

**ENVIRONMENTAL PRESSURE GROUPS
IN TURKEY**

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**The Institute of Economics and Social Sciences
of
Bilkent University**

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FEZA SENCER ÇÖRTOĞLU

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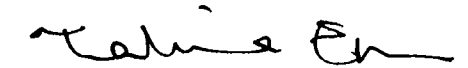
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ABSTRACT

ENVIRONMENTAL PRESSURE GROUPS IN TURKEY

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This research examines the role of Turkish environmental pressure groups in the development of environmentalism and their role in the development of civil society in Turkey by taking into consideration three main Turkish environmental groups- the Environment Foundation of Turkey, the Society for the Protection of Nature and the Turkish Association for the Conservation of Nature and Natural Resources.

Keywords: Associations, Conservative Groups, Ecologist Groups, Environmental Groups, Foundations, Interest Groups, New Social Movements Theory, Non-Governmental Organizations, Pressure Groups, Resource Mobilization Theory

ÖZET

TÜRKİYE'DEKİ ÇEVRECİ BASKI GRUPLARI

Feza Sencer Çörtoğlu

Siyaset Bilimi ve Kamu Yönetimi Bölümü

Tez Yöneticisi: Ahmet İçduygu

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Bu araştırma, Türkiye'deki çevreci baskı gruplarının çevreciliğin gelişmesindeki rollerini ve Türkiye'deki sivil toplumun gelişmesine olan etkilerini, Türkiye'nin üç önemli çevre kuruluşu olan Türkiye Çevre Vakfı, Doğal Hayatı Koruma Derneği ve Türkiye Tabiatını Koruma Derneği'ni esas alarak incelemektedir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Baskı Grupları, Çevreci Gruplar, Çıkar Grupları, Dernekler, Ekolojist Gruplar, Hükümet Dışı Kuruluşlar, Kaynak Seferberliği Teorisi, Muhafazakar Gruplar, Vakıflar, Yeni Sosyal Hareketler Teorisi

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

In this research, the environmental pressure groups, which are also called non-governmental organizations in an international context is examined and a comparison of Western and Turkish main environmental groups, namely, the Environment Foundation of Turkey (EFT), the Society for the Protection of Nature (SPN)¹ and the Turkish Association for the Conservation of Nature and Natural Resources (TACN) is made within the environmental movement in order to analyze their role in the Turkish political system.

Environmental organizations are important mainly for two reasons. The first reason is that the gap between the civil society and the state in liberal democracy is partially fulfilled by environmental organizations which operate as a bridge between these separated realms. The second one is that the increased environmental degradation all around the world can not be ceased because of the ineffectiveness of national governments and international bodies, therefore as a result of their inability in solving these environmental issues, the Western environmental groups try to influence their political systems to pursue more effective policies to stop environmental degradation. These have been the reasons that have led me to conduct research on environmental groups in Turkey since Turkish environmental groups are as much important as their Western counterparts to take over the responsibility described above.

Although the environmental groups have great importance for the development of the environmentalism in Turkey, detailed analyses of the environmental groups could not be found in the environmental literature of Turkey. We can see some researches on the activities of these groups but these researches have not been conducted on the basis of ideological orientations within the

¹In this research, the 'SPN' is used to refer to DHKD, however, Doğal Hayatı Koruma Derneği uses DHKD in both national and international interactions.

environmental movement. In this respect, this research can be a helpful contribution to Turkish environmental literature with its detailed ideological examination of the three Turkish environmental groups referred above.

In defining the environmental groups in this study, although the terms pressure groups and interest groups are used interchangeably with the same meaning due to the lack of a clear distinction between pressure and interest groups, the term 'pressure group' is generally used and preferred to emphasize the environmental groups that influence the political decision-making process in a passive or active way. The term 'NGO' (non-governmental organization) is also used to refer to the pressure groups (or interest groups), but in general this term is used in the international context. Therefore, I prefer using the term pressure groups (or interest groups) for national environmental politics and the term NGO for global environmental politics.

In this research, the ideological dichotomy in the Western environmental movement is used in the examination of Turkish environmental groups. Although the interest groups (or pressure groups) are part of the environmental movement whose driving force is empowered by the ideology of political ecology, the majority of environmental interest groups generally behave in conservative manner which is different from the theme of political ecology. Ecological groups which form the minority in environmental movement have a different approach from the conservative groups. Because of this dichotomy among the interest groups, the Resource Mobilization (RM) theory is employed to examine conservative interest groups and the New Social Movements (NSMs) theory is employed to examine ecological interest groups. However, in the case of Turkey, in this research, it is claimed that, although the environmental groups, namely, EFT, SPN and TACN, are similar to their Western conservative pressure group counterparts regarding their organization, activities, and membership, they are also akin to Western ecological pressure groups with respect to their demands for more participation in politics. In this regard, it can be claimed that the NSMs theory can also be applied in some aspects to these three Turkish environmental groups.

The ideological dichotomy between the conservative groups and the ecologist groups is the main determinant to examine these groups' organizational structures and activities, and their role in their political systems. The ideological stand of conservative and ecologist groups substantially divides them in the environmental movement. The conservative environmental groups tend to work in a close cooperation with state and business groups and they are not against the functioning of the system. For them the deficiencies of the system can be overcome in a reformist way without any radical change in the socio-economic political system. Whereas the ecological groups are entirely against the functioning of the system and they try to replace the system with a new one. In this sense, ecological groups are revolutionary groups within the environmental movement and they reject any cooperation with the state and business because the ecological groups accuse them as being responsible for the environmental destruction.

In this thesis, first, the evolution of Western environmentalism and Western environmental groups, and secondly, the development of Turkish environmentalism and Turkish environmental groups are examined in order to compare their similarities and differences between these movements and to find out the influence of Western environmentalism on Turkish environmentalism. Finally, the three Turkish environmental groups are analyzed according to the conservative and ecological group approaches in an environmental movement.

The research on the three Turkish environmental groups is mainly based on the interviews with the representatives of these groups, namely, Engin Ural (EFT), Tansu Gürpınar (SPN), and Hasan Asmaz (TACN). The lack of available resources which reflect the internal structure of these groups has led me to resort to a direct data collection through interviews. These persons have been asked the same questions and then the internal structure of these groups have been analyzed. In addition to interviews, written documents about these groups are also used in the research.

The significance of environmental NGOs and the ways in which they reinforced the development of civil society in liberal democracies in the West is

examined in Chapter II, which also covers the relationship between the social movements and interest groups and the Resource Mobilization and New Social Movements theories. Political ecology which is the driving force of the environmental movement is explained in this chapter. The general concept and the classification of NGOs and their degree of effectiveness as pressure groups is elaborated. Furthermore, the evolution of environmentalism and then environmental pressure groups in new environmental movement are also investigated in this chapter with special emphasis on the Stockholm and Rio Conferences.

Chapter III is devoted to Turkish environmentalism. In this context, the relationship between civil society and the state is analyzed and the importance of volunteer organizations as the third sector in private realm, and the development of foundations and associations and their legal base are examined. Finally, the evolution of environmentalism and the environmental organizations in Turkey are discussed in this Chapter.

In Chapter IV, EFT, SPN and TACN, the three main environmental organizations in Turkey, are analyzed in a comparative perspective with environmental NGOs in the West, and their history, missions, and organizational resources are specifically emphasized. Chapter IV also investigates these organizations' relationship with bureaucracy, political parties and the media. Finally, their approach to the use of nuclear energy, and their main activities are discussed in this chapter.

CHAPTER II

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF ENVIRONMENTAL NGOs IN WESTERN LIBERAL DEMOCRACIES

2.1 CIVIL SOCIETY AND LIBERAL DEMOCRACY

The civil society in liberal democracy has gained great importance in Western countries as a result of changes in economic, social and political conditions. The isolation of civil society from the decision-making process brings about a serious legitimacy problem for the political systems in Western liberal democracies.

Before the 1980's, it was believed that a political system's legitimacy could only be gained by the viability and efficiency of the system. If a country failed to be economically stable, there would be a legitimacy crisis in the eyes of the political scientists. However, it is now understood that there is no one-to-one relationship between legitimacy and efficiency in a political system. The reason for the legitimacy crisis derives from the lack of effective representation of citizens in the political system. When citizens can not voice their views, opinions and beliefs in the system, these citizens lose their confidence in the political system. The strict separation of public and private spheres in liberal democracy is the main cause of this problem. Politics remains in the public sphere in which only the state can effectively be dominant in policy making. And the ordinary citizen who remains in the private sphere which is identical with civil society, has no effective role in the political system. As a result, such a distinction of the state and the society negatively influences the efficient representation of citizens in politics. This argument leads us to a problem of liberal democracy - the problem is that the personal is not accepted as political

in liberal democracy. However, in the opinions of ecologists², in the same direction with other modern social movements, the personal is political and what are usually regarded by the larger society as private matters have a political dimension and that political change begins at home.³

In liberal democracy, the separation of public and private spheres and the definition of public sphere as a domain in which anyone who enters this domain accepted as political bring about the negligence of private sphere and also personal identity. Crosland's⁴ critique can be used to illustrate this failure;

The private sphere is at present more cramped and restricted than ideally it should be. But then the question arises of how that sphere is to be enlarged, if not by political action. And how is such action to be taken if people do not, by participating in politics, express their dissatisfactions with the present limited scope of private life.

So in order to terminate the inequality between the public and private realms, the entities in private sphere should have the same value as public sphere and private sphere should be political.

When we look at the state in liberal democracy, state is granted legitimacy to save the order. However, order is the one which is constructed by rationality which gives no place to the private entities. Although state is the instrument of protecting the individual rights in public sphere, it is also the wall in which demands of other entities are blocked by physical force of the state. Therefore, liberal values including individualism, freedom, liberty, tolerance are protected by the state in public realm. In the private realm, however, the citizens who are the members of the civil society can not benefit sufficiently from these liberal values because the demand of civil society to make use of these rights is

² Ecologists are the main figures of the environmental movement and they represent the eco-centric political wing of the movement and they are also known as Greens.

³ Dimitrios Roussopoulos, *Political Ecology* (New York:Black Rose Books, 1993), 115.

⁴ Anthony Crosland, "Socialism Now." (Jonathan Cape: 1974), 89. In A. Arblaster, "The Rise and Decline of Western Liberalism." (Basil Blackwell: Oxford, 1984), 70.

not accepted by the liberal state which treats the private sphere as the natural place where there is no social dimension.

The same concern is also evinced by Claus Offe⁵ who proposes a model of the reconstitution of civil society which is movement centered. Offe assumes the complementarity of party and social movement forms of organization. In other words, he offers the complementarity of parliamentary and grass-roots forms of politics. By proposing this kind of a model, Offe constructs a bridge between the will of the citizens and the state. From this perspective, environmental pressure groups⁶ are very important in the establishment of this bridge which prevents the depoliticizing tendencies of liberal democracies against the private realm.

As a result of the negligence of civil society by the Western liberal democracies, civil society theory emerged in the 1980's in order to protect civil society from the negative effects of aggressive powers⁷. These aggressive powers include, on the one hand, the political power of the state and on the other, the economic power of money. Civil society theory places civil society on the side of agency, creativity, activity, productivity, freedom, and life itself. However, civil society theory identifies the properties of the economic and political systems in the West in essentially pejorative terms: that are conformity, consumerism, passivity, necessity. It is evident that civil society theory is very appropriate for the assumptions of Green thought in the environmental movement.

⁵ Claus Offe, "The New Social Movements: Challenging the Boundaries of Institutional Politics," *Social Research* 52:4 (1985), 819-820. In Andrew Arato and Jean Cohen, "Civil Society and Political Theory" (Cambridge:Institute of Technology Press, 1992), 42-48.

⁶Environmental pressure groups can also be defined as an environmental non- governmental organizations (NGOs) in an international context.

⁷ Robert Fine, "Civil Society Theory, Enlightenment and Critique" *Democratization* 4:1 (Spring 1997), 9.

2.2 SOCIAL MOVEMENTS AND INTEREST GROUPS

In liberal democracies, today political system is based upon the interaction of three actors. These actors are interest groups, social movements and political parties. They sometimes work together and have the same approach or sometimes each has a different perspective on social problems and they offer different solutions to the problems of society. Especially, the approaches of social movements and the interest groups are open to debate for the political scientists because there is no consensus on whether social movements and interest groups work together or have sharp distinct approaches to political issues.

According to Willet,⁸ there is a belief that pressure groups (or interest groups) tend to work within the established system to influence policy-making with their bureaucratized structure, in which the rigid bureaucracy does not allow its members to voice their demands and to criticize the political system, in contrast to social movement that is the fundamental process being analyzed in long term while claiming social and political changes within each country. However, for Willet, the two approaches are complementary. If a social movement does have an impact, this will be because of the particular organizations that are focusing on specific targets for change.

On the other hand, Scott⁹ claims that German Green movement proves the fact that there is a high degree of diversity of aims and ideology within and between social movements, and this diversity undermines the attempts to treat them as cohesive and coherent responses to a single social development rather than to a broad one. Social movements are neither necessarily progressive or regressive. There are important elements of continuity between new social movement ideology and traditional ideological divisions between Left and Right or Reform and Revolution.

⁸ Peter Willets, "From Stockholm to Rio and beyond: The impact of the Environmental Movement on the United Nations Consultative Arrangements for NGOs" *Review of International Studies* 22 (1996), 61.

⁹ Alan Scott, *Ideology and the New Social Movements* (London: Unwin Hyman, 1990), 105-106.

Therefore, we can conclude that although social movements are identified with the collective action of interest groups, the aim of interest groups is different than the social movements. Because the majority of interest groups do not show a tendency to change the established order. So today, there is a contradiction between the interest groups and contemporary social movements because social movements, as opposed to interest groups, have the capacity to transform the established system by initiating new issues, such as the new political culture and the new individual, that is, an individual who participates in the decision making process actively. Therefore, what makes the social movements new is that they trigger collective activities against the established order and they become the instrument of transforming the citizen into an active citizen.

Here, it can be claimed that interest groups are representative-oriented groups which represent the norms of existing system without opposition by initiating new injections to the system, whereas social movements try to replace the existing system by injecting new demands to it. These demands include more participation in the decision making process and introduction of solutions to the issues. Interest groups can be labelled as more reformist, whereas social movements as more revolutionary. When we take the environmental movement in general, the same situation can also be seen. Although the new environmental movement is mainly represented by the principles of political ecology in the Western World, when we look at the representatives of the environmental movement in politics, that are the environmental interest groups, we can see a contradiction: the majority of environmental groups are conservatist and their principles are not compatible with the political ecology. There exist some ecologist groups which act in line with the principles of political ecology. Greenpeace is of this group but, along with others, it remains minority among the other interest groups. On the other hand, most of the main environmental organizations (World Wildlife Fund, Royal Society for the Protection of Birds) are conservative groups and they work within the boundaries of the established political system.

2.2.1 POLITICAL ECOLOGY

The new environmental movement, which is different from the traditional conservative environmental movement influenced by the romanticism in Europe, has been equipped with the principles of political ecology. Political ecology has appeared as the challenger to the established order, so for this reason, its theme is proper to the idea of new social movements.

When we look at political ecology, we can realize that it has emerged as a reaction to the ineffective applications of anthropocentric thought which have been presented by the conservative environmental thought. Political ecology (or Green politics) claims, through proposing a new paradigm, to overcome the problem of environmental degradation by its ecocentric approach. Although Greens do not define environmentalism as an ideology like Liberalism or Marxism, they identify political ecology as an ideology since it is against the existing political system and calls for radical transformation in the established order.

Political ecologists¹⁰ claim that there is a need for radical changes in our social habits and practices. If this kind of transformation were achieved, a sustainable society, in which people and the nature live in harmony without harming each other, would be accomplished. The crucial element of political ecology is its ecocentric thought which defends the view that "there is an internal relatedness that all organisms are not simply interrelated with their environment but also constituted by those environmental interrelationships."¹¹ According to this view, there is no clear dividing line between the living or the non-living and the human and the non-human. Both are living in an eco-system which is the interrelatedness of a wide range of species living in a given environment. Ecocentric thought sees human beings and other non-humans in an equal status in the environment in contrast to anthropocentric

¹⁰ Andrew Dobson, *Green Political Thought* (New York : Routledge, 1990),17.

¹¹ Robyn Eckersley, *Environmentalism and Political Theory* (New York: State University of New York Press, 1992) ,49.

thought which promotes the human beings as the dominant agency in the environment.

Political ecologists are not against science or technology; they are against "scientificism" in which the ways of empirical-analytic science are the only valid means to reach the "absolute truth". For them, not the science itself, but the use of science is wrong. Current scientific knowledge has been constructed on anthropocentric technological view in which there are no ethical values that try to protect the nature. However, science solely tries to meet the human self-interests as the target to reach and that is the reason of environmental destruction.

Because of the diversity within the social movements, the interest groups (or pressure groups) which are part of social movements require to be examined by different theories according to their ideological orientations. The Resource Mobilization (RM) theory is used to examine the interest groups who tend to work within the established order in contrast, the New Social Movements (NSMs) theory is employed for the revolution-oriented interest groups in the movement.

2.2.2 RESOURCE MOBILIZATION THEORY

According to the Resource Mobilization (RM) theory, differences exist in every society, differences alone can not be sufficient conditions for the rise of social movements. In this theory the availability of resources and opportunities for collective action are more important than differences in launching social movements.¹²

The RM theory assumes that the formation of a social movement and its behaviour primarily depends on the existence of organizations which mobilize resources in pursuit of a cause and determine the activities of the movement. Therefore, the study of social movement is equated with a study of organizational behaviour. The RM/rational-choice model maintains that organizational and entrepreneurial resources combine with political opportunities which are created by

¹² Bert Klandermans, "Research on Social Movements," ed. Dieter Rucht (Campus Verlag: Westview Press, 1991), 24.

elite competition, electoral politics, and patterns of political alliances for the generation of mass movements.¹³

With the help of this theory, we can understand how the organizations are formed, how public support is mobilized, how organizational behaviour is developed and how political tactics are decided. Therefore, it is clear that the RM approach has been the most appropriate one in analyzing processes and in emphasizing the role of existing traditional organizations and networks in creating the ground for social movement formation.

The RM theory has three key elements¹⁴: the first one is the benefits of participation. Rational individuals will not take part in collective action if selective incentives do not encourage them to do so. Therefore, the selective benefits like material gains trigger the participation of individuals in the movement. However, apart from the selective benefits, individuals participate in movements because they realize the fact that in order to achieve a collective good, there is a need for acting, but not like a rational individual because if everyone behaved like the rational individual, there would be no collective action as a movement. Furthermore, the goal is very valuable that, even a slight chance of success is enough to motivate the individual to participation. The second key element of the RM theory is that since the organization reduces the costs of participation to politics, it facilitates the recruitment of participants, especially the students, and thus it increases the chances of success with small costs. The third key element is the expectation of success and it is critical for the participation of individuals to a movement. A favourable political system, the presence of allies within the politics and the discovery of new tactics increase the chance of a social movement to become successful in influencing the system and when the individuals become aware of this fact, they tend to participate in social movement.

¹³ Russell Dalton, *The Green Rainbow* (London and New Haven: Yale University Press, 1994), 6.

¹⁴ Klandermans, *Research on*. 24-26.

However, we can see some deficiencies in this approach. One of these deficiencies is that the RM approach removes political-orientations from the study of social movements. The theory has been applied to different social organizations without taking into consideration their diversity in their political-orientation. Additionally, it misses the variation in behaviour that occurs between social movements and social movement organizations. The second deficiency of the approach relates to the emergence of a new set of contemporary social movements which are value-oriented. For example, environmental and women's groups whose emergence appears to be inconsistent with the RM theory because social, cultural and quality of life issues are the concerns of these new movements and they accept these issues as collective goods and the social organizations within these new movements are established in order to achieve these collective goods. According to Dalton,¹⁵ some new environmental organizations, like "Friends of the Earth" seem to represent a new style of politics and political action that differs from the pattern of earlier environmental movement or organizations, and the RM theory fails to explain this event. The lack of efficacy of the RM theory to explain the new social movements which have some characteristics different from the traditional movements has created a need for a new theory: the New Social Movements theory.

