for the Protection of the Nature of Turkey)
- Antalya Isparta Burdur Dereleri Gönülümce Aksın Platformu
- Enerji Sanayi Maden ve KamuEmekçileriSendikası
- Antalya İl Kültür ve Turizm Müdürlüğü

### FURTHER ISSUES

- I. CASE 1: HEPP REBEL IN ANKARA

PLACE: Ankara/ demonstrations for İkizdere Valley HEPP projects

Key Attributes:

- Rebelling against ongoing projects and process even though İkizdere Valley is declared as "Natural Site Area".
- No recognition of law.

HÜRRİYET / 2010- 11.1.2010-13.01.2010

### PROTEST NEWS

- I. CASE 1: HEPP Protest in Köyceğiz/January 11 and January 13

Place: Muğla, KöyceğizBeyobasıBeldesi-Protest against a project on Yuvarlakçay River

Key Attributes:

- Claiming that HEPPs will have hazardous impacts on nature



- Destruction of natural life /Right to be free from ecological destruction
- Violation of the right to use of water

Actors Involving:

- Aydın Doğa Dostları Yürüyüş Grubu
- Beyobası Beldes iBelediye Başkanı
- Environmentalists
- Yuvarlakçayı Koruma Platformu
- TEMA Volunteers

YENİŞAFAK /2010

PROTEST NEWS

I. CASE 1: HEPP Opponents' Journey as a protest /16.09.2010

Place: Ankara, Loç Valley

Key Attributes:

- Irreversible destructive impacts of HEPPs on natural life
- No recognition of social-cultural-historical values
- Hazardous impacts on the source of livelihood(water) and natural assets
- Complaints about "Water Use Right Agreement"
- Destruction of natural and human life
- Destruction of the source of livelihood

Actors Involving:

- Karşı Bisiklet Topluluğu
- BartınPlatformu

II. CASE 2: Journey of HEPP opponents in the Black Sea Region /15.11.2010

Place: Samsun, Hopa, Giresun

Key Attributes:

- Protection of the environment and the region
- Complaints about "Water Use Right Agreement"
- Complaints about public officials

Actors Involving:

- ÇorluBisikletTopluluğu
- GiresunDerelerinKardeşliğiPlatformu

HÜRRİYET/2011

PROTEST NEWS

I. CASE 1: HEPP PROTEST IN BAĞBAŞI: 16.09.2011

Place:Denizli, Bağbaşı

Key Attributes:

- Right to participate
- The fundamental right to clean water

Actors Involving:

- Townspeople
- HEPP company officials

SABAH / 2011-NO RELEVANT NEWS

YENİŞAFAK/2011

CASE 1: HEPP Protest against HEPP Projects in Black Sea Region/05.02.2011

Place: Taksim Square /İSTANBUL

Key Attributes:

- The right to use water
- Reaction against commercialization of water
- Reaction against capitalist system and its destructive impacts on human and natural life
- Worries about destruction of water sources; creeks,rivers, mountains, vallies
- Critiques of capitalist ecological destruction

Actors Involving:

- Hopa Dereleri Koruma Platformu Members

HÜRRİYET /2012 HEPP PROTEST NEWS

I. CASE: HEPP Protests in Cehennemdere / 09.07.2012

Place: Mersin Çamlıyayla/Cehennemdere

Key Attributes:

- Worries about environmental degradation
- Environmental decimation

Actors Involving:

- Cehennemdere HES'e Hayır Platformu
- Çevre Kültür Sanat Merkezi
- Fotoğraf Derneği Tarsus Şubesi
- Çukurova Off-Road
- Tarsus Off-Road
- Tarsus Güçbirliği Vakfı ve Doğaseverler Derneği
- Sebil Enerji Elektrik Üretim

SABAH 2012 HEPP NEWS

CASE 1: HEPP Protest in Uzungöl /28.02.2012

Place: Uzungöl, Çaykara/TRABZON

Key Attributes:

- Deprivation of the nature
- Worries about the future
- Destruction of the living area of human and other beings

Actors Involving:

- Local community people

2013 HEPP PROTEST NEWS

1. SABAH HEPP PROTEST NEWS /2013

CASE 1: HEPP Protest against an HEPP Project on Ahmetker Canyon, Manavgat /11.09.2013

Place: Ahmetler Village, Manavgat /ANTALYA

Key Attributes:

