

SOCIAL ECOLOGY CHALLENGES ENVIRONMENTAL PARTICIPATION:  
HES OPPOSITION CASES IN TURKEY

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## ABSTRACT

### SOCIAL ECOLOGY CHALLENGES ENVIRONMENTAL PARTICIPATION: HES OPPOSITION CASES IN TURKEY

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The main research question of this thesis is “How can HES (small scale hydroelectricity plant) opposition be analyzed in terms of social ecology?” A second research question is raised to answer first one as “How can any environmental action be analyzed in terms of social ecology?” About ecological crisis, Murray Bookchin’s social ecology develops strong criticism against liberal environmentalism, deep ecology and Marxism and provides an alternative radical social change as Libertarian Municipalism (LM). Social ecology criticizes environmentalism as legitimizing current status quo destroying nature and offers ecological approach for real solution. LM movement is a political program of social ecology to reach rational, ecological and democratic society that is domination free and so does not dominate nature. I developed a LM movement model from Janet Biehl’s study and integrated this model into George Pepper’s classification of environmentalism to reach a Classification Table (CT) that is based on social ecological principles. CT is an attempt to develop a tool to analyze all sorts of environmental activities according to social ecology.

Implementation of CT at field study shows HES opposition has the desire of strict state controls and planning as significant aspects of welfare-liberal environmentalism. On the other hand, the common critique of central, urban, professional and fund dependent environmentalism of national ENGOs fits market-liberal environmentalism critique of LM model. The increasing demand to join decision-making mechanism, the bottom-to-top regional organization of local platforms and “living space” discourse show LM tendency. In fact, HES threat ignites participation demands of local people in Turkey.

Keywords: social ecology, environmentalism, grassroots, citizenship, HES

**ÖZ**  
**TOPLUMSAL EKOLOJİ ÇEVRECİ KATILIMCILIĞA KARŞI:**  
**TÜRKİYE'DEN HES KARŞITLIĞI ÖRNEKLERİ**

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Tez, asıl araştırma sorusuna “HES karşıtlığı toplumsal ekoloji açısından nasıl analiz edilir?”. cevap vermeye çalışmaktadır. Buna göre “Çevreci etkinlikler toplumsal ekoloji açısından nasıl analiz edilir?” sorusu geliştirildi.

Ekolojik kriz konusunda Murray Bookchin'in geliştirdiği toplumsal ekoloji kuramı liberal çevrecilik, derin ekoloji ve Marksizm eleştirisini ve alternatif olarak radikal toplumsal değişimi, Özgürlükçü Belediyeciliği (ÖB) ortaya koyar. ÖB rasyonel, demokratik ve ekolojik bir topluma ulaşmayı hedefler; zira ancak eşitlikçi ve özgür bir toplum doğayla uyumlu bir ilişki kurabilir. Janet Biehl'in çalışmasına dayanarak bir ÖB modeli geliştirdim, bu modeli George Pepper'in çevrecilik sınıflandırmasıyla bütünleştirdim ve toplumsal ekolojinin eleştirilerini ve önerilerini yansıtan bir sınıflandırma tablosu (ST) oluşturdum. ST tüm çevreci etkinlikleri toplumsal ekoloji çerçevesinden analiz eden bir araç geliştirme çabasıdır.

ST'nin HES karşıtı yerel hareketin gerçekleştiği alanda uygulandı. Yerelde devletin gerekli düzenlemeleri yapması ve sıkı kontrol uygulaması beklentisi liberal-refah çevreciliği çerçevesinde değerlendirilmiştir. Diğer yandan kentli, merkezi, profesyonel ve finansa bağımlı çevreciliğin eleştirisi toplumsal ekolojinin liberal-piyasa çevreciliği eleştirisine uygun düşmektedir. Karar alma süreçlerine katılım talebi, aşağıdan yukarıya örgütlenen yerel platformların kurulması ve bölgesel örgütlenmesi ve “yaşam alanı” söylemi ÖB özelliklerini göstermektedir. Sonuçta, HES tehdidi yerelde karar alma süreçlerine katılım talebinin yükselmesini tetiklemiştir.

Anahtar kelimeler: toplumsal ekoloji, çevrecilik, yerel hareketler, vatandaşlık, HES

To Murray Bookchin, founder of social ecology  
To Anatolian people defending their rivers and valleys

## ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

This dissertation actually started in 1998 at METU Nature Club where we listen, think and question nature together. Thursday meetings of club were our agora where we journey from environment to nature. During trekkings, I felt I was part of nature. Mountains, forests, long trees, people of valleys are some other parts of nature. However, the environment and environmentalism discourse were not enough our relationship with nature.

The critique of environment and environmentalism was possible only with the striking writings of Murray Bookchin, founder of social ecology. His lifetime efforts for freedom of society and nature inspired me and presented ecology within social and libertarian frame beyond biology.

Theoretical concepts of social ecology guided me during fieldworks while I was working for an ENGO at different parts of country. However, the local people were beyond stakeholders; the freedom of ecology was beyond biodiversity, projects, funds and ENGOs of environmentalism sector. I owe great debt to people of Anatolia defending their wetlands, valleys, rivers to live with nature. I want this dissertation to contribute their *nature defense* of their *living spaces*.

Since 2000 and five months before Toprak's birth, Assoc.Dr.Helga Rittersberger Tılıç deals with my critiques and endless questions about ecology and sociology. Without her positive attitude and intellectuality, my social ecology journey could not become academic. I was so lucky to meet her who may be the only one academician in Turkey really as expert of radical ecology.

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Lastly, I am deeply grateful for my family. My mother felt the thesis process much more than me. The completion of thesis should give meaning to my critical attitudes to my family.

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## LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

BCR	Black Sea Coastal Road
CT	Classification Table
DEKAP	Brotherhood of Rivers Platform (Derelerin Kardeşliği Platformu)
DD	Nature Society (Doğa Derneği)
ENGO	Environmental Non-Governmental Organization
EU	European Union
HES	Hydroelectric Power Plant (Hidroelektrik Santral)
KIP	The Black Sea Uprising Platform (Karadeniz İsyandadır Platformu)
LM	Libertarian Municipalism
LMM	Libertarian Municipalism Movement
METU	Middle East Technical University
NSM	New Social Movements
RBMP	River Basin Management Plan
TEMA	The Turkish Foundation for Combating Soil Erosion, For Reforestation and the Protection of Natural Habitats
TWC	Turkey Water Council
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
WFD	Water Framework Directive
YAD	Green Artvin Society (Yeşil Artvin Society)

## CHAPTER 1

### INTRODUCTION

The main research question of this thesis is “How can HES<sup>1</sup> opposition be analyzed in terms of social ecology?” A second research question is raised to answer the first one as “How can any environmental action be analyzed in terms of social ecology?” Addressing at the ecological crisis social ecology develops a strong criticism against liberal environmentalism, deep ecology and Marxism and provides an alternative radical theory of social change in the form of Libertarian Municipalism (LM). Social ecology criticizes environmentalism as legitimizing the current status quo destroying nature and offers the ecological approach for a “real” solution. In fact, the nature of environmental problems is seen in the ecological crisis that is social and is the result of the domination of nature that is stemming from dominations within society at all. Only society free of domination can provide sustainable and harmonic relations with nature. LM movement is the political program of social ecology to reach a rational, ecological and democratic society (section 3.2.4). I developed a LM movement model (section 3) from Janet Biehl’s study and I integrated this model into George Pepper’s classification of environmentalism to reach a Classification Table (CT) that is based on social ecological principles. CT is a modest attempt to develop a tool to analyze environmental activities according to social ecology. CT is not only the answer of second research question but also is used at field study to answer first research question of thesis. Implementation of CT at field study shows how HES opposition is environmentalist or ecological in terms of social ecology.

#### *How I decided on the thesis subject*

I first proposed self-governance depending on social ecology as thesis subject. After an obligatory break of thesis study due military service, I read an article about the participation of people in environmental movement in Turkey<sup>2</sup>. I changed my thesis subject to environmental grassroots movement that seemed different from dominant environmental discourse in Turkey and unique, as I had learned during my

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<sup>1</sup> “HES” is Turkish abbreviation of Hydroelectric Power Plant (Hidroelektrik Santral).

<sup>2</sup> Horuř, Mehmet. April 2009. “Türkiye Çevre Hareketi Halklařırken”  
<http://politeknik.org.tr/site/index.php/polsecmenu/4-cevre/937-tuerkiye-cevre-hareketi-halklarken-mehmet-horu.html>

professional ENGO experience<sup>3</sup>. Hence, this unique environmental grassroots deserves a social ecological analysis.

By 2008, a raising and striking phenomenon began to disturb traditional environmentalism in Turkey; people throughout the country who had never joined environmental actions before; generated strong and diverse local actions against hundreds of HES. These are much different from dominant, traditional, urban centered, organized, professional and moderate environmentalism of Turkey; that former provides direct participation of local people beyond environmental discourse but a living space apology. People are organized in voluntary, non-hierarchical, horizontal, temporary organizations as strong civic oppositions at different places of HES constructions but they have significant differences in terms of ontology, organizations, actions, means, and ends; while some groups asks for more state interference, some others organize actions for more participation. Some activists use current local ENGO structures whereas some others develop organization within local platforms; therefore, even though they have common aspects, they also have significant differences.

In order to grasp both similarities and differences of local HES opposition movements, I had to develop and to answer a second question: “how can environmental action be analyzed in terms of social ecology”. The theoretical framework of this thesis is based on social ecology and further developed by integrating classification of environmental political thought. I firstly discuss the politics of social ecology as a reference model that not only criticizes liberal environmentalism, Marxism and Deep Ecology traditions but also offers an alternative political program as Libertarian Municipalism. The critique of Marxism and deep ecology is basically theoretical level due to lack of implementation of both traditions while the liberal environmentalism critique is mostly about actions, structure and organizations.. In order to integrate LM’s critiques and alternative arguments; I analyze other environmental/ecological thoughts in terms of their political economy using Pepper’s classification. To answer the second question, a *Classification Table (CT)* is developed from Biehl’s, Bookchin’s and Pepper’s works. This provides the analytical tool to grasp the case studies as well as

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<sup>3</sup> I worked for a national branch of international ENGO from 2003 to 2009 as project officer and coordinator in several field projects throughout the country.

environmentalism in general. The CT depends on the fact that each ideology has its own political economy; and so ontology, actions, organizations, means and ends that are separately examined in social movements literature.

Social Ecology, developed by Murray Bookchin provides a coherent and radical critique of environmentalism as a discourse of capitalism. He is influenced from critical theory in terms of the notion of domination and a critique of Marxism. The domination critique of critical theory is most significant for the development of his theory. Social ecology like Marxism criticizes the capitalist domination of nature; however, Bookchin goes beyond class domination and asks to challenge all forms of dominations within society. Women-men, ethnic and minority groups, handicappeds, colored people, poor, the young and all “others” who are dominated as wells as workers. Both Marxism and social ecology conceptualize society through conflicts and power relations. They both aim at a radical change, however social ecology does not accept workers as revolutionary subjects, but develops a radical change through “citizens” of ecocommunities of neighborhood space (section 3.1 and 3.2.2.5). Social ecology strongly criticizes liberal environmentalism that is considered as legitimizing and strengthening the current capitalist system dominating nature and asks for a radical ecological change, i.e. instead of liberal environmentalist activities. Hence, using social movement approaches which are depending on opportunity, resource, mobilization and ideology, etc. are considered as insufficient to cope with the holistic approach of LM depending on citizens, ecocommunity, direct democracy and municipality (section 3.2.4.). The direct democracy approach of social ecology that is depending on citizen assemblies is more radical than radical democracy. Social ecology offers a slow but a revolutionary change to libertarian society against nation state structure, which remains n the scale of radical democracy (section 3.1.1). The technical issues of LM such as election procedures and the participation profile of the direct democracy model of social ecology are detailed in the sections 3.1.3.2 and 3.1.4.3.

Bookchin implies that the main reason of ecological crisis as domination of nature stems from the domination of people within the current hierarchical societies. Both Marxism and liberalism claim that nature dominates humankind. In order to liberate humankind from nature, domination of humankind and domination of nature are favored. On the other hand, deep ecology welcomes the domination of humankind

by nature in order to sustain natural order with “natural laws” and caving in to nature (1999c:44-45). The solution of ecological crisis cannot be granted by environmental actions, projects and campaigns, green production & consumption according to liberal environmentalism critique of social ecology. These environmentalist activities not only cover the roots of ecological crisis, but also the need to construct of a rational ecological society through a political program that is much beyond environmental actions. This ecological and rational society can be organized from bottom-to-top at neighborhood scale through citizen assemblies to provide face-to-face relations as well as direct democracy.

The dialectical naturalist approach of social ecology implies the direction of organic evolution to diversity, freedom, subjectivity and self-management (section 3.0). Within this direction, the human society evolves from first nature as second nature that has a potential to construct ecological relations with first nature. Social ecology implies the social roots of ecological crisis that only a domination free society can develop harmonic relations with nature. The relation between society and nature depends on the organization of society. If only society is democratic and rational, it will be ecological according to social ecology. Hence, the solution of ecological crisis is beyond the scope of social movements that are limited within the current status quo. Social ecology puts the problem within social sphere and offers a radical social change process, namely Libertarian Municipalism (LM) that is detailed in section 3.1. LM depends on generating a libertarian relationship between citizens and its ecocommunity within a neighborhood space. The dialectical citizen-ecocommunity relation of LM fits the agent-structure debate of sociology. Social ecology takes a position within this debate benefiting from critical theory. The citizen and ecocommunity are not separate entities however, they emerge in a rational, democratic and ecological society (section 3.1). Moreover, the citizen-ecocommunity relation of LM is also beyond the scope of social movements literature that is stuck in a nation state-based societal structure where agents are members, activists and protesters of masses.

The politics of social ecology; Libertarian Municipalism (LM) is taken as a reference model which is different from common environmental actions and programs. While LM is alternative model of social ecology, the analysis of criticized liberal environmentalism, Marxism and Deep Ecology is necessary. David Pepper provides

the needed classification of environmental political thought into five distinct and interrelating categories depending on O’Riordan’s work. These five ideologies are conservative, welfare-liberal, market-liberal, democratic-socialist and revolutionary socialist that social ecology and LM are significantly lacking. I enhance this classification as contribution with referencing LM program of Janet Biehl & Murray Bookchin. Finally, I differentiate an analytical tool as CT including not only the critique of liberalism, Marxism and deep ecology but also the LM program. CT is developed by the integration and development of works of Bookchin, Biehl, Pepper and O’Riordan to understand and assess any environmental action in terms of their organizations structures, aim, motivation, decision-making mechanisms, actions, solutions etc. **CT is improved as the answer of second question of the thesis to analyze any environmental action, while the implementation of CT in field study answers the first question as to grasp the raise of HES opposition in Turkey.** Both CT of theoretical work and political economy analysis of HES opposition by field study are new through this thesis process.

I choose three different fields as grassroots organizations showing strong HES opposition at Arvin (ENGO, platform), Rize (platform), and Düzce (union). In terms of similarities, all three HES oppositions are local, new, voluntary, decentralized, non-hierarchical and temporary but have differences. Radical-left thought and direct action tradition dominates at Rize; while conservative and moderate actions are common in Düzce, and elites characterize ENGO at Artvin. Prior to the field study, DEKAP (Platform of Brotherhoods of Rivers) activities at Black Sea Coast have shown LM aspects like direct participation, regional organization and living space notions. Aksu Valley in Düzce with its different socio-political background provides significant differences to test CT. Following a similar logic, YAD (Green Artvin Society) in Artvin with an ENGO structure and the member profile promises different aspects to challenge CT. In order to grasp political economy of similarities and differences HES (Hydroelectric Power Plants) oppositions, I conduct twenty-seven in-depth interviews. I actually started my field study before field. I followed the leading internet sites and e-mail groups about HES opposition. As detailed in sections 3 and 4.2, I further followed a structured approach for the qualitative study in order to avoid concerns due to voice recording

With the implementation of CT at different fields via in-depth interviews, the different political economy nature of raising local environmentalism has analyzed. They possess mostly welfare-liberal characteristics like state interference, planning and parliamentarism and but also having LM aspects like demand for citizen participation, development of the political realm through a community issue and “living space” concept. Welfare-liberal environmentalism provides more moderate solutions including legal struggle, parliamentary action and strict regulations of state without any critique of current capitalist political economy. LM tendency shows direct action, self-governance of local citizens and nature concept beyond environment, resource and biodiversity. Depending on LM, the more people participate in decision-making mechanisms, the less environmental problems they have. HES opposition shows voluntary and non-hierarchical aspects characterizing new local environmentalism that is challenging traditional and central urban environmentalism that can be characterized as mixture of market-liberal and welfare-liberal political economy. This criticism fits the liberal environmentalism critique of social ecology. The thesis study shows a division in environmentalism in Turkey with the raise of dynamic local environmentalism challenging urban centered market-liberal environmentalism and national ENGO dominated welfare-liberal environmentalism. In fact, the raising HES opposition shows both welfare-liberal and LM aspects as analyzed at field study.

The thesis work focuses on the classification of HES opposition movement in terms of raising local environmentalism depending on environmentalism criticism and LM proposal of social ecology. I want this work be the initial part of big picture that is “the assessment of environmentalism in Turkey at 20<sup>th</sup> cc and its transformation at 21<sup>th</sup> cc”. My further academic studies will include firstly, other HES oppositions and environmental grassroots movements such as anti-nuclear movement and secondly, traditional, central, urban, professional and institutional environmentalism at Istanbul and Ankara and finally history of environmentalism in Turkey. I will develop future projections based on history and urban-rural duality of environmentalism. This whole work starts with this thesis work and needs several projects including field studies, literature work and symposiums with relevant significant actors. CT will be the main analytical tool for further studies that it needs testing and improvements.

## CHAPTER 2

### METHODOLOGY

The methodology of this thesis has two parts; the first part is devoted to generate a classification tool as an “ideal type and secondly, the implementation of the tool in the field conduction a structured qualitative research. The development of the classification tool is based on an intensive literature review and the theoretical works of Bookchin, Biehl and Pepper. CT presents critiques and the proposal of social ecology in a structured manner. Once the tool is developed, the implementation is realized through in-depth interviews, within the structural limitations, such a tool offers (section 4.2). To avoid concerns of interviewees, I refrained from voice recording and continuous note taking during the interviews. The narratives of the interviewees were shortly commented and noted during and after the interviews during and after the interviews.

#### *Critical Methodology as to Grasp Facts Covered Under Environmentalism Discourse*

The methodological approach of the thesis is critical as Neuman defined:

“critical process of inquiry that goes beyond surface illusions to uncover the real structures in the material world in order to help people change conditions and build a better world for themselves.” (2006: 95)

Following the critical approach, the aim of research is to uncover environmentalist discourse that hides nature under ‘environment’ and ecology under ‘environmentalism’. The concepts of social ecology like environment/nature, environmentalism/ecology are of critical importance in showing the domination of nature and proposing an alternative. The ecology and politics understanding of social ecology are used as basic concepts to analyze current local environmentalist actions in Turkey. The liberal nature of dominant environmentalism is challenged by grassroots actions; the thesis aims to show and to distort the liberal environmentalist layer hiding capitalist domination of nature following critical approach. Current environmentalist grassroots movement has a potential to be transformed into permanent, non-hierarchical citizen bodies not only to challenge HES constructions but also to generate a public realm governing all community issues. The thesis also aims to show the self-management potential of grassroots actions to construct ecological society instead of becoming part of environmentalist capitalist society.

I have two components of research, literature review and in-depth meetings at field.

Literature review consists of theoretical study. In order to reach a useful analytical tool at field and to characterize rising local environmental movement, selected literature review is realized. Although there are enormous sources for environmental problems and environmentalism, the classification of political action depending on ideology and political economy is few within literature. Political actions are limited to political parties mostly referring to greens, and scattered grassroots movements. Environmentalism is mostly signed by protests, campaigns, and environmental disasters without questioning current political economy system. On the other hand, social ecology (Biehl & Bookchin 1998) criticizes this poor situation and develops a definite political program, Libertarian Municipalism (LM). I analyze LM in details and develop a reference for other environmental political actions that O’Riordan and Pepper generated. Not only Bookchin and Biehl but also O’Riordan and Pepper imply the political economy and ideologies of environmental political actions that are the most critical elements of this thesis work.

The developed classification table includes six different political programs, each depending on a different ideology & political economy and so different means and ends, although they have common elements. CT needs testing in terms of its methodology. To develop a consistency further studies are needed. The table includes idealizations like *ideal types* that do not necessarily exist, but they can be used to ignite a debate about differences and similarities of environmental political settings.