2.2.3 NEW SOCIAL MOVEMENTS THEORY

According to Touraine,¹⁶ the new social movements are both bearers and symptoms of the change from industrial to post-industrial society. For Habermas,¹⁷ the new social movements are to be understood in the framework of the long historical process of rationalization in the Western societies. They develop common

¹⁵ Dalton, *The Green*, 6-9.

¹⁶ A. Touraine, "The Voice and the Eye: An Analysis of Social Movements." (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981). In Alan Scott, "Ideology and the New Social Movements." (London: Unwin Hyman, 1990), 15.

¹⁷ J. Habermas, "The Theory of Communicative Action." 2 (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1987). In Alan Scott, "Ideology and the New Social Movements" (London: Unwin Hyman, 1990), 15.

themes to criticize traditional values that have remained unchallenged by rationalization processes.

The characteristic of the NSMs is their advocacy of a new social paradigm which contrasts with the established structure of Western industrial societies. These movements are concerned with cultural and quality of life issues. They also try to get more opportunities to take part in the decisions that have a substantial effect on our life. For this purpose, they want to participate in decisions by using either the methods of direct democracy or through social organizations. The populist and participatory values of new social movements are in sharp contrast to the bureaucratized, hierarchical, and neo-corporatist tendencies which exist in almost all early established interest groups. The NSMs are separated from their early roots by the reformist elements of their ideology and their anti-establishment orientation.¹⁸ For instance, from this respect, the traditional conservative environmental movement which is the early root of environmentalism is very different from the new environmental movement.

The first major feature of the NSMs is that they are social in contrast to traditional movements. They are primarily social or cultural but political only secondarily. The traditional movements like the worker's movement are very political with respect to the NSMs because they are concerned with the question of workers' rights and they want to gain access for the working class into the political process through the extension of the franchise, the formation of workers' political parties, the legalization of unions, and the like. The citizenship is a political concept and requires political means. On the other hand, the NSMs should be understood as social since their concern is less with citizenship and less with political power. Their aim is the mobilization of civil society, and not to capture the political power. The second major feature of the NSMs is that they attempt to change the established order through changing values and developing alternative life-styles. For this reason, they try to

¹⁸ Russell Dalton and Manfred Kuechler, ed., *Challenging the Political Order* (Oxford: Polity Press, 1990), 17.

change values and identities of social actors rather than applying to more conventional and direct political action.¹⁹ In addition to these features, the NSMs prefer establishing small scale, decentralized organizations. They are against hierarchy and they favour direct -democracy.²⁰

Having been elaborated the formation of social movements and interest groups in general, we can examine the environmental interest groups in other words, the environmental NGOs within the environmental movement in particular.

2.3 THE NICHE OF ENVIRONMENTAL NGOs IN WORLD POLITICS

In order to realize the niche of environmental non-governmental organizations (NGOs) in world politics, we should initially look at the general concept of NGOs with the aim of understanding their mission and the reasons leading to their establishment. NGOs definition can be used for the definitions of volunteer organizations, interest groups or pressure groups with the same meaning in the international context. In the USA, these organizations are also known as non-profit organizations.²¹ However, in the USA, environmental NGOs should be categorized as citizen groups since they have open membership, and their membership appeals are unrelated to a profession and usually focus on broad ideals or issues.²² NGOs are the organizations which are set up by private agencies and they have no direct relationship with national governments. They have a relationship with the state but this relationship occurs as autonomous body of NGO and the state in which its superiority is evinced only by its arbitrator function. Although it is very difficult to make a universally-acceptable definition of NGOs, a description of its certain features can be given. NGOs are non-profit oriented, volunteer-basis working,

¹⁹ Scott, *Ideology and*. 16-17.

²⁰ Klandermans, *Research on*. 28.

²¹ David Hammeck, " NGOs in American Polity" (Lecture presented at the Bilkent University. Ankara, December 18, 1996).

²² Jack Walker, *Mobilizing Interest Groups in America* (Michigan: The University of Michigan Press, 1991), 57.

generally non-bureaucratic organizations, and they encourage the participation of its members in decision-making. The term NGOs comes from the United Nations Charter and from the preference of diplomats in the United Nations to use a neutral phrase.

In principle, an NGO is accredited by the UN if it has an international structure, does not support the use of violence, is not a political party, is not profit making, is not established by governments and supports the UN's activities.²³

In both national and global environmental politics, environmental NGOs represent a great deal of significance for the conservation and protection of nature. Environmental politics has obviously proved that not only the nation states but also the non-governmental organizations are influential in decision-making on environmental issues. According to Porter and Brown,²⁴ NGOs, in addition to participating in activities setting the agenda, also influence negotiations on the formation of the regime, and shape the environmental policies of donating agencies. However, Princen and Finger²⁵ believe that the important role which non-governmental organizations play has been ignored, including that of international environmental organizations, especially as they have created new political space or niche.

Here, it cannot be claimed that national governments have lost their importance and that they have no credible role in environmental politics or that they have no influence on environmental politics. Their confirmation is still needed for the implementation of environmental policies since NGOs have no policy implementation force. As Dahlberg and Soroos²⁶ state, national governments are still the most

²³ Peter Willets, "From Stockholm to Rio and Beyond : The Impact of the environmental movement on the United Nations Consultative arrangements for NGOs." *Review of International Studies* 22(1996), 59.

²⁴ Gareth Porter and Janet Brown, *Global Environmental Politics* (San Francisco: Westview Press, 1991), 35.

²⁵ Thomas Princen and Matthias Finger, *Environmental NGOs in World Politics* (London: Routledge, 1994), 29.

important environmental actors, because national governments' approval in policy making and policy implementation is necessary for all international and national action. Although the support for the mission of NGOs does not mean that nation states should replace their role with NGOs, the aim of empowering the NGOs stems from the lack of effectiveness of nation states on the issues of environment. The development of effective environmental policies has suffered from a lack of political leadership. Almost all national governments have proved slow or unable to take the initiative in developing effective bodies of law on environmental protection, to initiate rational and comprehensive environmental policies, or to create administrative departments with adequate funding and powers. The prevailing approach of most governments and political leaders has been reactive rather than proactive.²⁷ From this perspective, because of the reluctance of national governments in solving the environmental problems, non-state actors have appeared as the leader of environmental movement.

2.3.1 THE CLASSIFICATION OF ENVIRONMENTAL NGOS

At this point, it is crucial to distinguish among different environmental NGOs since they have different characteristics. These groups display diversity of "form, function, style and expertise, with missions ranging from research to litigation, from lobbying to community education, and from monitoring to natural resource protection."²⁸ Evidently, environmental NGOs conform to no one single taxonomy, and the only structural feature they have in common is their formal independence from the state. However, for Porter and Brown,²⁹ there are basically three kinds of

²⁶ Kaneth Dahlberg and Marvin Soroos, *Environment and the Global Arena* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1985), 48.

²⁷ John McCormick, "Prospects for a Global Environmental Movement," in *Environmental Politics in the International Arena*, ed. Sheldon Kamieniecki (New York: State University of New York Press, 1993), 131.

²⁸ Sheila Jasanoff, "NGOs and the Environment: From Knowledge to Action" *Third World Quarterly* 18:3 (1997), 579-580.

²⁹ Gareth Porter and Janet Brown, *Global Environmental Politics* (San Francisco: Westview Press, 1991), 56-57.

NGOs active in global environmental politics. In the first group, there are large, general membership organizations which, although having broad environmental interests, focus primarily on domestic environmental issues. Although we can define these as national NGOs, we should not forget that national NGOs are also interested in global environmental issues since these problems are not restricted to national boundaries and that their prime aim is first of all to find solutions to their local environmental issues. Audubon Society and the Sierra Club in USA can be given as examples for these organizations. The Turkish Association for the Conservation of Nature and Natural Resources (TACN) and the Society for the Protection of Nature (SPN) in Turkey can be included in this category.

The second group consists of international NGOs: these organizations' primary object and concern is about international issues and they are part of a larger international network which means that they have a more centralized structure, or a staff that represents many organizations in a particular geographic region, for example Greenpeace and World Wildlife Fund (WWF).

The third kind of NGOs is basically think-tank organizations without large membership; the structure allows for only little or no membership. The environmental NGOs in this group, in contrast to other NGOs, rely on their own technical and legal expertise and research and publishing programs. The World Resources Institute (WRI) in Washington and the International Institute for Environment and Development (IIED) are examples of this group. The Environment Foundation of Turkey (EFT) in Turkey can be included in this category, since, because of its foundation structure, there is no member other than the Board of Trustees and its main objective is to work on technical matters, like publishing books.

2.3.2 ENVIRONMENTAL NGOS AS PRESSURE GROUPS

A pressure group can be defined as an organization which seeks as one of its functions to influence the formulation and implementation of public policy. At this

point public policy represents a set of authoritative decisions taken by the executive, the legislative and the judiciary.³⁰ Another definition of pressure groups can be cited as being primarily membership organizations with political goals. And that they "exhibit a good deal of variety in their purposes, objectives and level of political influence. Their politics is characterized by an array of conflicting organizations interacting with public officials."³¹ This kind of definitions lead us to think that when any organization begins to become effective in policy implementation, then we should classify it as a pressure group. However, these groups can also be classified as interest groups in some stages of their development as in their development process, they could take a long time to improve their effectiveness and become effectual on decision making process.

The difficulty of defining pressure groups leads us to have some basic problems for interest group studies. In the opinion of Richardson,³² a wide variety of organizations are described as interest or pressure groups and he wonders whether one should conclude that any organization which seeks to any degree to influence public policy is therefore to be regarded as a pressure group. In order to overcome this problem he also defines a pressure group "as any group which articulates demands that the political authorities in the political system or sub-systems should make an authoritative allocation." Here, it is very important to show that the pressure groups are different from political parties, because the objective of a pressure group is not to hold the government, which means that they do not themselves seek to capture the government power. Rather their aim is, without holding the power, to become influential in decision making process.

³⁰ Vyn Grant, *Pressure Groups, Politics and Democracy in Britain* (London: Philip Allan, 1989), 9.

³¹ H. R. Mahood, *Interest Group Politics in America* (New Jersey: Prentice Hall, 1990), 2-3.

³² Jeremy Richardson, *Pressure Groups* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993), 1.

Akad³³ criticizes the definition of pressure groups as groups which repress the governments in order to persuade them to enact policies which are identical with their goals. However, if the groups do not achieve any success on governmental structure and have no effective role in the government, these groups remain within the boundaries of interest groups. Because, although they are formed to accomplish a certain role, when they fail to influence the decision making process, they only represent their interest without any pressure on the power holder. He opposes the definition that a group is a pressure group only when it has a conflicting nature with the government.

Akad³⁴ tries to define the groups on the basis of their role and place in society. He claims that pluralist societies can only be legitimized if the social forces for instance, interest groups or pressure groups, participate in political realm and share the power of the government in decision making. The efficiency of the system can only be measured by the peaceful competition of societal forces in the political system. In this respect, both interest and pressure groups are not official but actual partners of the government. Democratic stability not only depends on the economic development but also on the legitimacy of a political system. Here, legitimacy must be understood as all the institutions within the system and these should be ready to receive the demands of social groups and these demands should be evaluated in decision making process. In this respect pressure groups or interest groups, as social groups which are organized on purpose in order to accomplish their goals as the goals of the community, share the power of decision making. And as a result of their participation in decision making, the government would become more legitimate in the eyes of these plural groups. This kind of definition avoids the arguments about when the interest groups do become pressure groups and at which point the conflict with the government does begin.

³³ Mehmed Akad, *Baskı Gruplarının Siyasal İktidarla İlişkileri* (İstanbul: Fakülteler Matbaası, 1976), 64.

³⁴ Akad, *Baskı Gruplarının*, 65-67.

The contradiction in defining interest or pressure groups have led some political scientists to apply new definitions, for instance Schlozman and Tierney³⁵ reserve the terms interest groups and pressure groups for membership associations and employ the term 'organized interests' to include associations with individuals or organizations as members along with politically active organizations that do not have members in the ordinary sense. However, in this research, the terms interest groups and pressure groups are used interchangeably without separating them by sharp borders.

2.3.2.1 CRITICISM OF ENVIRONMENTAL PRESSURE GROUPS

The role of the pressure groups has always led to a debate among the political scientists and ideologies. While some have supported the pressure group interactions, some have harshly criticized their activities. For example, according to Madison, people would organize in some way to further their common interests. Furthermore, these groupings or factions as he called them, are a potential threat to popular government. He warns that free people, not restricted by the constitution, are more likely to try to oppress each other than they are to cooperate for their common good. Therefore, the effects of faction must be controlled rather than eliminating factions themselves. In order to control these factions, certain constitutional devices would enable government to suppress majority factions and protect its citizens' property and political liberty.³⁶ In the post-war era, in the pluralist tradition that emerged from the writings of Truman, Latham, Lindblom, and Dahl, politics for the pluralists was defined as the resolution of group conflict. According to them, citizens ought not to participate directly in the processes of agenda building and policy formulation except as they voted in competitive elections. Instead, citizens were to participate indirectly

³⁵ Lehman Schlozman and John Tierney, "Organized Interests and American Democracy." (New York: Harper and Row, 1986), 10. In Mark Petracca, ed., *The Politics of Interest* (San Francisco: Westview Press, 1992), 6.

³⁶ H.R. Mahood, *Interest Group Politics in America* (New Jersey: Prentice Hall, 1990), 4.

through membership in interest groups or by identifying with groups supporting their goals.³⁷

Berry³⁸ draws our attention to Madison's dilemma. According to him, if a government does not allow its people to pursue their self interests, it takes away their political freedom. However, when we look at the nations of the world in which people are forbidden to organize and to freely express their political views, we see that the dilemma has been solved by authoritarianism. In contrast, in a system such as that of the USA, pressure groups or interest groups constantly push governments to enact policies that benefit small constituencies at the expense of the general public.

The idea that some pressure groups, especially the ones who have an interest in the economic realm may advocate their self interests at the expense of general interests can be verified, but Berry gives the example that environmentalists will fight to increase the number and area of parks and wilderness preserves, though development of these lands might provide jobs for some who are out of work. In short, for him, people like environmentalists will pursue their self interests even though the policies they support may hurt others and may not be in the best interest of the nation. However, Berry's idea that environmentalists pursue their self interest can be rejected on the basis of Mahood's categorization of environmental interest groups. According to Mahood³⁹ environmentalists should be categorized as public interest groups, for example consumer groups. For him, a public interest group is the one which seeks a benefit enjoyable by society as a whole and not just by the immediate membership. In contrast, a private organization seeks satisfaction principally for its own members.

The environmental pressure groups, although they are part of the pluralistic society, should not be treated as representing the particular interests as opposed to

³⁷ Mark Petracca, ed., *The Politics of Interests* (San Francisco: Westview Press, 1992), 5.

³⁸ Jeffrey Berry . *The Interest Group Society* (Boston: Tufts University, 1989), 1-3.

³⁹ Mahood, *Interest*. 2-3.

other pressure groups. Environmental pressure groups represent the general interests of society that are enjoyable by all segments of society. However, the general interests are in conflict with the pressure groups with narrower interests in an economic realm.

Mahood⁴⁰ also indicates that in order to exert significant political influence, the groups must be able to attract and retain dedicated members. For him, the members of environmental groups have purposive benefits from participating in such organizations. Purposive benefits are the benefits that derive from the satisfaction of having contributed to a worthy cause, like the fight against pollution. Purposive benefits flow from the demands for some kind of governmental action or a policy change that is in the interest of all. For example, by joining the Sierra Club a person is fulfilling a desire to contribute to a cleaner and safer environment and reducing the continued exploitation of the nation's natural resources.

The study of membership to environmental pressure groups (citizen groups in USA) according to the purposive benefits is against to Olson's⁴¹ theory of Rational Choice Model (by-product theory). According to Rational Choice theory, some interest or pressure groups offer some selective benefits in exchange for membership that are not available to benefit for non-members. Here, selective benefits should be studied in two groups: tangible selective and intangible selective benefits. Money should be treated as selective tangible benefit because it can be used to reward members for their activities in groups. The intangible selective benefits are the solidary benefits in which as a result of group affiliation, there are some emotional ties established among the members. For instance, a crucial policy change can provide the member with some kind of personal satisfaction that renders to continued organizational membership and support.⁴²

⁴⁰ Mahood, *Interest*, 11.

⁴¹ Mancur Olson, "The Logic of Collective Action," (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1965). In Jack Walker, "Mobilizing Interest Groups in America," (Michigan: The University of Michigan Press, 1991), 75.

According to Olson,⁴³ all interest groups should provide selective benefits in order to preserve or increase their membership otherwise they will lose their membership base. However, although the environmental pressure groups do provide purposive benefits, their size of membership has been increasing rapidly with recent years. This situation undermines the Olson's theory of Rational-Choice Model.

Walker⁴⁴ believes that Olson also fails to explain "why groups would ever decide to provide collective goods if their organizations are doing so well by simply providing material incentives." Although some people become members to organizations such as the Sierra Club in order to participate in the hikes and canoe trips it sponsors, generally all members are attracted by promising collective (purposive) goods to such an extent that other benefits are entirely eliminated.

In the pluralist tradition, the participation of all interest groups in politics has also been criticized by the Marxist tradition. Neo-marxists and Marxists find some pluralist assertions meaningless; for instance, Dahl's view that "every citizen has the right and a chance within a pluralist structure to seek access to the political process in pursuit of his/her own preferences" is only an illusion because the division of labour under capitalism influences the development of an elite class, thus preventing mobility between classes and maintaining a non-egalitarian society which avoids pluralism. Therefore, pluralism can only be justified theoretically if it is proved that there is equality of opportunity to influence governmental actions.⁴⁵ Neo-marxists and Marxists see pluralism not as the democratic participation but as the inherent inequalities, the vulnerability of political forms to manipulation and the control of the system by the privileged elites.⁴⁶

⁴² Mahood, *Interest*, 11-12.

⁴³ Mancur Olson, "The Logic of Collective Action." (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1965), 132. In Jack Walker, "Mobilizing Interest Groups in America" (Michigan: The University of Michigan Press, 1991), 94.

⁴⁴ Walker, *Mobilizing*, 94-95.

⁴⁵ Sandbach, *Environment, Ideology*, 107.

Therefore, although the participation of environmental pressure groups in governmental decision making process is very crucial for a pluralistic society, there are some limitations for these groups' access to decision making since these groups do not have the equal resources, for instance, financial, of the non-environmental groups such as the industrial pressure groups. Even though the uneven resources of interest groups cause an unfair competition in plural societies especially for environmental pressure groups, we can witness their improvement in all realms including the finance and membership.

In the opinion of Princen and Finger,⁴⁷ although comparable data on environmental pressure groups is not available, the indirect indicators show that there is a drastic growth in environmental groups in general. Princen and Finger provide some indirect indicators for the growth of these groups. The World Directory of Environmental Organizations, for example, lists 365 international environmental NGOs in one chapter only. The 'Who is Who in Service to the Earth of 1991', on the other hand, lists about 2500 organizations that include many environmental organizations. NGOs organizational development since the early 1980's is another indicator for their growth. For instance, from 1983 to 1991, the revenues of the World Wildlife Fund (WWF) increased from \$9 million to \$ 53 million, and its membership rose from 94.000 to more than one million. From 1985 to 1990, membership in Greenpeace increased from 1.4 million to 6.7 million and its annual revenues grew from \$24 million to approximately \$ 100 million. Friends of the Earth (FOE) began as a United States organization and opened its first office in San Francisco in 1969 but then expanded to Paris and London in 1970 and 1971 respectively. However, Friends of the Earth International, as an international structure grew from twenty-five member groups worldwide in 1981 to fifty-one in 1992. Another information about the development of environmental groups stated by Sale,⁴⁸ total membership in the

⁴⁶ Frank Wilson, *Interest Group Politics in France* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), 26.