Deprivation of the source of the livelihood (agriculture, forest, farming)

Destruction of the organic agricultural activities

Worries about the destruction of the water use of Ahmetler Canyon, Erzican Yağca Village and Deliçay -NIABY

Actors Involving:

Local community people

Manavgat Deputy Mayor

AkeskiGüçlüköy Town Mayor

Ahmetler Village Kültür ve Dayanışma Derneği

AhmetlerKanyonunuKorumaPlatformu

CHP Manavgat District Head

MHP District Head

Worker's Party District Head

Eğitim-Sen

Eğitim-İş-Sen

Karadeniz Derelerin Birliđi Platformu

## HÜRRİYET 2014 HEPP NEWS

CASE 1: HEPP Protest in Kırıkkale /17.07.2014

Place: Kızılırmak-Karabucak Village, Çelebi District/KIRIKKALE

Key Attributes:

- The right to ethical, balanced and responsible use of land (Worries about irrigation problems if HEPP will be constructed)
- Adverse impacts on natural beauties

Actors Involving:

- Gendarmerie
- Provincial Security Directorate
- Karabucak Villagers

## BİRGÜN HEPP NEWS / 2014

CASE 1: Defending Life Against the construction of Kavak HEPP Project /04.07.2014-19.07.2014

Place: Kavak Village, Arhavi District /ARTVİN

Key Attributes:

- Struggle to defend right to live
- Worries about the destruction of people's and other beings' lives
- Complaints about the repression of people by the workers of HEPP company
- Not recognition of cultural heritage (exploitation of cultures)

Actors Involving:

- Artvin Nature Protection Platform
- MNG Holding
- Local village people

## YENİŞAFAK HEPP PROTEST NEWS /2014

CASE 1: HEPP Protest in Rize /04.05.2014

Place: İkizdere District /RİZE

Key Attributes:

- Worries about the habitat destruction
- Worries about ecological destruction

Actors Involving:

- Local people
  - Şimşirli Village Culture Association
- 

BİRGÜN HEPP PROTEST NEWS 2015

CASE 1: HEPP Protest in Artvin against Kavak HEPP Project by MNG Holding /23.05.2015

Place: Arhavi District /ARTVİN

Key Attributes:

- No recognition of cultural /social and environmental values
- Worries about environmental-social impacts on people and the nature

Actors Involving:

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- 
- Local people of Arhavi
  - Arhavi Protection of the Nature Platform

## HÜRRİYET/2015 HEPP NEWS /FURTHER ISSUES

### CASE 1: Seal of HEPP Project in Artvin/July 14 2015

Place: Kavak HEPP Project in Arhavi District /ARTVİN

#### Key Attributes:

- Response of justice when it comes to the destruction of the HEPP constructions

#### Actors Involving:

- Arhavi Protection of the Nature Platform
  - Arhavi Municipality
- 

## BİRGÜN 2016 HEPP PROTEST NEWS

### CASE 1: Protests Against the Construction of new HEPP project /23.06.2016

Place: Protest in İstanbul Galatasaray High School for HEPP Project in Alakır /ANTALYA

#### Key Attributes:

- Destruction of natural and cultural life
- Not implementing court decisions and continuing of the projects

- Demand for the respect for nature's rights
- Asking for the cancelation of projects since Alakır is accepted as naturally protected are by the Board of Natural Heritage

Actors Involving:

- Alakır Nehri Kardeşliği Platform Members
- Council of State
- Antalya Regional Administrative Court

SABAH NEWSPAPER HEPP NEWS 2016 /FURTHER ISSUES

NEW 1: Energy Investments of Government/07.02.2016

Key Attributes:

- Government emphasis on the use of domestic energy sources: HEPP and coal reserves
- Increasing government investments on HEPPs to reduce energy dependence

NEW 2: 500 Million Liras of Contribution of Deriner Dam to National Economy/16.06.2016

Key Attributes:

- Report of the Minister of Forest and Water Affairs: “It is quite necessary for Turkey to construct new HEPPs in Turkey”
- Government’s focus on HEPP s in order to reduce energy dependence of the country

YENİŞAFAK NEWSPAPER HEPP NEWS 2016/FURTHER ISSUES

NEW 1: Six Billions of Contribution to National Economy by HEPPs: Reported by the Minister of Forest and Water Affairs Veysel Eroğlu/ 19.05.2016

Key Attributes:

- Focus on high rates of dependency on imported/external sources
  - %29.4 of the energy of the country is supplied by HEPPs with 27,7 billion kWh electricity production
-



APPENDIX B: NEWS LIST

| <b>SABAH</b>     |  |                                |
|------------------|--|--------------------------------|
| 18.08.2008       | Rizeliler "İkizdere özgür aksın" diyor                   | Mustafa BAYRAK                 |
| 09.08.2008       | İkizdere'de hidroelektrik santrali protestosu            | Mustafa BAYRAK                 |
| 23.08.2008       | Erdoğan: Asıl çevreci benim                              | Enis YILDIRIM - Mustafa BAYRAK |
| 17.05.2013       | Erzincan'da köylünün HES nöbeti                          | İHA                            |
| 21.04.2012       | Hes'ler Türkiye'nin sigortası                            | AA                             |
| 28.08.2012       | Uzungöl HES'e karşı                                      | İHA                            |
| 11.09.2013       | HES için protesto  | -                              |
| 16.06.2016       | Milli ekonomiye 500 milyon lira katkı daha               | AA                             |
| 10.09.2006       | Kurulacak HES'ler Fırtına Vadisi Milli Park ve SİT alanı | Pervin KAPLAN                  |
| 10.09.2006       | Rizeliler HES nöbeti tutuyor                             | Pervin KAPLAN                  |
| 28.09.2006       | Başbakanlığa "Hasankeyf" Davası                          | CHA                            |
| <b>YENİŞAFAK</b> |  |                                |
|                  | HES karşıtları Bartın'a ulaştı                           | -                              |
| 27.10.2010       | Umarım HES'teki hatadan dönerler                         | -                              |
| 15.11.2010       | HES'lere karşı pedal çeviriyorlar                        | Giresun (AA)                   |
| 05.02.2011       | Horon eşliğinde HES protestosu                           | CHA                            |
| 15.09.2012       | HES inşaatında 2 araç yakıldı                            | AA                             |
| 13.10.2012       | "HES'ler ülkemizin menfaatine"                           | -                              |
| 25.11.2014       | Kutsal mekamlar HES olmayacak                            | Ali BAYRAMOĞLU                 |
| 04.05.2014       | Rize'de HES protestosu                                   | Oktay MEHMET                   |
| 26.08.2015       | Bakanlık'tan HES açıklaması                              | AA                             |
| 02.05.2016       | HES'lerden ülke ekonomisine 6 milyar lira katkı          | AA                             |
| 08.01.2016       | Kayseri'de baraj ve HES bereketi                         | AA                             |
| 15.10.2016       | HES karşıtlarına 'gaza gelmeyin' uyarısı                 | İHA                            |