“Ideal types are pure, abstract models that define essence of the phenomenon in question. They are mental pictures that define the central aspects of a concept. Ideal types are not explanations because they do not tell why or how something occurs. They are smaller than theories, and researchers use them to build a theory. They are broader; more abstract concepts bringing together several narrower, more concrete concepts. Qualitative researchers often use ideal types to see how well observable phenomena match up to the ideal model.” (Neuman 2002: 55)

#### *My previous field experience as an ENGO professional*

My interest in environment intensified in 1998 in METU Nature Club where I began to ask questions about nature and environmentalism. I read Bookchin’s main study

*Ecology of Freedom* and other books questioning liberal environmentalism and offering alternative approaches for societies. I have organized and joined many environmental activities already in college and later in different ENGOs. I graduated from Materials Engineering that provides me analytical thinking and took my Ms Degree in Anthropology from Hacettepe University with thesis as “The Critique of Cultural Ecofeminism”. Therefore, I gained a critical approach to environment issue through social frame. I worked for a national branch of an international ENGO for eight years including six years of professional work. I was mainly responsible of developing and implementing field projects about freshwater, mainly lakes at Konya, Aksaray, Isparta, Aydın, Muğla, Bursa and Rize. Project activities included stakeholder meetings, trainings, pilot implementations and press activities. Projects aimed to initiate environmental change with the participation of local people. Management Plan projects are significant with their similarity to LM project of social ecology within environmentalist limits. I tried to convince stakeholders to work together within management committees that should be responsible for a lake. The direct participation of stakeholders is similar to LM principle of face-to-face democracy, the management committee is similar to citizen assembly and the lake region provides ecosystem space; however all these similarities are limited in the environmentalist vision that is strongly criticized as liberal environmentalism by social ecology.

My main job was to learn the social, economic, demographic facts of the fields, to develop solutions and to implement them with stakeholders. This job requires constructing continuous communication with all stakeholders by regular field visits and meetings. Trust building is crucial to convince them participating in project activities and working together. I tried to gain their trust while I was trying to understand their standpoints. It was a mutual process that is similar to the field study of this thesis. However, there are two main differences between my ENGO field experience and this fieldwork. First, ENGO projects define participants as stakeholders that are different from local people. Each stakeholder has an interest within a project. Stakeholders are mostly representatives of the government, private enterprise, academic circles, media and local people. The second difference is that ENGO projects have an environmentalist position which social ecology strongly criticizes, i.e. legitimizing the current status quo. ENGO projects do not aim to solve the ecological crisis, but they are stuck in an environmentalist discourse through

implementing successful activities without a real change in the field. This field study is based on a social ecological understanding that goes beyond environmentalism. During my professional years, I tried to focus on participation of local people to projects although I was limited within an environmentalism sphere. The HES opposition shows a distortion of environmentalism claiming to join the decision-making mechanism and adding a “living space” discourse. This distortion of environmentalism is crucial and attractive for me due to its potential to help evolving into an ecological society. This unique and significant potential encourages me to start this thesis and to do the field study.

Field study includes pre-literature work and in-depth interviews. Before the field study, media and social network channels are followed as main information source that are very dynamic and update. There are numerous web sites and e-mail groups functioning to develop awareness and to ignite action. I followed active groups<sup>4</sup> more than two years from 2009 Spring; two years from the field study. The academic literature about ongoing young HES opposition movement is very limited however; the situation may change in next years due to new researches.

In-depth interviews are hold to grasp peoples' similarities and differences based on six classes of environmental political action. The key terms are followed through the dialogue. However, CT and research process are open and welcome any challenge to be distorted. In fact, this distortion is inevitable to test and develop classification of environmental political action.

Twenty-seven in-depth interviews are realized mostly in October 2011 with relevant people of three fields at Düzce, Artvin and Rize where HES opposition activities are held. All participants are active and against HES issue. I reached them through snowball sampling in the field and conducted face-to-face interviews lasting forty-five minutes to three hours. As I detailed in section 4.2, I first conducted two pilot interviews after the derivation of the classification table in order to test it. I noticed that voice recording and continuous note taking destroyed the friendly and trustful nature of our conversation. HES opposition includes legal struggle and most of

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<sup>4</sup> <http://www.karadenizisyandadir.org/kip/>, <http://derelerinkardesligi.org/>,  
<http://www.ekolojistler.org/>, <http://www.aksuderesikoruma.org/>, <http://www.locvadisi.com/>,  
<http://www.yuvarlakcay.org/>

respondents join protests often in conflict with security forces. The interviewees felt more comfortable to respond to my questions after I guaranteed their anonymity, and not using a tape recorder and direct note taking. Hence, I designed a structured code list that I derived from my classification table. This helped me to avoid the concerns of the respondents. I had experienced similar situations in my previous ENGO experiences. To use such a coding system obviously has disadvantages as well as advantages, in my case it was a good way to start the analysis through this early coding process. I also wrote down the significant expressions/statements of respondents without disturbing the rhythm and the trust of the interviewees. An important part of my analysis is relying on these coded interviews and short interview notes, furthermore participant observation especially in meetings and grassroots activities helped me to gain further insights. In principle, it remains a qualitative study, based on conversations/interviews and a participatory approach, enriched through internet and newspaper research, a reading and evaluation of the related academic literature; and it is an attempt to verify the elaborated classification model.

The theoretical standpoint of the thesis is social ecology that has a methodological aspect, namely dialectical naturalism. This favors evolutionary change to diversity, freedom, and subjectivity within a historical perspective and is against any kind of reductions and deductions whereas Cochrane questions the liberative potential of dialectical naturalism and non-anthropocentric claim (1998: 76). Therefore, the classification of table and implementation of fieldwork also seek diversity and subjectivity that means not only the political program of social ecology, LM but also “the idea of classification of ideologies and environmental political action” is open to change in diversity and subjectivity. After all, dialectical naturalism necessitates the evolution of CT and its elements in new compositions and relations, as the exact situation during the field study period.

## CHAPTER 3

### THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK: “AN ATTEMPT TO DEVELOP AN ENVIRONMENTALISM CLASSIFICATION MODEL”

In this thesis, raising environmental grassroots actions in Turkey are classified and are criticized giving reference to social ecology. It has two parts in general; first part is devoted to develop an environmentalism classification model based on critiques and the alternative program of social ecology. The second part is the implementation of model in a field study. This chapter is devoted to the first part of thesis. In this chapter, I first give basic information about social ecology from Bookchin and provide more detail about politics of it as Libertarian Municipalism (LM) from Biehl's study. Then, I integrate LM into environmental political economy categories of Pepper to improve his classification table with reference to LM.

#### 3.0. Basic Principles of Social ecology

The literal definition is at the official web page of Institute of Social Ecology:

“Social Ecology *n* 1: a coherent radical critique of current social, political, and anti-ecological trends. 2: a reconstructive, ecological, communitarian, and ethical approach to society.”<sup>5</sup>

In order to grasp what social ecology is, it is better to understand what it aims. The founder of social ecology is Murray Bookchin (1921-2006) whose ambition is to revive radical theory that is limited into variations of Neo-Marxism, and is frustrated by decline of feminist challenge and is curious about ecological movement. Although Bookchin strongly criticizes Marxism, both have same aim as to develop a radical social change. Strong critics of Marxism are mostly affected and shaped by Marxism itself (Bernstein 2009: 22). He is not different with his tendency to Trotsky during 1940s, transforms into anarcho-communist in later years and develops his ideas with a dialectical relation to Marxism. Bookchin is raised in red decade of 1930s within workers movement in USA as a foundry worker. Within the framework of critical theory, he tries to generate a new radical theory which is against all forms of dominations; considering not only workers but also women, poor, nature, ethnical

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<sup>5</sup> <http://www.social-ecology.org/>

and religious minorities, in fact all “other’s. The domination is not limited to the domination of workers, but all forms of dominations are important. The revolutionary project should include all forms of domination. Another point is the critique made by Bookchin in questioning the role of the proletariat as revolutionary subject in 20<sup>th</sup> century. The workers are segmented and differentiated, became petite bourgeoisie as consumers and are shaped by a nationalist discourse. This critique of Marx is first voiced by Marxists in critical theory that is followed by Bookchin. However, Bookchin claims that any varieties of Marxism have to be stuck in domination of nature and economic reductionism principles of Marx. Depending on critiques of Marxism, Bookchin develops his own revolutionary program as LM having citizens of ecocommunities in neighborhood space as revolutionary subject (section 3.1).

Bookchin develops his libertarian theory also with critics and polemics. He criticizes post-modernist anti-reason, plural nihilism, non-critical and particularistic attitude. Efforts against dominations are labeled white, man, Western and European by Logocentrism in post-modernism. This subjective and indefinite standpoint works for capitalist discourse of domination of people and nature. The claim of deconstructionism of challenging discourse of power groups fail if pluralism with logocentrism stops each attempt of counter effort against capitalist discourse. In fact, with indefinite, empty and valueless pluralism can be the discourse of capitalist world and age. That makes people separated, individualized, atomized, selfish beings desperately needs mystic rituals, believes and/or consumer discourse of age.

Bookchin uses Hegel’s dialectics but not the “Geist” idea. Clark (2009:126) criticizes Bookchin about his limited use of Hegelian radical dialectics.. In terms of a material analysis, Bookchin owes Marx a lot because of his explanation of capitalist domination but he strongly criticizes Marx’ dialectical materialism, which sees stuck in determinism. In fact, he defines “Marxism as Bourgeoisie Sociology” (Bookchin 1996a), because Marx’s economic reductionist thought aims to conquer nature as a realm of necessity until the last phase of capitalism just before the realm of freedom. The economic conception of human nature resembles bourgeois philosophers. Marx favors the progressive nature of capitalist development of production forces and Engels favors authority in factories for the development of production forces. Bookchin considers the domination of nature and economic reductionism as most problematic and he therefore criticizes Marxism harshly

He aims to separate ecology from pragmatic environmentalism and mystic ecology (1999c:26). Pragmatic environmentalism is very narrow in terms of its explanation of the ecological crisis; social aspects are not seriously considered. With an engineering logic, it develops pragmatic solutions within the existing capitalist growth model. On the other hand, Bookchin defines the deep ecology tradition also as problematic, because of its tendency to mystify ecology and being in alliance with Malthusianism and biocentrism. This triad also ignores the social component of an ecological crisis and provides non-humanitarian solutions to environmental problems. One of the most important aspects of social ecology theory is the position of implying social aspects of any ecological crisis; hence social ecology analyses problems and offers solutions on a social scale. Once problems are defined as social, solutions can be found in a “rational ecological democratic society” and with the development of libertarian municipalism (LM) as politics of social ecology.

#### *Domination of nature and society*

According to the social ecological approach, environmental problems are not created by humankind, industry, population, technology and other well-known malice. Sea-water-air pollutions, climate change, extinction of species, water scarcity, deforestation, destruction of wetlands, and many other symptoms did not emerge due to industrial growth. However, all these problems emerged as a result of the main cause for ecological crisis, that is the domination of nature that stems from the domination of man. As Hay expresses: “ (he)... identifies hierarchy and domination as the source of all political pathologies including environmental degradation” stemming from domination of people (Hay 2002:289).

Women, the poor, workers, the young, children, ethnic and religious minorities, the handicapped, immigrants and other disadvantaged people are dominated within society through hierarchical relations. Ecofeminism<sup>6</sup> clearly states the patriarchal domination of all others and Val Plumwood (1993) explains the roots of

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<sup>6</sup> There was very close relationship between Ecofeminism and Social Ecology, when Ynestra King developed her theory at Institute of Social Ecology, Vermont at 1976. Both theories were against any kind of dominations and challenging patriarchal hierarchies. However, in later years Bookchin strongly criticized Ecofeminism due to its losing position against all kinds of dominations, transition into mystical deep ecology, biological explanations and rejecting democracy, reason. For these critics see Janet Biehl. 1991. *Rethinking of Ecofeminist Politics*. Boston:South End Press.

Enlightenment tradition of dominations as “mind-nature” duality. The privileged patriarchy structure within all societies not only dominates woman, poor, child etc. but also dominates nature. Like other domination relations, the nature is constructed as “other”. Therefore, all environmental problems are caused from the domination of nature and the domination of nature stems from domination of people. If we use the domination critique of Frankfurt School that affects Bookchin, the domination of nature cannot be noticed due to the ideology of environmentalism. The nature is called as environment that needs to be dominated, engineered and developed. This domination is hidden according to critical theory (Ritzer 2004: 141) under environmentalism ideology, which neither questions the dominating position of unequal societies over nature nor seeks the roots of domination within these dominative societies.

Bookchin states (1999c:32-38) that today’s society is powerless and is controlled by state, bureaucracy and police. Ecological crisis threatens this kind of society. There appears an anti-humanitarian tendency namely biocentrism accusing humankind in this threatened society. Human species is accused of destroying nature, ecology becomes zoology because of its overemphasis on biocentrism. However, the origin of the problem is not humankind but, how societies are organized and structured. Classes, hierarchies within society define its relation with nature; society is not a fixed entity but changes over time.

Human dominates nature according to both Enlightenment and Victorian age authors and Marxism (Bookchin 1999c:49-54). Both traditions write the history of humankind according to their economic reductionism and progressive understanding. The previous societies have to struggle with nature in order to survive. Victorian authors imply the progressive “nature” of world history; the techniques, governance, and the state are natural constants so the domination is ignored. The Marxist view is also problematic for Bookchin. He implies the economic reductionist understanding of Marx. The freedom of society depends on the growth of productive powers for material welfare for all society. The nature is to be dominated until the “realm of freedom” when the productive powers have grown enough. The economic reductionism sadly necessitates the domination hidden in capitalism. Marx implies that capitalism is necessary for the development of these productive powers and thus that domination by capitalist production is inevitable and

necessary. Moreover, other forms of dominations are ignored, such as women, handicapped, ethnical and religious minorities. The reductionist nature of Marxism depends on the necessity of domination of nature that causes domination of society. Here, Bookchin raises one of his most important argument that domination of man stems from domination of nature. The previous societies lived in harmony with nature, such as matrilineal and hunter-gatherer societies which he calls organic societies. The wars facilitated the rise of gerontocracy and war chiefs. This initiated the history of domination of society that resulted in domination of nature. Bookchin criticizes the progressive civilization and economic reductionism, hence he argues for the central role of domination. Bookchin criticizes Marxism and Victorian age thinkers as they write history according to their ideologies and values. Some criticisms may also be voiced against Bookchin who gives some anthropological evidence of authors like Paul Radin. The critics (Light, 1998) question these evidences too, especially whether they are sufficient to explain organic societies living in harmony with nature.

#### *Nature versus Environment*

The unique and least understood point of social ecology is the way it connects society with nature. Nature and/or environment are mostly conceptualized out of society. Hence, it is necessary to explain what nature/environment is according to social ecology.

Social ecology criticizes the human-nature duality and mastery of nature hiding patriarchy while Bauman defines the power of humans as freedom against nature (2006:162). Nature is neither a natural resource deposit nor a pastoral landscape. Nature is not environment as one of “the others” of patriarchy, but it is beyond environment which is a pragmatic field of engineering applications and is a cumulative history of organic evolution of species and processes (Bookchin 1999c:48).

Nature is an endless process of evolution which has a direction, tendency from simple to complex, ““a nisus exists that leads from passive reaction to active interaction, from intentionality to choice, and finally to conceptual thought and foresight” (Bookchin 1994:41). It has a potential towards freedom and consciousness. Deep ecologist Robyn Eckersley is against the evolutionary

understanding that ecocentrics believe in, i.e. letting all living things in their way and do not purport to know if there is a direction (Eckersley, 1992:156, cited in Dobson, 2007:48). This is a good example of anti-reason position of deep ecology that Bookchin accuses (1996b: 9).

Bookchin conceptualizes nature as an objective world within causality, differentiation and actualization of the evolution process. The organic evolution of cumulative nature can be understood as neither inductive nor deductive but eductive reasoning that implies a development potential towards growth, differentiation, maturation and wholeness (Harrill 1999: 47). Bookchin conceptualizes nature within *dialectic naturalism* and uses a dialectical reasoning that is different from the conventional reasoning which claims  $A=A$ . Conventional reasoning is linear, mechanical and has a progressive history having independent phases. Dialectical reasoning looks for an organic nature, which has a developmental theme with consecutive periods. Although Bookchin separates his reasoning from the conventional one, Clark (2008:97) criticizes his depiction of the construction of a new revolutionary ideology and his use of conventional reasoning in the name of dialectics (Clark2008:88).

#### *Society as Second Nature within First Nature*

The position of society within nature is one of the most important points and it stands in conflict with environmental thought. Social ecology not only struggles with liberal thought assuming nature as passive environmental resource but also criticizes deep ecology conceiving nature as mystical holistic entity beyond reason and over human. Within dialectical processes of organic evolution towards diversity, freedom and subjectivity; human evolved as second nature in first nature. The second nature as society is neither a liberal master of environment nor an ordinary species of mystical natural order. Bookchin denies to be labeled as anthropocentric and biocentric, neither world is created for the domination of nature, nor is human society just as other “animal” communities (Bookchin 1991a:128, cited in Dobson, 2007:47).

In order to criticize capitalist domination, Georg Lukacs defines second nature as reified society exactly like non-human nature, critical theorists try to integrate rationality, reason and freedom in second nature (Bauman 1976: 6 cited in Ritzer and Goodman 2004:142). Following critical theory, Bookchin states that second

nature is the development of human culture; institutionalized human society, human techniques, and characterized by a rich symbolic language as process of highly graded and a multi-phase evolution process within nature. First and second nature enrich each other. Second nature becomes the self-conscious and self-reflexive part of nature showing diversity, freedom, subjectivity and self-management aspects of the organic evolution process. The relation between first and second nature is both continuous and discontinuous (Bookchin 1996b:11). Development of subjectivity of nature as human is the highest goal of evolution. Subjectivity is the telos of nature as human reason and it can develop with shifting from antithesis to mutuality. Organic evolution moves towards more degrees of subjectivity, as new attributes and interrelationships within nature and society.

Having defined society as nature but a different part, Bookchin uses the term ecology for societies also. LM aims to reach an ecological society whose aspects are derived from organic evolution like mutuality, complementarity ethic, and irreducible minimum. Complementarity principle is not limited within society but is expanded to community-bioregion relations according to the Fourierian approach (Chiasson 1994: 59). Organic societies have these characteristics that enable them to live in harmony with nature. Alan P. Rudy (Light, 1998:285) criticizes him because of overemphasizing mutualism in evolution and nature. There should be more room for competition, predation and contingency. However, this competitive conception of nature suits the liberal vision and is against Bookchin's roots of Kropotkin's *Mutual Aid*<sup>7</sup>. Bookchin often implies anthropological evidence for these societies not only from Kropotkin but also from other authors like Paul Radin to show the constructive potential of second nature (1991b).

### *Social ecology versus deep ecology*

According to social ecology, ethics can only be possible by considering humans as part of nature; however McKie (1992:75) finds it unclear how nature can be a source for ethics. With consciousness, humankind can form society beyond animal communities. This is very different from the universal oneness of deep ecology. The

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<sup>7</sup> Peter Kropotkin (1842-1921) is Russian anarchist geographer and philosopher. With his famous study *Mutual Aid*, 1902, Kropotkin developed decentralized communal approach to anarchism and showed the non-competitive and mutual relations of indigenous societies against liberal discourse of Social Darwinism.

dynamic, dialectical, historical evolution process leads a process of diverse nature. The human society is part of this nature, but as second nature having a society. This standpoint neither provides a place for man to dominate the nature as anthropocentrism does nor to cover the reductionism of deep ecology.

With the help of the definition of first and second nature, ecological problems can be discussed through hierarchy and domination. Therefore, it is not anthropocentric to define the position of humankind and it is crucial to show social roots of ecological problems. Otherwise, without this definition and within the universal oneness of deep ecology, we cannot name the social character of environmental problems; but feel stuck in indefinite holism and individuality. This can be easily used by the capitalist discourse primarily to cover its domination but also to serve it through new commodities for individual green capitalist consumers.

Eckersley (Light 1998:58-64) criticizes that Bookchin's evolutionary biology and first-second nature definitions hinder the "non-hierarchical society". He conceives second nature as "privilege" above the non-human realm as first nature. This understanding of privilege conflicts with the idea of Bookchin's evolutionary principle of freedom. He defines the situation of second nature as stewardship to care for humans and not nature. Here, the problem arises from the mechanical logos, separating first and second nature. Bookchin offers a dialectical reasoning looking for processes, diversity, potentials, history etc. Therefore, with dialectical and organic aspects of evolution both human and non-human realms are nature; they are not separated. Both are in evolutionary path to subjectivity, freedom, diversity and self-management; second nature is just in another phase where it is the consciousness of nature. This situation within organic evolution does not necessitate division, separation, domination, stewardship if we use dialectical reason instead of mechanical one. However, Eckersley will be right if second nature, as human societies leave the evolutionary path seeking freedom, diversity and choose domination. The call of social ecology, with organic and dialectical naturalism, is to combine first and second nature with ecological and equalitarian society; that both are nature. If second nature; human societies deviates from the natural evolution; the best option is stewardship "caring" for nature; the worst option is to exploit it; both fail to sustain the path of natural evolution.