⁴⁷ Princen and Finger, *Environmental NGOs*, 2-3.

larger national environmental organizations in USA can be estimated on the basis of 1991 Resource Guide to Environmental Organizations, at around 20 million or more than 14 million individuals, in other words, about one in every seven adults in the country is member of environmental organizations in USA.

2.3.2.2 METHODS EMPLOYED TO INFLUENCE DECISION-MAKING

Apart from above mentioned developments in environmental pressure groups, we can see that these groups employ various resources for their aims. The use of various resources by environmental pressure groups determines their success or failure. These resources are: “access to information and advance intelligence; liaison with administrators, politicians and legislators; rational argument and the merits of the case; relationships with the mass media; institutional networks.”⁴⁹ These tools enable the pressure groups to spread their ideas and become effective in decision-making process.

The following view of Greenpeace enables us to understand how important it is for the environmental groups to have access to decision making and information: effective social integration rests on public access to information and participation in decision making. Citizens’ right to know and their involvement in decision making ensures a democratic control. For Greenpeace⁵⁰, there is a direct correlation between citizens’ access to information and environmental quality. The experience of the former communist countries can be evinced as a testimony for this case. It was the lack of democracy, rather than the communist economy, which brought about an environmental ruin and destruction. The strict control of all environmental data from

⁴⁸ Kirkpatrick Sale, *The Green Revolution* (New York: Hill and Wang , 1993), 79-80.

⁴⁹ Sandbach, *Environment*. 109.

the public and the absence of structures for public consultation and participation have resulted in great polluted areas in these countries. It is crucial to understand that the access to knowledge is not only used for environmental groups to criticize the existing policies but also to create new policies and alternatives in order to help the governments deal with environmental problems. Greenpeace⁵¹ claims that the role of the environmental movement changes as the environmental movement in the West matures and environmental issues increasingly become part of mainstream government and industrial policies. Today environmental organizations are not only exposing environmental problems but are increasingly focusing on introducing new alternatives to solve environmental problems.

Environmental pressure groups may collect information themselves or commission experts to prepare reports. The Royal Society for the Protection of Birds is an example in this respect. Information collected by this Society on bird deaths was used to determine the fatal effects of certain agricultural chemicals. Among pressure groups, official and private organizations, or key individuals may act as gate keepers gaining control over the information available to other groups. Also access to information depends on liaison with other bodies such as politicians, administrators, and the mass media. For example, appeals made to National Trust Members in the House of Lords, regarding Manchester's water supply, has helped to block a private Bill, which was promoted by the Manchester Corporation in 1962 to enable the Corporation to take water from Ullswater in the Lake district.⁵² For environmental

⁵⁰ Greenpeace International, "Public Access to Information" (Paper presented at the NGO Forum on Cleaner Industrial Production, Vienna, Austria, December 30, 1995), 3.

⁵¹ Greenpeace International, "the Role of Environmental NGOs in Cleaner Industrial Production" (Paper presented at the NGO Forum on Cleaner Industrial Production, Vienna, Austria, December 30, 1995), 6.

⁵² Sandbach, *Environment*, 110-111.

groups, liaison with administrators is another dominant way to influence the decision-making. In pluralist structure, groups work outside the formal governmental institutions. The most known method of interest group activity is personal contacts between group representatives and government officials. In this contact, groups explain their interests and concerns of their organizations to government officials, especially elected or politically appointed officials rather than civil servants. These individual contacts can be seen as the most available and effective ones. These kinds of contacts are highly personalistic because there are no institutionalized channels for group access to policy-making.⁵³

The above methods are generally applied by conservative environmental groups since they try to work within the system. However, the ecological groups that are the dissidents of the existing system tend to resort to protest models. The common method which is used by ecological groups as a threat is to cause a delay through opposition to a proposed plan. In recent years, some pressure groups, such as Friends of the Earth and the Greenpeace especially, have adopted such techniques. For example, Greenpeace stopped whaling and seal operations by cruising the boats between the hunters and their intended victims, for example, the whales and seals.⁵⁴

2.4 THE ORIGINS OF ENVIRONMENTALISM

The environmental movement roughly began with the emergence of harmful effects of industrialization in the West. In other words, environmentalism developed as a response to the demolition and destruction of the nature. It should be noted that although the public concern about environmental degradation began with the

⁵³ Frank Wilson, *Interest-Group Politics in France* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), 20-21.

⁵⁴ Berto Hullu, "Greenpeace ve Çevre" *Yeni Türkiye* 1:1 (July-August 1995), 652.

capitalist industrial revolution in the West, it does not mean that before this revolution, there was no destruction of nature.

The awareness for the conservation of the environment dates back to 200 years ago. As Dalton⁵⁵ indicates, although the environmental issues have often been identified with the new political controversies of industrialized societies, the movement dates back at least to the 1800's. In fact the period from 1880 to 1910 witnessed the first important wave of environmental action in Europe. Citizens in some European countries formed new voluntary groups to protect wild life, preserve natural habitats of national importance and conserve the nature.

As Roussopoulos⁵⁶ states, some 3700 years ago the Sumerians deserted their cities because the soil which produced the world's first agricultural surpluses had become saline and waterlogged due to irrigation. In addition, Plato is recorded to have voiced complaints regarding the deforestation of the hills of Attica as a result of cutting of the trees down for fuel and soil erosion which was caused by overgrazing.

But these environmental problems were on a very small scale when compared with the damages caused by the Industrial Revolution in the 1800's. According to Dalton,⁵⁷ the impact of urbanization and industrialization on the environment had been very severe and led to the transformation of landscapes. In addition, natural habitats and wildlife were destroyed and the environment was polluted due to the harmful effects of urbanization and industrialization. Historical accounts of the period clearly emphasize the scale of industrial pollution, the impact of railroad expansion, the construction of public sanitation facilities, and similar developments as factors leading to environmental problems.

⁵⁵ Russell Dalton, "The Environmental Movement in Western Europe." in *Environmental Politics in the International Arena*, ed. Sheldon Kamieniecki (New York: State University of New York Press, 1993), 41.

⁵⁶ Dimitrios Roussopoulos, *Political Ecology* (New York: Black Rose Books, 1993), 15-16.

⁵⁷ Dalton, *Environmental Politics*, 42.

During the 1800's, when liberal thought was at its peak point, we see the first signs of the concern for environmental values in some philosophers. John Locke,⁵⁸ for example, maintained the idea that common goods should be used judicially and without harming the other individuals' rights, although he also considered private ownership a necessary right. In addition, Thomas Hobbes,⁵⁹ in his famous work, *Leviathan*, claims that when resources are scarce and far from being sufficient to meet the demands of people, there would certainly be a fight to capture other resources. Thomas Malthus,⁶⁰ particularly emphasizes the problems of environmentalism. He thinks that as population increases are much higher than the increases in production, food production will no longer be enough to feed a large population.

Jean Jacques Rousseau's concept of 'general will' can also be mentioned here in relation to environmentalism. Rousseau is concerned about the selfishness of the individual. He thinks that people should follow the way that everyone can behave in accordance with their collective welfare and well-being. However, for Rousseau,⁶¹ the concept of 'will of all' is very dangerous for public well-being since this concept serves for the individual selfishness. In order to be protected from individual selfishness, people should obey the social contract and give their consent to the higher authority of the state. In this case, individual rights and freedoms can be conserved against human selfishness. Rousseau's love of nature is observed in his writings to *Emile*. He sees the cities as the whirlpool in which citizens will be lost in, so the rescue way is to settle in the midst of nature in rural areas.⁶²

⁵⁸ Türkiye Çevre Sorunları Vakfı, *Çevre Üzerine* (Ankara: Türkiye Çevre Vakfı Yayını, 1991), 53-54.

⁵⁹ TÇSV, *Çevre*, 53-54.

⁶⁰ TÇSV, *Çevre*, 53-54.

⁶¹ TÇSV, *Çevre*, 54.

⁶² Meral Dinçer, *Çevre Gönüllü Kuruluşları* (Ankara: Türkiye Çevre Vakfı Yayını, 1996), 66.

Some philosophers, on the other hand, have seen the nature as a tool which must serve and be used for the needs of people. These philosophers think that human beings are superior to nature; nature, therefore, is only the server for the needs of human beings. For example, for Bacon and Descartes,⁶³ nature should be governed by the individual and the individual should dominate over the nature. For them nature is a resource which must be exploited by humans and scientific rationality is the means for this exploitation. For Bacon, the significance of science is not to find the universal truth; in contrast, utilizing the knowledge for the needs of individuals is important; so scientific rationality should be used to dominate over the nature for the necessities of people.

It should not, however, be asserted that in those years, scientific rationality has worked entirely at the expense of nature. The growth of the natural sciences during the century triggered an awareness of environmental issues. As biologists and botanists conducted various studies and catalogued the natural environment and documented habitats and species that were lost or threatened, the origin of these problems were traced to industrialization. The term ecology was first used in 1866 by the German botanist Ernst Haeckel. Again during the latter half of the century the natural sciences developed a formal standing in Europe, and the growing membership of natural history societies provided a popular basis for environmental action.⁶⁴ In this period, the belief in rationalism and progress began to be criticized by the European intellectuals, and this led to the emergence of romantic conservatism for the environment in Europe. As Dalton⁶⁵ states, the romantic currents which developed in Europe during the second half of the eighteenth century were in fact a reaction to the great changes that these societies were undergoing and a criticism of the direction that these societies were taking. The anti-industrial sentiments were further

⁶³ Dinçer, *Çevre*, 66.

⁶⁴ Dalton, *Environmental Politics*, 42.

⁶⁵ Dalton, *Environmental Politics*, 43.

heightened by the economic depression of the late 1800's. In a rapidly changing world an idealized view of nature provided a source of stability and reassurance. Actions to protect this image of the natural order were also stimulated by these sentiments. In 1908, Canadian Magazine invited people to oppose to the industrialization efforts which caused rapid urbanization and therefore environmental destruction in industrialized areas. Canadian Magazine's invitation was a reaction to the idea of humans' domination over the nature which was first initiated by Descartes and Newton during the 17th century and it was the romantic opposition against the rational philosophy of these thinkers.⁶⁶

In England, in 1865, an association was founded to protect the green and common goods. At the same time, in the USA, new associations appeared such as the Sierra Club, Audubon Society, Izaak Walton League. As Roussopoulos⁶⁷ indicates there were hundreds of natural history associations in England with thousands of members by the 1880's. And in France, at about the same time, the French Association for the Protection of Nature and the French Federation of Associations for the Protection of Nature were founded.

However, by the 1910's, the conservation movement lost its momentum and began to decline especially during the World War I. In those years, public interest shifted from conservation issues to war related issues. During the interwar years, environmental conservation movement was subordinated, first of all, to postwar reconstruction and then to Great Depression, which in turn brought about the change in the public interest to economic difficulties. Although the major national conservation groups continued to exist, they carried out their activities in a limited manner. During this period, only one major environmental group (The Council for the Protection of Rural England) was established in Europe in 1926. In summary, the conservation wave from 1880 to 1910 had raised the European environmental

⁶⁶ Esat Öz, "Dünya 'da ve Türkiye'de Ekoloji Hareketinin Gelişimi" *Türkiye Günlüğü* 3 (1989), 29.

⁶⁷ Roussopoulos, *Political*, 20-21.

movement to a certain level and created the organizational infrastructure to continue this movement even during the war years. The conservation movement, which underwent a period of stagnancy during interwar years, began to revive and reestablish itself after the World War II. Like those in Britain, Belgian, Dutch, and French groups reestablished themselves and these organizations were motivated by the reaction to the war's destructive impact on the environment and by the need for an environmental planning in post-war reconstruction. However, despite this process, the post-war years were a difficult period of rebuilding for the conservation movement in general. Membership in conservation groups grew slowly, and financial resources continued to remain limited.⁶⁸

In the late 1950's and early 1960's, new conditions brought about a new protest movement based on concerns about the human environment and about human attitudes towards earth. This new environmental movement was aimed at the conservation of not only the nature and natural resources but also targeted everything from overpopulation and pollution to the costs of technology and economic growth.⁶⁹

The environmental groups in the new environmental movement which differs from the romantic conservative environmental movement will be considered in detail in the following section.

2.5 ENVIRONMENTAL GROUPS IN THE NEW ENVIRONMENTAL MOVEMENT

In the developed countries of the West, widespread public concern over environmental degradation roughly began in the 1960's. The warnings of various writers created an impact on the public and scientific studies, and series of environmental disasters indicated to the presence of a problem which had alarming proportions. As a result environmentalism had gained a good deal of momentum

⁶⁸ Dalton, *Environmental*, 48-49.

⁶⁹ John McCormick, *Reclaiming Paradise* (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1989), 46.

during this decade.⁷⁰ With the influence of this momentum, new environmental organizations emerged and they gained widespread support from various sectors of society as well as great involvement from the previously-established conservation groups. The new environmental problems, such as nuclear power and acid rain were at the roots of the new public concern. Environmental problems again became a salient issue to the European public and political leaders.

The interesting point for the 1960's was the cooperation of environmental movements and the student movements. The children of the post-war period became the new members of modern environmentalism. European youth harshly criticized the excess consumerism of advanced industrial societies and as a result, the acceleration of environmental degradation. In addition, since environmental activism was seen as the civil rights movement regarding its concern for more participation in decision-making process, 1960's can be defined as the period of strife for participation in decision making process.⁷¹

The 1970's can be labelled with the publication of the Club of Rome's "The Limits to Growth" and the Ecologist Magazine's "Blueprint for Survival": The Limits to Growth contributed to the idea of conservationism by stating that the enormous economic growth was the cause of environmental crisis and predicted that a huge disaster would take place by the end of the century as a result of environmental pollution, food shortage and the exhaustion of natural resources. Similarly, Blueprint for Survival emphasized the combined effects of continuing population growth and the depletion of natural resources. Therefore it strongly warned the need for rapid changes in human practices. The difference, however, between these works relates to their recommendations for the solution: while The Limits to Growth emphasized the

⁷⁰ Roussopoulos, *Political*, 33.

⁷¹ Robyn Eckersley, *Environmentalism and Political Theory* (New York: State University of New York Press, 1992), 9.

need for government measures, *Blueprint for Survival* demanded the need for a reevaluation of established attitudes at the base of the society.⁷²

It is very crucial to understand the importance of these works since they have directly influenced the public opinion and consequently people became more conscious about and aware of the environmental problems. These works have created a base for an environmental movement which continued also in the 1972 Stockholm Conference. Here, a number of predictions were made about the future of environmental problems and the dominant culture which included overconsumption while ignoring the scarce resources was heavily criticized. The Stockholm Conference, during which scientific and volunteer organizations also became important by assuming a vital role, has contributed substantially to the intensification of the worldwide environmental movement.

2.5.1 THE 1972 STOCKHOLM CONFERENCE

The Stockholm Conference which was organized by the United Nations in 1972 was the first major international attempt to bring all the nations together to solve the global environmental problems. In this conference, all the developed, developing and the underdeveloped countries that can also be referred to as the Northern and Southern countries came together and tried to find solutions for environmental degradation.

The main significant contribution of the Stockholm Conference was the official recognition of NGOs by the nation states. Some 250 NGOs were registered officially as observers as a result of the combination of the initiatives presented by Maurice Strong, the Conference secretary-general, the general interest in the media and the mobilization of the NGOs themselves⁷³ Other than the officially registered groups, more than five hundred non-governmental organizations representing a variety of interests were at the Conference. Some of these NGOs were global conservation

⁷² Roussopoulos, *Political*, 39.

⁷³ Willets, *From Stockholm*, 69.

groups. Some, such as the Sierra Club, represented a more limited national constituency. In addition to many religious, youth, business, and women's groups which had international, national and local memberships, scientific groups were also at the Conference.⁷⁴

The NGOs were allowed to make a formal statement to the conference. In their document, they explained their views about global environmental problems. Their views comprised of the need for a balance on population, and the fair distribution of natural resources among the world nations without any North and South differentiation. The most crucial point of the Stockholm Conference was that the NGOs could find an opportunity to follow the conference discussions and in these discussions, they were able to voice and repeat their views. So they could influence the delegations of the nation states. The NGO involvement to the conference made the negotiations of international text as an open process in terms of exposure to public pressure. In this respect, the environmental concerns could be more effectively expressed by Western public opinion by using the NGOs in negotiations.⁷⁵

Following the recognition of the existence of NGOs in Stockholm Conference by nation states, the activities of the environmental organizations gained a new impetus during the 1980's. Furthermore, the realization of the fact that environmental problems could no longer be solved only by the initiatives of the individual national governments has been the main reason for the NGOs becoming internationalized. Hence, international cooperation among not only the states but also among the NGOs was considered necessary. In fact, the solution to environmental degradation necessitates the introduction of international measures on a global scale. However, the acceptance of the globalization of environmental issues has caused a change in the roles of some national NGOs-they changed into international NGOs, because an

⁷⁴ Dahlberg and Soroos, *Environment and the*, 54.

⁷⁵ Tony Brenton, *The Greening of Machiavelli* (London: The Royal Institute of International Affairs, 1994), 42-44.

international NGO works in more than one country and directs its appeals either to more than one national government or to international bodies.⁷⁶

2.5.2 THE 1992 RIO CONFERENCE

The Earth Summit in Rio in 1992 after the Stockholm Conference became another impetus for the development of environmental NGOs. In Rio, it was emphasized that there was a need for fundamental change in our whole life. It was also emphasized that there was a need, mainly in our economic life to be careful as regards to the earth's resources and that there should be greater cooperation and equity in sharing the benefits as well as the risks of our technological civilization. For this reason, ecological dimension should be integrated into education and culture as well as into economics. In order to accomplish these tasks, the necessity of NGOs for the transformation of life patterns was stressed in Rio.

In addition to the national delegations, 1400 NGOs sent observers to the conference and as it was the case in Stockholm, many of the NGOs were in close contact with their national delegations. During the conference, they tried to influence these delegations by resorting to the publication of a conference newspaper and by more direct lobbying. One of the most important features of the involvement of NGOs to the conference was first of all was the fact that the number of Southern NGOs were more compared to Stockholm Conference held in 1972. Secondly, the views of Northern environmental NGOs and Southern developmental NGOs were so different that they finally decided to establish a diplomatic 'code of conduct' in which they agreed to respect one another's views.⁷⁷

In Agenda 21, which was confirmed in Earth Summit in order to trigger the global actions to ensure the transition to sustainable development, it was claimed that NGOs were the partners of governments and international organizations. Hence, their

⁷⁶ McCormick, *Environmental Politics*, 132.

⁷⁷Brenton, *The Greening*, 224-225.

role must be strengthened in decision-making process.⁷⁸ It was also asserted that NGOs' credibility lay in the responsible and constructive role they played in society. Formal and informal organizations as well as grassroot movements, should be recognized as partners in the implementation of Agenda 21.⁷⁹

The Rio Declaration has opened a debate among people about whether this declaration is beneficial for the NGO movement. For instance, Willets⁸⁰ thinks that:

In Agenda 21, it is argued that one of the fundamental prerequisites for the achievement of sustainable development is broad public participation in decision making, with governments and major groups moving towards a real social partnership.