Table B. 1: HEPP News in Sabah and Yenişafak

| <b>BİRGÜN</b> |  |                         |
|---------------|--|-------------------------|
| 26.11.2010    | Ankara'da HES isyanı   | Anıl Erol               |
| 23.08.2014    | Arhavi halkı HES zaferini sokata kutladı   | -                       |
| 05.08.2014    | Munzur'da HES'lere karşı 5 kilometrelik halay  | -                       |
| 10.12.2014    | Damıstay: HES'ler zarar verir  | -                       |
| 25.09.2014    | Ahmetler Kanyonu'ndaki HES durduruldu  | -                       |
| 05.09.2014    | Susuz HES, kafasına göre devam ediyor  | -                       |
| 05.08.2014    | Mahkeme zararlı dedi, valinin umrunda olmadı   | -                       |
| 14.10.2014    | Bilirkişi heyeti HES'i savunuyor   | Seçil TÜRKKAN           |
| 23.07.2014    | Yeni Hasankeyf istemiyoruz!  | Hasan TURHAN            |
| 03.10.2014    | Can suyundan çalan HES iptal!  | Seçil TÜRKKAN           |
| 28.07.2014    | HES mücadelesi festivalle sürüyor  | Hasan TURHAN            |
| 04.07.2014    | 'Derenin gerçek sahipleri biziz'   | -                       |
| 12.07.2014    | 'HES yapma boşuna, yıkacağız başına'   | DHA                     |
| 19.09.2014    | İkinci Alkumru endişesi  | Seçil TÜRKKAN           |
| 19.07.2014    | Yaşamı savunanlar HES'lere direniyor   | -                       |
| 03.11.2014    | Munzur'da dördüncü HES'e de iptal  | -                       |
| 26.08.2014    | AKP'lilerin 'HES'lere 'Evet' eylemi!   | Muhammet KAÇAR-DHA      |
| 18.11.2015    | Susuz HES bitti bitecek ama davası başlamadı   | Yunus ALAÇAM            |
| 18.02.2015    | Fındıklı halkı protesto etti: Toplantı bilinmeyen bir tarihe ertelenedi                    | Ömer ŞAN - Çağdaş Güneş |
| 23.05.2015    | Arhavi'de 'çılgın HES'e geçit yok: Elini suyumuzdan çek MNG!                               | -                       |
| 26.02.2015    | HES'sizlik lütfen: Bursa'da yurttaşlar ÇED toplantısına izin vermedi                       | -                       |
| 11.09.2015    | Salihli halkı HES'çileri davul - zurnayla kovdu  | Mert GÜMÜŞ              |
| 15.07.2015    | Üç HES projesine iptal kararı  | -                       |
| 24.01.2015    | HES savunmaları 'Yabani hayvanların ayağı yok mu, kuş da uçursun gitsin canım' seviyesinde | -                       |
| 28.05.2015    | Ordu'nun dereleri artık akıyor   | -                       |
| 14.01.2015    | Yargı Şavşat'ın katline 'dur' dedi   | -                       |
| 18.12.2015    | Köylüler HES'i iptal ettirdi   | -                       |
| 23.07.2015    | "HES'lere bir kaşık su dahi yok!"  | Ömer ŞAN                |
| 17.05.2015    | HES'lerde balıklara hayat yok  | -                       |
| 22.05.2015    | Kastamonu'da HES'ler yaban hayatı öldürüyor  | -                       |
| 25.08.2015    | HES'ler için emsal karar   | Olgu kundakçı           |
| 01.09.2015    | Anzer'in de katli vacip mi?  | Ömer ŞAN                |

|                   |   |                     |
|-------------------|---|---------------------|
| <b>04.06.2016</b> | <b>HES Manavgat'ın ölüm fermanıdır</b>                                | <b>Doğu EROĞLU</b>  |
| <b>15.04.2016</b> | <b>Bilirkişi yapısal sorunları saydı 'Ardanuç 7-8 HES' iptal oldu</b> | <b>-</b>            |
| <b>15.02.2016</b> | <b>Loç Vadisi'nde HES yoksa, taş ocağı da yok</b>                     | <b>-</b>            |
| <b>22.06.2016</b> | <b>Yargıya rağmen HES çalışmaya devam etti</b>                        | <b>Uğur ŞAHİN</b>   |
| <b>22.06.2016</b> | <b>Doğal SİT alanında vahşi çöplük!</b>                               | <b>Ömer ŞAN</b>     |
| <b>23.06.2016</b> | <b>Alakır rant değil, koruma alanıdır</b>                             | <b>Sevil ASLAN</b>  |
| <b>28.03.2016</b> | <b>Ardanuç halkı HES'e karşı bekliyor</b>                             | <b>-</b>            |
| <b>21.03.2016</b> | <b>Artvin'de yaşam direnişine gözaltı</b>                             | <b>Demet SARGIN</b> |
| <b>24.12.2016</b> | <b>HES hayata geçerse yaşam kaynağı biter</b>                         | <b>Bahar AKSAÇ</b>  |
| <b>19.12.2016</b> | <b>Göktepe'de HES'e karşı direniş başladı</b>                         | <b>-</b>            |
| <b>17.11.2016</b> | <b>"Dünyadaki en büyük çevreci benim"</b>                             | <b>Burcu CANSU</b>  |