### *Social ecology against Marxism*

The LM program depends on freedom, diversity and subjectivity potential of second nature that differs from some ideologies. Liberals conceive human nature as self-seeking and self-reliant creatures governed by reason, where conservatives say human beings are limited and asks for security (Heywood 2007:73). Socialists view human nature as social through the creative labor process that dominates nature. Social ecology states that second nature is higher form of evolution but not necessitates domination of nature by man. To solve ecological crisis, human society has to come back to natural evolution process according to dialectical naturalism. Otherwise, society is destructive enough to cause an ecological crisis as we see and more.

Social ecology states that during the evolution process man and non-human nature transform each other. Social ecology is different from Marxism in the sense that nature is not a realm of necessity having a man-nature dualism. Man does not have to dominate nature to be free; and does not have to wait until the last phase of capitalist production for realm of freedom. However, man can only be free if he can live harmony with nature. Man and nature lives together; as first and second nature; not separated and dominated each other. Nature is the process of evolution; man having unique nervous system has ability to think, so he becomes the consciousness of nature itself. He is not separated himself from nature to dominate it but to be a product of evolution process of nature.

The problem is not “human nature” but the destructive capacity of second nature that has also constructive capacity to be able to solve ecologic crisis. Second nature can be destructive or constructive depending on social organization (Bookchin 1999c:37) whether it is authoritative or libertarian/ecological/rational which LM aims. LM is one way of exercising constructive potential of second nature, whereas the hierarchical society is the result of destructive option that causes ecological crisis of today.

### **3.1. Politics of Social Ecology: Libertarian Municipalism**

“Libertarian Municipalism is the highest form of direct action. It is the direct – indeed, face to face- self-administration of a community. People act directly on society and directly shape their own destinies. There’s no

higher from of direct action than self-determination.” (Bookchin; Biehl 1998:163)

I reviewed social ecology for the development of its political program. There are unique claims of social ecology to be roots of this program, LM. The environmental problems are caused by neither industry/technology nor human. Nevertheless, they have roots in organization of society that is not static but can change. Neither environmental problems nor ecological solution is out of social sphere; the problem and solution are related to society. Ecological society can be free if it follows the path of organic evolution while society is second nature within first nature. In fact, society can be destructive or constructive depending on whether it has dominations or not. The political program of social ecology is called LM and is about to construct a domination-free, democratic and rational society which then can be ecological. It is not a surprise that Bookchin put the terms domination and hierarchy at the core of the problem, as he is a leading figure of the anti-authoritarian tradition for the last 30 years. The solution is social and LM is Bookchin's answer being not static and open to a dialectic reasoning.

This part of the thesis gives a detailed examination of LM relying on Janet Biehl's study. I will develop a detailed model of LM as a reference for other five environmental political action categories that is derived from a table developed by Pepper. Before entering the detailed examination of LM, I want to give an introductory review. LM is not just an environmental movement within New Social Movements but aims at a radical change to reach a libertarian community as a rational-ecological-democratic society that depends on self-management of citizen assemblies at neighborhood level. Based on rich tradition of face-to-face democratic tradition of societies like Antique Athens, New England, Medieval European Cities, he wants to ignite a process-LM to reach a confederation of democratized municipalities.. The aim is a libertarian society, so the process-LM what do you mean should be. LM does not favor momentarily and violent changes; but asks for a slow, bottom-to-top process of construction of direct democratic citizenship at neighborhood level against central authority. In order to construct a public realm as citizen assembly on a neighborhood level, endless education, face-to-face interaction, and local elections are some of the tools. Using formal or legitimate local direct democratic channels to construct citizen assemblies for self-management is

another strategy. Each formation of citizen assembly is a step to libertarian society of decentralized confederation of democratized municipalities.

Citizens of ecocommunity within LM are very different from protester/participant/green consumer as traditional environmental activists; they are asking for beyond environment and a radical social change to solve ecological crisis. These different aspects can be followed in the table of classification of environmental political actions in the sections below.

The LM and its aim; rational, ecological, democratic society seems attractive and unique but it has also significant problems. The birth of LM process inevitably needs presence of a core enlightened citizen group that passionately works to construct citizen assembly. The risk of localism threatens humanitarian principles of LM. Another problem is the assumption that direct democratic decision-making favors ecological life that it may cause destruction of nature also.

“Perhaps the greatest single failing of movements for social groups for social reconstruction -I refer particularly to the Left, to radical ecology groups, and to organizations that profess to speak for the oppressed- is their lack of a politics that will carry people beyond the limits established by the status quo.” (Bookchin 1992:1)

### *Anarchism and Institutions*

Biehl (1998: vii-viii) states that Bookchin developed Libertarian Municipalism-LM literally at 1972 after decades of critics of authoritarian left and capitalist system. Libertarian Municipalism is political aspect of social ecology to reach rational ecological society. To reach libratory project, anarchism is also criticized that it is against all institutions. However, institutions are not only to secure but also to develop both individual and social freedom; libratory institutions are necessary within society. Moreover, constructing institutions is original aspect of societies as second nature that can continue natural evolution process only if these institutions are libratory that is how society can be ecological as Bookchin implied. Bookchin implies that LMM offers separate political culture and modes of organization (Biehl 1998:150). LMM is the political program of preserving and expanding liberties through a rational and ecological society with institutions like citizen assemblies, democratized municipalities and confederation of them. This long process fits organic evolution of first nature in the second nature for more freedom, diversity,

and self-management. LM aims a “confederation of democratized municipalities” with “a democratic politics, an empowered citizenry and a municipalized economy” to provide ecological life for citizens within ecocommunities of ecosystems (1998:123).

Clark (Light, 1998:181) criticizes LM as dogmatic, sectarian and narrow, depending on Bookchin's fate of revolutionary history, and implies the potential of town meetings and citizens assemblies to be unsuccessful. Moreover, he offers communes, collectives, cooperatives, as alternatives but Bookchin criticizes these as marginal due to lack of a political program. However, Clark does not give any example of these collectives and why they have a greater potential for a libratory and ecological path than Libertarian Municipalism does. Tokar (2009) properly criticizes that these alternative institutions without any “counter-systemic social movements” fail and be part of green business according to Bookchin's critique of lack of libratory potential. Clark has to improve his political proposals. Davis (2010:77) defines this debate as lifestyle/social anarchism dichotomy and implies the significance of cooperatives as well as decentralized networks of anti-globalization movement.

Gunderssen (Light 1998:201-202) criticizes the possibility of the project of LM and successively states the ethical condition for ecological politics. He implies Bookchin's point that LM necessitates democratic, ecological ethics to sustain self-governing municipalities within a confederal structure. He blames Bookchin's hope for ecological ethics as “by this point Bookchin's argument has largely collapsed. Hope is all that remains”. At first sight, the democratic ethics needed behind LM seems a “killer assumption”; and it can be questioned against current nation-state and the international power politics structure. However, this critic just relies on mechanical reasoning lacking a dialectical and historical logic and focusing on parts. Dialectical naturalism depends on processes and interrelations through natural evolution. It consists of processes, potentialities, dialectical interrelations. It cannot be guaranteed with a determinist theory like Marxism (Bookchin 1999c: 132-141) killing dialectics at first step. Hope stems from dialectical potential and facts of natural evolution like diversity, freedom, subjectivity. Therefore, there is no quick, clear solution challenging current politics and ecological processes. However, the egalitarian society is needed to solve ecological crisis; any kind of democratic

society inevitably needs democratic ethics. This can be done through face-to-face relations among citizens; showing subjectivity, self-realization, self-governance, diversity ideals of second nature of natural evolution. In fact, Bookchin's project is holistic ranging based on dialectical naturalism to provide a political program as it is a process and has potentialities, so it is dialectical. He implies the potentiality for democratic society, not certainty. According to dialectical naturalism, organic evolution necessitates ecocommunities that are freer, subjective, diverse, and interrelated. Gunderssens's critics have to consider this frame also. Gunderssen proposes an Aristotelian solution "against participatory democrats like Bookchin" but does not elaborate this (Light 1998:208). Any critics can be constructive only if they join this organic dialectical process that is not ended, but is open to constructive critics that should be holistic, dialectical, and historical.

### **3.1.1. Statecraft and Direct Democracy**

LM movement is fundamentally against the current liberal democratic structure with its representation illusion. Biehl states "neither parliamentarism nor single issue movements can fundamentally change society" (1998:141). Green party experiences show the transformation of radical aims into a statecraft careerist party. The success of single issued movements is very limited and both parliamentarism and single-issue movements do not aim to create political arena to empower real political participation for citizens. In order to grasp the necessity of direct democracy and failure of representative democracy; there is a need to separate statecraft from democratic processes. Denial of statecraft is not an anarchist tradition but it is obligatory to make direct democracy possible.

Biehl states that politics can be either **statecraft** or **direct democracy**. Current political system is statecraft that ordinary people are controlled, manipulated, governed by elites using state structure. So-called republican states may have representative bodies in fact they are dominated by professional politicians within parties. Parties are hierarchical and top-to-bottom that they are the organization of professional politicians seeking their interests and career. This repressive party structure uses the illusion of democracy that they are approved by citizens. However, the system makes the citizens as "voters, tax-payers, constituents" leave

the political will to those elites who aim to control state structure for themselves and powerful groups.

The second nature falls into a hierarchal trap changing the route of natural evolution seeking freedom, self-governance, and self-consciousness. The elites govern society with the illusion of democracy. As passive voters, taxpayers, constituents, the citizens have little relation with each other that is only limited individual interests. They are alienated from each other, their community and are not aware not only about themselves but also about their community. The nation-state scale and passive consumers frame cannot sustain individual and social freedom of citizens. Current statecraft structure is against ecological view of second nature.

The alternative of statecraft is direct democracy that citizens construct face-to-face relations to construct self-governance. Biehl gives Ancient Athenian example of BF 5<sup>th</sup>-8<sup>th</sup> centuries. Forty thousands of Greek men joined self-governance as citizens however; it is true that those women, slaves and non-Athenians are excluded. The city is not just a place to live but as part of their community composed of citizens. Their life is divided in private and political; but the political realm that makes you a citizen is ordinary life for every woman/man and it is not left to professional elites as in statecraft. Political realm involves government missions, huge juries, and weekly assemblies. Three centuries of New England, Medieval European Communes, Paris commune are other examples of self-governance (1998:7). All these examples show potentials for rational ecological society even though they have patriarchal and oppressive aspects. These freedom potentials fall down during the rise of nation states but still civic associations, town meetings, forums, issue-oriented initiatives survive; but they are not enough for rational ecological societies. Consumerism and capitalism erodes these potentials. Biehl implies (1998:10-11) that direct democracy efforts of libertarian municipalism is not the strengthening democracy within nation state representative system. Hence, the project aims to construct a revolutionary public sphere against and instead of statecraft.

“The project of Libertarian Municipalism is to resuscitate politics in the older sense of the word-to construct and expand local direct democracy, such that ordinary citizens make decisions for their communities and for their society as a whole” (Biehl 1998:10)

LM movement aims to challenge power gaps and imbalance within the society through strengthening direct democracy while weakening statecraft. Hence, the citizens of community can interact equally and govern themselves. This power balance provides democracy for ecocommunity. Liberal republic, representative democracy, socialist state and participatory governance are different versions of statecraft and have no or very little room for citizens' decision-making. The main difference between LM and other political programs is denial of statecraft.

There seems similar direct democratic approaches to LM, in fact, they are different due to loyalty to statecraft. Barber introduces a kind of direct democracy as strong democracy. He (1995:184) makes a typology among representative, union and strong democracies. Latter two are direct democracies. The members of each are legal persons/brothers/neighborhoods. The binding force is contract/blood/common participative activity. Barber presents a pendulum between representative and union democracy. First one is non-direct and bourgeois democracies where members are stuck in passive contract and have an illusion of freedom. Second one is strict structure where citizens are stuck in brotherhood and unity; have no freedom at all. Barber places his medium solution as strong democracy. However, he never gives up presence of state and never leaves the frame of statecraft. Best case is participative democracy but still covering statecraft and domination of elites. Mouffe (1992:235) at her offer of radical democratic citizenship also does not differ from the frame of statecraft and falls in participate discourse again. She wants to combine liberalism and communitarianism in public-*respublica* where both liberal freedom and common good is preserved. Social ecology leaves the traditional liberalism/communitarianism tension that Mouffe generates her solution. The public of LM process has to get rid of statecraft and necessitates direct participation of citizens through citizen assemblies as the only body of decision-making.

The local decision-making is more than grassroots movement or participation to politics. It is about deciding about life for each person as citizen beyond statecraft. Like each living thing, a citizen lives locally embedded in interrelations of an ecocommunity that is part of a network of confederations. This will be explained in the following sections. The citizens within the ecocommunity obey a libertarian direction of organic evolution as most free, subjective and conscious part of nature as second nature. The LM is ecological, because its means are ends.

### 3.1.2. Three realms: Political, Social, and State

Biehl (1998:13) and Bookchin (1992:1) state three realms as political, social, and state. The denial of statecraft and emergence of libertarian frame are based on this triad. The main mean and end of LM is *citizen assembly* of neighborhood citizens that will be based on public realm where the subjectivity, self-management and consciousness of ecommunity can be possible. Triad of realms is different from Aristotle's social/political and Hannah Arendt's social/political (state) in terms of Bookchin's critique of state realm, devaluation of social realm and highlighting political realm.

Social realm which is the oldest realm and different from society, "encompasses production and economic life" and private life. Previous duality of direct democracy/statecraft is parallel to public/state realms. However, social realm is assigned as apolitical within LM. Social realm is the remaining part of life from political and state realms. Social realm includes family, economic life where political issues are emerged and lived. Bookchin excludes the Marxist revolutionary subject as the worker from politics in their social realm. However, this exclusion is problematic. If the citizen is working in another municipality, he is excluded from the decision-making process of that one and limited to his living neighborhood. It is questionable that political realm -mainly as citizen assemblies of democratized confederative municipalities- can solve these political issues in social realm also. LM needs the integration of decision-making power of economic life into political realm.

Biehl implies the city as needed space of the political realm. The city appeared through urban revolution. Before, hunter-gatherer societies depend on kinship and blood ties. Social realm dominates with family and groups relations. Division of labor depends on gender; mostly man hunts, woman gathers. These societies have little segmentation but produced gerontocracy. The tribe assumes itself as people and human; but others are non-human. This causes racism and chauvinism. The tribe example shows pure social realm; where political and state realm are not present yet. According to natural evolution process, the second nature necessitates to develop political realm for freedom, self-governance, institutions, and diversity. For

example, the tribe assumes only itself as people that this prevents diversity. The political realm is expected in natural evolution process

To overcome these obstacles and to generate a public realm city space is necessary. However, the scale of city is important and main part of LM is municipal neighborhood space that constructs a confederation of democratized municipalities. Neighborhood and confederation are explained in further sections.

Biehl (1998:53) implies that Libertarian Municipalism is political realm different from social and state realms. This political realm is the “realm of community self-management”. What is community for Biehl is:

“A community comprises individuals, whose dwellings are clustered in the vicinity of a distinct public space, forming a discernible community entity. This public space, whether it is square, a park, or even a street, is the place where private life shades into public life, where the personal becomes more or less the communal.” (1998:53)

Because the Libertarian Municipalist project depends on community, it is important to define political realm according to workplace and private realm. LM depends on citizenship that is much related with lived space; so the workplace; unions etc. is not the real standpoint. However, the democratization of workplace is needed too as Biehl states. Finally, the members of LM are not workers alone but all adults; namely citizens. The community is not composed of workers alone; so the political will is not for only workers. This point is important with respect to the tradition of Marxist worker movements. The tie of community is not kinship but residential sharing, common interests and problems, shared civic life. The community life is the political realm for Libertarian Municipalism. This political realm let individuals be citizens deciding about themselves and community; instead of monads decided by patriarchal and capitalist elites.

LM model of this thesis implies the presence of assembly where all citizens can join debate and decision-making. This assembly is based on the necessity of public realm where politics should do.

### **3.1.2.1. Emergence of political realm as real space for direct democracy**

As the political realm is the core issue for LM process, Biehl gives detailed explanation (1998:16-17). Human settlements are possible by agricultural revolution. The cultivation of feral crops let societies settle during Neolithic BCE 10.000-7.000. The production of crops needs settling; the storage and wealth of crops provide frame for classes, hierarchies. The agriculture is done mostly by men enable the rise of patriarchy. The towns and cities are characterized by status groups, classes, military and religious hierarchies, gender stratification. This short history of construction path from hunter to agricultural production can be criticized as economic reductionist; a critique Bookchin frequently directed at Marxism. Another question arises about the relation of city and dominations, whether there is a formation of equal society in form of a city or not.

The emergence of political realms needs space and ethics beyond kinship of tribes. The “roads, squares, commons, places of public accommodation” is space for the evolution of a public realm. Despite of its dominated structure, the city provides space for common humanity beyond kinship. The strangers can join the city life; the others of different kinship can be assumed as people. Athenian, New England, Paris Commune examples shows the democracy potential of these public realms that are explained below.

Bookchin emphasizes the uniqueness of city space realm where kinship ties change into civil relations that lets political realm emerge. Giddens considers the uniqueness of city like Bookchin; the city is the space of not-economic but authoritative resources of power relations according to his structuration theory. Giddens criticizes and goes beyond Marx that the economic processes are not the only determiner for non-capitalist societies which city is important. Non-capitalist city is the space where power relations are formed with social domination, not only with economic domination (Giddens 2000:5,103). However, Bookchin implies also the liberatory aspect of city with social freedom like political realm.

Biehl states the importance of political realm where citizens can form ecocommunity. The political realm starts where citizens are on common places of living space.

“Only the community, however, is open to all adult members qua residents, not workers and students alone, and can therefore become a broad arena for the management of communitywide affairs.

It is from this incipient political level of the community that libertarian Municipalism strives to create and renews the political realm, than expand it. Here people can potentially reconstitute themselves from isolated monads into citizens who recognize each other, are mutually interdependent, and as such are concerned for their common welfare. It is here that they can create those political institutions that make for broad community participation and sustain them on an ongoing basis. It is here that citizenship can become meaningful as citizens regain and expand the power that the State has usurped from them.” (Biehl 1998:54)

Bookchin states that direct democracy experience is not limited to west, or specific countries. However, he insists on the importance of institutions than cities; that they are useful people who are potentially rational (Biehl 1998:156). However below examples are limited with western experience.

#### *Direct Democracy of Antique Athens*

Antique Athens is most common example of Bookchin where he mentions about citizenship and citizen, citizen assemblies and ecocommunities although he accepts the discrimination of slaves, women, and foreigners. However, the Athenian experience is critical for developing LM program.

Braudel defines the geographical situation of Greece is “island”; there are many islands in Aegean Sea; but also the there are many islands at land too. The lands are separated from each other by mountains; only 20% land is plain. Greek cities are not big; Sparta, the largest one has 8.400km<sup>2</sup>. Athens is 2.400km<sup>2</sup>. Hence, Braudel states that Ancient Greek cities are humanly is scale with population of five thousands; one can walk through. This is one of the main arguments that Bookchin implied as an ideal living space with a population of human scale. Only then, the ecocommunity, citizens and citizens assembly is possible. LM defines this scale as a neighborhood.

Another point is that both Braudel and Bookchin imply the wholeness of rural and city of Athens in the Attica region. This kind of city is not constructed against rural; but they are in integrity, rural-urban continuum. It is the critique of Bookchin against what he called as urbanization destroying public realm in 20<sup>th</sup> cc wit nation state and capitalism.

BCE 7<sup>th</sup> cc, Athens is in an economic crisis; many peasants have debts to few landowners. This threatens political order (Biehl 1998:21, Braudel 2007:294). Solon is elected to keep order. He cancels debts and balances the power gap among landowners, citizens. Political crisis is chosen with agreement towards people who are citizens from then on (Braudel 2007:300). He introduced two councils. First one is "ecclesia": the citizen assembly. Citizens can be only men, but not slaves and women. The citizens are 40.000 male among 315.00 people.