For him, this was quite an exceptional language in the world of diplomacy, particularly for governments which two years ago had been very suspicious of NGOs. Thomas⁸¹ on the other hand thinks that, even though United Nations Conference on Environment and Development (UNCED) legitimated the market as the appropriate institutional mechanism to protect the global environment and legitimated the state as the dominant actor in formal multilateral arrangements, the most positive outcome of the UNCED process was that it gave a boost to the rise of counter hegemonic forces of resistance that are the development groups, grassroots movements, women's groups, environmental groups and a wide variety of NGOs which are working for a different development trajectory, based on popular empowerment, substantive democracy, local knowledge, partnership, and respect for the environment. Brenton⁸² also supports this idea by claiming that by the end of the Rio process, in the West, the

⁷⁸ United Nations, "Agenda 21: The Role of the NGOs" (Paper presented at the UN Conference on Environment and Development, Rio, Brasil, 1992).

⁷⁹ Berto Hullu, "Greenpeace ve Çevre" *Yeni Türkiye* 1:1 (July -August 1995), 652.

⁸⁰ Willets, *From Stockholm*, 75-76.

⁸¹ Caroline Thomas, "Unsustainable Development" *New Political Economy* 1:3 (November 1996), 404-407.

⁸² Brenton, *The Greening*, 257.

NGOs could more effectively influence the Western official delegations and their views could find interest in the final documents in international treaties.

Although the position of Western environmental NGOs after the Rio Conference is a controversial issue for some writers, nobody can refuse their general influence in global environmental politics. It can be asserted that these Western environmental groups should be taken as the models by other environmental groups in other countries in order to compare the effectiveness of these groups in other political systems. Despite the fact that the evolution of environmentalism differs from one country to another, now the environmental movement embodies all the countries equally. The global environmental problems have forced all the environmental organizations to become effective on national governments. Therefore, as part of this process, Turkish NGOs are also expected to become influential like their Western counterparts. In order to understand the effectiveness of Turkish NGOs, we should first of all examine the evolution of Turkish environmentalism and then compare them with Western environmental NGOs.

CHAPTER III

TURKISH ENVIRONMENTALISM

3.1 CIVIL SOCIETY IN TURKEY

Liberal democracies have three components. These are, the public sector in the realm of the state, and in the civil society realm, the private sector and the volunteer organizations which include associations and foundations. Although the public and private sectors are regarded as more important, the role of volunteer organizations should not be underestimated, because these volunteer organizations enable the citizens to participate in the decision-making process. Stated otherwise, citizens manage and voluntarily become influential in the process of decision making by the help of foundations and associations. While the public sector's aim is to hold the government and the private sector's aim is to provide a profit maximization, the aim of the third sector, including volunteer organizations, is to become influential in decision-making process.⁸³

Today, when we look at the existing debates on the Turkish political agenda, it can be seen that the state is severely criticized because of not giving due importance to the second and third sectors. It is argued that the state structure, including the bureaucracy and the government, does not have the capacity to govern the country. The success of the private sector in the economic realm however, is an admitted fact and some people emphasize that although the state mechanism is not adequate for taking and carrying out effective decisions, the Turkish economy has been growing despite the negative influence of the state. The force behind the economic growth is the Turkish private sector. It is also argued that the private sector should be more active and effective in politics.

⁸³ Zekai Baloglu, *Türkiye Üçüncü Sektör Raporu* (İstanbul: Tüsv Yayınları, 1994), 8-20.

Like the private sector, the third sector, that is, the volunteer organizations, has also been growing in importance and as a result its role in Turkish political life has become more powerful. Especially, after 1990, the idea that without civil society organizations there would be no democracy, began to become increasingly widespread among people, and the increase in the number of such organizations can be given as the evidence of this situation. There are now almost 66 thousand associations, 3 thousand foundations, and one thousand unions in Turkey, and these are active in various fields, carrying out a lot of activities. For example, the EEC⁸⁴ (Environment Education and Culture) Foundation, which works on the environmental, cultural, educational, and organizational issues, has planted more than one million trees in İstanbul, Bursa, Marmaris, Northern Cyprus and Eastern Anatolia, with the participation of 200 thousand people. Also in summer schools, children are educated about the environment and environmental culture by the EEC Foundation.⁸⁵

What, however, has been the reason for the delay to realize the significance of the second and third sectors in Turkish politics, in other words, the civil society? The answer to this question should be sought in the origins of the state-society relations in Turkey. In Western societies, the political life has two components: the public and the private realms. Public realm includes the political society where the political decisions are taken. All the non-political interactions however, are in the private realm, all the non-political interactions are located here. Although these two spheres seem to be separate, they also have interaction between them. But in Eastern societies, the state was formed under the leadership of political society because civil society had not developed yet and had been primitive. The lack of developed civil society has brought about the absolute rulership of the state over society. In Eastern societies, either there were not any effective societal organizations or if any, they

⁸⁴ ÇEKÜL Foundation.

⁸⁵ Perihan Çakıroğlu. "Sivil Toplum Örgütleri" *Milliyet* (July 15, 1997), 7.

had a very limited role. This kind of state understanding was consolidated in Ottoman Empire. The patrimonial structure of the Ottoman Empire did not allow for any civilian development other than the state structure. Every activity relating to economics and culture was dominated by the state structure and there was a no place for the private sphere.⁸⁶

The state dominance over the society in Ottoman Empire has also reflected itself to the new Turkish state, the result being a rigid state-society polarization. In the early years of the new and modern Turkish state and during the one-party era, although all Ottoman institutions including the execution, legislation and judiciary, and rules and concepts were replaced by the modern Western institutions, rules and concepts, the state domination over the society continued. With the multi-party era, state dominance began to be challenged on a different platform. State represented the center and the society represented the periphery. As a result of this polarization, each part began to claim more power over other. Because of this conflict in Turkish politics, the military found itself forced to intervene in politics in different periods. The 1980 military intervention in particular, considered the politicization of society as the major cause of the political corruption. For military, there should be state leadership and a depoliticized society for the consolidation of democracy. A similar traditional approach, state dominance over the society, once more repeated itself in Turkish politics.⁸⁷ According to Mardin⁸⁸, Rousseau, Duguit and Maurras have also contributed to the traditional approach of the state dominance over society and the traces of this situation can be found in Turkish military. The attitude of military in 1980 intervention was very akin to that of De Gaulle in Fifth Republic when his antipathy to interest groups has brought about the empowerment of the executive in

⁸⁶ Nur Vergin, "Demokrasi ve Sivil Toplum." *Yeni Türkiye* 1 (December 1994), 10-11.

⁸⁷ Ali Yaşar Sarıbay, "Türkiye'de Demokrasi ve Sivil Toplum." *Liberal Düşünce* 6 (Spring 1997), 32.

⁸⁸ Şerif Mardin, "Sivil Toplum ve Kurumları." *Cumhuriyet Dönemi Türkiye Ansiklopedisi*, İletişim Yayınları, cilt 7, 1922.

order to isolate it from the divisive forces. Such antipathy to the interest groups has stemmed from the Rousseauian conviction that there is a general will of society and that groups represent the narrow, selfish interests of the parts and endanger the commitment to the national interest.⁸⁹

We can see the effects of this approach on the 1982 Constitution and the Law of Associations. Both of the 1982 Constitution and the Law of Associations have imposed some restrictions on society to prevent politicization in general. For this reason, the Law of Associations is accused for preventing the development of civil society movement. Because of this Law, some organizations have chosen to become foundations rather than associations and some associations which want to work on political issues are facing difficulties.⁹⁰

When we look at the environmental organizations in Turkey from the angle of the Ministry of Environment (MOE), we see the same tendency, that is, a reluctance to accept them as a political force. These groups are seen as groups which try to establish a certain public opinion on environmental issues, and they organize conferences and make publications. The Ministry⁹¹ think that these groups have a significant role in every development about the environment. These groups are active in varying fields and while some have lost their importance, some groups have increased the volume of their work. Their activities include making propaganda, preparing projects, organizing conferences, doing research and publications. Some groups, by establishing international relations with other organizations continue their activities more effectively. However, apart from these judgements, we could not find any expression on the cooperation between the MOE and these groups in policy formation. The environmental organizations can be very helpful in solving the environmental problems in cooperation with the state.

⁸⁹ Frank Wilson, *Interest-Group Politics in France*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), 13.

⁹⁰ Perihan Çakıroğlu, "Sivil Toplum Örgütleri," *Milliyet* (July 16, 1997), 7.

⁹¹ T. C. Çevre Bakanlığı, *2000'li Yıllara Doğru Çevre* (Ankara: Çevre Bakanlığı, 1991), 47.

Turkish environmental groups essentially focus on some activities that are very beneficial for the improvement of the environmental conditions. Their activities are mainly as follows: constructing a bridge between the state administration and the people, since environmental groups have more opportunities to keep an eye on the environmental problems and since the state agencies, because of their massive bureaucracy, can not function effectively to form a link between the society and the state. Therefore, pressure groups act as bodies functioning to form a link between the state and the society. The second area of activity of these groups is to educate the society by different methods: like TV programs. It can be said that educating the society is very important for the fate of the environment in the long run. Taking responsibility and jobs in the administration of areas under protection is another field that the Turkish environmental groups are keen on.⁹²

3.2 THE LEGAL BASE OF FOUNDATIONS AND ASSOCIATIONS

According to Aybay and Aybay,⁹³ when people come together and establish an organization in order to accomplish their goals, this kind of organization is defined as an association. But if the organization depends on the continuous allocation of a certain property for the realization of a certain goal, then the organization is a foundation. In Turkey, the recognition of associations as a legitimate way of organization dates back to about 1900. The first article that recognized the formation of associations as a legitimate way of participation was in the 1924 Constitution. However, the real incentive for the establishment of associations was provided in the 1961 Constitution. In Article 29 of this Constitution it was stated that every one has a right to form an association without a permission. This Article was the turning point for the life of associations in Turkey. As

⁹² İsmail Gökdayı, *Çevrenin Geleceği*. (Ankara: Türkiye Çevre Vakfı Yayını, 1997), 244-246.

⁹³ Aydın Aybay ve Rona Aybay, *Dernek ve Vakıf Kurma Özgürlüğü* (İstanbul: Tüses Vakfı Yayını, 1991), 1-8.

Yücekök⁹⁴ indicates in his study on the number of associations, a boom can be seen in the number of associations after the 1961 Constitution. An association can be defined as an organization which is established by at least 7 persons that have a common goal to achieve. In an association the gathering of real persons is the dominant characteristic while the property component is of secondary importance. In this respect, associations resemble unions and political parties. However, in foundations there are three components that are common in their formation. These are goal, property and its allocation. When these components come together, an autonomous corporate body emerges. In this respect, the foundations have no common points with unions or political parties, because in the foundations human component is less important compared to property component.

3.3 THE EVOLUTION OF ENVIRONMENTALISM IN TURKEY

Although Turkish history reflects many examples which show that environmental issues have been taken into consideration and given due importance, and that Turkish people have been informed about environmental issues since we can see many examples of how some measures were introduced in the past years in order to preserve the environment, however, today it may be said that Turkish people's interest in environmental issues is not satisfactory when compared to the citizens of the more industrialized countries of the West. This situation can be proved concretely, for instance by taking into account the membership in Western and Turkish environmental groups because the membership to Turkish groups is very unworthy when we compare them with other Western groups.

Before the establishment of the Ottoman State, the Turkish community was generally nomadic and people saw the nature as a very important and an indispensable part of their lives. Mountains, rivers, and lakes and the like, were all attributed sacred meanings, as people made their homes in the heart of the nature. It is, therefore, very

⁹⁴ Ahmet Yücekök, *Türkiye'de Dernek Gelişimleri*. (Ankara: Siyasal Bilgiler Fakültesi Yayınları, 1972). 11.

appropriate to presume that if nature was considered to be sacred, then those who held it sacred would conserve it. So the community, mostly leading a nomadic life then, must have had a prominent level of awareness for the nature.⁹⁵

When we look at our Islamic heritage, we can see some examples which are the indicators of how nature was taken care of and preserved. Biruni,⁹⁶ one of the greatest Islamic scientists of the eleventh century, discusses the balance and the order in nature. Biruni's idea can be compared with the existing arguments of the ecosystem in environmentalism. Furthermore, İbn-i Haldun,⁹⁷ another important figure of the fourteenth century, conducted some studies about the living beings. He was interested in their natural habitats and tried to determine which natural space would be best for a certain living being.

During the Ottoman period some decisions were taken by high authorities, even by the Sultans. Fatih Sultan Mehmet, for example, was very sensitive toward the environment. His sensitiveness to nature can be understood by looking at his edicts. During his reign, in order to prevent the filling of the Golden Horn, construction of houses and farming was forbidden on the banks of Kağıthane Stream. In addition, in the areas which were considered vulnerable to erosion, cutting of the trees was banned and punished.⁹⁸ Fatih Sultan Mehmet also set up a foundation to protect the environment. In this foundation's documents, Fatih Sultan Mehmet declared that he appointed two people to take care of each street in İstanbul and these people were to go around the streets between certain hours every day, carrying in a pot a mixture of limestone and coal. These people were supposed to pour the mixture on people who spat on the streets and were to be paid 20 gold coins for their efforts.⁹⁹

⁹⁵ Kemal Görmez, *Çevre Sorunları ve Türkiye* (Ankara: Gazi Kitabevi, 1997), 105.

⁹⁶ İsmet Binark, "Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivindeki Belgeler Işığında Türkler'de Çevrecilik Anlayışı," *Yeni Türkiye* 1:5 (1995), 12.

⁹⁷ Binark, *Başbakanlık*, 12.

⁹⁸ Görmez, *Çevre*, 107.

⁹⁹ Meral Dinçer, *Çevre Gönüllü Kuruluşları* (Ankara: Türkiye Çevre Vakfı Yayını, 1996), 86.

However, any evidence of other action towards the environmental issues can not be found until the Abdülhamit era. In Abdülhamit's time a number of measures were introduced to protect the nature, and it can be said that these measures were introduced to reduce the negative effects of industrialization on the environment. During this time, the İstanbul Society of Friends of Ancient Works was founded by Sait Halim Pasha in 1911. The official document of this Society comprises of eighteen articles and emphasizes the need for promoting the art works and natural and human-made beauties of İstanbul and increasing the aesthetic values of citizens. In addition during Abdülhamit's reign, special effort was made to keep the city clean and a number of foreign architects were contacted and consulted for this purpose.¹⁰⁰

Again during this period, in addition to the activities carried out by the İstanbul Society of Friends of Ancient Works some political parties began to give importance to the environment, and showed this by including the protection of nature in their programs. These parties emphasized the importance of and the need for environmental health, city planning and the preservation of natural beauties. For example, in Article 41 of its program Ottoman Radical Party, founded in 1909, points out to the need for the protection of existing forests, and forestation of suitable areas. In a similar fashion, in the program of People's Party, which was founded in 1910, the need for the establishment of a society to protect animals was emphasized. The program of National Constitution Party, another political party which was founded in 1912 also included provisions for forestation, the establishment of a Health Ministry and the introduction of sanitary measures in the planning of cities and towns.¹⁰¹

Although during the first years following the establishment of the new Turkish Republic in 1923, state officials were mainly concerned with the problems that were for the most part the result of National Independence War, and the problems of the city of Ankara were also given importance. State officials were very concerned with

¹⁰⁰ Görmez, *Çevre*, 107.

¹⁰¹ Dinçer, *Çevre Gönüllü*, 86.

the problems of Ankara, as it was the new capital of the Republic of Turkey. This interest in the problems of the city stemmed from the fact that Ankara, the new capital city, should be the symbol of modernization. Therefore, Ankara was to set an example for the entire country and because of this reason Ankara was to break the chains of the traditional boundaries of the old regime. It is interesting to note that throughout the history of the Republic of Turkey, Ankara has always maintained its leadership role for the environmental movement. In order to create the modern Ankara two laws were passed in 1924 and 1928 to set up Ankara Municipality and Directorate of Reconstruction, respectively.¹⁰²

When we consider the general attitude of the new Turkish State toward the environment we should mention the İzmir Economics Congress which was held in 1923, it was decided that there was a need for the protection of forests and also a need for the enlarging of these green areas. For this aim the necessity for Arbor Days was emphasized and it was decided that every member of the society should plant at least one tree. However these decisions became effective only after the second half of 1920's. In that period, the Conservation of Forest Association was set up in 1928 and the purpose underlying its establishment had been to preserve the forests and to increase their numbers. The Conservation of Forest Association, comprising of bureaucrats and deputies, set up its representative agencies in some other cities and villages and organized some Arbor Days in various parts of the country.¹⁰³

In the first years of the republic, apart from the Conservation of Forest Association, a number of other societies which were interested in environmental issues were established. Examples of these societies are the Conservation of Animal Association, the Reconstruction of Islands Association, the Embellishment of Çamlıca Association, the Mountaineer Club, and the Turkish Foresters Association. It is worth

¹⁰² Zehra Kalyoncuoğlu, "Türkiye'de Çevre Hareketleri: Gökova Çevre Hareketi Örneği." Unpublished ph.D. Dissertation (Ankara, 1993), 81.

¹⁰³ Esat Öz, "Dünya'da ve Türkiye'de Ekoloji Hareketi'nin Gelişimi: Çevre Koruma Derneklerinden Siyasi Partilere." *Türkiye Günlüğü* 3 (1989), 31.

noting that except for the activities of the Conservation of Forest Association, the other associations did not show any measurable success regarding environmental issues. But in spite of their failure, they are important because they represent the volunteer environmental conservation movement during the first years of the new Turkish Republic.¹⁰⁴

The crucial point here is that these associations were not bodies which were independent from the state. Since during the one-party dominance of the Republican People's Party (RPP), such associations' activities were strictly limited and controlled by RPP, these associations could not act as a pressure group in this period. With the end of the one-party system, RPP's restrictions on associations also came to an end, and during 1945 and 1946, the right to establish an association was recognized. Although the recognition of this right led to an increase in the number of associations, the activities were restricted to a small group in Turkey.¹⁰⁵

The Law of Secondary Associations lifted the strict control over the social and political participation of the citizens and in the early days of 1950, Turkey began to undergo a rapid economic development. As a result, Turkish society became characterized by different groups. These new groups in Turkish society began to demand more pluralistic structure in the country's politics. As a result of such demands for a more pluralistic system, new associations began to be established.¹⁰⁶

In the Turkish context, the late industrialization of Turkey brought about the late appearance of environmental problems such as rapid increase in population and urbanization which were the outcomes of the industrialization. Since Turkey did not experience these conditions before, there was no preparation to respond these negative effects of industrialization. Starting with the 1950's, Turkey encountered the first serious problems, such as the inadequacy of infrastructure in big cities, and the rise of

¹⁰⁴ Öz, *Dünya da*, 31.

¹⁰⁵ Görmez, *Çevre*, 109.

¹⁰⁶ Yücekök, *Türkiye de*, 11.

squatter housing, as a result of rapid industrialization, and migration to certain large cities. In the 1950's environmental pollution began to be felt and Ankara's air pollution was regarded as an example of non-industrial type of air pollution. The increases recorded in respiratory diseases during the winter months have led Prof. Celal Ertuğ MD to make air pollution measurements in Ankara between 1956-1958. And the research which was carried out by Prof. Celal Ertuğ MD regarding the amount of air pollution is the first study conducted in Turkey in the field of air pollution.¹⁰⁷ In addition, these were the years when the state began to orient its policies towards environmental issues, and to this effect some amendments were made in the Forestry and Reconstruction Laws. The amendments made to these laws provided certain regulations with a view to the conservation of nature. Bird Paradise, Yozgat Pine Wood, Aslantaş Cave were granted the status of a National Park.¹⁰⁸

In 1955, the Turkish Association for the Conservation of Nature and Natural Resources, one of the main figures of the Turkish environmental movement, was established. This association was set up by forestry engineers, bureaucrats and scientists in order to prevent the destruction of forests and hence the breakdown of soil and water patterns.¹⁰⁹

With the 1961 Constitution, Turkey entered a planned period of development and industrialization. During the following years, the State's main target was to achieve a rapid development, and thus to change the structure of Turkey. In these years the change in the attitude of the State and the people to the environmental issues did become very evident.¹¹⁰ 1961 Constitution clearly states in article 49 that everyone's physical and mental health should be protected; this article is the only article that directly mentions environment and it also creates the first legal base of the

¹⁰⁷ Kalyoncuoğlu, *Gökova*, 82.