**Table B. 2:HEPP News in Birgün**

## HÜRRİYET

|            |  |                                 |
|------------|--|---------------------------------|
| 03.03.2013 | 2 bin metrede HES'lere hayır   | -                               |
| 28.07.2011 | 2 HES projesine iptal  | Muhammt KAÇAR                   |
| 30.09.2011 | 4 HES'e durdurma   | Hakan<br>KABAHASANOĞLU          |
| 16.09.2011 | 12 saatlik HES direnişi  | Nursima ÖZONUR -<br>Kerim BURCU |
| 22.04.2014 | 13 yılda 315 HES tamamlandı  |                                 |
| 05.10.2015 | 2030 iklim hedefimiz: Tam gaz HES                                      | Erdoğan ÇELİKKAN                |
| 07.09.2013 | Alakır için yumurtalı protesto   | DHA                             |
| 22.08.2013 | Alakır'da HES direnişi   | Mehmet ÇINAR-DHA                |
| 15.06.2015 | Alara'da HES inadı   | Hürriyet Haber                  |
| 31.05.2011 | Anadolu Yürüyüşü'nden Anadolu Direnişi'ne                              | Yalçın BAYER                    |
| 06.07.2014 | Anayasa Mahkemesi'nden çevreyi kurtaran karar                          | Melis ALPHAN                    |
| 12.04.2011 | Antalyalı çevreciler büyük yürüyüş başlattı                            | Mehmet ÇINAR - DHA              |
| 15.06.2015 | Arhavi'de HES kamulaştırması için şantiyede pazarlık davetine protesto | DHA                             |
| 29.06.2015 | Arhavi'de HES keşfi için gelenleri türküyle karşıladılar               | Muhammmet KAÇAR-<br>DHA         |
| 28.11.2015 | Arhavi'de HES tepkisi sürüyor  | Muhammmet KAÇAR-<br>DHA         |
| 09.03.2011 | Artvin Camili Vadisi'ndeki HES projesine durdurma                      | AA                              |
| 2013       | Ayvalı Baraj inşaatına ayakkabılı protesto                             | Murat AYDIN - DHA               |
| 29.01.2013 | Bakan Bey enerjide gerçekleri söylemeli                                | Yalçın BAYER                    |
| 06.04.2011 | Bastonla HES eylemi  | Muhammet KAÇAR - DHA            |
| 08.05.2012 | Bir HES yazısı bin ses getirdi   | Ege CANSEN                      |
| 16.08.2011 | Bir HES zaferi daha  | Hürriyet Haber                  |
| 25.02.2014 | Bir HES'e daha dur   | Emre BAYLAN-DHA                 |
| 11.07.2011 | Can verir su vermeyiz  | DHA                             |
| 09.07.2012 | Cehennemdere ağlattı   | Tolunay DUMAN - DHA             |
| 23.12.2014 | CHP'den 'Karadeniz çevre raporu'                                       | DHA                             |
| 05.04.2011 | Çağlayan Vadisi Danıştay kararıyla kurtuldu                            | Muhammet KAÇAR - DHA            |
| 19.09.2012 | 'ÇED' almak kolaylaşacak çevreciler çok kızacak                        | Aysel ALP                       |
| 15.05.2013 | Çevreciler HES'lere savaş açtı   | Nedim KOVAN - DHA               |
| 14.02.2011 | Çevrecilerden HES'e suçüstü  | Muhammet KAÇAR - DHA            |
| 16.06.2014 | Çevrecilere HES ihtarı   | Mehmet ÇINAR - DHA              |
| 21.07.2011 | Çevrecilere protestodan önce gözaltı                                   | Muhammet KAÇAR - DHA            |
| 12.02.2012 | Çevrecilerin HES zaferi  | DHA                             |
| 02.08.2011 | Çığlık köylüleri HES için ayakta                                       | Erdem KÖSE - DHA                |
|            |  |                                 |