Braudel implies that Ancient Greece is city "state" (2007:287) however; Bookchin defines the Athens governance as an example of self-governance. Ecclesia is held 40 times in a year, takes a day. Citizens can choose officials, form laws, question community issues. Second one is "boule"; consists of 400 propertied men member as an administrative body. Boule shows the balance policy of Solon that old dominant aristocracy controls the ecclesia, because it must take advice from boule. Most important is that all man should join community issues as their way of life; being citizen. After Peloponnesian War in 431, Cleisthenes creates 170 "deme" unit based on residence but not on kinship, as multiple centers of local democracy. Braudel criticizes Athens that it dominates and exploits neighbor cities in Delos Union. The freedom is not for others. Biehl and Bookchin are aware of localism danger; therefore, LM generates a confederative structure of municipalities to sustain and develop fair, equal relations that is explained below section.

Braudel gives some economic measures that city states can appear (2007:290). Wheat import lets Athenian farmers deal with olive, viticulture that provides wealth for farmers and food for citizens of city. Writing and money are also important. The increase of population makes people migrate to city where they will lose their kinship ties for the sake of citizenship ties; that will enable political realm.

Fotopoulos explains the failure of Athens democracy with including part of people and lack of economic aspect; in fact, Biehl and Bookchin do not imply that a municipal city of 21<sup>th</sup> cc needs similar geographical, economic and political conditions. Their aim is to understand this political realm and self-governance example. The LM necessitates more than Athens had; that is the construction rational and ecological society through citizenship assemblies within state system. Bookchin (Biehl 1993:154) states that Antic Athens and New England are not

models for rational-ecological society with their lacking however they presents experiences to generate LM movement.

### *Communes of Medieval Europe*

Braudel states (2007:287) that the decline in BCE 12<sup>th</sup> cc makes possible the rise of cities, like Italian city-states in medieval era. Biehl connects the fall off Roman Empire and feudal system at AD 1.000 with rise of ecclesiastical towns (1998:25). Northern Italy, Rhineland, Rhone Valley, Flanders are the spaces where citizens dealing with commerce and craft govern between 10<sup>th</sup>-13<sup>th</sup> cc. The Lombard League is groups of towns seeking independency at Northern Italy. Communes are governed by first merchants, professionals, artisans and later rural refuges joined. Still citizenship is limited with propertied, residence, social connections. For social ecology, this cannot be ecological due to limits on freedom and subjectivity. Another problem is that there cannot be political realm with any restriction. However, these examples are better than liberal representative democracy in terms of political realm.

The assemblies elect magistrate for a year. By 13<sup>th</sup> cc, the limits of citizenship begin to diminish for entire people, but not woman. Neighborhoods form guilds of "interlinked men of same occupation" in some communes. These are "popolo" resisting aristocratic forces. Eventually Bologna, Milan, Piacenza, Cremona, Assisi, Lucca are governed by popolo. The guilds challenge patricians in Freiburg, Liege, Ghent, and Ypres in Flanders region. The governance is changed into structure that is more civic. However, Biehl implies that these communes excluded "unskilled, the poor, field workers, immigrants", woman and vulnerable the effect of wealthy families.

Italian city-states -*communa*- have shown oligarchies, representative states but also democracies (Bookchin 1999b:143-147). Italian commune is constructed by male citizens of town with loyalty oath, *conjuratio*. Each commune sends its delegations to a larger assembly, *consulate* that is similar to confederative structure LM offered. By time, citizen assemblies changes into councils, male citizens into nobles, direct democracy into oligarchy, and city democracy into city republic. This change shows the dialectical relation between powers within society.

The experience of Medieval European commune states the weakening of central authority. LM can find more chance where decentralization process faces lower central response.

#### *Town Meetings of New England*

New World is new space for direct democracy heritage. Immigrants from Europe construct a new political life with the lack of central authority of an empire. Biehl implies (1998:34) town meetings of new settlements are space for citizens discuss and decide on community issues. At 1632, first town meeting at Cambridge, at 1635 Colony government recognizes town meetings as supreme legislative bodies. From 1680 to 1720, town meetings gain power against selected boards of aristocracy. Every man can vote and decide about all community issues like taxes, land use etc. Like Athens, Italian, Flamenders examples town meeting first live and compete with aristocratic counterpart; this time it is “visible saints” that have 7-9 members.

Like Paris commune, the town meetings will ignite the confederalist policies. The town meetings choose delegates to Boston Assembly as governance body of colony. The delegates are chosen annually to provide bottom-to-top governance in whole colony. LM implies that delegation is different from representation that delegates cannot decide without the will of citizens, however representatives feel responsible during election campaigns. Ecological society of LM does not leave political authority to representatives who inevitably yield or result from statecraft that is not diversity, freedom and subjectivity. The duality of delegation and representation is one of significant aspects classification table below and is a crucial question at fieldwork; whether local environmental movements prefer delegation or representation for political action.

The civic picture of new world survives until the civil war, but even today, the decentralized nature of New England continues with losing its initial power. However, for general picture direct democracy was born in stateless and orderless conditions, and diminished with the rise of state power, centralization again like Athens, Medieval Europe. Bookchin implies that these are significant experiences of second nature that centralized statecraft is possible depending on which society we live. LM aims a radical but a slow change of society in more democratic form that is

an important aspect of classification table also where other options refer presence of state less or more.

### *Parisian Sections*

Biehl states that (1998:37), after 1789 revolution, 60 electoral districts are formed in Paris. Each has citizen assemblies. First, they are just expected to choose deputies for Estates General (later National Assembly). District assemblies continue to meet and gain decision power against monarchy. Finally, they are recognized as legal municipal government in Paris, Marseilles, Bordeaux, and Toulouse. There were 44.000 autonomous local communes where adult males -in some cases women- vote and join. They are decision-making bodies insisting for popular sovereignty for all citizens not representative elites. Each section has committees of police, supply, finance, and neighborhood surveillance, military. They not only interest in local but also national issues. Paris commune makes a call of *Commune of Communes*, actually a confederalist structure that does not consist of states but communes that construct a bottom-to-top governance picture. The situation is similar to New England, when local has power to self-govern; it seeks for bottom-to-top approach within confederalism. Bookchin admires the civic nature and municipal frame that also seeks for bottom-to-top confederalist structure of Paris that is formed near past and is lived at most centralized empire. Dialectical naturalism foresees the dissolution of central state structure for decentralized, autonomous, free communes as second nature along organic evolution while Fotopoulos (1998: 176) is against constructing a rational society based on tendencies of natural or social evolution. Classification table shows different political approaches of participation of local people whether they are voters of parliament, consumers of green market, citizens of nation or neighborhood, workers of unions or activists of environmental movement.

### **3.1.2.2. State Realm**

“From a primal matrix of hierarchical relationships it issued gradually, taking a multiplicity of forms and undergoing degrees of development over the course of social evolution. Far from being monolithic, “the State” as a rubric encompasses germinal States, partly formed and unstable quasi-States, empires, monarchies, feudal States, theocracies, republics, social welfare States, autocracies, dictatorships, and totalitarian States”. Like all systems of hierarchy and class dominations, States take a

variety of forms, and their development has been, if anything, circuitous and fitful, multifarious and complex.” (Biehl 1998:41-42)

Political realm rises with historical experiences against the state. Biehl (1998:41) implies the different understanding of state between Right and Left. For liberals and conservatives, state is the rational way of maintaining order however for leftists, it is “an instrument of domination” while most of them also aim to capture this instrument. Biehl (1998:42) states that the state idea is not same for all countries; there are some differences. French state is more central dominating local, whereas Britain has lower central control over locals until 1850s. For Roman Empire, European Monarchies, state always confront with local powers, like cities, municipalities in order to let them have only survival power. Nation states transforms political, economic power from cities, municipalities to center; with unified common legal system enforced with military, economic power as England in 12<sup>th</sup> cc. Central power of Nation State is against both feudal lords and cities. French centralization starts with Louis XI from 1463. Jacobins of French Revolution, 1791 Constitution, Robespierrian Committee of Public Safety continue to empower centre against locals (1998:44). Asian examples are few because cities are “centers of administration for theocratic monarchies”. Against this central power of Nation States and Empires, European cities resist. 12<sup>th</sup> cc, Lombard League in Italy, Nimes-Avignon-Marseilles in France, 60-80 cities forming Hanseatic League in Germany; in 13<sup>th</sup> cc Rhenish League in Germany, in 14<sup>th</sup> cc, Swabian League in Northern Germany. Biehl implies that even nation state seems the end of history nowadays, the option of city confederations was on the table till 19<sup>th</sup> cc. Madrid Citizens Movement in the 1960s, local and regional autonomy demands challenging Soviet Union in 1980s are some examples in 20<sup>th</sup> cc. LM favors regional cooperation under confederative principles shown in classification table as well as centralized solutions of other ideologies. The confederative structure of neighborhood municipalities is ideal case of LM, where others offer regional cooperations and unions as the discourse of decentralization under statecraft.

Biehl gives specific examples of alliance of towns in confederative structure, to imply the presence of alternatives of Nation State. Moreover, the rise of capitalism and so the urbanization destructs political realm of confederative cities. The point is how the political realm is distorted by triple central forces; nation state, urbanization and capitalism.

### 3.1.2.3. Urbanization

There is crucial difference between current trends of urbanization and ideal city life of LM. Bookchin (1999b) gives a detailed history of urbanization, how current mega cities with agglomerations of millions destruct and hide civic ideals of the city. Biehl clearly implies the destruction of political realm into capitalist and urbanized city. In urbanized city, citizenship, politics, democracy, community diminishes. She implies that in developed countries, city management often transforms into business corporations aiming fiscal surplus and capitalist growth. Ethical city and civic democracy changes into entrepreneurial considerations.

“Today the municipality is threatened by forces whose power the rebellious and autonomy-seeking towns of previous centuries could not have imagined. Urbanization—the immense, formless blight of capitalism—is swallowing up the definable, humanly scaled entities that were once cities. Small communities are being absorbed by larger ones; cities by metropolises, and metropolises by huge agglomerations in mega city belts. Sprawl, condominium subdivisions, highways, faceless shopping centers, parking lots, and industrial park are sweeping ever further into countryside as well. Such urbanization bodes ill for the libratory potential of the cities, let alone for their persistence as the taproots of direct democracy. Indeed, urbanization is poised to complete the task that the Roman Caesars, the absolute monarchs, and the “bourgeois” republics undertook long ago; the destruction of the political realm.” (Biehl 1998:47)

The Ancient civic city is urbanized, so the citizens are. The citizenship of 20<sup>th</sup> cc is very different in capitalist urbanized cities of nation states. The “citizenship” is to be separated from Marshallian discourse of welfare citizenship (1992) that is to make people loyal to country without any civic virtue and so self-management, decision-making power. The three aspects of Marshallian citizenship are social, civil and political. Social rights are given by welfare state against socialist threat of liberal democracies of post WWII era. Civil rights are designed as political activities that political space is representative parliamentary system. The political action of citizen is limited in voting and framed in civil rights through cooperatives, societies etc that is best seen in Britain. In fact, Marshallian citizenship is designed to make people passive in nation state and cover their political desire civil-political rights difference that this frame loses its effectiveness at 21<sup>st</sup> cc with regional unions and globalism.

Biehl (1998:48) gives the national political picture of USA that both liberals and conservatives wants more citizenship participation but liberals blame capitalist

corporations whereas conservatives accuses strong federal state. Conservatives offer to eliminate central governance power whereas liberals want to increase participation decision-making process. However, both do not do anything for capitalism and nation state that they destroy civic frame of citizenship. Nation states diminish municipalities and free cities by central power. On the other hand, capitalism corrodes public activity, puts economic pressure on people, and makes them consumers. Hence, both nation state and capitalism corrodes community life and individuality. People have to concern about their survival instead of community issues that is left for bureaucrats and entrepreneur politicians. Libertarian Municipalism both deals with Capitalism and Nation state. It starts with “local residual political realm” to build and empower it to get city and so political realm back from capitalism, nation state and urbanization. Therefore, the environmental political action of LM is to use or to develop direct democratic channels not only to find ecological solution but also to generate a citizen assembly. The current problem of political realm is more than nation state itself, or capitalism, or urbanization but their alliance against civic life. They together oppress the public realm which Libertarian Municipalism depend on and empower. Here, Biehl tries to define the situation of current potentials for political realm. The libertarian project has to cope with all three together.

### **3.1.3. The Administrative Organization of Political Realm: Municipality**

Dobson (2003: 106) implies that the space of his ecological citizenship notion is not given by boundaries of nation-states or EU but “produced by the metabolistic and material relationship of individual people with environment”. Social ecology states this space as neighborhood where Dobson’s metabolistic relation between ecological citizen and environment is possible only with direct democracy generating self-governance. The political realm is citizen assembly, the space is neighborhood and the administrative structure should be municipality of neighborhood that is also political community. Municipality exercises the decisions of citizen assembly. However, the current municipality structure needs radical change to adapt ecological society. Current municipalities are different in quality and quantity. Even they have “residual” democratic tradition, but they are management bodies of current capitalist system. Mostly in developed countries in the age of global capitalism age, they transform into town/city companies governed by patriarchic entrepreneur making

town/city as production and consumption spaces, where citizens as consumer monads.

There are two ways reforming current municipalities to make them as the political realm of community: Decentralization and Democratization.

### **3.1.3.1. Decentralization**

Dobson (2007:95-101) gives a brief summary about the debate among greens (Bahro, Tokar, Ryle and Eckersley) on decentralization and implies the need for answers about decentralization beyond naivety. On the other hand, Biehl detailed decentralization process in institutional and physical manners.

Institutional decentralization aims to reorganize municipalities in manageable size like neighborhoods. Metropolis should be divided into neighborhood municipalities to let people transform into community governing itself. Rural towns are too small for physical reorganization. City halls are changed into multiplicity of neighborhood centers where main living space is neighborhoods.

The institutional reorganization resembles Parisian sectors of 1791-1794. The ideas of manageable size have roots of Aristotle ideal city where each citizen is able to know others and establish face-to-face relations that are not possible in metropolis of millions. The relation of people is also important for Georg Simmel. Simmelian critique of metropolis individual has a cynical attitude of city life where everything is quantified into money. The tragedy of culture criticizes the domination of individual by culture. The individual is lost in millions and has not any impulses with quality. Although Simmel denies "the society", individuals have interactions with the aspects of number and distance. This geometry assumes an interaction opportunity. Face to face interactions is necessary for individual culture; which is for social ecology is citizenship of community.

Institutional decentralization acts parallel to change of work life. Capitalist paper-shuffling jobs are changed into real community jobs like healing, caring professions, education, cultivation own food at green spaces, developing talents. This change of

workplace lets people become citizens of community in economic life within their municipality as the economic transformation of Libertarian Municipalist project.

Biehl states that some central institutions remains in big city space; they are university, major hospital, theatre, museums. However, the control is realized by community not anymore by private or central.

### *Physical Decentralization*

The terrain and infrastructure should be smaller; the city centre should be formed according to this new municipality space for new civic life. Parks, squares etc. are other spaces for public realm. Civic life is the sign of ecocommunity that is very different from agglomerations of cynical consumers aware of their neighborhoods and neighbors living at megapolis. The ecological community enriches civic life of citizens that dialectical naturalism necessitates through natural evolution process. The second nature as human community has now a chance to increase freedom, diversity, interrelations, self-realization, and self-governance. Hence, organic second nature can live in harmony with first nature within same ecosystem as different but natural communities.

The *Neighborhood Unit* idea of Clarence Perry (1974:34) was first generated against the rising threat of vehicle traffic to residents of cities of New York in the 1920s and 1930s. Later, it had been developed into a community model with neighborhood space having both similarities and differences in comparison to Biehl's neighborhood space. The size of unit is determined by the population of an elementary school. Perry's neighborhood unit should be a community product providing a model community life as Biehl defines as ecocommunity aiming to reach a rational, democratic and ecological society. Perry's neighborhood is a "unit of a larger whole" and "a distinct entity" like libertarian neighborhood of confederated democratized municipalities. Despite the physical similarities, Perry's unit is quite different from Biehl's neighborhood space in terms of self-management. Perry does not question the nation state model whereas Biehl states neighborhood as space of the self-managing eco-communities. The resident of the neighborhood unit is a citizen of a nation state, while in different for of citizen is realized in the ecocommunity of neighborhood space. Perry mentions family-life community while Biehl and Bookchin insist on community based and direct participation of citizens to

decision making mechanisms. Unlike Perry, Biehl implies that citizens have occupation/ a job within the neighborhood. The open spaces like small parks of Perry's unit goes beyond recreational aims as they provide space for political realm for Biehl's neighborhood.

Gundersen (Light 1998:200) criticizes decentralization that "nature consists of relationships, not localized points on a map". However, decentralization is not atomism and not against holism but to make neighborhoods govern themselves within interlinking confederal structure. In fact, Bookchin may be the last author to be blamed forgetting interrelations that is one of the key aspects of natural evolution within dialectical naturalism.

Classification table refers different aspect for each ideology. Environmental political actions can take place at local, regional and national scale; centralized or decentralized. Conservative and liberals prefer strong centralized state where socialists prefer both centralized and decentralized structure. The LM approach is reference model for others to be put in classification table. Therefore, liberal environmental political actions is taken in centralized perspective where some socialists ask for participative democracy and LM clearly insists on direct democracy with real decentralized structure and institutions.

### **3.1.3.2. Democratization**

"Liberalism, a political theory essential to representative Statecraft, posits as its irreducible unit the self-determining individual who, at the supreme moment of his sovereign power, exercises his autonomous will by choosing from among a range of options in a voting booth. (Biehl 1998:83)

The citizen of nation state seeks maximum self-interest, independence through entrepreneurship for her individuality. However, this individualism cannot sustain individuality that can only realize itself in a community with social interdependence, mutual relations and autonomy as LM implies. The self can transform into individual only within a society. The classification table show that LM does not ask for a member of an ecological movement but a citizen of libertarian, rational and ecological community. However, other ideologies present self as consumer, nation citizen, worker etc.

“Libertarian Municipalism proposes that passive dependence on an elite State is not, after all, the final condition of human political existence. A more active way of being is possible, it maintains, precisely because of some of the features that distinguish human beings as social, especially their capacity for reason, their mutual dependence, and their need for solidarity, in particular, can become the psychological, indeed moral groundwork for citizenship-and thus for the recreation of the political realm and municipal direct democracy.” (Biehl 1998:85)

The above quotation shows that in atomized mass society, individuals are far from individuality; but they are just passive citizens only voting, tax paying, consuming. They do not have civic life and depend on state for politics. In fact, mass voting is like a market strategy as consuming from market of professional politics. Hence, the civic virtues are lacking so there are no means of autonomy, freedom, individuality. The citizen is the social individual of ecocommunity. Dialectical naturalism foresees and posits the active and civic individual becoming citizen within community as responsible to others. Only this citizen and her ecocommunity may reach freedom, self-management, enriched diversity and interrelations of second nature. Otherwise, the individual may follow the individualist path of passive citizenship of nation states of liberal democracies. This leads individualism; cynical individuals are neither free nor autonomous; but they are stuck in market and grow-or-die economy as atomized passive consumers. The nature and space of individual are critical in second nature; as individualist she can be passive part of ecological crisis but as citizen of ecocommunity she can be active in ecological; so rational, democratic society and egalitarian society composed of confederative municipalities; bottom-to-top.

The institutional decentralization can be active only with appliance of direct democracy. Biehl states (1998:58) that democratization of current giant municipalities, city government bodies goes parallel with decentralization. Smaller municipalities provide space for direct democratic approach; through citizen assemblies that meet regularly like weekly for widest possible participation of concerned citizens.

“One of the first actions of an assembly would be to constitute itself-that it, to define itself, and to draw up set of bylaws by which it will conduct its proceedings. These bylaws would establish decision-making procedures and offices, as well as the means of selecting the individuals who will hold those offices and the means of holding them accountable to the assembly as a whole. The bylaws could also establish consultative and administrative neighborhood committees, councils, and boards to study

and make recommendations on various issues and to enforce the assemblies' policies. They and their work would be under the continual review of the assembly, and their members would be subject to immediate recall. That is to say, if the members violated any of the community rules concerning the powers of councils and boards, the citizens would have the right to deprive them of their office and choose replacements for them." (Biehl 1998:57-58)

Citizens begin to govern themselves through assembly with face-to-face democracy. The assembly is not external; in fact, they together constitute and execute with committees, councils, and boards for specific missions that are always under control of assembly that each citizen is equal to say. The assembly as organic institution is a space where citizens become community through governing community affairs.

Biehl implies (1998:59) the different approaches in decision-making process. She is against majority vote but the consensus decision may be good for small groups but may also oppress minorities to make them join majority in order to reach a decision. The majority-voting limit can be 80%, however it still dominates minority. She offers a majority rule system where dissenters can openly object, inscribing community record, keep issue alive in order to let all citizens in organic assembly where they do not have to think same.