¹⁰⁸ Görmez, *Çevre*, 109.

¹⁰⁹ Dinçer, *Çevre Gönüllü*, 121.

¹¹⁰ Görmez, *Çevre*, 109.

concept of the protection of environment. In an addition to this article, articles 130 and 131 includes some indirect principles about natural resources and forests. The role of the state in the protection of the forests and natural resources is emphasized in these articles.¹¹¹ Furthermore in Five Year Development Plans environment began to be taken into account under a separate heading.¹¹²

The Ministry of Health began to measure air pollution in Ankara in 1962 and in 1963, it was explicitly stated in the first Five Year Development Plan that the introduction of some measures were essential to counteract the polluting effects of lignite which was extensively used for residential heating purposes. From the perspective of people, the establishment of The Ankara Struggle with Air Pollution Association in 1969, can be interpreted as the growing awareness and concern of the people to the dangers of air pollution. In the same year "The Cleaning of Air in Major Cities Congress" was organized, as a reaction to this environmental problem, under the leadership of the Chamber of Mechanical Engineers.¹¹³

1970's were the years during which environmental problems became internationalized and environmentalism became a global issue. The internationalization of environmental problems has also reflected to Turkey and Turkey officially started to have a growing concern on this issue.¹¹⁴ Turkey's membership to international institutions has positively affected the evolution of environmentalism in Turkey. For example, because of its membership to the European Council, Turkey celebrated 'European Conservation of Nature Year' and 'Common Architectural Heritage Year', initiated by the European Council, in 1970 and 1975 respectively.¹¹⁵ The Turkish society's interest to environmental issues

¹¹¹ Gülün Egeli, *Avrupa Birliği ve Türkiye'de Çevre Politikaları* (Ankara: Türkiye Çevre Vakfı Yayını, 1996), 75.

¹¹² Görmez, *Çevre*, 109.

¹¹³ Öz, *Dünya da*, 32.

¹¹⁴ Ruşen Keleş ve Can Hamamcı, *Çevre Bilim* (Ankara: İmge Kitabevi, 1997), 212.

¹¹⁵ Dinçer, *Çevre Gönüllü*, 88.

reached a new level following the 1972 Stockholm Conference. In Turkey, the perception of the importance of the environmental problems took popular environmentalism to a societal base. It can, therefore, be claimed that globalization of environmental problems raised the awareness of Turkish society in line with the world, to these problems.¹¹⁶ As a result, the 1970's have witnessed the establishment of new volunteer organizations with the impact of the Stockholm Conference, during which environmental problems have found a keen interest in Turkish society as well. In 1972, for example, the Association for the Conservation of the Environment, and in 1975 the Society for the Protection of Nature, and in 1978 the Environmental Problems Foundation of Turkey were established. In the 1970's, in line with the increase in the number of environmental groups, it is also possible to see an increase in the number of publications about the environment. The Bibliography of Environmental Issues published by Tübitak shows that although a total of 2518 articles and books have been published before 1972, there has been a dramatic increase in the number of such publications which have now reached several hundred thousands.¹¹⁷

When we examine the number of foundations and associations beginning with the establishment of Turkish Republic, following the proclamation of the Civil Code in 1926, foundations underwent a stagnancy until 1967. Before 1926, there were more than 26.000 registered foundations within the framework of General Directorate of Foundations. However in the period between 1926 and 1967 only 10 foundations were established. With the proclamation of Law No. 903 in 1967 the number of new foundations began to increase in Turkey. In fact, 455 new foundations were established between 1967 and 1977.¹¹⁸ In the opinion of Yücekök,¹¹⁹ environmental

¹¹⁶ Kalyoncuoğlu, *Gökova*, 83.

¹¹⁷ Tuncay Neyişçi, "Türkiye'de Çevre Hareketi" *Yeni Türkiye* 1:5 (July/ August 1995), 627.

¹¹⁸ Engin Ural, *Ukıflar* (Ankara: Türkiye Kalkınma Vakfı Yayını, 1977), 17-18.

¹¹⁹ Ahmet Yücekök, *Türkiye'de Dernek Gelişimleri* (Ankara: Siyasal Bilgiler Fakültesi Yayınları, 1972), 26-27, 82-85.

associations which included associations like the Friends of Afforestation Associations can be categorized as embellishment associations. In his research, covering the three largest cities of Turkey, that are, İstanbul, Ankara, and İzmir, Yücekök clearly shows us the increase in the number of associations in the period between 1946-1968. He reports that in İstanbul, the number of such associations were only six in 1946. Then in 1960 this number increased to 166 and in 1968 it was 315. In Ankara there was only one such an association in 1946, but then in 1960 this number rose to 41 and in 1968 it was 316. In İzmir there were only three embellishment associations in 1946. But then in 1960 it became 29 and 1968 there were a total of 104 associations active in this realm. For Toksöz¹²⁰, in 1970, there were 9658 assembly associations including the environmental organizations out of 42.170 total associations and then in 1980, there were 15.209 such kind of associations out of 54.144 total associations. In 1995, according to the Turkish NGOs Directory¹²¹, there were 92 environmental organizations (17 foundations and 75 associations) in Turkey. Today, there are almost 300 environmental organizations active in Turkish environmental politics.

The raising concerns for environmental issues both in the world and in the Turkish context have prepared the bases for an article about the environment in the 1982 Constitution. The public opinion for the need for such an article to be included in the constitution has been mainly created by the campaigns of the Turkish Environment Foundation of Turkey, which was in those years known as the Environmental Problems Foundation of Turkey.¹²² However, the 1982 Constitution includes several articles on the protection of the environment, the most important one being article 56. Article 56 proclaims that "everyone has the right to live in a healthy

¹²⁰ Fikret Toksöz, "Türkiye'de Dernekler." *Cumhuriyet Dönemi Türkiye Ansiklopedisi*. İletişim Yayınları, cilt 2, 372-376.

¹²¹ Türkiye Çevre Vakfı, *Türkiye Gönüllü Kuruluşlar Rehberi* (Ankara: TÇV Yayınları, 1995), 415-418.

¹²² Öz, *Dünya'da*, 33.

environment". In order to reach this goal, the state assumes the responsibility to create a suitable and healthy environment for its citizens. Article 56 is the first instance in a Turkish constitution which mentions the environmental right and it sees the protection of environment as the state's responsibility, individual responsibility and the right of individuals.¹²³ Article 65, however, imposes a restriction on article 56 by mentioning that the state can fulfill its responsibilities in the social and economic realms only as far as its financial resources permit and ensuring the economic stability. Accordingly, the state does not have to fulfill all the responsibilities mentioned in this article.¹²⁴ There are some other articles that have a direct bearing on the environment. Article 43 states that coasts belong to the state and when developing and utilizing the areas surrounding seas, lakes and rivers, general interest shall be given priority. Furthermore, article 44 states that the state has the responsibility to cultivate the land efficiently and introduce measures to prevent erosion. Article 57, on the other hand, states that the state will introduce measures to meet the housing needs within the framework of a plan taking into consideration environmental conditions and the features of cities and towns. Finally, article 168 expresses that the state takes measures and introduces necessary laws to protect and enlarge forest areas.¹²⁵

Article 56 of the 1982 Constitution paved the way to the Law of Environment which came into force in 1983. According to this law, all decisions and measures taken and applied to protect the environment and prevent pollution will consider the protection of the health of humans and other living things in the first place. The law also expresses that the effects of such measures and decisions on the country's efforts for development and their costs and benefits will also be taken into consideration. The law in question states that all the expenses for the prevention and limitation of and the fight against pollution will be paid by the party causing

¹²³ Egeli, *Avrupa Birliği*, 76.

¹²⁴ Firuz Demir Yaşamış, *Çevre Yönetiminin Temel Araçları* (Ankara: İmge Kitabevi Yayınları, 1995), 31.

¹²⁵ Egeli, *Avrupa Birliği*, 77.

pollution.¹²⁶ The Environment Foundation of Turkey has made significant contribution for the enactment of this law.

The fact that improper and irregular distribution of responsibility and authority within the bureaucracy has been causing a number of difficulties in the implementation of a national environmental policy has led to the establishment of the Undersecretaryship of Environment in 1978 to determine an environmental policy and to coordinate all related activities. Although in 1984, the Undersecretaryship became a general directorate, it was again raised to the status of undersecretaryship in 1989. The Ministry of Environment was set up in 1991 with a purpose to protect and improve the environment, to conserve and utilize all urban and rural land and natural resources in the most efficient way, and to protect and develop the country's natural wealth and finally to prevent all types of environmental pollution.¹²⁷ The setting up of a governmental unit to deal with environmental issues was strongly supported by all environmental groups, especially by the EFT, SPN and TACN.

The 1980's, however, were the years when laws on the environment failed to be effective. The reason for this was the fact that economic development was considered to be more important. While such a consideration hampered the solution of existing environmental problems, it has also been the source of new and additional difficulties. The 1980's were also the years when ecologist opposition came into existence.¹²⁸ The campaign which started in mid-80's against Gökova thermic station is an example of such an ecologist opposition. This campaign was widely supported by the public and has been an instance of an activity in which various participatory techniques, such as expression of opinion, signing petitions, were used. The campaign was multidimensional. While the public, on the one hand fought on a legal base to stop the construction activities (application to the Council of State for

¹²⁶ Görmez, *Çevre*, 144.

¹²⁷ Keleş, *Çevre*, 222-223.

¹²⁸ Öz, *Dünya'da*, 33.

the cancellation of the decision for Gökova, appeals to the national assembly to start an investigation), on the other hand organized campaigns and sent representatives to Ankara to express their views to those concerned.¹²⁹ Despite all these, the construction of Gökova thermic station has been continuing and the government authorities hope that the station will start generating electricity in the near future.¹³⁰ Environmental groups, such as EFT still show a strong resistance to the construction of Gökova thermic station and try to shape the public opinion against it.

To give an example of ecologist group which is different than the conservative groups in Turkey, we can cite the Environment Sensitivity Group which was established in 1985. We can label this group as ecologist because the group thinks that the participation to decision making process is very crucial for today's citizens in democratic countries and because in our day every issue influences peoples' life. Therefore, rather than waiting for the state or its organizations to find solutions to the problems, the group prefers conducting beneficial activities for the environment by adopting various participation methods in order to persuade the related bodies to take necessary decisions. Thinking that grass-root movement is the best way to respond environmental issues, they do not want any bureaucratic structure within the group formation and they mainly adopt various protest types in their activities.¹³¹ Because of these features, they are different from the conservative groups. They have mainly engaged in protest activities against the use of nuclear energy and the construction of Güvenpark as a parking lot and, the protection of *Caretta caretta* in Dalyan.¹³²

Other than the Gökova dissidence, the main events in which there were an ecologist opposition led and supported by environmental groups are as follows: the

¹²⁹Kalyoncuoğlu, *Gökova*. 168-169.

¹³⁰ Recai Kutan, "Türkiye'nin Enerji Sorunları ve Çözüm Önerileri" (Lecture presented at Bilkent University, Ankara, Turkey, October 20, 1996).

¹³¹ Akın Atauz, "Türkiye'de Kentsel-Toplumsal-Çevreci Hareketler ve Çevre Duyarlılığı Grubu," 3 *Yeni Türkiye* (1989), 59.

¹³² Dinçer, *Çevre Gönüllü*. 129.

construction of settlements in Dalyan which threatened the lives of *Caretta caretta* in 1987, Aliğa thermic station in 1989, Akkuyu nuclear power station in 1993. These campaigns have been carried to this date. Campaigns in these areas were carried out not only by using legal means that take place in judiciary but also by resorting to protest methods like street demonstrations.

In 1992, one of the most important figures of the environmental movement; FASAS¹³³ (Foundation for Afforestation and Struggle Against Soil Erosion) was established. Its main aim is to prevent soil erosion as a pressure group. They want to educate the society for the dangers of erosion and to become effective on National Assembly so as to pass necessary laws for soil protection. They see their large membership base (above 13.000 members) for their most effective means on the National Assembly. For that reason, their target is to enlist 5 million members.¹³⁴ As we can observe, they are very popular in media and have a close cooperation with private firms. As a conservative group, they seem to be the most effective environmental group in Turkey because of their success in showing the dangers of erosion in a simple way to society. However, we should bear in mind that, the dangers of erosion was first brought to the attention of the public by TACN after 1955.

The most recent ecologist opposition in Turkey is the Bergama event. Although the strife between the people who live in Bergama and the Eurogold company which exploits the gold mine in Ovacık has been going on for 6 years, we witness the peak point of this struggle and the best examples of ecologist actions in 1997. In order to show the dynamics of the action, the Mayor of Bergama claims that when a whistle is blown, 10.000 people come together for the action.¹³⁵ The Bergama event becomes the best ecologist opposition since the ecologist action of people and the great interest in media to the action make the opposition very effective to

¹³³ TEMA Foundation.

¹³⁴ The Briefing of FASAS held in FASAS's branch office in Ankara, May 9, 1997.

¹³⁵ Nazım Alpman, "Bergamalılarının Boyunu Bükük" *Milliyet* (July 27, 1997), 11.

influence the public opinion for the environmental degradation. Also the Bergama event shows us that material gains are not as important as a healthy life and that there is a need for the replacement of overconsumption culture with an ecologist culture and that gold is not more important than the nature.

It can easily be realized that the evolution of Turkish environmentalism has followed the evolution of Western environmentalism in the same way but in different periods. In Turkey, the ecological opposition was experienced only in the 1980's in contrast to Western countries which began to experience it in 1960's and 1970's. This situation has also been reflected on the environmental pressure groups and today, there is no main ecological interest group in Turkey. Although some environmental groups including the FASAS, have some characteristics of ecological groups, they are in essence conservative groups. Because of this reason, we should compare the main conservative Turkish environmental pressure groups with other Western conservative and ecological pressure groups.

CHAPTER IV

THE THREE MAIN ENVIRONMENTAL GROUPS IN TURKEY

THE ENVIRONMENT FOUNDATION OF TURKEY(EFT)

THE SOCIETY FOR THE PROTECTION OF NATURE (SPN)

THE TURKISH ASSOCIATION FOR THE CONSERVATION OF NATURE AND NATURAL RESOURCES (TACN)

4.1 THE HISTORY OF EFT, SPN AND TACN

The idea to establish a foundation for the environment has originated from Engin Ural (the general secretary of EFT). He is the father of the view that there was a need for an environmental foundation which could conduct and realize beneficial activities. Ural states that his interest in environment began after the 1972 International Stockholm Conference on Environment, and some news which appeared in the newspapers on environmental issues. As a result, he wanted to set up an association to deal with environmental issues. However, after he thought the issue the second time, he decided that to establish a foundation rather than an association would be more beneficial. Furthermore, the lack of an environmental law in Turkey became an incentive for him as a lawyer; as he was greatly impressed by the activities carried out in Western Europe to improve the environmental laws he decided to initiate similar activities for an environmental law in Turkey and thought that setting up a foundation would be a useful tool to accomplish this goal.¹³⁶ As a result, the Environment Foundation of Turkey, EFT, was founded in 1978. Its first name was "The Environmental Problems Foundation of Turkey" which was later changed to "The Environment Foundation of Turkey".

¹³⁶ Meral Dinçer, *Çevre Gönüllü Kuruluşları*. (Ankara: Türkiye Çevre Vakfı Yayını, 1996). 233.

The reason for the establishment of the Society for the Protection of Nature, SPN, differs from that of the EFT in that in the early 1970's, in Birecik (Urfa), the number of Kahlibis birds was drastically reduced and this became a major concern for Turkish environmentalism and many people were interested in the reasons leading to this problem. It can be asserted that the protection of Kahlibis birds was the symbol of Turkish environmentalism in that period. During 1974, the need for an organization that would work on this issue was voiced by Udo Hirsch, Salih and Belkıs Acar and Tansu Gürpınar because although the Ministry of Forestry had the responsibility of the protection of these birds, they thought that an environmental organization would be necessary for the protection of these birds. In addition, during their trips to Birecik, they had also observed the destruction caused to nature including the forests and wildlife. Hence, they decided to set up the SPN in 1975 to conserve not only the Kahlibis birds but also the nature.¹³⁷

The Turkish Association for the Conservation of Nature and Natural Resources, (TACN), is the first environmental organization established in Turkey although the effects of industrialization had been felt recently. The TACN contributed substantially to the development of environmentalism in Turkey because of its vanguard role for all other national environmental organizations. The destruction of forests and pastures, the increase in pollution and, the findings of the research carried out by the Institute of Forestry which warned of the dangers of erosion in Turkey have led Hasan Asmaz and his friends to set up an association to deal with these problems. As a result, the TACN was founded in 1955.¹³⁸

According to Dalton,¹³⁹ for the study of an environmental movement it is very crucial to understand the historical origins of national groups. Dalton suggests that there have been two different environmental movement waves in Western Europe.

¹³⁷ Tansu Gürpınar. Interview by the author.

¹³⁸ Hasan Asmaz. Interview by the author.

¹³⁹ Russell Dalton. *The Green Rainbow*. (New Haven and London: Yale University Press. 1994). 82-84.

For him, it is necessary to distinguish these waves since they represent different ideological origins. The first period of environmental movement could be identified with the conservationist ideology because the first national bird and nature conservation groups have been established in this period. However, it should be pointed out that the date of conservationist organizations' establishment is not solely restricted to this period since we can still observe the establishment of such groups until recent times. Although many environmental organizations had been set up during the conservatist wave, the new environmental movement started in the early years of 1960s. A large number of organizations had been established in this period and their ideological stand is very different from conservationism. The new wave is called ecological movement which criticizes the established order of the advanced industrial societies and tries to alter the system with a new system which is characterized by ecological values.

When we consider these three major environmental groups in Turkey, we see that they were set up, with the exception of TACN which was founded in 1955, during the new environmental wave: SPN in 1975 and EFT in 1978. But, although they had been established during that period, they were influenced by the early conservative movement and they became conservative groups. This situation can be explained by Turkey's late industrialization. Because of this reason, Turkey experienced some environmental problems only after 1950's. Therefore, Turkish groups have started environmentalism with the conservatist wave, which is the initial step of environmentalism, while the West was experiencing the ecological wave.

4.2 THE MISSIONS OF EFT, SPN AND TACN

The EFT can be identified as a national environmental group, but it is also a research oriented think-tank organization. Being a think-tank organization distinguishes the EFT from SPN and TACN. The EFT's research orientation feature can be clearly seen when we look at its objectives: to collect and publish facts on environment, population and energy issues of Turkey; to conduct research on

alternative solutions to Turkey's environmental problems, population growth and energy bottleneck; to play an advocacy role in promoting the quality of the environment; to assist the state and local governments in the formulation and implementation of environmental policies and programs; and finally to monitor, on a continuous basis, the progress made on environment, population and energy issues of Turkey.¹⁴⁰

Another environmental group, the SPN, is also mainly interested in the conservation of nature so we can label it as conservative because although it was established during the new environmental wave, its mission is primarily to stop and then to reverse the degradation of the Turkish environment, and to contribute to build a future in which humans live in a harmony with nature by preserving species and ecosystem diversity and by promoting long-term sustainable use of natural resources.¹⁴¹

The mission of TACN is to work on the conservation of natural resources, particularly agriculture, forests, pastures and grasslands, wildlife, preys and birds, and other living beings and also to work on the protection of the balance between soil, water, plants and humans, and on the prevention of environmental pollution originating from industrial sources and from urbanization, and finally on solving of problems causing damage on nature.¹⁴²

When the targets of these three environmental groups are examined in general, it can be seen that the TACN and the SPN fit more into typical conservative environmental groups in West. However, the EFT fits in both conservative and ecological groups of the West with respect to its objectives of information and education. The EFT approaches to the environment from a more general perspective unlike the other two organizations; it sees the case as an information and education

¹⁴⁰ Official paper of EFT.