|            |   |   |
|------------|---|---|
| 14.07.2015 | <b>Çılgın HES'e zoraki mühür</b>  | <b>Ali DAĞLAR</b>                         |
| 19.08.2014 | <b>Danıştay dur dedi, bakanlık olur verdi</b>   | <b>Mehmet ÇINAR</b>                       |
| 20.12.2013 | <b>Danıştay'ın 'su kullanım hakkı' anlaşmasını iptal kararı ayakkabı kutusundan çıktı</b> | <b>Muhammet KAÇAR</b>                     |
| 21.11.2010 | <b>Direnişin rengi köylülerden rap</b>  | <b>Süleyman İLTER - Cihan KAYA</b>        |
| 12.08.2014 | <b>Doğal SİT alanlarında HES yapımına izin verilmeyecek</b>                               | <b>DHA</b>                                |
| 08.09.2011 | <b>Dokundurmayız</b>  | <b>Muhammet KAÇAR</b>                     |
| 14.07.2014 | <b>Edremit'te tepki yürüyüşü</b>  | <b>Ahmet ERTAN</b>                        |
| 05.04.2011 | <b>Eli bastonlu nineler HES eyleminde yürüdü</b>  | <b>Kerim BURCU - DHA</b>                  |
| 27.03.2011 | <b>Erdoğan, "risk"i köprü ve otomobile savundu, nükleer santral hedefini 4'e çıkardı.</b> | <b>Merve ERDİL - Ümit ÇETİN</b>           |
| 28.02.2011 | <b>Eroğlu: En çevreci hükümet biziz</b>   | <b>AA</b>                                 |
| 11.03.2011 | <b>Giresun'da 7 HES'e durdurma kararı</b>   | <b>Haksın Kabahasanoğlu - DHA</b>         |
| 20.02.2011 | <b>Gönüllü Robinsonlar HES'e karşı albüm yaptı</b>  | <b>Barış Akpolat</b>                      |
| 22.11.2013 | <b>Haklısınız, HES'ler dereleri mahvediyor</b>  | <b>Erdoğan ÇELİKKAN</b>                   |
| 05.06.2014 | <b>Havva Bir: Yine dayak yeriz, bu yoldan doğadan vazgeçmeyiz</b>                         | <b>Umut ERDEM</b>                         |
| 04.10.2011 | <b>Herkes dava açar</b>   | <b>Ali DAĞLAR</b>                         |
| 14.09.2011 | <b>HES doğrusu</b>  | <b>Salih TEKİN - DHA</b>                  |
| 31.05.2014 | <b>HES eyleminde arbede çıktı</b>   | <b>Hürriyet Haber</b>                     |
| 13.03.2011 | <b>HES kararı kızdırdı</b>  | <b>Muhammet KAÇAR - DHA</b>               |
| 08.06.2011 | <b>HES karşıtı mücadelenin halkın gözünden belgeseli</b>                                  | <b>Hürriyet Haber</b>                     |
| 01.03.2011 | <b>HES lisansı iptali için emsal karar</b>  | <b>AA</b>                                 |
| 27.09.2011 | <b>HES meydan savaşı</b>  | <b>Nursima ÖZONUR - Kerim BURCU - DHA</b> |
| 27.01.2011 | <b>HES projelerine karşı çıktılar</b>   | <b>Hürriyet Haber</b>                     |
| 25.09.2011 | <b>HES tutuklamalarına protesto</b>   | <b>AA</b>                                 |
| 05.08.2014 | <b>HES tüneline karşı çıktılar, bilgilendirme toplantısı yaptırmadılar</b>                | <b>Hürriyet Haber</b>                     |
| 15.02.2010 | <b>HES yapımı ve ağaç kesimine şarkılı tepki</b>  | <b>AA</b>                                 |
| 13.08.2014 | <b>HES yasakları</b>  | <b>Hürriyet Haber</b>                     |
| 17.07.2014 | <b>HES yüzünden köylülere PES dedirten uygulama</b>                                       | <b>CHA</b>                                |
| 17.12.2013 | <b>HES zaferini keşkekle kutladılar</b>   | <b>Cihan KAYA - DHA</b>                   |