LM movement states the very need of citizenship for mutual dependence, need for solidarity and capacity for reason (Biehl 1998:85). These unique features let one not only be individual but also the citizen of ecocommunity. The mutual dependence and solidarity link individual with others; that she can become self-confident. The capacity for reason makes her be active and rational individual of community in political realm. These all three are inevitable to establish a political realm where individuals become citizens.

"Indeed, individuality and community would mutually create each other. The communal decisions that individual citizens made would, in turn, would shape the social context in which they themselves lived. The political domain would reinforce the political by enriching it. On this reciprocal process, the individual and the collective would nourish each other rather than be subordinate one to the others." (Biehl 1998:87)

### *Training*

Biehl states (1998:89) that today's citizen is stuck in cynicism, personal interests and is hostile to politics that is dominated by state. Therefore, LMM has to provide electoral platform to let them realize their civic virtues of living and self-managing.

This political realm provides face-to-face and dialectical education from study groups to municipal assemblies, and confederative municipalities.

While environmental programs within current system make very little difference among students (Goodwin at all 2008:408), the citizen of LM needs a lifetime training that is actually the life in ecocommunity and the participation to decision-making processes. Citizens can only be formed through training and experience that is beyond traditional education but includes active participation to political realm (Biehl 1998:88). Participating discussions, joining interactions in political realm; the citizen has a chance to learn, construct and share civic and ethical virtues, responsibility to its community that process is called as *paidea* Antique Athens (Bookchin 1999b:XX). Politics is amateur for everyone as citizens; it is a lifetime activity of self-realization. This is similar famous phrase of Carol Hanisch (Firestone and Koedt 1970) radical feminism that “the personal is political”. LM offers lifetime training through life experience and joining decision-making processes that is very different from information/consultation meetings of other ideologies at classification table. Market Liberals may favor “green” training for consumers via media while welfare-liberals reform in national education system; and both desires media based trainings. The table and the so research questions are designed to analyze the character of information meetings and training needs of anti-HES movements whether they fit one of the categories or challenge the structure of classification table that is desired for improvement.

#### **3.1.4. “Building a Movement”**

In the above theoretical part review is about the unique characteristics of LM, below part is devoted how to get there as a political program. The environmental political actions towards LM are set as reference for classification table about actions of other ideologies like liberals, conservatives, and socialist. The organizational body, activities, budgeting, decision-making, scale, tools are some important aspects for each ideology. Their differences are presented in the classification table that is used during the fieldwork to analyze local environmental actions in Turkey.

I developed the figure 3.1.Libertarian Municipalist Movement from Biehl's study. I also corresponded with Janet Biehl and she agreed with this graphical demonstration of her study. The LMM figure is a base for the LM column of CT.

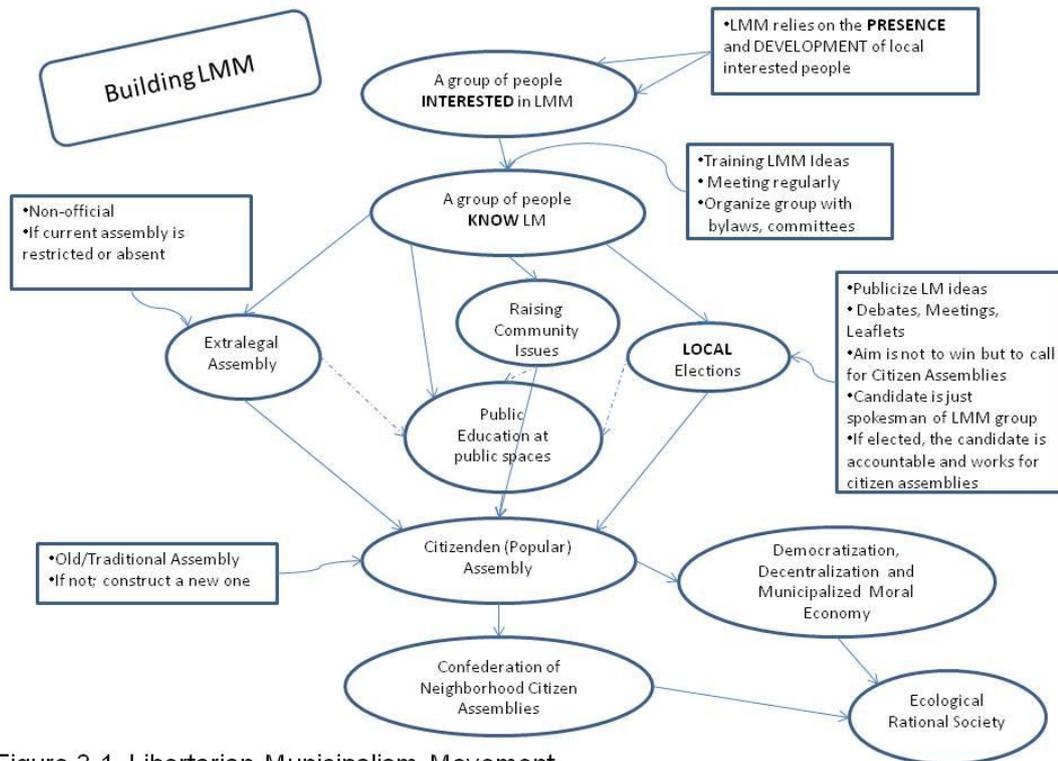


Figure 3.1. Libertarian Municipalism Movement

Biehl (1998:63) implies the need of Libertarian Municipalist Movement aiming rational society (1998:131) for a political realm can be used by citizens through citizen assemblies. The presence of citizen assemblies cannot provide Libertarian Municipalism Movement (LMM) only, but the citizens have to be educated too. The rational society is achieved through education and attempting to create political realm with different opportunities on scale of confederated neighborhood municipalities. LMM has to be an educative movement as well as its protesting, active nature. The nature of citizen assemblies governing municipality needs educated citizens. Biehl explains the Building LMM phase by phase (1998:6-71). In summary, only a group of LM forms a group in a neighborhood. This core group educates itself and others, it also raises the community issues to create political realm in form of citizen assemblies. Joining local elections, old or new citizen assembly channels are also for this. The neighborhood municipalities form a confederated democratized municipality network. The economy is municipalized

also under the mandate of citizen assemblies. It is organic and so a dialectical process of forming a rational society.

Barber has developed a program for his strong democracy (1995:369-370). He mentions workplace democracy, according to LM; workplace is in social realm that is not political realm. The real political subjects are citizens, much more comprehensive than workers are. Barber affirms the federal nature of US that has state, government, capitalist economy. When it is compared with LM having citizens, citizen assemblies, confederated democratized municipalities structure and municipalized economy; strong democracy seems an attempt of participative democracy without questioning statecraft. Strong democracy does not question enough the state structure and elites, inequalities of capitalist production and consumption. He offers citizen communication cooperative, service, law and electronic voting system, to use high technology for political issues. LM considers face-to-face dimension of democracy critical, where Barber does not. The whole idea of LM depends on political realm where citizens develop politics together. The media, communication can also be used; however, they are supportive. Barber also depends on local councils like LM. He does not claim power first but first a discussion arena. Even it seems similar with LM in case of creating political realm and after taking legislative power; strong democracy does not insist on legislative power and puts councils as participation dimension that the federal state structure remains.

#### **3.1.4.1. First Phase-Forming LMM Group**

LM movement can only activate only if at least several people interested in LMM meet and recognize each other about their commonality of views. They meet regularly to form a study group about LM ideas, social ecology, democratic traditions, social criticism and they educate themselves. The LMM is only activated by a nucleus of several self-enlightening people. This characterizes and shows the nature of LMM that the initiation is at local scale. One can only be part of LMM only at her local place as citizen of ecocommunity. Hence, LMM is very different from any other revolutionary movements aiming to control power and centre at national-international scale as members of parties, movement. Here, the member is the citizen; aim is the self-management of ecocommunity with direct democracy. Scale

is the political realm of ecocommunity as neighborhoods. Larger scale is only composed of the confederation of these municipalities of neighborhoods. Therefore, there is not any local citizens to ignite process, there will not be another way; that is both uniqueness and weakness of LM.

For formation and development of core group, Bookchin is not against leader that does not necessarily means domination, hierarchy. In fact, some people have more experience, maturity, character development. Leader motivates and educates people (Biehl 1998:164-165). Leader can lead the LMM as long as it does not threaten the diversity, freedom and subjectivity of second nature. However, Bookchin makes distinction between intellectuals and intelligentsia; former is stuck in academic life whereas latter involves also in political action and acts as public intellectuals. Past revolutions show that involvement and even leadership of intelligentsia is necessary for success (Biehl 1998:166). The academics can only be part of LMM, if they really join LMM as citizens.

The presence of core group that ignites and motivates movement is a characteristic of LMM that is put at classification table. Unlike LMM, the mass movements can only be started and developed by significant figures at centre. The elites design and govern environmental actions like protests, meetings and other; unlike one condition of LM is to be a citizen of neighborhood.

#### **3.1.4.2. Second Phase- Calling for Citizen Assemblies**

Having studied, the core group is well enough to educate others and react, develop policies in municipality scale.

During second phase of LMM, the core group is to enlarge in terms of both members and its affect. It seeks out new members from friends, interested people. For community, it chooses a recognizable name for distinct identity. Then, they begin to study about a popular community issue with linking LM ideas. They produce position papers, reports, posters, leaflets, demonstrations, protests not only just to solve the issue but also ignite citizen assembly process. LMM group has to establish bylaws for the existence of groups about decision-making process, execution

process and procedures. All these have to depend on direct democracy principles of LMM.

Routine education activities are realized at public spaces like cafes, parks. This is both for to enlarge LMM group and improving LM topics. These public spaces like café, community owned places, production cooperatives also let group develop spirit among individuals etc. However, Biehl critically implies that these spaces are part of social realm but not political realm. They are also inevitably embedded in capitalist system. Here, the critic is for traditional leftist groups; which stuck at their own but social realms isolated from society and embedded in capitalist system. Bookchin is not against cooperative idea, however it can transform into private interest stuck in capitalist economy. Only municipalized cooperative can challenge capitalist domination and provide public ownership and moral economy (Biehl 1998:160).

At classification table, public meetings at public places, developing public issues and continuous training are also characteristic aspects of LMM.

#### **3.1.4.3. Third Phase-Citizen Assembly**

Third phase of LM is call for citizen assembly. The chosen topic is also a tool and opportunity to imply the need for direct democracy and call citizen assembly. The assembly is the traditional form of town management. If there is not any, a new one should be claimed. During the assembly meeting through the discussion of community issues, direct democracy, face-to-face relations and assembly itself can be exercised. These meetings also should be held regularly to keep public realm alive. Biehl states that the current examples show lack of participation as Bookchin states that it needs time and education. It is people's decision to participate or not. Participation to assembly is free for every adult however, full participation is hardly possible. He criticizes John Clarks claim of direct democracy can only be with participation of "all" citizens which can be a miracle (Biehl 1998:158). Apart from elections and legal assemblies, extralegal assemblies can be formed where legal ones are restricted, absent. Extralegal ones have moral power and distort legal structure. The idea is same, to increase political realm through face-to-face relations and direct democracy.

Barber (1995:184) argues that the value of plural representative democracy is freedom whereas the strong direct democracy has the value of activity. According to dialectical naturalism, organic evolution has a tendency of freedom for nature. The communities as second nature have more freedom when they can for a rational society that has citizens governs community itself. The activity of citizens provides freedom against state, capitalism, urbanization and the other context of dominations. Therefore, the activity is immanent of freedom that is very different from freedom in plural representative democracy where citizens are passive and dominated by powerful elites, state, media, market etc. The freedom is “active” for citizens of community that is self-governing through active citizen assemblies providing face-to-face relations. However, the freedom of plural representative democracy dominated by state and party politics is very limited.

In his neighborhood council study, Schmid places the council as a mediator between “residents and neighborhood authorities” (2001:145). He positions the self-management councils as a participative tool for reforming centralized authority. These councils can only have reforming and mediating role within state structure. The three main obstacle defined by LM are capitalism, urbanization and nation state that these are not questioned. These hinder the power of self-managing councils within interests of power elites, market conditions, national legislations, urban growth, bureaucratic authorities and state institutions. The vision of Schmid is different from LM that defines the citizen assembly “only” legislative place where all citizens can and should take part. The citizen assemblies are not mediator but are the only authority by citizens. Bookchin as against famous anarchist paradigm, the power cannot be terminated however, it should be owned by people through citizen assemblies.

Bookchin implies the need of organization of LMM that should have definite structure, a constitution, majority rule voting and delegates distinguished from parliamentary-type representatives (Biehl 1998:173). Bookchin implies the permanent structure of citizen assembly that is not limited for specific issues. Citizen assembly is claimed to be main decision body with a name, moderator, coordination committee and system of communications that all are for the institutionalization of assembly (Biehl 1998:175).

The administrative nature of citizen assembly is questionable. Schmid (2001:33-34) gives examples of a professional staff “implementing policies” that they are delegated by residents. This delegation is very different from LM and conflicts with the critical distinction between policymaking and administration. The citizens of LM develop policies through citizen assemblies; the administrators are just to implement these policies but cannot impose policies.

In order to examine current examples, Giulia and Lo Piccolo (2010) presents an examination of the participation in planning in the absence of public space in public housing neighborhood in Palermo. Public meetings, debates, workshops, “direct-involvement of local residents” are realized. They follow Arendt’s public space of democracy necessitating each individual joins freely constructing freedom of plurality. However, this needs preconditions of like participation, social learning as processes. The public space within the unequal power distribution cannot be developed by local and national authorities being part of state realm. This realm does not let public space form and does not let people become citizens of public space. The LM should start with citizens themselves but also helped by local authorities if they are part of LMM. Nevertheless, the critical point is that public realm can only be formed by citizen assemblies that are permanent, bottom-to-top, organized by citizens whereas the public debates and meetings are temporary and driven by authorities as state realm. The formation of permanent citizen assemblies and continuous and never-ending education can lead the formation of public space. Both Giulia & Lo Piccolo and Arendt’s views need statecraft critics of LMM in order to achieve public space where individuals join and realize decision-making as citizens. However, the situation of Palermo neighborhood is defined by mafia dominance on local administration, high-level employment, and low standards of education. It is questionable that LMM can develop on these conditions. Even the LMM group is formed, the participation of people as citizens through citizen assemblies are challenged by these conditions. Therefore, the ignition and development of LMM needs at least democratic conditions to let citizens form an assembly and educate each other.

Little (2009) examines the study of Milton Kotler about neighborhood movement 1960s at New York, Philadelphia, and New Orleans and mostly in Ohio. People of poorest parts of cities act together to “transfer of political authority to their

institutions” for their own laws, moreover they want to control economy and schools. Neighborhood is not just a place to socialize but also “a political unit”. East Central Citizens Organization (ECCO) is founded in Ohio in 1965 that it provides local services for 6.500 residents, moreover it claims for decision-making to generate an assembly that is open for all residents; 10% participation is sufficient. The assembly elects a council for the administration of decisions of the assembly. The process is “practicing of political decision-making” of citizens of neighborhood. The structure is a government without state. In terms of economy, the council claims to control local economy with controlling prices, rents, licensing, and banking. Little criticizes Kolter about his lacking of cooperation of neighborhood assemblies and ecological insight. The neighborhood assembly movement has similarities with LMM in terms of the difference between decision-making and administration. However, the education focus of LMM is missing that is very necessary to generate citizen culture. Moreover, LMM implies the municipalization of economy that does not just aim to control capitalist economy at neighborhood scale.

One of the critics about assembly is about the role and situation of workers, because Bookchin developed social ecology and LM with criticizing proletarian socialism (1999c: 132-141) that is detailed below at environmental socialism part. Bookchin is against worker control/workplace that can dominate citizen assembly. They also become collective capitalist enterprises. Moreover, most of current jobs will not present in ecological society, because they are related capitalist circumstances and structure (Biehl 1998:161-162). He states that people have to join assemblies even they are working all the day. Otherwise, their life is just a survival with working all the day; however, through citizen assemblies they might have a chance to change this and decide about their lives (Biehl 1998:153). Unlike, democratic or revolutionary socialism, the citizen, beyond worker, is main actor within community and has to favor assembly structure. LM citizen is neither a rational agent seeking interest nor a worker with class-consciousness. LM community neither is a consumer society nor is composed of class conflicts. The space of community is neighborhood but not global market or nation state. The self-realization of LM citizen can only be achieved through active participation to decision-making mechanism through municipality structure. The community is composed of political citizens who form community through active participation processes. The community provides direct participation mechanisms –political realm of LM- through neighborhood municipality to citizens

that agents are self-realized with joining and forming structure that provide freedom, diversity, subjectivity and self-management. *Homo faber* can only be a part of worker class of nation state society and *homo consumer* inevitably buys and sells life and nature as commodities in global market whereas *homo politicus* of LM participates and governs his/her life within free community in neighborhood space.

The classification model implies the presence of citizen assembly at reference LM part. The participant-administrator division is crucial that the decision-making body is assembly where bureaucracy is powerless in decision-making. However, this is not the case for parties, NGOs where the administrative elites dominate. Another aspect of LM is that the issues are not limited with environment; in fact, all issues are political and decided by assembly. Most environmentalists regardless to their ideology imply their environmental focus while only few states nature within social justice frame.

#### **3.1.4.3.1. Local Elections**

Even elections are part of statecraft and illusion of representative democracy of elites, Biehl emphasizes that they can be used to construct a political realm against statecraft. In fact, the local election is one the main division between anarchism and communalism that LMM seeks. Anarchism denies local elections as part of statecraft; however, it lacks the political realm. Anarchism is stuck on social and state realms, therefore political approach is limited on social realm that LMM denies in order to construct/use political realm for self-governance.

“Yet anarchism itself has always contained a communist tendency, alongside is individualistic and cultural strains. Communalism holds out the ideal of decentralized, Stateless, and collectively managed ‘communes’ or communities-in essence, of confederated municipalities.”  
(Biehl 1998:80)

Communalism starts with neighborhood municipality level and seeks confederation of these municipalities like Paris at 1790s as *commune of communes*. Hence, the local scale politics and the opportunity to create a political realm are inevitable for communalism that uses local elections as a tool for calling citizen assemblies and public education of LMM ideas. It is important to point out that the aim for joining local elections is not only to win elections, but also to use it as a tool to construct

political realm of citizen assemblies through representing LMM. In addition, the public education process goes within election campaign to spread the ideas of LMM that this let people change into citizens of popular assemblies.

LMM group prepares “electoral platform” to summarize LM ideas and to represent main aim as “above all the radical democratization of the municipal government through the creation of citizens’ assemblies” (Biehl 1998:73). Platform includes also demands like “the raising community issues” to ignite and to catalyst political realm. Demands are short term-minimum and long term-maximum. Short-term minimum demands are specific, concrete, within existing system whereas the long term-maximum demands are general, within rational society. Establishing citizens’ assemblies of neighborhoods is a minimum-short term demand to reach direct democracy that is a maximum-long term demand. Bookchin states that if there is no long-term demand, it means no vision, then LM will act as caretaker of capitalism in reformist way. Moreover, there must be link between short term and long-term demands; they both feed each other (Biehl 1998:167).

“For example, a minimum demand to change “change the city charter to establish citizens’ assemblies” could be followed by a statement of intention to expand those assemblies to achieve the long-term goal or maximum demand of “direct democracy”. Another minimum demand that the platform could articulate might be to “end the invasion of megastores and malls” in the area. The maximum demand would be to replace the market economy with a moral economy one that is concerned with needs instead of profits. As a transition, the program could call for the municipality to initiate the enterprises owned by itself that, as they expanded, could supplant the market economy. Another minimum demand could be to “preserve a wetland”, its associated maximum demand could be to set up daycare centers and shelters for battered women; this demand could be part of the long-term goal attaining “social justice” for the society as a whole.” (Biehl 1998:74)

The electoral program containing demands are told people via meetings, debates, leaflets. Media can be used to reach more people with debates but still face-to-face relations are core, unique and inevitable for LMM to create public realm. Candidates do not represent themselves but only the spokesperson of the group can. They always ask for direct democratic approach like citizen assemblies but they are not just enlightened citizens aiming reforms; once again, LM is not reformist but revolutionary even it calls for slow process. The aim is not just to win; mostly likely LMM lose many elections. However, the aim is to construct a political realm of citizen assembly. This process takes time; it is a slow but growing process.