¹⁴¹ Information Paper of SPN.

¹⁴² The Article 3 in the regulation of TACN.

problem, so it tries to inform and educate the society. In contrast, the SPN approaches the environment by trying to conserve the habitats of the living beings; the TACN tries to conserve the natural resources. In this respect, TACN and SPN have a more defined and restricted objectives than the EFT.

4.3 THE ROLE OF PRESSURE GROUPS FOR EFT, SPN AND TACN IN TURKISH POLITICAL SYSTEM

All these three groups regret the fact that they are very much ignored by the state; however, it should be noted that especially the EFT and the TACN are more critical to the insensitivity of the state towards not only environmental groups but towards all the pressure groups in general. They demand a more active role in Turkish politics. In other words, they want participation in policy formation.

Engin Ural¹⁴³ sees pressure groups as the crucial factors for the development of Turkey. Some of the current problems that Turkey faces are rapid population growth, unplanned urbanization, overexploitation of natural resources, low level of savings, high level of unemployment, the rise of the foreign debt and inflation which rise to fearful dimensions. These issues lead us to think about a model of development for Turkey. Here, the pressure groups emerge as the alternative model to the existing one. Ural thinks that by the help of pressure groups, it is possible to take an objective look at the difficulties that are being experienced as well as to bring solutions to these issues. In order to prove his argument, Ural gives the example of the concept of human socio-economic development. According to the United Nations Development Programme, Turkey ranks 68th among the countries compared in the 1994 Human Development Report. His argument about why Turkey stands behind so many countries and why those countries are more developed is that in those countries other than state and private sector, there are individuals although who are not members of any sector, serve for their country without any profit motives or political interests.

¹⁴³ The Environment Foundation of Turkey, *NGOs Conference: 28-29 March 1995* (Ankara: Türkiye Çevre Vakfı Yayını, 1995), 18-19.

This is the concept of volunteer organization. Ural argues that Turkey needs such fresh approaches and new and different methods, and large number of capable volunteer organizations which could accomplish many things for the country are ready and waiting to serve in this way.

According to Hasan Asmaz,¹⁴⁴ the President of the TACN, the politics in Turkey should be strictly criticized because the volunteer organizations can not effectively participate in decision making process. The volunteer organizations in the developed countries always occupy a privileged position in politics. However, in Turkey, those who are in power think that the country can not be governed by associations. For Asmaz, the indication of this view can be seen in the Law of Associations whose principles are against human rights and freedoms. In spite of its deficiencies, the amendment of this law has been ignored by the deputies in National Assembly. Asmaz also defends the view that associations should have the right to make politics because in every pluralistic society, opposition to certain ideas is shown without any restriction. Associations have the right to inform the society and persuade people in every issue which is related to society. The lack of efficiency in Turkish politics is the result of the fact that the volunteer organizations have been ignored. When the views of volunteer organizations are not taken into account, the laws that are accepted and passed in the National Assembly do not have rationality since the members of the Assembly lack knowledge on certain issues. If the volunteer organizations had more chance to inform the deputies, the laws would be made more effectively in the Turkish National Assembly.

Tansu Gürpınar,¹⁴⁵ the constitutive member and representative of SPN in Ankara, also has a critical but in a more moderate attitude. He especially criticizes SNP's lack of influence on Turkish National Assembly. This situation has become

¹⁴⁴ Hasan Asmaz, "I. Council of Environment and our opinions" *Nature and Man* 25:4 (December 1991), 4.

¹⁴⁵ Tansu Gürpınar. Interview by the author.

more explicit during the drafting of the Law of Pasture in National Assembly. Because, although SPN has tried to warn the commission and the General Assembly members through lobby activities, it failed to arouse interest of the deputies. Therefore, The Law of Pasture has been accepted by National Assembly despite its deficiencies .

These three conservative environmental organizations differ from their European counterparts mainly because of their demand for participation in politics. This concern is not apparent in the conservative groups in Europe, but the ecological groups which are derived from the new social movements are the representatives of this view. When we examine the views of the legal representatives of these three environmental organizations we see that they deeply worry about being ignored by the state.

In order to examine these three environmental groups in a more proper way, we should examine their internal structures in detail. Because their internal structures will give us an information for the comparison of conservative and ecologist groups.

4.4 THE INTERNAL STRUCTURES OF EFT, SPN AND TACN

In environmental organizations the participation of members in the setting up of the agenda determines whether the group is conservatist or ecologist. According to Dalton,¹⁴⁶ the Resource Mobilization (RM) theory presumes that when the organizational structures are formed, social movements have a tendency to become centralized and institutionalized. Additionally, as a result of this evolution, the organization is isolated from its supporters and the inequalities between elites and the group members result in oligarchy. For the RM theory, the professionalized elite is more effective in the activities of an environmental group, such as direct-mail campaigns. In contrast, the New Social Movements prefer the structures which are not professionalized, centralized, and bureaucratized because they are grassroot groups and they demand horizontal relations among the group members.

¹⁴⁶ Dalton, *The Green*, 100-101.

In this study, it becomes clear that this oligarchic structure also exists in the three major environmental groups in Turkey like other Western conservative groups, but there is also a strong leadership role in this oligarchic structure. Although the EFT is a foundation and it has no members, we can see how centralized it is when we consider why it has been established as a foundation. For Engin Ural,¹⁴⁷ if the EFT had been established as an association, there would have been many members who work for the activities of EFT. As a result of this structure of association, there would be a need for elections, basically for the chairs of the EFT and these activities would harm the mission of EFT since these members would like to capture high positions in EFT and therefore they would work for the elections at the expense of EFT's missions which means that they would relinquish their works for the sake of their ambitions to come to higher posts. Ural has also stressed the difficulties related to the general councils for the activities of associations. Because in these structures, it is very hard to take decisions uniformly. For him, the participation of many members to the decision making process is also difficult for practical reasons. But in foundations, it is very comfortable to take decisions in a quiet and stable system which prevents any possible turmoil.

It is very crucial to indicate that in the EFT, Engin Ural occupies a critical role. He is the key person for the EFT. He has been working as the member of the Board of Trustees of the EFT since its establishment and he coordinates and administers all activities of the foundation and also he is the contact person. His importance in the foundation does not mean to overlook the importance of the other members of the Board of Trustees but it should be stated that in all activities of EFT, the stamp of Engin Ural can be seen. Although the activities of the EFT are determined by the Board of Trustees, the responsibility of the implementation of decisions of the executive belongs to Engin Ural since he is working in EFT on a full time basis in contrast to others who work part time.

¹⁴⁷ Engin Ural. Interview by the author.

The same oligarchic structure is also valid for the SPN and TACN as associations that have members. Regarding SPN, Tansu Gürpınar¹⁴⁸ claims that the structure allows every member to participate in decision-making. Even the marginal views can be expressed by members without any restriction. However, although each member has an influence on decisions, this situation does not lessen the role of some members. The importance of some members for SPN is accepted by all members without any argument. This interpretation shows the importance of elites in the structure of this association. Although in SNP's regulation, Article 17, which has been prepared according to the Law of Associations, states that if 1/5 of the total members of SPN members apply in writing to the execution committee of SPN, the execution committee will be called to a meeting,¹⁴⁹ this statement is invalid for practical reasons because it is very difficult for the members to communicate among themselves and take such an action. An inquiry among the members of SPN can be given as an evidence for this: in that inquiry members complained about the inadequate communication among the members.¹⁵⁰ Also, there is no mechanism as an intermediary between the members and the executive committee which can help consultation. This situation is not only valid for SPN, because feedback channels are absent in all conservative groups.

Similarly, in TACN, there are not any communication channels between the members and the executive, and under the leadership of Hasan Asmaz who is the main figure of the TACN, the central executive committee works without any communication with members due to lack of financial resources. Since it is not possible to inform the members about the activities of the organization, there is no hope for an adequate support.

¹⁴⁸ Tansu Gürpınar. Interview by the author.

¹⁴⁹ The Article 17 in the regulation of SPN.

¹⁵⁰ Procan Membership Inquiry among the members of SPN.

4.5 THE ORGANIZATIONAL RESOURCES OF EFT, SPN AND TACN

According to Dalton,¹⁵¹ conservatist and ecologist groups differ from each other with respect to the type of resources that they require for their activities and in the mobilization of these resources. For Dalton, a conservatist group can easily apply to society's elite as well as to government offices for funding whereas an ecologist group can not do the same because of its ideological stand. Robinwood organization which is a radical ecologist group and strictly against the established order is an example in this respect. As it is seen, all groups fund their activities and mobilize their resources through different channels. For that reason, Dalton considers it essential to examine the basic organizational resources of the environmental interest groups including their finance and membership. Therefore, there is a need for the examination of the organizational resources, namely, finance and membership, of EFT, SPN and TACN to understand their similarities to and differences from the Western conservative and ecologist groups.

4.5.1 FINANCE

The financial resources of the environmental groups are also ideology-oriented in environmental movement. Environmental organizations' goals and values are determined by their financial resources. Therefore, we see a difference between the ecological groups and conservative groups in terms of their income resources. When we examine their financial status, we see that ecological groups tend to rely on membership incomes or sales and fund raising activities, such as selling gifts. However, in the case of conservative groups, their finance resources depend primarily on donations from businesses and grants from government agencies and offices.

Finance resources have positive and negative effects on an organization. For instance, dependence on individual donations make the environmental groups highly

¹⁵¹ Dalton, *The Green*. 85.

responsive to the individuals. The dependence on membership income is also influenced by the popular support of environmental issues. The decline in interest in environmental issues can make the organizations vulnerable to significant losses in finance. As Bosso¹⁵² says,

Greenpeace's dependence on millions of small donations makes it sensitive to swings in economic conditions and public attitudes than might be the case for groups with other sources of revenue. The organization was hit hard by the recession of the early 1990s and by its opposition to Persian Gulf War.

However, in general, it can be claimed that having the financial support of the members strongly supporting the activities, empower the organization very positively. Because of this reason, ecological organizations count more on membership income.

Another main resource finance for the environmental organizations is the government support which comparatively conservative groups are more likely to get. Getting the financial support of government helps the organizations to gain large scale funding and another chance of using the funding again. However, government support also means that environmental organizations potentially have a danger of losing their autonomy. After having received the support of government, it would be difficult to criticize the state's policies towards the environment. For this reason, ecological groups are strictly against government funding of their activities.

The most controversial issue in finance is to generate revenues from the private sector. Although major conservative groups receive financial aids coming from corporations, for example the World Wildlife Fund accepts donations from oil companies and Philip Morris, the cigarette maker, the ecologist groups like Friends of the Earth and Greenpeace think that corporate money is simply a naked bribe.¹⁵³

Hundred percent of ecologist groups tend to generate their income from membership dues, 47% from gifts or endowments from individuals and sales of group materials, and 41% from fund raising activities. On the other hand, 74% of

¹⁵² Christopher Bosso. "The Color of Money", ed. Allan Cigler and Burdett Loomis (Washington: Congressional Quarterly Inc., 1995). 112.

¹⁵³ Bosso. *The Color*. 109.

conservative groups prefer getting support from membership dues, 62% from gifts or endowments from individuals and 22% from grants from the central government. Ecologist groups do not receive support from businesses, but conservative groups generate some portion of their income, that is 8%, from corporations.¹⁵⁴

In the case of Turkey, the main contribution to the EFT has been coming from foreign institutions in Japan, USA, Canada, Switzerland, Germany and especially international organizations of World Bank and United Nations Environmental Programme(UNEP) fund. Ural explains that World Bank has financed some of the activities of EFT but this support was not based on a project base. The relationship between EFT and World Bank is different. World Bank has granted aid to EFT for its activities in different environmental issues. These issues were technical and the World Bank demanded investigations, and publications on these issues and as a result of these activities, World Bank provided support to EFT. In addition, the EURASIA Environmental NGOs Information Center, to which EFT is a member, has been financially supported by the Sasakawa Foundation of Japan.¹⁵⁵

When we look at the finance resources of SPN, we see that there are different kinds of finance that SPN has been receiving. The great proportion of financial support is being provided by Guarantee Bank. SNP's project on wetlands is supported by European Union and SPN has received 1.5 million ecu as aid for this project. World Wildlife Fund has also provided support for the projects on the protection of Mediterranean seals and Blacksea forests. In addition, Bird Life International has granted aid for the project on the conservation of Burdur Lake. Fauna and Flora International has been paying the wages of some experts who work in the projects of SPN. The Royal Society for Protection of Birds (RSPB) pays the expenditures of SNP's Ankara office. Although we see almost no state aid to SPN, Tansu Gürpınar claims that despite the lack of state aid, the state supports the

¹⁵⁴ Dalton, *The Green*, 96.

¹⁵⁵ Engin Ural. Interview by the author.

activities of SPN by other means such as sending reference letters for the activities of SPN. The other resource of SPN is the membership dues but it is difficult to accept them as an income source because although SPN has almost 6000 members, its income from these dues is very little. Therefore, the organization considers these dues as symbolic. Additionally, SPN earns money from the sale of gifts.¹⁵⁶

When we examine the financial resources of TACN, we see a large amount of financial help of the state to TACN before 1980. For instance, in 1979, the office that was used by TACN was bought by the state aid. However, after the 1980 military intervention, the attitude of state to volunteer organizations has changed and the state became reluctant to help these associations. As a result of this approach, the state help to TACN was cut and this attitude has also brought about the disappearance of other kinds of financial aids to TACN. TACN only got financial aid from the state for the projects during the administration of Vehbi Dinçerler in the Undersecretaryship of Environment. TACN earns a small amount of money from membership dues and from the sale of Nature and Man. The largest amount of income is provided by the international organizations of International Union for the Conservation of Nature (IUCN), World Wildlife Fund (WWF), and the United Nations Environment Program (UNEP). The revenue that is gained from these organizations is about 80% of all income of TACN. For the activities of TACN, at least 150 million is needed per month and these financial difficulties force TACN to change its structure into a foundation.¹⁵⁷

When we apply these criteria to the three environmental groups discussed above, we can see some discrepancies. The most interesting point is that although they are all conservative groups, they do not get any government aid. Although in some periods, they have received state support for certain projects, such support was very little so it is not taken into account. Generally, all the environmental groups

¹⁵⁶ Tansu Gürpınar. Interview by the author.

¹⁵⁷ Hasan Asmaz. Interview by the author.

construct their finance base on membership income but the situation in Turkish environmental organizations is actually different from the European case: the EFT is a foundation, so it has no membership income. The TACN and SPN have the membership base but they state that the membership incomes can not even finance the expenses of direct mails to their members so membership income could be considered a minor revenue.

Their main income is provided by international environmental groups like IUCN and WWF or international organizations such as UNEP which have contributed some aid for the projects of TACN. Furthermore; WWF, Bird Life International and the Royal Society for Protection of Birds have financed the projects of SPN. Similarly, the main activities or projects of EFT have been financed by the Sasakawa Foundation, World Bank and UNEP.

Like the ecologist groups, TACN is strictly against the financial help of the private sector because this organization thinks that the private sector grants such aid for their own industrial benefits. From this perspective, TACN resembles the European ecologists. Among these three environmental interest groups, SPN has the closest relationship with the private sector. For example, Guarantee Bank sponsors the activities of SPN. Other than Guarantee Bank, we see the sponsorship of other big companies, so in this respect SPN has the same feature of its European counterparts. However, it is similar to Greenpeace as an ecologist group because it also tries to earn money by selling posters, Panda toys etc. The EFT, on the other hand, is not against the private sector help but this foundation thinks that Turkish companies are indifferent to environmental issues.

In sum, it can be asserted that all these groups are free from the government since they do not receive any money like the European ecologist groups, so this situation facilitates their autonomy and gives them the chance of criticizing the policies of the governments towards the environment. However, the lack of adequate finance by membership dues create a dependency on international organizations. The

EFT's, SPN's and TACN's main source of finance has been coming from international organizations and these organizations are conservative ones.

4.5.2 MEMBERSHIP

Jack Walker¹⁵⁸ has categorized the associations into two groups. First kind of associations require members to possess certain professional or occupational qualifications. Second kind of associations that are citizen groups include environmental associations which are open to all citizens regardless of their professional or occupational credentials. The Sierra Club is an example of this category. Most of the citizen groups have mixed membership which does not come predominantly either from the public or the private sector. The SPN and TACN can be considered as being similar to citizen associations in the USA.

SPN had 5663 members in 1996. It tries to enlarge the number of its members by enlisting almost everyone who has an interest in nature, with the exception of people under 18 and who have a criminal record. Regarding the membership pattern of Ankara branch of SPN, the members are generally engineers. It is also interesting that university students are rare in the composition of members so it can be concluded that in SPN young generation constitutes a low percentage when we compare it with our whole population. When we look at the other components of membership, we see a blend of people who are at middle ages from different occupations. Regarding the occupations of the members, we see that 941 are engineers and architects, 641 members are university students, 618 are economists, 379 are from the field of medicine, 353 are technicians, 275 are managers, 271 are freelancers, 255 are retired people and housewives, 247 are industrialists and traders, 216 are educators, 174 are senior managers, 144 are from the tourism sector, 110 are from the field of law, 95 are advertisers, 86 are civil servants, 73 are artists and 785 members are from various occupations.

¹⁵⁸ Jack Walker, *Mobilizing Interest Groups in America* (Michigan: The University of Michigan Press, 1991), 58-59.

The TACN has 1267 members in Ankara and with the addition of members in rural areas, it has more than 3000 members and these members are generally from intellectuals.

In Western Europe, when we look at the size of environmental groups in the mid 1980s, we see that nearly one-third of environmental groups in Europe had less than five thousand members. However, only seven organizations which are conservatist groups, have 100.000 or more members. These are the British National Trust, the Royal Society for the Protection of Birds, the German Federation for Bird Protection, the Danish Association for Nature Conservation, the Dutch Association for the Preservation of Natural Movements and the Dutch World Wildlife Fund.¹⁵⁹

The TACN and SPN can be labelled as middle scale environmental groups with respect to the number of their members and when compared to the European conservative groups but when we think that these groups are the mainstream interest groups in Turkey and that Turkey has a large population, we can see that such membership is very small as compared to Western Europe.

4.5.2.1 INCREASE IN MEMBERSHIP

Another significant point other than the number of members is the growing size of the environmental movement. In Europe, starting with the 1980s, there has been a large increase in membership to environmental organizations and the increase in members has not been restricted to only conservative groups but it has been true for the ecological groups as well. For example, World Wildlife Fund, as conservative group, grew from 5.000 to 40.000 members and as an ecological group, Friends of the Earth-Britain grew from 27.000 members to 125.000 throughout the 1980s.¹⁶⁰

For SPN, the mid 1980s have been the turning point because their effectiveness in the protection of *Caretta caretta* in Dalyan region has won them a

¹⁵⁹ Dalton, *The Green*. 86.

¹⁶⁰ Dalton, *The Green*. 89.

great prestige and caused an increase in the number of its members. However, in the case of TACN, the situation is very different. After the 1960 constitution, there was an increase in its members and during a certain period, TACN had almost 5.000 members which was approximately twice as much as the current membership. After the 1980 military intervention, the branch offices of TACN were closed. Furthermore, the lack of communication with the members who were living in other cities or who have moved to other parts of the city have brought about a decline in the number of members and TACN could never reach to the previous level of membership again. Therefore, although we see an increase in membership to all environmental groups including the SPN during 1980`s and 1990`s, the situation is the opposite for the TACN.