|            |   |                              |
|------------|---|------------------------------|
| 01.06.2014 | HES, cenneti çöle çevirdi                                     | Kadir SABUNCUOĞLU - DHA      |
| 13.02.2010 | HES'e karşı çevre nöbeti                                      | Haber Merkezi                |
| 06.08.2011 | HES'e karşı Ödük  | Kerim BURCU - DHA            |
| 14.12.2013 | HES'ler olmasaydı Türkiye elektriksiz kalırdı                 | Ankara - Bakan'ın Açıklaması |
| 05.03.2014 | HES'lere karşı Hevsel direnişi                                | Erdoğan ÇELİKKAN             |
|            | HES'te köylülerin istediği oldu                               | Hürriyet Haber               |
| 30.06.2011 | Hopa HES ettirdi  | Hürriyet Haber               |
| 01.07.2011 | Hopa'daki HES'e şirket iptali                                 | Muhammet KAÇAR - DHA         |
| 22.07.2011 | Hopa'da HES protestosu  | Muhammet KAÇAR - DHA         |
| 19.08.2013 | İkizdere'de HES istemiyoruz eylemi                            | AA                           |
| 01.08.2011 | İnek sattıran "HES" davasında mutlu son                       | Muhammet KAÇAR - DHA         |
| 19.09.2012 | Kaaradeniz'de HES sayısı 375 olacak                           | Hürriyet Haber               |
| 06.02.2011 | Kaş isyanı  | Hürriyet Haber               |
| 05.09.2011 | Kaş'ta HES protestosu   | Pınar AYAR - DHA             |
| 17.07.2014 | Kırıkkale'de HES protestosu                                   | AA                           |
| 19.06.2012 | Köylü Kadınların 'Hes öfkesi'                                 | Halil EĞRİBOYUN              |
| 04.05.2014 | Köylünün dev bayraklı HES yürüyüşü                            | Muhammet KAÇAR - DHA         |
| 04.03.2011 | Mahkeme 2 kez durdurdu, Bakanlık 'olur' verdi                 | Muhammet KAÇAR - DHA         |
| 14.08.2014 | Mısır koçanı ile HES protestosu                               | Rıza ÖZEL                    |
| 04.11.2014 | Munzur'da 4 HES iptal   | Ferit DEMİR - DHA            |
| 28.07.2011 | Munzur'da çevrecileri sevindirecek karar                      | Ferit DEMİR - DHA            |
| 22.01.2013 | O proje iptal   | DHA                          |
| 21.02.2012 | O savunacak   | ANKA                         |
| 24.02.2016 | Ordu'nun dereleri HES tehdidinde                              | DHA                          |
| 10.02.2013 | Pülümür Barajı ve HES iptal                                   | Ferit DEMİR - DHA            |
| 04.06.2016 | Rize'de dereler suya hasret kaldı, vadiler çöp deposu oldu    | Muhammet KAÇAR - DHA         |
| 16.01.2013 | Rize'de HES protestosu  | AA                           |
| 19.06.2015 | Rize'de HES'lere karşı çıkan Şimşirli Köylüleri hakkında dava | Muhammet KAÇAR - DHA         |
| 16.09.2011 | Rize'de içme suyu tesisi üzerinde HES kuracaklar              | Muhammet KAÇAR - DHA         |
| 31.05.2011 | Rize'deki HES protestosu                                      | AA                           |
| 17.12.2015 | Rizeli inadı 9 yıl sonra HES'i iptal ettirdi                  | Muhammet KAÇAR - DHA         |
| 10.12.2014 | Salarha Vadisi'nde HES'e ÇED iptali kesinleşti                | Hürriyet Haber               |

|            |  |                      |
|------------|--|----------------------|
| 11.09.2015 | Salihli'de HES tepkisi                         | Ekrem ÇAĞLAR - DHA   |
| 16.07.2011 | Şavşat'ta HES'e durdurma                       | AA                   |
| 12.05.2014 | Senoz Vadisi'ne 6 yıl sonra iyi haber          | Muhammet KAÇAR - DHA |
| 25.04.2014 | Senoz'da ÇED tepkisi                           | Muhammet KAÇAR       |
| 23.06.2013 | Son 10 yılın çevrecilik karnesi                | Yücel SÖNMEZ         |
| 13.12.2012 | Su akar Türk yapar                             | Ankara               |
| 01.01.2012 | Şavşat'taki HES'e yürütmeyi durdurma           | Muhammet KAÇAR - DHA |
| 06.06.2016 | Şehiriçi HES'e Damıstay'dan devam              | İdris EMEN           |
| 30.07.2013 | Tartışmalı HES'lerde referandum şartı          | Bülent SARIOĞLU      |
| 27.03.2011 | Tescilli cennete HES yapılamaz                 | Hürriyet Haber       |
| 27.09.2011 | Tortum'da HES protestosu                       | Nursima ÖZONUR - DHA |
| 15.07.2014 | Trabzon'da HES protestosu                      | AA                   |
| 26.07.2012 | Tunceli'de HES santrali savaş alanına döndü    | DHA                  |
| 14.09.2013 | Tuncelilerin HES tepkisi: Doğaya zarar veriyor | Recep DEMİRCİ - DHA  |
| 16.11.2013 | Vali Kızılcık'tan HES açıklaması               | Osman ŞİŞKO - DHA    |
| 26.03.2012 | Van Gölü'nde HES kavgası                       | Osman Bekleyen - DHA |
| 21.08.2014 | Ve Çılgın HES'e ÇED onayı durduruldu           | Ali DAĞLAR           |
| 24.08.2014 | Zafer Horonu                                   | Muhammet KAÇAR - DHA |

Table B. 3: HEPP News in Hürriyet





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