“As popular democracy matures-as attendance at assemblies flourishes, as citizens make these institutions their own-the assemblies would acquire ever greater de facto power. Ultimately the city charter would have to be changed to recognize this new popular power, to affirm that the assemblies hold sovereign power in the community. Thereafter the assemblies would work to achieve the maximum demands of a libertarian municipalist polity; the confederation of municipal assemblies and the creation of a rational society.” (Biehl 1998:82)

Eiglad (2011) as social ecologist implies the importance of local elections to enter municipal institutions for changing political life and diversifies options which Biehl presented above. He offers four ways of running an electoral program: as political organization, as movement, as joining alliances and as individual. Running as political organization is best due to its capability of presenting full communalist program that can be local or regional. For smaller regions, running as movement is preferable. If municipality is too small, running as individual candidate will be enough to attract attention for ideas of social ecology. Joining coalitions as individual, group or movement provides base to gain audience from other movements; still the aim is not to join others but to generate self-management at local scale. Eiglad implies all forms should focus on specific issues to develop an electoral program beyond general ideas and all should aim to reach ordinary people more than intellectuals should. In fact, electoral campaign is best way of education. Eiglad offers three other ways than Biehl's LMM program although both prefers running as an organization. Depending on different conditions necessitates different ways of generation of LMM also according to dialectical naturalism that implies variety, history.

The participation to national election is strongly criticized by LM that the party inevitably transforms into elitist and bureaucratic organization while most greens prefer at least German type green party that takes part in government. However, the green parties lose their radical ecological and democratic features. While Fabian (2010: 1010) preserves her optimism about Hungarian Green Party experience in terms of gender and rural development issues, Van der Heijden (2010:1002) implies the marginal position of environment in Dutch 2010 elections. Merchant (1992:168) implies the division in German Green Party as *realos* and *fundis*; former becomes reformist environmentalist and latter remains radical ecological. Biehl criticizes the reformist change of German Green party as “reverse education” that the party learnt and adopted representative democracy, nation state and capitalism.

“The party rationalized that these new Green parliamentarians, suddenly thrust into the public limelight, would use their State offices only as a platform to educate the public. Nevertheless, expectations soon lose that the parliamentarians would be able to pass progressive, ecologically enlightened laws-and that they should actively strive to do so. But passing such legislation was possible only because it did not disturb the existing system; once achieving such legislation became the goal, the party was no longer radical. **One by one, to increase the number of votes it received, the party shed its radical demands.** The result was that the party was quickly absorbed into the institutions of State.” (Biehl 1998:78)

In order to add items for classification table, electoral campaign, short-long term demands, raising issues for public realm and green party critique are important. LM favors elections only at local scale at least to create a public realm, while other environmentalists join both local and national elections within parties as part of statecraft to gain state power. LM has definite short and long-term demands, while environmentalists call for short term successes.

#### **3.1.4.4. Fourth Phase-Confederation of Citizen Assemblies**

Classification table implies the regional networks of citizen assemblies from bottom-to-top, while most environmentalists call for national and international governances. The green parties, local ENGOs are all designed for local and national actions where neighborhood assemblies are for ecocommunity of ecosystem. The space should start from neighborhoods that then form ecoregions. LM also states the need of inevitable localization of economy while market liberal environmentalists imply world carbon markets and welfare-liberals ask for national reforms with environmental incentives. The economic solution of environmentalists is significant at field study of anti-HES movement that takes place at classification table. Technology can constructive if society is libertarian whereas it is destructive if society is centralized.

Once the municipal citizen assembly is formed as institutional decentralization, it ignites the neighborhoods to form assemblies that are desired to form a confederation of assemblies as Paris early 1790s. LMM depends on group of citizens at each neighborhood that seems limiting extension. Dialectical naturalism prefers freedom, self-governance and subjectivity therefore only citizens of that ecocommunity can start LMM. The other neighborhoods should generate their own LMM process; only then confederative structure is established bottom-to-top.

### *Dual Power*

The formation of confederative municipalities most probably is challenged by nation state. Bookchin implies that nation state is not weakening in globalizing world, it enhances its powers beyond borders; moreover, they are always “at the service of the capital” (Biehl 1998:148). Biehl (1998:121) implies that power cannot be eliminated; it is present in state or confederal municipal assemblies. Therefore, the power can be used in direct democratic way. Another point is that power cannot accept vacuum; it is possessed by state or confederal alternative according to LM. Within this power vacuum, the confederation of democratized municipalities has to rise against nation state to get “collective social power”. The duality between nation state and confederation of democratized municipalities is crucial during the emergence and rise of LMM. Biehl shows the dualistic nature of picture. However, the key thing is that the aim is not to take control of nation state but to construct a direct democratic alternative as confederation of democratized municipalities. The municipalities are neither local states nor large cities, but neighborhood municipalities where citizen assemblies are used to self-governance. The ultimate aim of movement seems to overcome nation state with confederation of democratized neighborhood municipalities. The scene goes beyond nation state scale. Transnational actors, powers and conditions may also challenge this struggle between dual powers.

Biehl (1998:127-129) criticizes green movement which becomes an example of dual power struggle. The radical aims of green parties are changed during and after elections at state offices. The careerist concerns dominate initial points of Green parties, which ultimately is lost within statecraft. They adopt state structure and lose radical aims. Because they want to control state in order to reach their aims, however they become similar with other statecraft parties.

### *Scale*

About scale, there are different ways of LMM. Biehl implies (1998:70) that suburbia has lack of public spaces for political realm; however, the strong community ties makes it easier. The rural geography, villages can provide a neighborhood space with strong community ties however the lack of public spaces of city and the lack of city tradition beyond blood ties are important obstacles. Common concerns may be

the key to construct political realm through local opportunities. Beyond being stuck in national frame, Bookchin implies that LMM should have international frame as well as local; like any other radical movement (Biehl 1998:147). Because capital functions at international level, moreover some nation states like Germany, China, Japan, and USA enlarge their actions beyond national borders to become regional-international powers.

The metropolis has both advantageous and disadvantageous for building a municipality movement through citizen assemblies. The individual consumer of metropolis is cynical, selfish, atomized and lacking civic features. The metropolis culture destroys his personality as Simmer's tragedy of culture (1921). The advantageous is the potentiality of non-blood ties and closeness of neighborhoods that the citizen assemblies have a chance to spread among them. Biehl (1998:69) states although the physical decentralization takes time; the institutional decentralization can start from even block level. The "popular" assembly of neighborhoods ignites others to form assemblies; the decentralized assemblies may form confederal assembly of large city.

"Some large American cities have already undergone a degree of institutional decentralization. In 1975, New York changed its city charters in such a way as to strengthen its fifty-nine community districts, with their respective community boards. Los Angeles has had branch city halls for some time. Detroit, Pittsburgh, and Honolulu institutes a degree of neighborhood control in the 1970s. Anchorage, Alaska, adopted a system of community councils, while Dayton, Ohio, instituted six participatory planning districts." (Biehl 1998:71)

Biehl also gives the twin example of Paris in terms of decentralization like Paris at 1790s and 1980s; establishing local city halls where citizens may have chance to construct civic relations. Bookchin states LMM is difficult in giant cities; they have nucleated cities as self-contained. They are also sub-centers with similar problems to start with for a civic culture (Biehl 1993:151).

#### *Localism, Parochialism, Bioregionalism*

Biehl (1998:99) answers the critiques about municipal assemblies that they imply the need of state as statecraft. Some environmental problems are beyond the municipal borders where citizen assemblies seek own interests. Discrimination, human rights abuses are also in nation state that cannot solve these. "Modern" industrialist society is too large for citizen assemblies, but complexity is mostly

caused by states' bureaucratic complexities. Small communities become self-management units that decrease bureaucracy. There is a danger of parochialism and municipal tribalism for small communities. However, LM is more than localism and proposes confederalism as interlinking municipalities from bottom-to-top. Biehl here criticizes the belief that state is inevitable for today's world even it is not good enough. In fact, today's moral values, citizenship concept, economic relations are just formed by today's politic-economic system of nation states in globalized world. The system produces its own knowledge, beliefs, and attitudes. Its discourse says that central and strong state is inevitable to keep order where people just and only seek interests as individuals. LM favors face-to-face relations and continuous education that challenges this discourse.

Biehl (1998:96) implies the similarities and differences between bioregionalism and LM. Both propose simplifying life-style, decreasing consumption, localizing production and decentralization. Bioregionalism implies natural orders like watershed, mountain range that society should adopt. The main differences between are about interdependency of localities and technology. LM posits the interdependency between localities as a fact; they need and depend on each other. Here, the confederalist structure of municipalities is to be born. The interrelations of municipalities are consistent to dialectical naturalism where interrelations are favored. The parochialism is not affirmed within LM that it negates this interdependency.

“A crucial element of giving reality to confederalism is the interdependence of communities for an authentic mutualism based on a shared resources, produce, and policy making” (Bookchin 1993:6)

To deal with parochialist danger, confederalism “not only by the compelling realities of economic interdependence but by the commitment of municipal minorities to defer to the majority wishes of participating communities” (Bookchin 1992:4).

LM posits an ecological technology where bioregionalists are against any kind of. Because, LM states the nature of technology as social, the technology can be destructive or constructive depending on social relations that it is formed and used. The society of dominations, consumption forms and uses a destructive technology whereas egalitarian technology can construct an ecological technology. This kind of

technology is need to sustain social (private) realm of ecological society to provide enough free time and space for political realm.

### *Confederalism*

Confederalism is not localism but interlinking of neighborhoods. The communal solution lies on bottom-to-top structure of local and self-sustaining entities interlinked in confederal structure. The interlinking of communities through economic relations is crucial also. Bookchin implies the nature of global capitalist economy as irrational; and states the ecological possibility of interlinking neighborhoods in confederal manner with

“Using local and regional resources, implementing ecotechnologies, resealing human consumption along rational (indeed, healthful) lines, and emphasizing quality production that provides lasting (indeed of throwaway) means of life.” (1993:3)

“What, then, is confederalism? It is above all a network of administrative councils whose members or delegates are elected from popular face-to-face democratic assemblies, in the various villages, towns, and even neighborhoods of large cities. The members of these confederal councils are strictly mandated, recallable, and responsible to the assemblies formulated by the assemblies themselves. Their function is thus a purely administrative and practical one, not a policy making one like the function of representatives in republican systems of government.” (Bookchin 1993:6)

“The interlining of communities with one another through recallable deputies mandated by municipal citizens’ assemblies and whose sole functions are coordinative and administrative.” (Bookchin1992:4)

Bookchin calls for the direct democratic use of the idea of confederalism. It is not about states; but neighborhoods; towns, villages. Libertarian Municipalism is clearly distinct from confederation and federation of states; but calls for “commune of communes” as the confederation of municipal assemblies instead of central state.

Biehl (1998:101) implies that the confederative structure consists of municipal assemblies that are core and direct democratic public realms. The delegates of municipal assemblies can only “carry out wishes of municipal assemblies” but cannot produce policy beyond municipal assemblies. This point is critical to defend direct democracy at indirect level like region. The citizens joining municipal assemblies are to be sure about their will is not ignored at confederative level. Only

then, bottom-to-top claim of confederation of municipal assemblies can be preserved.

Another critical aspect of libertarian confederation of municipal assemblies is the clear distinction between policymaking and administration. This distinction is crucial for municipal assemblies also. The assembly and council decide about policies but administrators, technical expert can only implement them. If administrators and experts join policy making as in Paris commune (Biehl 1998:107), they dominate citizens to form a statecraft structure.

About scale of confederalism, Bookchin (1993:1) points out the arguments against confederalism and face-to-face democracy that crowded cities do not fit grassroots politics, economy is too global and local scale is too small to solve ecological solutions. He questions the capability of given situation of nation states and international system. This global, crowded, centralized economy, representative governance and strong state cause ecological crisis. This “huge” structure itself causes increase in environmental problems. This top to bottom greatness is for capitalist law of “grow or die” not for ecological balance. Biehl (1998:103-104) gives the example of Switzerland as confederation of municipal assemblies. Even the statist aspects rise at Switzerland confederation, still assemblies like town meetings are held. The town has its juridical, economic and police structure; therefore the towns have still have some kind of autonomy. Previously, the confederal council is much more than state, where towns govern confederations instead of state elites. Bookchin claims and Biehl implies (1998:102) that the confederalism of city states was lived in history as an alternative to the rise of nation states in Europe. Bookchin strongly implies that the rise of nation states is not inevitable, linear evolutionary path but is challenged by confederative city-states at 17<sup>th</sup>-18<sup>th</sup> centuries. This is against conventional understanding of natural evolution of nation states along capitalist development that Bookchin criticizes Marx’ deterministic history context which affirms capitalist exploitation of nature, nation state, industrial revolution and rise of bourgeoisie (1999c: 137). Decentralization is critical for confederal structure of neighborhoods. If decentralization occurs without confederative structure/vision, authentic democratic citizenship, face-to-face relations, economic interdependence, ecological understanding, it may fall easily in localism and isolates structure that ends with cultural parochialism and chauvinism. Decentralization and self-

sustainability cannot guarantee democracy and so rational ecological society like European and Oriental Feudalism. Libertarian forms of confederation are needed for sustainability.

Eckersley (1992:178) ignores the idea of confederalism and so labels it as “large number of autonomous local governments” and “simple web like, horizontal structure of ecoanarchism”. Even he states ecoanarchism as the most ecocentric of “emancipator theories” (1992:181), he offers a nation state sharing power with local, regional, international bodies. His state is “relatively decentralized, multitiered governmental framework” according to ecocentric understanding asking for uniform human rights, ecodiplomacy, interregional and international justice. He did not clear how the power relations among hierarchal bodies give way to ecocentric life; in fact, he does not make difference between statecraft and democracy. His idea depends on state structure within country and international area, with diplomacy, uniformity terms ignoring the hierarchical critics of state and the nature of confederalism bottom-to-top. The confederalist network provides the autonomy of neighborhoods where people and ecosystems live together with interdependency in anti-authoritarian manner. The holism of nature cannot be provided under nation state web of international structure, but as autonomous ecosystems constructing whole nature. The totalitarian possibility of ecocentrism is not questioned. He also blames giving the priority to local neighborhoods, claims nothing beyond the local community. He criticizes the ecological will of local communities, ignores the Bookchin’s imply on ecological and equalitarian moral values of local neighborhoods and his challenge on parochialism. However, beyond the nation state structure his democratic state needs ecocentric emancipation shared with people. Most important, although he insists on ecocentric emancipation and democratic nation state, he did not identify a political action, but just implying green movement. In fact, Eckersley’s point stands between welfare-liberal and democratic socialism.

Davidson (2009:59) sums up and answers the statist critiques of ecoanarchism by Goodin (1992), Geus (1996) and Barry (1999). First claim is about the solutions for environmental problems needs national and global coordination than local and bioregional one. However, the confederation of democratized municipalities is not stuck in local and bioregion; in contrast, it is open to further cooperation. The main difference is the shared power among all citizens, bottom-to-top but not

accumulated in the hands of elites as the main source of domination of society and nature. Second statist critique is about “intercommunity distributive justice”; however, the current state structure provides unfair distribution, the centers use most of natural resources while the local is forced to migrate to centers. The confederalist structure depends on the wills of all citizens but not the statist elites who decide for the power groups. The claimed danger can be balanced with confederal links to other municipalities of ecocommunities while the elites of state are the only decision makers. Third critique is about the democratic nature of ecocommunities. However, the dominations of elitist structure are covered by representative politics claiming democracy that is far from face-to-face politics of citizen assemblies. Even there may be a tendency to less democracy in municipality; this cannot depend on state structure providing leverage for dominations. The equal power distribution may be first material condition hindering the generation of non-democratic procedures while the second one is the links and responsibilities to other municipalities in confederal structure. In fact, Bookchin admits the non-democratic potential of municipalities however it is a process of struggles and challenges that are not greater and harder than dominations within representative politics in statist structure.

### *Economy*

Biehl implies (1998:112) the several issues as obstacles of LM; like nations state, urbanization, hierarchies; also the capitalism which shows itself as natural economy and revalues all things and everyone according to market. According to the division of social, political/public and state realms of LM, the economic sphere is in social realm. Social ecology criticizes Marxism as economic reductionism (Bookchin 1999c: 132—141), but this does not lower the importance of capitalism to be dealt. Here, economic domination is one of the other crucial dominations not the main one. The actors of change are not just workers, but citizens including workers also. The scale is not given nation state but the neighborhoods where citizens live. For organic evolution, LM has to provide enough libratory material conditions for citizens.

While Fotopoulos (1993) gives three pre-conditions for “economic democracy to be feasible”: community self-reliance, community ownership of productive resources and confederal allocation of resources, Biehl (1998:116-119) proposes publicizing economy; this is much beyond the cooperatives of producers, consumers. These

cooperatives are inevitably stuck in “grow or die” nature of capitalism and have to fail if they seek the interests of people but not themselves’. To go beyond cooperative kind attempts, the publicizing scale has to reach community of neighborhood municipality. The citizen assemblies control the municipalized economy that the ownership is publicized through the municipality. Biehl implies that income and wealth inequalities hinder citizen democracy; the municipalized economy not only reduces income and wealth differences but also sustains municipal life. The municipalized economy controls production and distribution (Biehl 1998:120); therefore the municipalization of economy has to reach confederated democratized municipalities level also. Only with municipalized economy, sharing and cooperation can be possible in municipal and confederal level.

Biehl implies that (1998:133) the use science and technology is not ignored in rational society. In fact, technology is needed in social realm where economic activities are done. Only with the use of technology the material conditions and so the free time for the most critical realm as political realm can be provided. The use of technology is one the major differences between social ecologists and deep ecologists. Social ecology puts a social context behind technology that is not necessarily harmful to ecological processes in this case it can be suitable for organic evolution. The human society as second nature can transform technology into ecological manner, because the main context about making technology harmful to nature or not is the social context. The rational society not only can but also must develop ecological technology which includes renewable resources, local scale etc.

### **3.2. Towards an Environmental/Ecological Political Economy Classification**

#### *Critiques of Social Ecology on Environmentalism*

Until now, the politics of social ecology as LM, and how to get there as LMM are detailed to generate a reference model for an analysis environmental/ecological actions. Below part is written to develop social ecological critique of environmentalism depending on political action models for each ideology; conservatism, liberalism and socialism. All models including social ecology will form a classification table to be used at the field study. The formation of this table is constructed on Bookchin’s critiques about environmental and ecology movement and LM proposal as alternative political program.

Bookchin (1999c: 20-31) defines mainly two types of reaction for ecological crisis; deep ecology and liberal environmentalism. Deep ecology is affected by biocentrism, new-Malthusianism and new age beliefs. It considers humanity as just a species but not a society consisting of oppressed and oppressors through social associations. The human species is like other species of nature and threatens nature; so AIDS, hunger may be reasonable aspects of rebalancing nature where human species has to obey natural laws. Liberal environmentalism adapts to state and corporations as tool and discourse within capitalist system. It defines nature as combination of natural resources of capitalism; so it never questions economic growth, competition so the role capitalism in ecological crisis. This yields the loss of biodiversity, ecosystems day by day. Both deep ecology and liberal environmentalism does not consider social roots of ecological crisis and can only be helpful to decrease the hazards for nature; however they both fail to develop a solution for ecological crisis. Both consider humanity not society. On the other hand, Bookchin proposes a complete and consistent structure of ideas including history, ethics, anthropology, philosophy, new kind of rationalism and utopianism for freedom and natural development. He defines two different but common currents in environmentalism and links them with their ignorance of social roots of ecological crisis that they cannot provide solution for it. The social and complete explanation of ecological crisis needs right diagnosis which cannot provided anti-humanity of deep ecology and economic growth, competition ideals of liberal environmentalism. Kovel (2003) states that deep ecology blames humanity itself; but not for specific societies, social forms. However, social ecology implies that social inequalities cause polluting nature; only free society can live with nature in harmony. This social explanation challenging dominations makes social ecology attractive for feminist, anti-capitalist and anti-racist movements. There are two main differences between deep and social ecology. First, for social ecology, ecological problems are social while for deep ecology human beings human and second, the social sphere includes domination and inequalities within society. Şahin (2003) follows Dobson's ideology difference to separate ecology from environmentalism that ecology has definition of society, proposal of a new society and political program while environment does not. Social ecology well fits this situation, however deep ecology needs proofs that are more concrete. Şahin questions how some biocentric and ecocentric movements are non-ideological due to lack of political program. However, the key issue of being

an ideology, which differs environmentalism from ecology, is a political program. This is not just theory on papers or idealization; in fact, the issue is political so the movement can be ecological. Moreover, according to social ecology, it has to be organic, holistic as nature. Şahin states that one cannot know when individual consciousness will form in political movement. LM necessitates not protesters but citizens of ecocommunity. Only this kind of political program can make individual consciousness into political movement.