4.5.2.2 THE MOTIVE FOR MEMBERSHIP IN ENVIRONMENTAL GROUPS

In the interviews made with the officials of the Western environmental groups, the officials say that they believe people join the environmental groups because their membership is motivated by efforts of those trying to register support for the goals of the group. The majority of the officials rank this cause as the most important reason for joining. For example, the director of a bird protection group has claimed that love for birds has caused the members to join them. On the other hand, material incentives like access to the special benefits and privileges of membership are seen as the least important motivation. Although one can claim that receiving a monthly magazine can be an incentive for membership, this claim can not be proved as a material or selective benefit. Almost all environmental groups provide their members such publications but these only serve to remind the members the activities of the organization.¹⁶¹ Therefore, we can not identify them as selective benefit. Generally,

¹⁶¹ Dalton, *The Green*, 88.

the membership to environmental groups is closely related to collective and nonmaterial goods (purposive benefit).

The same situation is also valid for our two environmental groups. The representatives of these groups are sure that their members do not expect any material benefit from them. They say that participation in voluntary works provide their members moral satisfaction rather than any material gains. Gürpınar explains that when people see that nature is degraded their interest and love of nature activates them and that they want to share their goal which is the nature protection with the ones who have the same ideas and they become members.¹⁶²

In sum, membership in most groups seems to be based on an expression of support for the goals and objectives of the organization. And as a result of conscious support by their members, the environmental organizations can easily mobilize this support for their own purposive goals, unlike the interest groups that mobilize their members for selective benefits.

4.5.2.3 MEMBERS AS A RESOURCE

The primary resource of the volunteer organizations is their membership base. The benefits that the organization gets from its members are either material or non-material. For the material base, members provide a significant potential source of revenue. Additionally, many environmental groups mobilize the volunteer work of members to support the group activities. Although a person initially assumes a politically neutral (free from any left or right spectrum in traditional politics) attitude when becoming a member to an environmental organization, membership in fact provides a member an opportunity to influence the political system with his environmental belief. For example, in order to prevent an activity that brings about a damage to nature, members of the organizations have the chance to stop this activity by organizing a protest or petition or letter-writing campaigns to the government and

¹⁶² Tansu Gürpınar. Interview by the author.

media. Other than these, a large membership to an environmental organization provides legitimacy for an organization that claims to speak for the public interest. This means that the group's prestige in the eyes of the state is increasing or decreasing in relation with the number of the members to the organization. In a democratic system, a politician can not overlook the large membership base of an organization. However, a few environmental groups especially radical ecology groups do not feel obliged to increase their membership base since they feel sufficient to overcome the difficulties.¹⁶³

In the case of Turkey, when we look at the TACN and SPN (EFT has no members), we see that TACN has approximately 3000 and SPN 6000 members. Although they gain legitimacy from their members, they do not get much material benefit as it has been discussed in the part on Finance. On the contrary, they use their members to influence the politicians to work with them. They do not organize protest campaigns but they recommend their members to write letters to politicians. For instance, SPN has used this tool in 1996 by recommending its members in its publication to write a 'bread-and-butter letter' to Demirel (President of the Turkish Republic) for the support he has given to areas under protection. They think that the high number of member increases their prestige in the eyes of politicians. Therefore, they try to increase the number of their members by organizing some campaigns.

4.6 THE RELATIONSHIP OF EFT, SPN AND TACN WITH BUREAUCRACY AND POLITICAL PARTIES

Engin Ural¹⁶⁴ thinks that in Turkey, the development of volunteer organization is hardly possible within the rigid and static state structure. Because of this reason, it became difficult for Turkish volunteer organizations in Turkey to enter the decision making and implementing systems of the state bureaucracy at the desired

¹⁶³ Dalton, *The Green*. 85-86.

¹⁶⁴ The Environment Foundation of Turkey, *NGOs Conference* (Ankara: Türkiye Çevre Vakfı Yayını, 1995). 17-18.

level. But as a result of international developments and due to the pressure of external conditions, now volunteer organizations are included in activities that will affect the future of society to some extent. Eventually, the views of certain volunteer organizations that have managed to earn recognition by proposing various laws and other legal documents, arouses the interest of state agencies and these organizations are invited to take part in certain preliminary studies. For instance, the State Planning Organization which is a classical example of bureaucracy is carrying out such activities and this is an indication of the changing mentality of state bureaucracy.

The existing relations between the Ministry of Environment (MOE) and the EFT has remained unsatisfactory in the past and the present. According to Ural, the problem originates from the attitude of the MOE. Ural lists some reasons regarding the lack of relationship. First reason is that since the establishment of the MOE, this ministry has failed to perform any beneficial activities for the environmental issues. Second one is that the budget of the MOE is used by ministers for their political aims. So the allocation of budget is determined by the political party in power. Third problem relates to financial aids. When Ali Talip Özdemir and Vehbi Dinçerler were ministers, EFT received aid from the environmental fund for the implementation of its projects. However in 1993, Doğan Can Akyürek, who was the minister at that time did not give the remaining part of the aid to EFT. Because of this reason, EFT brought the case to trial and tried to get this money. EFT won the court and also the Council of State confirmed in 1996 that EFT's claim was right, and EFT got 56 million TL. According to Ural, the fourth reason is that the bureaucracy in Turkey in general, including the MOE, does not like the autonomous nature of EFT. The bureaucracy wants to see the EFT to support the decisions taken by the government. So when the EFT acts differently, conflict emerges. These reasons have brought about a minimum relationship between EFT and the Ministry of Environment.¹⁶⁵ The tension between bureaucracy and EFT resembles that of ecological interest groups in

¹⁶⁵ Engin Ural. Interview by the author.

Europe since there is almost no relationship between ecological groups and state organizations because of these groups' severe criticism of bureaucratic state structure.

Hasan Asmaz¹⁶⁶ claims that the MOE could not establish the necessary link with TACN. Although the Rio Summit has provided a great recognition to environmental NGOs, the MOE is still indifferent to TACN. For him, they could not find any sufficient support or interest from this ministry. TACN's request to represent Turkey in Rio Conference as an environmental NGO was refused by MOE on grounds of lack of enough financial resources. He thinks that although they contributed to the activities and had an effective role in the establishment of the Undersecretariat of the Environment in 1983 and the MOE in 1991, they do not think that the ministry is adequate on environmental issues. Main reason of this is that there is a conflict between the authorities of the ministry and some other organizations acting under the present laws about environment and conservation, and the environmental law. Asmaz believes that it is very important to eliminate this deficiency by setting up a council which will determine environmental strategies and policies with the participation of representatives of MOE and other concerned ministries, scientists from universities, and representatives from NGOs. He believes that only in this way, the environmental authority chaos in Turkey can be pushed away from politics. However, in this model, the authority and the field of work of MOE should be separated from others and the size and the responsibility of coordination units for other issues have to be defined clearly.¹⁶⁷ This again shows how Turkish environmental NGOs emphasize their importance in their participation to the system.

In contrast to the EFT and the TACN, SPN adopts a more moderate attitude and declares that they have taken almost no state help but the MOE supports its

¹⁶⁶ Hasan Asmaz, Interview by the author.

¹⁶⁷ Hasan Asmaz, his views which have been published in *Nature and Man*.

activities, for example by sending reference letters for their activities. In this perspective, SPN can be identified as more conservatist than the other two groups because they try not to lose the contact with the state for even small gains in state mechanism.

In Europe, almost all countries have their own ministries of environment or other agencies that deal with environmental problems. The role of such ministries or agencies is very critical for European interest groups because they are the most important gates for the interest groups to contact with the government and the most important ally within the government to cooperate since these ministries are the loci for most governmental policy making on environmental issues and are the agency responsible for administering most environmental regulations, and are the initial source of most legislation on environmental matters.

It can be asserted that the MOEs and the environmental groups are mutually dependent on each other. In order to implement environmental reform, MOEs need the support of environmental groups as much as they need the MOEs. One of the most important reason for the establishment of a separate environmental ministry is to set up a place for policy making and to create an institution where the ministry can interact with other political actors.

It should be emphasized that the environmental groups have varying relations with the MOEs but if there is a need for a clear-cut distinction, we can say that the ecological groups do not have or rarely have any relations with the MOEs because of their sharp difference in their ideological orientation and the state's position in politics. On the other hand, the conservative groups have more regular relations with the MOEs although their relations vary from one organization to another. Some of them claim that they are regularly consulted by the government but these are the national organizations that focus on governmental relations. Some of the groups have no consultation status but they continue to interact with ministry officials so as to

collect information about what legislation is planned or how certain programs are performing.¹⁶⁸

In contrast to Europe, when we examine the conditions in Turkey, we see a sharp difference. The EFT, TACN, and SPN are the major environmental pressure groups in Turkey and interestingly, all these three pressure groups have tried to establish a state organization that could respond to environmental issues more effectively and also could be more sympathetic to the demands coming from the society. They all have taken part in an attempt to form a state organization for the environment. Ironically, although the situation is like this, we can see almost no relationship between the MOE and these three groups. We can not explain this situation with the ideological stand of these groups since they are all conservative groups and they should use the MOE as a channel for their participation in politics. That they all work for the establishment of a state organization for environment, that they all are national scale pressure groups and that they are all conservatists should have brought about a cooperation between them. The explanation for this lies in the fact that although all these groups have tried to influence the politics on environment, they have chosen to stay indifferent towards the MOE since they could not get the support or interest from it.

In this research, the relationship between the political parties and EFT since 1978 and the degree of sympathy of political parties to environmental issues is also important because of the fact that in the world in general, the new left was more interested in environmental issues after 1980's. In line with this conjuncture, Turkish central left parties had to be more attentive to the environmental issues compared to other parties. However, Ural indicated that this was not so in Turkey. To start with, he explained that the relationship of EFT with all political parties was neutral. Therefore, for him, there was no change in EFT's attitude to the political parties including the Welfare Party. Balance with political parties regarding relations was

¹⁶⁸ Russell Dalton, *The Green Rainbow*. (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1994), 189-192.

obtained by leaving a distance. According to Ural, almost all political parties are insensitive and indifferent to environmental issues. There is no ideological discrimination in their approach to environment. But some politicians, such as Vehbi Dinçerler and Ali Talip Özdemir, both of whom are former ministers, gave special importance to EFT and looked at its problems objectively.

The same situation is also valid for the SPN and the TACN which have neutral relations with political parties and which do not support any left or right wing parties and do not get any support from them. However, like EFT, they appreciate Vehbi Dinçerler and Ali Talip Özdemir for their help and interest in environmental problems.

4.7 THE RELATIONSHIP OF EFT, SPN AND TACN WITH THE MEDIA

The relationship between the EFT and the Turkish media is another crucial point in this research. Between 1978 and 1990, the EFT received much coverage in the media and EFT as a pressure group used this attention to influence the political system. However, in the years following 1990, EFT has lost its prominent role in media. We can explain this situation because of its emergence as a think-tank organization in these years. When media does not give coverage to environmental issues, pressure groups lose their lobby activity to attract the attention of society. As a result, national governments become more reluctant to take the views of these pressure groups into account. The same thing is also valid for EFT. Before 1990, EFT could perform its lobby activity with a strong interest coming from radio, television and newspapers. This resembles the situation that FASAS experiences nowadays.

Engin Ural¹⁶⁹ explains the reasons why the EFT's close relationship with media began to decline in 1990's as follows. First of all, when EFT was first established the most logical way to be recognized by the society was getting coverage in the media. Media could introduce the activities and missions of EFT to

¹⁶⁹ Engin Ural, Interview by the author.

society and it could be legitimated for its actions. Because of this reason, EFT gave great importance to establishing warm relations with the media. With the realization of its target of recognition, however, the relations with the media began to decline. Secondly, when EFT was set up, the organization did not have the heavy load of professional projects to work on, so they had more leisure time to devote to media. Thirdly, those were the years when Turkish Radio Television (TRT) was the dominant figure in the Turkish media. To appear in a TRT programme, therefore, had a great effect on people since the nation only watched the TRT1. Now although there are many channels, environmental issues are not given enough importance. Finally, during the first years of its foundation, the EFT worked on more general environmental issues such as air pollution in Ankara and tried to create an awareness on the importance of environment. But now, as people have understood the concept of environment there is no longer a need for carrying out such lobby activities. Furthermore, EFT has also begun to work on more technical issues of environment such as the implications of General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) Treaty on environment in Turkey or the examination of European Union's (EU) environmental policies and these studies are far from arousing the interest of media, since these issues are not popular.

Unlike EFT, the SPN and TACN could not attract the interest of media since they have mainly worked on technical projects. Gürpınar says that they are not mediatic like the FASAS. However, although the media is not interested in them directly, these organizations take part in preparations of some programs on the radio and television. For instance, TACN has prepared radio programs related to the environmental problems and SPN has taken part in the preparation of documentaries about the wetlands and birds. The SPN and TACN are similar to Western conservative groups which also do not attract the media.

When we look at the situation from the angle of mass media in Turkey, the interest of mass media in environmental issues began to decline in the early years of 1990's. However, the declined interest was not only valid for Turkey. For instance, in

United Kingdom, the coverage of global environmental issues in the mass media increased its peak point between 1987-1991 but, after 1991, the interests to environmental issues began to come down. The explanation of this declined interest should be examined within the developments in the global scale. The emergence of new political formations like the demise of communist system, brought about the change in the interest of mass media. On the other hand, the interest to environmental issues began to increase after the 1995 and in 1997, we can see a great interest to environmental problems in Turkey especially to the activities of FASAS and the Bergama event.

4.8 THE APPROACH OF EFT, SPN AND TACN TO THE USE OF NUCLEAR ENERGY

The approach of environmental groups to the use of nuclear energy is another indicator of whether they are groups with ecologist or conservative orientations. The ecological groups are entirely against the use of nuclear energy despite the fact that there is not enough energy resources to meet energy requirements. Although one can say that the new energy resources like the solar and wind energy are already extensively used, they are far from being used as an alternative energy resource. The ecologist groups know this fact but they think that the overconsumption culture leads to the use of energy more than we need so they want to use energies which are not dangerous for our life and which do not harm the sustainable development.

However, the conservative groups accept the need for nuclear energy and therefore, they are not against the construction of nuclear power stations. This kind of approach is also valid for our groups to a certain extent because, although the EFT was in the past, entirely against the construction of nuclear power stations in Turkey, now it is looking to the nuclear power stations moderately. In principle, EFT is against nuclear power stations but it will not show any reaction or carry out lobby activities in order to stop the government. For Ural, there are many environmental organizations and they are exhibiting their reaction so there is no need for any activity

for EFT. And also, he is hopeless to induce the government to change its decision. In addition, EFT accepts the need for additional energy resources and says that if environmental organizations wanted to make any impact for this energy problem, they should start to utilize new energy resources such as solar energy but technologically these new sustainable energy resources are not adequate to meet the needs of Turkey. However for Ural,¹⁷⁰ pressure groups can be effective to change the attitude of society from extreme energy consumption to energy saving. From this perspective, EFT's attitude is akin to the ecologist groups in the West since EFT has realized the need for a change in current life patterns with more ecological values.

Gürpınar¹⁷¹ (SPN) accepts the fact that the nuclear power stations are both dangerous and also they are the inevitable outcome for the need for energy. He thinks that the thermic stations which are using coal cause more pollution than the nuclear stations. The increasing imports of natural gas would delay the need for nuclear energy only temporarily and then it would again be inevitable to use nuclear energy. In addition, the neighbouring countries of Turkey, except Greece, all have nuclear power stations which are behind the technology of today and are dangerous; therefore, the construction of a station with a high technology is what Turkey needs.

TACN is not against the establishment of nuclear power-stations since they are necessary for the development of Turkey. An industrialized country can not provide its energy only by using natural resources and the new energy resources like solar energy is not sufficient for the needs of energy. Interestingly, Hasan Asmaz¹⁷² contributes to this idea by saying that the establishment of these power-stations would be beneficial since when they will fill the energy gap, the destruction caused to the nature will be stopped.

¹⁷⁰ Engin Ural, Interview by the author.

¹⁷¹ Tansu Gürpınar, Interview by the author.

¹⁷² Hasan Asmaz, his views which have been published in *Nature and Man*

4.9 THE MAIN ACTIVITIES OF EFT, SPN AND TACN

The presumption that these three environmental groups were in cooperation with each other and other organizations since they had the same goal which is a healthy environment is not true. There was practically no cooperation among these and other organizations. Although these three environmental groups are conservative groups in essence, they do not cooperate with each other. In an interview with Ural, who stated that EFT has been in friendly but limited relations with other organizations, has proved this situation. In a similar manner, Asmaz states that TACN has different views from other environmental organizations therefore, they do not have any relations with other groups. Even there is no relation between the FASAS and the TACN which have the same concern: erosion. Other than these two, Gürpınar states that SPN has no cooperation with other organizations but TACN and FASAS are the friendly organizations. Ironically, although these three groups do not cooperate with each other, they have working for the same goals. For example, the need for a state organization has been emphasized by all these groups and all worked for this aim individually but a cooperation among them would be more beneficial for Turkish environmentalism. For this purpose, they can, at least, organize regular meetings in order to exchange information and ideas and inform each other about their activities.

EFT's first activity was on air pollution in Ankara in 1978. At that time EFT tried to introduce some proposals in order to prevent air pollution in Ankara and it was a good opportunity for EFT to make itself known by the society and inform people about the potential dangers of environmental problems. It also played an active role in the establishment of the Undersecretaryship of Environment in Turkey. The main argument of EFT was the necessity of state intervention in environmental issues. According to Ural, they wanted a new state department for these issues since it was the most effective way to pull the state into the issue and the most proper body in the state bureaucracy was an undersecretaryship tied to the prime minister's office. As a result of EFT's publications and the close relationship with media on this issue they

managed to influence government and on August 1978, the Undersecretaryship of Environment was formed. Their other significant activity is their success in influencing the state to understand the need for an article on environmental protection in 1982 Constitution. It was a great success for EFT as a pressure group to initiate this lobby activity despite the negative conditions of this period because during this period, military had a negative attitude towards the civil society organizations. At the same time, we see the proposal of the Environmental Protection law in 1981 and this proposal was passed in August 1983 as a law. Again in this context, a great effort was displayed by EFT. In 1984, EFT showed a reaction against the construction of a thermic station in Gökova. In 1994, under the leadership of EFT, Eurasia Environmental Information Center was established in order to collect and disseminate information among the Asian countries. At present, EFT mainly works on the publication of books about environment. When we look at the activities of EFT in general, we see that there is a linear trend from national NGO to think-tank organization. However, there is also an effort to become an international NGO.

When SPN was first established, its main aim was to protect the Kahlilis birds; then the protection of wetlands, immigrant birds and sea turtles (*Caretta caretta*) was included in their activities. We can see the development of the activities from particular to general. The main activity of SPN on government base and well known by the public was its lobby activity for the protection of sea turtles in Köyceğiz-Dalyan. As a result of the activities of SPN, the government has decided to search on how the sea turtles were negatively influenced by the human settlements on the beaches. Therefore, for this reason, Aberdeen University has made for the first time in Turkey the Environmental Impact Assessment of this region. When it was perceived that the sea turtles were in danger, Köyceğiz and Dalyan regions were proclaimed as the special protection areas for the sea turtles. SPN has also taken part in the ratification of international conventions. One example is the Ramsar Convention in which SPN has actively worked on the ratification of Ramsar Convention in Turkish National Assembly.