Bookchin implies that radical movements lose its theoretical base and central position of labor movement. The issue is not only the domination of workers but also domination of nature, poor, women, workers, ethnicities, minorities etc. Therefore, feminism, ecology and community movements have a potential to lead for freedom; otherwise, they may fail to be part of market with “bourgeoisie tricks, careerism and reconciliation”. Bookchin (1996a:18) criticizes “tactful radical” to imply change of radicals who changes idealism into techniques, manipulations and mass mobilization. Their means are ends; the ideology is dismissed. The radicalism is bureaucracy and technique more than a change. The ecology movement should be criticized and reconstructed from this perspective; whether it is part of market or freedom movement; whether it has a vision free society or reformism; whether it falls into bureaucratization or succeeds in forming citizen assemblies.

Bookchin makes a clear and critical division between environmentalism and social ecology; that former hides the domination of nature with environmental activities and does not question roots of ecological crisis, but later uncovers the domination of to realize a rational ecological society with LMM. Merchant (1992:148) places environmentalism within new social movements and classifies several directions at the crossroads of 1990s. Right direction shows large organizations working with lobbies and corporations to make them establish and adopt environmental standards to their production. Left direction signs smaller and protesting activists using civil challenge. Front direction is organizations like Committees of Correspondence deciding with consensus, acting internationally and working with local governments. Green direction claims to change politics also more than environmental standards to capitalism. Grassroots direction is local communities with demonstrations against polluters etc. This environmental politics draws a picture within current politic-economic system. The environmentalists scattered in

different positions within politics. Even grassroots activists hardly claim self-management ideal of LMM that is critical to go beyond the status quo. They do not challenge the system but become a part of it by reforming it. The issue is not environmental problems but the ecological crisis, so the solution is not environmental politics but social ecological politics.

### 3.2.1. Political Philosophies and Environmentalism

Environmental thought is too messy to be able to get a classification of political action as this thesis aims. Hay gives a list of environmental thought (2002:35):

“Animal Rights  
Anthropocentric ethics  
Axiological-intrinsic values theory I: deep green theory  
Axiological-intrinsic values theory II: the gaia hypothesis  
Axiological-intrinsic values theory III: holistic integrity  
Axiological-intrinsic values theory IV: life-based ethics  
Christian Ecology  
Deep Ecology  
Ethics derived from Power Theory I: Bioregionalism  
Ethics derived from Power Theory II: Doomsday Ethics  
Ethics derived from Power Theory III: Ecofeminism  
Ethics derived from Power Theory IV: EcoMarxism  
Ethics derived from Power Theory V: Social Ecology  
New-science based ethics  
Place-based ethics  
Postmodern ethics  
Spiritualist ethics  
Sustainability Ethics”

Hay defines four major trends along this diversity, Theories of Power, Ecocentric Axiologies, Ecocentrism rejecting Value Based Thinking and Animal Liberation: Moral Subjectivity. Hannigan (2006: 22-25) defines two foundational explanations as ecological - competing environmental functions like supply depot, living space and waste repository- and political economy –treadmill of production consumes nature-. He states two normative theories for environmental improvement as risk society and ecological modernization. Both not only blame current stage of modernity but also imply a reformed version. Risk society theory implies the need for civil society to lead while ecological modernization offers superindustrialisation overcoming environmental problems within modernity. Luke (2009:487) states the attempts of transformation of environmental thought into the proper program of imperative radical change. To overcome messy picture and to link with ideology and political

action, Pepper makes a classification of green politics and their relation with current political thought. His classification depends on O’Riordan’s ecocentrism-technocentrism division (Table 2.1 Pepper 1993:34). The main difference between ecocentrics and technocentrics is that former puts redistribution of power while latter focuses on keeping status quo in terms of economy-politics. LM takes part in communalism and so in ecocentrism, while it is often blamed as anthropocentric.

Traditional anthropocentrism and ecocentrism division implies the discourse of deep ecology that any kind of human intervention is avoided in terms ecological relations where human should be kept passive. Social ecology denies this division and so the passive conception of human society which is concluded as second nature is most evolved part of nature that has not only potential to cause ecological catastrophe but also to solve ecological crisis. The ecocentrism-technocentrism division of O’Riordan (1989, Pepper 1993:34) is more complex than traditional one that ecocentrism involves in Gaianism, similar to traditional ecocentrism and Communalism as representing social ecology. Bookchin criticizes deep ecology mostly its blur holism causing authoritarianism oppressing libertarian approaches; therefore, against the claim of O’Riordan, Gaianism cannot result in federation of communes where people can join decision-making, because nature mother decides as old Earth Goddess-Gaia instead of citizens of ecocommunity in LM.

**Table 3.1. European perspectives on environmental politics and resource management: contemporary trends in environmentalism (Pepper 1993:34)**

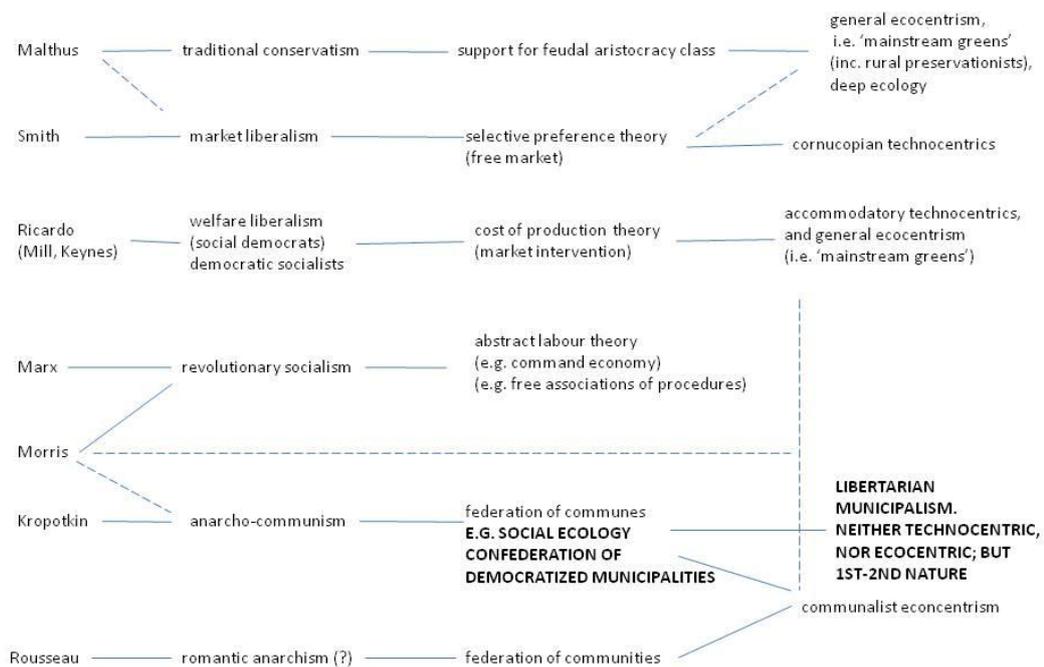
Ecocentrism		Technocentrism	
Gaianism	Communalism	Accommodation	Intervention
Faith in the rights of nature and of the essential need for co-evolution of human and natural ethics	Faith in the cooperative capabilities of societies to establish self-reliant communities based on renewable resource use and appropriate technologies.	Faith in the adaptability of institutions and approaches to assessment and evaluation to accommodate to environmental demands.	Faith in the application of science, market forces, and managerial ingenuity.
“Green” supporters; radical philosophers.	Radical socialists; committed youth; radical-liberal politicians; intellectual environmentalists	Middle-ranking executives; environmental scientists; white-collar trade unions; liberal-socialist politicians.	Business and finance managers; skilled workers, self-employed; right-wing politicians; career-focused youth.

**Table 3.1. (Cont'd)**

0,1-3 per cent of various opinion surveys	5-10 per cent of various opinion surveys	55-70 per cent of various opinion surveys	10-35 per cent of various opinion surveys
Demand for redistribution of power towards a decentralized, federated economy with more emphasis on informal economic and social transactions and the pursuit of participatory justice.		Belief in the retention of the status quo in the existing structure of political power, but a demand for more responsiveness and accountability in political, regulatory, planning and educational institutions.	
Source: O’Riordan (1989).			

O’Riordan detailed his technocentric-ecocentric division with relations of political ideologies, thinkers and philosophers. The figure is an initial step to generate classification table of this thesis. The classification has roots on three schools of thought which Cole, Cameron and Edwards (1993) generated. Malthusian ideas, Subjective Preference Theory (SP), Cost of Production theory (COP) and Abstract Labor Theory (AL) are basis for different political ideologies as shown of O’Riordan (1989 Figure 2.1 cited in Pepper 1993:35)<sup>8</sup>. Pepper and Cole at all. (1993:46) state these theories are ideologies as set of ideas, beliefs and values of interest groups. The “owners of the means of production” favors SP theory, “middle class of managers, professionals, planners and technicians” supports COP whereas labor obviously looks for AL theory. These economy-politic differences characterize not only political approaches but also environmental positions and actions. I add the social ecology as the missing theory for communalist category and LM with red bold characters to figure in this thesis that CT developed in coming section will be based on. All three theories are economic reductionist where production and consumption patterns, conditions define economy-politics and so environmentalism. However, social ecology differs in terms of ontology; that dialectical naturalism states “the consciousness defines material conditions” unlike others who claim that humankind has to dominate nature to be free.

<sup>8</sup> I added social ecology and libertarian municipalism as capital letters to Figure 3.2. of O’Riordan.



**Figure 3.2 Roots of Environmentalism (O’Riordan 1989, cited in Pepper 1993:35)**  
**Continuous lines suggest strong links, dashed lines suggest weaker links**  
**I ADDED CAPITAL LETTERS TO INTEGRATE SOCIAL ECOLOGY**

Depending on three schools of thoughts, Pepper proposes five different sets of political economy that are traditional conservatives, market liberals, welfare-liberals, democratic socialists, parliamentary socialists. Later he positions green politics in the last three; from welfare to revolutionary. He also adds radical and reformist divisions to all sets are very useful to define political action. Radicals favor fundamental change in society against system whereas reformists call for gradual change within system. In order to enrich the communal category and to provide a referenced political program, the LM program is detailed as in above section and is compared as a reference model with other political ideologies.

Heywood summarizes the different perspectives among different ideologies (2007: 259). Nature is “a resource to satisfy human needs” for liberals like socialists that human labor is a necessity to transform nature without questioning the domination of nature. Conservatives define nature as a cruel existence shaping humankind; in fact, humankind is a “custodian of nature”. Nature is a social organization model for anarchists like conservatives however, it shows unregulated harmony, simplicity and balance. Fascists conceive nature through the power of instinct, primal life forces,

brutal struggle and cyclical regeneration that they seek their ideology in nature. Feminists look for feminine aspects of nature like fertility, nurture, creative and benign that nature becomes closer to women as cultural ecofeminists. Nature is “an interconnected whole” for deep ecologists that human and non-human nature have no differences. Nature becomes as “a divine creation” for religious fundamentalists who both respect and use nature for human needs. Heywood’s summary shows that each ideology looks and finds its reflection on nature; in fact, the social organization perspective of each ideology constructs a relevant nature. Bookchin’s core thesis is verified that domination of nature of stems from domination of society. Using ideology difference to define environmental political actions of ENGOs is meaningful according to Global Environmental Organizations research of Dalton, Reccia and Rohrschneider (2003). Their study includes 248 organizations from 56 countries to grasp their action patterns that show the effect of ideology. Results show the difference between environmentalist/conservationist and ecologist groups that former prefers conventional lobbying actions while latter organizes challenging protests. Bookchin’s environmentalism critique implies same difference as liberal environmentalism and social ecology.

### 3.2.2. Classification of Environmentalism of Ideologies

Until now, I detailed LMM as reference model and improved O’Riordan’s figure to understand environmental political actions. To develop the classification table, I needed to present and improve Pepper’s classification which is developed also from O’Riordan’s’ work. Depending on Pepper’s table and Biehl’s LM, I developed my table to be used in field study.

**Table 3.2. Political Philosophies and Environmentalism (Pepper 1993:47)**

<b>Traditional Conservatives (radical)</b>	<b>Market Liberals (reformist)</b>	<b>Welfare-liberal (reformist)</b>	<b>Democratic Socialist (reformist)</b>	<b>Revolutionary Socialist (radical)</b>
Are limits to growth and enlightened private ownership is the best way to protect nature and environment from over-exploitation. Protect traditional landscapes, buildings, as part of our heritage.	The green market, plus science and technology, will solve resource shortages and pollution problems. If resources get scarce, people will supply substitutes - If there is market for them.	Market economy, with private ownership, but managed. Reform laws, planning and taxation for environmental protection.	Decentralized socialism; local democracy; town-hall socialism.  Mixed economy and parliamentary democracy – with strict controls on capitalism.	Environmental ills are specific to capitalism, so capitalism must be abolished requiring some revolutionary change, perhaps brought on by environmental crises.

**Table 3.2. (Cont'd)**

<p>Anti-industrialism: human societies should model themselves on natural ecosystems: e.g. should be stable, and change slowly, organically. Need for diversity, but hierarchical structure: bound together by commonly held beliefs. Everyone to be content with their position (niche) in society. The family (perhaps extended) is the most important social unit. Admire tribal societies. Very romantic: yearn to past.</p>	<p>Don't believe in "overpopulation" – people are resource.</p> <p>Capitalism can accommodate and thrive on protecting the environment.</p> <p>Consumer pressure for environment – friendly products will play a big part, Capital will respond to this market.</p>	<p>Enlightened self-interest, tailored to the communal good, will solve the problems.</p> <p>Consumer pressure for environment – friendly products will play a large part. Pressure group campaigns, in a pluralist, parliamentary democracy will lead to appropriate legislation.</p>	<p>Emphasizes the role of labor and trade unions. A big role for the state (Especially locally). Mixture of private and common ownership to resources. Emphasis on improving the urban environment. Production for social need. Big coops sector. State subsidizes environmental protection. (e.g. public transport)</p>	<p>Rejects the state ultimately, but perhaps needed in the transition to a communal (commune-ist) society. Class conflict vital in social change to a green and socially just world – reject parliamentary reform.</p> <p>Poverty, social injustice, squalid urban environments, all seen as part of the environmental crises.</p> <p>Similar visions of future to anarchism but emphasize collective political action and the state initially.</p>
<p>'Radical'= wanting to go back to the roots of society and change it fundamentally in some ways, and quite rapidly.</p> <p>'Reformist'= the present economic system is accepted: but is must be revised – in the direction of either less or more interference in and management of the economy gradually and through parliamentary democracy.</p>		<p><b>*Mainstream Greens (radical aims, but reformist methods)</b></p> <p>(inc. British green Party: Friends of the Earth and other pressure groups)</p> <p>A mix of welfare-liberal and democratic social prescriptions but say they reject politics of left and right. Emphasize the importance of the <i>individual</i> and his or her need to revise values, lifestyles and consumer habits. Bioethics, limits to growth and utopianism.</p> <p>Advocate a lifestyle of voluntary simplicity. Also, need to change social economic structures, inc. putting an end to the 'industrial society'. Favor small-scale capitalism, but with profit motive secondary to production for social and environmental need. Also coops and communes. State has a role – especially locally. Romantic view of nature – spiritually important, especially in deep ecology and New Ageism, which all mainstream greens have tendencies towards. New Age irrationalism, mysticism, rejection of 'politics' and industrialism gives it a reactionary, conservative element.</p> <p><b>*Green Anarchists and Eco-feminists (radical aims and methods)</b></p> <p>Reject the state, class politics, parliamentary democracy and capitalism. People to organize themselves: have responsibility and power over their own lives. The <i>individual</i> very important, but the individual gets fulfillment in relation to the community. Decentralized economy and politics: common ownership of means of production, and distribution according to needs (income sharing communes). Spontaneous and organically evolving society. Non-hierarchical direct democracy. Rural and urban communes and cooperatives. Bioregionalism.</p>		
		<p>These two together represent 'ecologism' (ecocentrism), which starts, unlike others from the <i>ecological</i> imperative and the bioethics (nature as important s human society). But in their social prescriptions they mainly straddle liberalism and socialism (with one or two elements of conservatism).</p>		

### 3.2.2.1. Traditional Conservatives

Hay implies some important points of conservative environmental thought (2002: 174-194). The increase in population is an important problem in conservatism that Paul Ehrlich, *The Population Bomb* (1972) proposes USA to use its power to control birth rate of under developed countries. However, Bookchin argues that the world population can be twice if there will be communalist way of life as LM. Focusing on population implies human as species but hides society and social causes of ecological crisis. Robert Heilbroner (1974) and William Ophuls (1973) offer “an environmentally benign, centralized authoritarianism” for ecological crisis following *Leviathan* of Hobbes that individuals have to obey oppressive force of state. Garrett Hardin with famous essay, “The Tragedy of Commons” (1968) argues a political solution for population growth. The problem is common ownership of environmental goods; solution is either strengthening individual ownership and enlarging private domain or “drastically restricting the freedom of private individuals”. The famous example is lifeboat ethics; the migration from third world to first world should be limited for the survival of rich first world countries that also have to control birthrate with authoritarian measures. Edward Goldsmith (1972) states the need the reduction in world population by half. Anna Bramwell (1995) argues one aspect of conservatism that the genetic inheritance of humankind is not enough to live harmony with nature. She also asks whether Nazis to be “first radical environmentalists in charge of a state”. Stanley Johnson, EU Conservative Party Member defines rural landowners as “holding land on trust for posterity” at 1992 that traditional hierarchical social order can only maintain natural order.

Malthus is the main figure to feed traditional conservatives in his emphasis on scarcity that is struggle between limited supplies and increased demands according to population principle. He is against state intervention for poor people to keep them at subsistence level. As defender of aristocracy (Pepper 1993:39) who does not transform their wealth into over breeding whereas the lower class does. Traditional Conservatism depending on Malthusian limits, insists on keeping the stability of order that is seen as “natural social order” implying nature-society analogy. Nature is conceptualized as composed of hierarchical links which society has to preserve. The sudden change is avoided both in nature and so organic society is maintained only

with gradual changes. The organic view of society depends on hierarchical and static understanding of nature that is very different from dynamic and evolutionary nature of social ecology. The order of hierarchical society is legitimized through organic society notion. It is derived to keep stability of hierarchies within society by oppressing groups in the name of organic society.

The analogy between society and nature provides background for legitimacy of the hierarchical social order to keep stability. Hierarchy also consists of mutual obligations between high and low social orders. The stability of traditional order and natural social order notion may result in many directions like “stewardship of land owners” who represents “enlightened private ownership of resources” to conserve them. Pepper gives examples of conservation groups in Britain for traditional conservatism. Another derivation of keeping traditional order is unsurprisingly right wing or fascist ideology like Nazis green perspectives like other fascist organizations in Europe. The political formation of traditional conservatism is to oppress society in the name of stability by enlightened landowners or right wing politics.

### **3.2.2.2. Market Liberal**

Hay (2002: 195-254) notices the rise of liberal thought on environmentalism at 1990s, in contrast to 1970s and 1980s. John Rodman (1973) tries to develop liberal environmental ethic through extensionism. Robert Taylor states the possibility of protecting environment due to equal rights notion of liberalism. Although the rise of economic liberal paradigm, depending on John Stuart Mill's *Principles of Political Economy* humanist liberalism emerges for freedom of others while the animal liberationist Peter Singer (1975) prefers utilitarianism. Marcel Wissenburg (1993) defines a political liberalism to provide sustainability and Wouter Achterberg offers an elaboration of system of rights and liberties “with an eye to those future generations” which shows resource conception of nature. There are many authors like Kneese 1980, Markandya 1990, and Pearce 1983 who used *cost-benefit analysis* with logic of rational economic man preserving environmental goods that are mostly used in liberal formulations. The developed form of cost-benefit analysis is *sustainable development* that is mentioned in Brundland Report (1987), prepared by World Commission on Environment and Development. The states and corporations include nature as environment and development into the world

capitalist order. Sustainable development means “development that meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs”. However capitalist growth is aimed through trade liberalization; then it becomes environmental discourse of growth. On the track of sustainable development, Turner, Pearce and Bateman (1993) develops market based incentives approach; as *Polluter Pays Principle* (PPP) which means the price of pollution is added to cost which is applied in EU policies. Through market based incentives, ecological crisis is included in markets as environmental solutions. Joseph Huber and Martin Janicke develop *ecological modernization* that aims introducing environmental concerns into political, social and economic institutions. The high environmental standards become new markets in capitalist system. Warner (2010: 538) proposes a post-ecological modernization “account of ecopolitical change that incorporates a politics of conflict and an expansion of the scope of politics itself are evaluated” due to critiques of critical political ecology. Ecological modernization produces *the precaution principle* to develop another market based instrument that US Reagan and Bush administration uses to take no action in real politics. Ecological economics is developed by Daly and Schumacher that it means integrating ecological processes into current economics beyond the domination of self-interest of individual; however, it seems a reformation attempt without questioning the root causes of ecological crisis. Market liberal is criticized in a reformist manner to develop welfare-liberal model. The research of development of USA environmental policy by Dell (2009) shows the deficiency of liberal approach depending interest groups and states the increasing role of citizen participation that shows a reformed version of liberal model as welfare. Cannavo (2010) develops a green republicanism within regionalist perspective. Kollman and Schneider (2010: 3712) analyze the market-based instruments as charges, taxes, subsidies and tradable permits in implementing environmental policy. Depending on Adam Smith, SP theory is base for market liberals that the society is sum of individuals who want to maximize personal welfare and ask for different tastes and needs. The main motivation is satisfying different tastes and needs of individuals which will be possible with exchange of goods through market. The consumption and production choices should not be limited. The life is constructed around free markets where state intervention is avoided. Market liberal approach believes in market rules that are expected to solve every problem (Pepper 1995:49). The unlimited self-interest is enough even to solve environmental problems which they defined as resource. This

resource for market economies can be sustained by science and technology; following the belief of idea of progress of Enlightenment Age.