When TACN was first established, it devoted its activities in the period between 1955-1965 to the creation of public opinion about the dangers of erosion. For that reason, some branches offices were set up in different areas of Turkey and some slogans were used and 5 books were published in order to inform the people about the threat of erosion. TACN also organized the preparatory meeting of Ramsar Convention in 1967. TACN has further worked on the establishment of the Undersecretaryship of Environment and the Ministry of Environment. TACN has tried to influence the state mechanism on some environmental issues: One of the points that TACN had emphasized was that it was the state's responsibility to take necessary measures to prevent the dependence of the forest villages only on forests. For TACN, the state's goal must be to solve the socio-economic problems of villagers. TACN also demanded that the Environmental Impact Assessment studies should be conducted by competent, independent and impartial institutions and experts from universities, pressure groups and local communities should participate in decision making. TACN started a campaign to persuade the government to ratify the Ramsar Convention by asserting that all contemporary developed countries have ratified it and that Turkey should also ratify it. For this purpose TACN appealed to all related state officials and other environmental organizations for support. A new project was undertaken by TACN at the end of 1991 in order to save Sultansazlığı since in this area the water level was getting low. TACN's one of the lobby activities has been to work on the initiation of the agricultural lands conservation policy. The need for such a policy has been explained by Asmaz as the result of the migration of people from rural areas to cities. Because of this migration, the settlement problems emerge and a great amount of the agricultural land surrounding the cities have to be turned into settlement areas.

CHAPTER V

CONCLUSION

The main purpose of this study is to develop a comparative perspective of Turkish and Western environmentalism, with special emphasis on three important Turkish environmental pressure groups. To achieve this goal, chapter II is devoted to Western environmentalism and the environmental groups in the West. Chapter III gives an overall picture of the evolution of environmentalism and environmental pressure groups in Turkey. The present study makes a detailed comparison of the Western and the three main Turkish pressure groups, EFT, SPN and TACN, in Chapter IV.

In Chapter II, which is about the significance of environmental pressure groups (non-governmental organizations) in Western political systems, it is asserted that today, the problems that affect a citizen's life are not identical with the problems that were experienced before the 1980's due to changes in socio-economic conditions. Now, not only economic problems but also post-material¹⁷³ issues are voiced by the citizens. However, the separation of public (state) and private (civil society) spheres is an obstacle for the citizens to participate in decision-making process. At this point, environmental movement serves as a mediator between the state and the society by constructing a bridge between these two spheres.

As a social movement, environmentalism claims to change the negligent attitude of the state towards the civil society and wants to stop worldwide environmental degradation. Therefore, the new environmental movement which is different from the traditional environmental movement aims at replacing the entire

¹⁷³ Ronald Inglehart, "The Silent Revolution: Changing Values and Political Styles among Western Publics," (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1977), 40-50. In, Arend Lijphart, *Democracies: Patterns of Majoritarian and Consensus Government in Twenty-one Countries* (London and New Haven: Yale University Press, 1984), 139-140. Post-materialism refers to a progress toward a society where ideas are more important than money.

socio-economic political system with a new one which is being shaped by the principles of political ecology. The environmental interest groups (or pressure groups), as an integral part of the environmental movement, have had a critical role in the development of environmentalism. However, although interest groups are part of the social movements, interest groups and social movements differ in some respects: while the social movements are critical to the established system and try to replace the system with a new one, interest groups usually follow a more moderate course and they are generally more conservatist and reformist organizations.

The same situation can also be seen in environmental interest groups: conservative and ecologist interest groups differ in terms of their ideological stand. Whereas conservative groups tend to work within the established system with a reformist approach, the ecologist groups prefer working against the existing system and try to establish a new one with a revolutionary approach. These interest groups have therefore been analyzed by applying two different theories: the Resource Mobilization (RM) theory and the New Social Movements (NSMs) theory. RM theory has been used for analyzing the conservative groups because these groups work within the established system in cooperation with the state and this theory claims that organizational resources, when combined with political opportunities, set off mass movement. NSMs theory, on the other hand, is concerned with cultural and quality of life issues. People form social organizations in order to participate in the decisions that influence cultural and quality of life issues and ecologist groups fit into this category.

The distinction summarized above is taken into account in the detailed comparison of the Western and the three main Turkish pressure groups given in Chapter IV. However, before making such a comparison, the evolution of Western environmentalism and Western environmental groups is examined in Chapter II. Although Turkish environmentalism has followed the footprints of Western environmentalism, there is certainly a need for examining the Western case as a model. Western environmentalism is regarded as a model to be followed by Turkish

environmentalism because the Western environmental pressure groups (NGOs) have captured a privileged position in determining the policy-making in Western political systems. As it can be seen in Chapter II, the socio-economic changes in the Western world had a positive impact on the development of environmental movement and environmental pressure groups. This situation has especially become a concrete fact during the Stockholm and later in the Rio Conferences. But it should be emphasized that this progress has taken a long time before arriving at such a peak point.

Chapter III examines the relationship between the state and the civil society in Turkey. The aim of this examination is to understand whether the conditions in Turkey are appropriate for the development of environmental interest groups. As environmental interest groups in Turkey are composed of foundations and associations, the legal definition of these groups by the state is also included in this Chapter. The evolution of Turkish environmentalism is analyzed in order to understand its similarities to and differences from the evolution of Western environmentalism.

In Chapter IV, the three Turkish pressure groups, namely, EFT, SPN and TACN are examined in detail and they are compared with the Western environmental groups. The aim of this comparison is to see whether these three groups, although they should be accepted as conservative groups in general, are similar to their Western conservative counterparts or have some akin characteristics with the Western ecological groups.

In this research, the main difficulty that was experienced was to find sources in literature on the Turkish environmental interest groups. The lack of comprehensive sources on them proves the fact that these groups were overlooked in Turkish society. Although there is a dramatic increase in the importance of Turkish environmental groups especially after the mid 1980's in parallel with the global development of environmentalism, still there is not sufficient sources on these groups in Turkish literature. On the other hand, in Western literature, we can see a wide range of sources on the Western environmental groups. Ironically, although there are many sources

which examine the Western environmental groups in general, there are not so many researches on the internal structures of these groups.

The difficulty arising from the lack of sources on Turkish environmental groups has been overcome by resorting to in-depth interviews with the representatives of EFT (Engin Ural), SPN (Tansu Gürpınar) and TACN (Hasan Asmaz). These persons have been asked the same questions systematically and they have responded to the questions sincerely. Their answers have allowed me to have information on these groups and make a comparison with other Western environmental groups.

It can be claimed that this thesis will contribute to the environmental literature in Turkey by presenting a comprehensive analysis of the three main Turkish environmental groups and their comparison with Western ones. Available studies on Turkish environmental groups examine these groups in a general perspective, only emphasizing their activities. However, this kind of a superficial examination is not sufficient to determine the role of Turkish environmental groups in Turkish political system. There is also a need for analyzing the ideological stand of these groups within the environmental movement. Like the political parties, the study of environmental groups according to their ideological stand will help us to analyze the internal structures of these groups. Therefore, the ideological approach, which has not been used before, to these three groups would be very beneficial since it may open for many researchers the way to examine other environmental groups in Turkey.

In addition to this ideological approach, this study also defends the view that the interest groups in general are the necessary components of the political system. The efficiency of a political system can also be measured by looking at the interest groups' influence on or participation in the decision making process. This is also true for the environmental politics in Western world where the inefficiency of national governments to solve the environmental problems has encouraged civil organizations to take part in environmental politics. Therefore, the role of civil society organizations is very critical since they are necessary in the solution of environmental issues. In this respect, this thesis also contributes to the literature as it proves the fact

that environmental pressure groups as the civil society organizations are necessary for Turkish politics in order to overcome environmental problems.

Although this thesis contributes to the civil society arguments from the point of view of environmental civil society organizations, its methodology can be followed by any other author who is interested in other social movements and interest groups which are part of these social movements. For instance, a social scientist who is interested in woman's right movement can examine an interest group in this movement by employing the methodology used in this thesis. An author can initially find out the ideological stand of the group and then examine the activities of the group.

It can be asked why the FASAS¹⁷⁴, which is an important environmental group within Turkish environmental politics and which has an important role in Turkish environmental movement today, has not been analyzed in this study. It is true that the FASAS, with its recent mediatic endeavour, has successfully created a public opinion on the dangers of soil erosion. In view of this, the FASAS has been the most successful environmental group in the creation of a nationwide interest in environmental problems. The FASAS's recent success on creating a public opinion can be compared with the EFT's endeavour on informing the society on the dangers of environmental problems during the early years of 1980's. The FASAS's success and importance in creating an awareness and public opinion on environmental issues in the short period of five years following its establishment in 1992 can not be overlooked. However, to see what the FASAS will be able to do for the consolidation of environmentalism in Turkey, and to give final verdict that the FASAS is by all means the most successful environmental group in Turkey, there is certainly a need for time. It would be very early to judge the FASAS on the basis of its activities carried out in a five year period. If the FASAS can manage to continue its performance in the years to come we can label this foundation as the most successful

¹⁷⁴ TEMA Foundation.

environmental group which creates a public opinion and influences the state policy-making in Turkey. For the time being, it is too early to consider the FASAS in such a perspective, but a research to be done in the following years will certainly judge the FASAS in its real perspective, and if the activities of the FASAS are to continue in the same way, the one who will conduct a study on this particular subject will find a great deal of research topics on the FASAS.

The ecological opposition staged by the residents of Bergama has been as much important as the activities of the FASAS in creating a public opinion. When we look at the existing ecological resistance to environmental destruction, the Bergama event emerges as the most important ecological opposition in Turkey. As a result, like the campaign of the FASAS to create a public opinion on the dangers of soil erosion, the Bergama event has found a great interest in the media and state apparatus and has become the most effective ecological opposition which has won a victory against a strong and powerful company by using limited material resources and the most valuable resource-the human factor. Although there is still no research on the Bergama event, the need for such a research is clear since it has so far been the most important ecological opposition in Turkey. Ecological oppositions taking place during the 1980's fail to equal it in their greatness when compared to the Bergama event. The success of the Bergama event has opened the way for other ecological oppositions and helped the development of Turkish environmentalism in a way that although the environmentalists in Turkey do not have enough resources to finance their activities, these people, through their belief in the environment, can overcome the difficulties by influencing the public opinion and state structure by peaceful protests.

It can be asserted that the success of this ecologist opposition will also lead to the establishment of ecologist environmental groups in Turkey. Although mid 1980's witnessed the activities of the Environment Sensitivity Group, an ecologist group, its activities came to an end in 1990's. The success of ecologist opposition staged in the case of Bergama event will certainly give a new impetus for the development of

ecologist environmental groups in Turkey and the activities of such groups will be seen in the years to come.

The Environment Sensitivity Group mentioned above is worth studying as the only main ecological group and some authors have already done studies on the activities of this group. However, none of these studies make an analysis which compares the Environment Sensitivity Group with other Turkish conservative environmental groups and Western ecological and conservative groups. The comparative analysis of the Environment Sensitivity Group could be a part of this thesis, but the fact that the group had no activities in 1990's has discouraged me to include it in this study. In addition, the group's activities took place in a limited period in the 1980's and this situation prevents any long term analysis. If these negative conditions had not existed, this thesis would have included a very useful comparative analysis covering the main interest groups with different ideological orientations.

The present thesis also shows that there is a lack of cooperation and even a lack of coordination among the three environmental groups, EFT, SPN and TACN. This situation is very critical for these environmental groups. Because although these groups are conservative groups pursuing almost the same methods similar to those of Western conservative groups, they do not work together for a common goal. This lack of cooperation can be explained by the rivalry among these groups. This is ironical because their identical internal structure makes them to depend on foreign international organizations and Turkish companies for their financial income. Therefore, in order to finance their own projects, they have to compete with other environmental groups and this competition affects their relations negatively and also the Turkish environmental movement in general. It is the dilemma of these three environmental groups that although they are all conservative groups, their identical internal structure has a negative influence on their cooperation for the environment.

Minimum dependency on outside financial income can bring about the desired cooperation among the environmental groups and this is the case for the Western

ecological groups. These groups tend to work together since they have no dependency on an outside resource for their activities. Therefore, they can follow the ideas of environmental movement more properly.

Another important view which should be mentioned here is that although these environmental conservative groups criticize the state structure because of its disregard of them as civil society organizations, the same situation is also valid for the influence of members on the organizations' decision-making process. The bureaucratized and oligarchic structure of these groups does not allow its members to have an active role in the organization. This situation leads to a contradiction between what these groups demand and what they perform.

The hierarchic structure of these main Turkish conservative groups and in general all Western conservative groups also works against the supporters of civil society organizations by restricting them with a hierarchic organization structure. In such a hierarchic structure how can an organization represent the interests of the citizens in private realm? To answer this question is very difficult but it can be asserted that although some difficulties exist for the participation of members in the organization's decision-making process, membership nevertheless serves for an aim in a passive way. The interest which is supported by the citizen is represented by an organization and the citizen indirectly influences the system as it is the case of political parties. It can be claimed that although the citizens in the private realm can not easily participate in the organization's administration because of the hierarchic structure, their interests, which emerge in the private realm and are not represented by the political parties within the political system, enter the decision-making process by the help of these organizations. It can therefore be concluded that, although conservative groups seem to create a contradiction for the civil society arguments, they are necessary components of the civil society.

The important point which has been found out in this thesis is that although these three groups are conservative groups in their organizational structure and activities, they are also akin ecologist groups in their demand for participation in

politics. In order to accomplish their participation to the system, they try to establish a public opinion for this aim. Another point about these groups is that the conservative groups in the West try to form a close relationship with the Ministry of Environment in order to work within the political system more effectively. However, in the case of Turkey, there is no sufficient relationship between these three main groups and the MOE which is also the case for Western ecologist groups.

Finally, it can be concluded the conservative environmentalism is the major force in Turkish environmentalism and the main Turkish environmental groups are the conservative ones. However, the recent developments in Turkey give us a clue that there will some ecologist environmental groups emerge in Turkish environmentalism and they will support the ecological values like their counterparts in Western world. As a result of this progress, the Turkish environmentalism will become a blend of conservative and ecologist environmental groups in future.

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ACRONYMS AND ABBREVIATIONS

EEC	ENVIRONMENT EDUCATION AND CULTURE FOUNDATION ÇEVRE EĞİTİM VE KÜLTÜR VAKFI (ÇEKÜL)
EFT	ENVIRONMENT FOUNDATION OF TURKEY TÜRKİYE ÇEVRE VAKFI (TÇV)
EU	EUROPEAN UNION
FOE	FRIENDS OF THE EARTH
GATT	GENERAL AGREEMENT ON TARIFFS AND TRADE
MOE	THE MINISTRY OF ENVIRONMENT
NGOs	NON- GOVERNMENTAL ORGANIZATIONS
NSMs	NEW SOCIAL MOVEMENTS
RM	RESOURCE MOBILIZATION
RPP	THE REPUBLICAN PEOPLE`S PARTY
SPN	SOCIETY FOR THE PROTECTION OF NATURE DOĞAL HAYATI KORUMA DERNEĞİ (DHKD)
TACN	TURKISH ASSOCIATION FOR THE CONSERVATION OF NATURE AND NATURAL RESOURCES TÜRKİYE TABİATINI KORUMA DERNEĞİ (TTKD)
FASAS	FOUNDATION FOR AFFORESTATION AND STRUGGLE AGAINST SOIL EROSION TÜRKİYE EROZYONLA MÜCADELE, AĞAÇLANDIRMA VE DOĞAL VARLIKLARI KORUMA VAKFI (TEMA)
TÜBİTAK	TÜRKİYE BİLİMSEL VE TEKNİK ARAŞTIRMALAR KURUMU
TRT	TURKISH RADIO TELEVISION
UNCED	UNITED NATIONS CONFERENCE ON ENVIRONMENT AND DEVELOPMENT
UNEP	UNITED NATIONS ENVIRONMENT PROGRAMME
WWF	WORLD WILDLIFE FUND

ENGLISH- TURKISH TRANSLATIONS

Ankara Municipality: Ankara Belediyesi

Arbor Day: Ağaç Bayramı

Aslantaş Cave: Aslantaş Mağarası

Assembly Associations: İċtimai Dernekler

Bird Paradise: Kuş Cenneti

Civil Code: Medeni Kanun

Common Architectural Heritage Year: Ortak Mimari Miras Yılı

Directorate of Reconstruction: İmar Müdürlüğü

Embellishment Associations: Güzelleştirme Dernekleri

Environmental Impact Assessment: Çevresel Etki Değerlendirme

European Conservation of Nature Year: Avrupa Tabiatını Koruma Yılı

Five Year Development Plan: Beş Yıllık Kalkınma Planı

General Directorate of Foundations: Vakıflar Genel Müdürlüğü

Guarantee Bank: Garanti Bankası

Kahlibis Birds: Kelaynak Kuşları

National Constitution Party: Milli Meşrutiyet Fırkası

National Independence War: Milli Kurtuluş Savaşı

Ottoman Radical Party: Islahat-ı Esasiye-i Osmaniye Fırkası

People's Party: Ahali Fırkası

State Planning Organization: Devlet Planlama Teşkilatı

The Ankara Struggle with Air Pollution Association: Ankara Hava Kıtılığı ile Savaş Derneğı

The Association for the Conservation of the Environment: Türkiye Çevre Koruma ve Yeşillendirme Derneği

The Cleaning of Air in Major Cities Congress: Büyük Şehirlerde Havanın Temizlenmesi Kongresi

The Conservation of Animal Association: Himaye-i Hayvanat Cemiyeti

The Conservation of Forest Association: Himaye-i Eşcar Cemiyeti

The Embellishment of Çamlıca Association: Çamlıca'yı Güzelleştirme Derneği

The Environment Education and Culture Foundation: Çevre Eğitim ve Kültür Vakfı

The Environment Foundation of Turkey: Türkiye Çevre Vakfı

The Environment Sensitivity Group: Çevre Duyarlılığı Grubu

The Forestry and Reconstruction Laws: Orman ve İmar Kanunları

The Foundation for Afforestation and Struggle Against Soil Erosion: Türkiye Erozyonla Mücadele, Ağaçlandırma ve Doğal Varlıkları Koruma Vakfı

The Golden Horn: Haliç

The İzmir Economics Congress: İzmir İktisat Kongresi

The Law of Associations: Dernekler Kanunu

The Law of Environment: Çevre Kanunu

The Law of Secondary Associations: İkinci Cemiyetler Kanunu

The Law of Pasture: Mera Kanunu

The Mountaineer Club: Dağcılar Klubü

The Reconstruction of Islands Association: Adaları İmar Cemiyeti

The Republican People's Party: Cumhuriyet Halk Partisi

The İstanbul Society of Friends of Ancient Works: İstanbul Asar-ı Atika Muhipler Cemiyeti

The Society for the Protection of Nature: Doğal Hayatı Koruma Derneği

The Friends of Afforestation Associations: Ağaç Sevenler ve Ağaçlandırma Dernekleri

The Turkish Association for the Conservation of Nature and Natural Resources: Türkiye Tabiatını Koruma Derneği

The Turkish Foresters Association: Türkiye Ormancılar Cemiyeti

The Undersecretaryship of Environment: Çevre Genel Müdürlüğü

Wetlands: Sulakalanlar

Yozgat Pine Wood: Yozgat Çamlığı

INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

In order to conduct an in-depth research, the representatives of EFT, SPN and TACN have been asked a number of questions. Main topics covered during the interviews with Engin Ural (EFT), Tansu Gürpınar (SPN) and Hasan Asmaz (TACN) are listed below:

- The evolution of their establishment process
- Organizational structure and distribution of duties and responsibilities in their group
- Their success in the state decision-making process on environmental issues
- Methods used by them to influence the state decision-making process
- Their relationship with other environmental groups in Turkey
- Their relationship with Western environmental organizations
- Their listing of environmental problems in terms of their importance and priority
- Whether they see changes in life styles or governmental policies as the most effective solution to environmental problems
- The income resources of their group
- Their relationship with private sector
- Reasons which bring about a decrease or increase in membership to their group
- The role of the members in their group's activities
- The relationship between the mass media and their group
- Their approach to nuclear power-stations