Consumer pressure is crucial for environmental products. People in market are entrepreneurs or consumers; their selves are stuck in market, so their political will is stuck in civil rights of Marshallian type of British civil society. Capitalist dominative structure hides itself behind a free market discourse, therefore the domination of nature, people is hidden. The people so called consumers cannot question this because their civic virtues are transformed into consuming sphere. They have limited power within national representative politics; and have power of consuming which is manipulated by market forces. The only power of consumer is “to buy” but only within given market. Comparing with LMM, the consumers are national and international but not local; they are not community of face to face relations but mass people of very little relations.

The liberal ideology says that science and technology solve problems. However, as Foucault says, the power as discipline dominates people. “It is scientific, so it is true”. Science and technology are not objective as claimed to be. The global capitalism develops its science and technology to dominate nature; while LM needs ecological science and technology that constructs sustainable relations between society and nature.

### **3.2.2.3. Welfare Liberal**

CP theory states the economic stagnation due to Malthusian environmental limits of SP theory; that makes most people live “only at subsistence level”. Pepper implies the search for harmony instead of Marxian conflict at society that each political economy has different aspects in not only production & consumption but also environmental issues. According to Ricardo and Keynes, the harmony is reached through the consideration of “cost of production” which mostly depends on technological developments and aims distribution of wealth. This is achieved by crucial role of government interventions acting as “social engineer and economy manager”, whereas state lacks any real authority in SP theory and so market-liberal approach. CP theory not only affects welfare-liberals but also democratic socialists.

Pepper implies (1995:50) that welfare-liberals conserve their belief in market economy but need regulations by state. In fact, welfare-liberals have no significant difference from market liberals; they both want development and conserve nature as resource for this unquestioned development. Moreover, the welfare-liberal is much beneficial for markets than market liberals; it designs regulations just for the sustainability of markets and capitalist growth. Even welfare policies of post WWII are designed to sustain nation state of western alliance in capitalist system against revolutionary movements motivated from Soviet Block.

Welfare-liberal system well fits the environmentalism definition of social ecology that implies the difference from ecology. The environmentalist discourse, state policies and regulations of markets to protect environment are just designed to sustain the exploitation of nature in sustainable manner as honestly and literally declared in sustainable development discourse. The priority is growth of global capitalism; the welfare model is used as developed form of market liberal model after WWII. With 21st cc, the nation state and welfare model become inefficient for global capitalism; therefore, market liberal discourse rises again. However, the priority of growth of capitalist economies remains same with both models.

The evolution of environmentalism shows the track of welfare-liberal model. Şahin (2007) implies the difference of two main current as conservationism of Pinchot and preservationism of Nuir depending on debate about forest use at USA, in 1897. The ecology movement of 1960s and 1970s is political and depends on preservationism; however, environmentalism of neo-liberal age of 1980s depends on capitalist version of conservationism. The development discourse of USA after WWII changes into sustainable development discourse at 1972-Rio Conference that civil society is introduced as “being part of solution” against the opposing ecology movement. Environmentalism is developed as valueless and neutral movement dominated by ENGOS that are funded by state, international organizations and capital and, professionalized as third sector. The approach as “being part of solution” of environmentalism shows the welfare-liberal aspect. ENGOS lose ground of public involvement but professionalized and institutionalized as partner of state and capital that they eventually have to become companies of environment sector.

#### 3.2.2.4. Democratic Socialist

Democratic socialism wants to constrain laissez faire market (Hay 2002:255). Michael Jacobs points that socialists develop environmental policy also for poor, including environmental services used by them. Therefore, environmental quality is one of the social goods. Hugh Stretton says democratic socialists should be environmentalist at his work, *Capitalism, Socialism and the Environment* (1976); and calls environmentalists to join real politics “about rich and poor, city and country, costs and distributions, prices and taxes, rather than humanity at large”.

Democratic socialism is rooted on CP theory like welfare-liberals. Pepper's democratic socialist model differs from welfare-liberal model that capitalism changes into socialism but the regulator state and parliamentary model remains. The state and parliamentary model sustain the elitist governance of nation state that LMM clearly opposes. State dominates people as passive citizens who are kept away from decision-making. Even this model implies local autonomy, the state structure and parliament puts within “governance” discourse of sustainable development. The political power and decision-making are still realized from top-to-bottom, whereas LM clearly implies bottom-to-top approach within confederated democratized municipalities. Even the private interest is changed into social need and companies into cooperatives; the environmental discourse of defining nature as resource remains. The aim to reach more sustainable use of nature is reached by less central and socialist structure. However, socialist and cooperative ideas are problematic according to LMM. Bookchin states that the socialism mostly continues economic reductionist logic of capitalism which he devoted a chapter namely, “Marxism as The Sociology of Bourgeoisie” (1996a). The problematic points are the belief of the idea of progress, the progressive role of capitalism, authoritarian aspects of work ethics and definition of nature as *realm of necessity* until the end of revolution process. The domination of society and nature remains in the socialist model as it is differential form of capitalism. Another problematic aspect of the democratic socialist model is the cooperative model and common ownership that are necessary for ecological society. However, without direct decision-making process enabled by local political realm like citizen assemblies, the top-to-bottom decision-making process of elites dominates localism and so cooperative approach fails in larger picture of economy.

### *Grassroots Movement against Water Privatization in Bolivia*

Union resistance to water privatization is an example of democratic socialist environmental action. Water privatization at Bolivia is enforced by World Bank and IMF Policies and Bolivian government sells the water rights to British-American cooperation that drastically increases water tariffs at city of Cochabamba placed in a semi-desert region<sup>9</sup>. An old labor leader Oscar Olivera leads protests like roadblocks and strikes that state forces stopped with violence and 90 days of state of emergency. After resistance, the contract is terminated and given to organization of protesters, Coalition for the Defense of Water and Life. They organize protests; grow resistance at cities as collective actions of citizens, demand from state and gain water organization as an example of democratic socialist attempt without rejecting role of state that is governed by socialist president of Eva Morales. The collective action diminishes in state bureaucracy covering collective action of citizens; that decision-making is again top-to-bottom unlike Cochabamba protests. Unlike citizens of LMM, the protests do not evolve in citizen assemblies maintaining power of decision-making. The democratic socialist environmentalism fails in state and bureaucracy because it does not ask for radical change of society but just a more reformist version of welfare-liberal ideology.

#### **3.2.2.5. Revolutionary Socialist**

Hay reviews (2002: 259) that in the late 1960s, Marxists react environmentalism with skepticism and hostility; defines it as “a manifestation of the narcissistic and excessive individualism” of counter culture and false revolutionary movement. Sandor Fuchs on his paper, *Ecology Movement Exposed*, 1970 argues that the US ruling class develops environmentalism “to divert attention from class-based issues”. Hans Magnus Enzensberger, *A Critique of Political Ecology* (1974) states the bourgeoisie character of environment movement, but accepts the ecological crisis in production sphere of Marxism. Joe Weston, (1986) *Red and Green: The New Politics of the Environment* criticizes environment movement caring for nature but the issue must be social environment like urban poor. Alfred Schmidt, *The Concept of Nature* (1971) states the absence of environment in Marxism, while Howard Parson, 1978 rejects this. David Pepper favors the importance of class relations

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<sup>9</sup> [http://www.citizen.org/documents/Bolivia\\_\(PDF\).PDF](http://www.citizen.org/documents/Bolivia_(PDF).PDF) Retrieved June 10, 2011.

than power relations; and constructs ecosocialism. Andre Gorz argues “the need for economic and political decentralization” but against self-sufficient commune. He offers advanced technology, local autonomy within a socialist society. Donald Lee, (1980), *On the Marxian View of the Relationship between Man and Nature*, states the new concept as inorganic body which means that Marxists must “truly see nature as our body” which is an attempt to migrate from anthropocentrism to ecocentrism. Rudolf Bahro, *Building the Green Movement* (1986) develops his ecoMarxism including self-sufficient communes and spiritual & psychological conception of environmental crisis. Ted Benton implies Marx’s humanization of nature within rights-based practical philosophy for ecological politics. The editor of *Capitalism, Nature, Socialism* James O’Connor (1991) rejects philosophical ecocentrism and stays loyal to old Marxist terms; exchange value and production sphere. Shantz (2004: 691) develops a new approach as green syndicalism integrating radical unionism and ecology. Randall and Hampton (2011: 90) imply the need to overcome the Stalinist industrialism separating man and nature; moreover, they propose a Marxist approach of focusing on working class “to successfully revolutionize society to tackle climate change”. Magdoff (2011: 24) proposes *ecological civilization* depending on Engel’s critique of capitalist destruction on environment. New civilization is against capitalist growth, consumption and includes conservation of nature. The need for local and regional democratic and economic decision-making processes is similar to LM. The self-realization of human and the responsibility to community are integrated that is also similar to LM citizen-community relation.

The harmony aim of CP theory is changed into conflict situation in AL theory; the solution is only achieved by not state intervention but with revolutionary process until the labor control of economy is accomplished. The main difference between them is the position of market that is denied by AL theory although they both focus on the production of labor. However, AL theory goes beyond the cost of production of labor and includes all production, consumption, distribution processes; namely, production processes. Marxist theory states that production processes defines production relations, hence the conflict is inevitable and desired. Because the production processes dominate labor and provides surplus for owners to gain more capital and growth. This conflicting situation between labor and capital necessitates social change. To overcome this conflict labor control of production is needed via

“collective control of productive life, through struggle”, “greater democracy and freedom of information”, “ a degree of decentralization of power”, “workers self management”. The hidden labor issue in SP theory is used as main determinant is AL theory; however, the issue is still stuck around capitalism and production; mostly technocentric. Social ecology differs from AL theory that the production, consumption and distribution processes are not based on labor but also community and ecosystem relations. Therefore, the decentralization of power is not limited to workers but to all people as citizens of their ecocommunities. Another difference between above three theories and social ecology is that their main question that still asks for who dominates nature. SP theory insists on free entrepreneur and market while CP theory implies state intervention. AL theory is against market but a labor control; however they all looking for dominating nature as “producing nature into goods” whereas ecological society of social ecology asks for organic production relations between society and nature that sustainability of diversity and freedom is prior but not the domination of nature.

Pepper classifies reds, greens, feminists and all other counter movements into this model. He (1993:51-52) states that revolutionary socialists rejects state more than democratic ones, the end is same but the means are different; while reds focus on class struggle, the others depends on more individual. They have same ends, but differ in means; whether class struggle or campaigns of individuals. However, the critical point of revolutionary model is to “start” defining environment in social terms. The acceptance of state even transition period fails to reach ends whatever means they use, according to social ecology. The hierarchical, central, bureaucratic and powerful state structure cannot let them reach ends. Worst case is they are oppressed; at best, they capture the state with a revolution and change it into another authoritarian state governing by different elites. The reds-others debate is chronic in Marxist tradition that never gives up assuming primary conflict as class struggle and others are secondary depending on the solution of primary one. The difference is more serious than means; because the green end at best is nature where all living things live together; however as the end of reds is communist society and environment. The social construction of environment is still made through *homo faber* who has to transform and dominate nature to be itself and to construct society.

Bookchin (1996a:22) clearly states the threat about socialist reductionism that all forms of dominations are reduced into class struggle in order to adopt Marxist tradition. This reductionism tries to form socialist ecology, socialist feminism and socialist community movements that hinder the potential to have a vision for rational and libertarian society. Andre Gorz is an example of reducing 1960s student movement and ecology movement of late 20<sup>th</sup> cc. Herbert Marcuse performs reductionism at theoretical level that mixing socialism, anarchism, Marx and Freud in order to reach a Marxist socialism. Both are examples of eclecticism distorting theoretical richness. The socialist ecology movements are to be questioned about their vision, whether they have an ecology vision or just a modified socialism. The acceptance of other forms of dominations than class struggle has a potential not only to disseminate anti-capitalist movement but also to be able to form a libratory alternative against a state centered solution. The socialist movements need to get rid of both authoritarian organization and class reductive society. Bookchin strongly criticizes class-based politics of Marxism and *proletariat socialism* (1999c:132-141). Marxism explains the problem in bourgeoisie economics, however the problem is not stuck in economic frame. Although Marx is against village values, the proletariat of 1850-1940 has village origins that provide naturalism, land love, village values and artisanship that their radicalism depends on. As they become pure proletariat of urban, they lose their radicalism against Marxist objective laws, and they become industrial and bourgeoisie. Therefore, the famous Marxist belief, "proletariat is an embryo in capitalism to demolish it" is also a myth as if capitalism was in embryo in feudalism. Both myths are products of Marxist determinists' history conception; there is no other way than objective laws. There is no place for spontaneity and alternative ways. The objective laws of Marxism dominate nature like capitalism and affirm capitalism as progressive force. Moreover, like everything workers are just an economic tool in progressive capitalism praxis where workers do not have identity, spirit and social life. They only can be socialist party member but not a citizen of ecocommunity.

### **3.2.2.6. The Political Economy of Greens**

After developing the classification of Pepper, Cole and O'Riordan, the main question arises according to aim of the thesis that where greens take position. Pepper warns us (1993:47-48) about the starting point of ecocentrics is to sustain natural

ecosystems while others have social concerns like wealth, equality etc; therefore the positioning of greens under this classification violates the base lines of greens. Three theories affect greens to put them in different classes that there cannot be seen homogenous green movement. At first glimpse, SP, COP and AL theories seem irrelevant for greens; however, most of them are framed in these. SP and COP are affective on environmentalists due to legitimization of adjusting to system, while AL theory provides communal ground as marginal effect. The communal aspect of AL theory is very limited when compared to social ecology that not only bases solution in ecocommunity of citizens but also is not stuck in labor theory limiting community. The bounding force of communalism is not workers, labor but citizens of neighborhoods; therefore, the solution is not workers movement against capitalists but a construction of political realm by citizens through direct and face-to-face democratic action.

#### *Mainstream Greens*

Hailwood (2003) criticizes the radical position of Val Plumwood (1993) “rejection of ‘dualisms’-instrumental zing relations representing the mastery of one side over an inferior ‘other’”, Murray Bookchin (1974) as “dismal instrumentalism” and Alan Carter (1999) as “instrumentalism, excessive utopianism and commitment to the dubious ‘state primacy thesis.’” In terms of solving environmental problems, Hailwood develops a green liberal solution depending on eco-reformism. About roots of ideologies, Pepper implies that both SP and COP theories seem technocentric so they cannot be close greens. However green consumer movement under the discourse of “ethical business” can establish alliance with SP theory that both state the key position of individual who can make its own rational choices in market. The green change has to start from individual who can prefer green way of consuming; like green capitalism. It seems there are many connections between them than assumed. COP theory implies the role of production and high costs of economics that planning and manipulation of markets are necessary. Many greens are in favor of government interference and strict regulations of economy.

Mainstream greens are organized in political party structure that Bookchin strongly criticizes due to transforming into statecraft. Their radical aims are lost in bureaucracy in party politics and bureaucracy although they want to save nature with greener politics. The green parties gained momentum after 1980s however,

they lost until 2010. Carter (2010:301) shows the election success of green parties across Europe while moderate left wing, social democratic and radical leftist parties lose. The rise of climate change fears, nuclear plant accident at Japan after earthquake and other environmental issues gives green parties rise, however they are gaining power within system which is main responsible for ecological crisis. Their reformist position is criticized for other greens asking for radical methods other than conventional parliamentarism and statecraft.

**Table 3.3. New and Old Paradigms (Hay 2002:278)**

	NEW ECOLOGICAL PARADIGM	DOMINANT SOCIAL PARADIGM
1	High valuation of nature	Low valuation of nature
2	Environmental protection valued over economic growth	Economic growth valued over environmental protection
3	Generalized compassion	Science and technology a great boon to humankind
4	Science and technology not always good	No limits to growth
5	Limits to growth	No Limits to growth
6	A new society, with an emphasis on:  Participation and openness  Public sphere  Post-materialism  Simple life styles  Co-operation	Contemporary society is fine, as is its emphasis on:  Hierarchy and efficiency  The market sphere  Materialism  Complex and "fast" lifestyles  Competition
7	A new politics with an emphasis on participation, consultation, devolution and direct action	Contemporary politics is fine, as its emphasis on centralization and economies of scale and on decision-making by technical experts, and by delegation/representation

### *Green Anarchists and Eco-feminists*

Hay (2002: 278-301) reviews the anarchist critiques of environmentalism. He develops a table (2002: 278) above comparing new and old ecological paradigms; former is generated at 1970s and latter is at 1980s. The main difference is non-hierarchical and participative decision-making challenges centralized authoritarian structures. Kirkpatrick Sale (1985) agrees that small and non-hierarchical is also natural; he also favors use of technology. O’Riordan (1981) implies that anarchist self-reliant commune is adoptable to ecocentrism. Anarchists believe that ecological movement should be formed from below against Marxist economist determinism of objective laws; therefore, cultural transformation is necessary. Peter Kropotkin’s *Mutual Aid*, 1902 states the evolutionary role of complementarity ethics as the base for an ecological society that LM is built on. Murray Bookchin integrates classical anarchism and ecological social principles that I detailed at below sections. Ursula K. Le Guin wrote about challenges of ecological anarchist utopia in brilliant novel, *Dispossessed* at 1974 that scarcity is not an obstacle utopian society. Fritz Schumacher talks about the human scale in his work, *Small is Beautiful* (1974) that Bookchin implies neighborhood scale within municipality structure. As an alternative to industrial urban life, Theodore Roszak (1981) offers “small, economically self-contained monastics commune”. To pass over rural-urban dichotomy, Timothy Luke develops (1983) a demo-communitarian small city of 30.000-50.000 people. Fritz Schumacher (1974) balances small and large as autonomous organizational units for freedom and global units for order; both are necessary for different phases of human-nature interaction. The scale issue becomes bioregion debate which Kirkpatrick Sale (1984) defines it with geology, soil, wild life, culture and communities. Raberg (1997) implies autonomous and self-reliant bioregions. David Haenke (1984) states the spiritual and physical harmony within bioregion like native people. Jim Dodge (1981) defines three components of bioregions as spirit, natural systems and anarchism. Dobson (1990) states the bioregionalists’ view that “natural world should determine the political, economic and social life of communities”. Bookchin links ecology with “twin pathologies of hierarchy and domination”; only a new society with “cultivation of citizenship” can solve both domination of society and nature in ecosystem and ecoregion scale. The scale is but local and regional, the affinity groups as nucleus for ecological society from bottom-top as explained above in detail. Leff (1998:67) criticizes Bookchin about

“ethics and the naturalization of society; epistemology, ontological monism and ecological reductionism; dialectics and totality; and dialectics and the politics of environmentalism.”

The AL theory seems technocentric but the aim is similar to Marxian ideology as classless, moneyless communal ownership. However, the conceptualization of nature and society is much different from green anarchist; namely LMM.

### **3.2.3. Classification Table – CT**

I developed a table using O’Riordan’s and Pepper’s works and using Biehl’s LMM as reference model. I prepared the right column of the table about social ecology from Biehl’s LM study. With answering the questions of LM column, I enlarged and enriched the table, including other environmentalist political economy models referring to Pepper’s table.

My aim is to generate an analytical tool to analyse not only local anti-HES movements within this thesis, but also other environmental political actions including local anti-HES movements in other parts of Turkey and traditional urban environment movement and other parts of world.

The table is just a tool to understand and define environmental political actions; therefore, each class and item is ideal and they do not have to be present in social realm. Through the classes, the characteristics of environmental political action are assessed. Each environmental political action class is derived from an ideology and detailed in four sections, as environment/nature, development/technology, politics and activities. Classes may have same questions for same questions however, they all have different direction.

The interviewee of field study does not have to fit in one class; she may show different items from different classes on table. However, she probably fits in more than one class that she shows her political tendency in environmentalism. The field study is realized with twenty-seven interviewees that are enough to test and even challenge the classification table that is not only open to constructive developments but also welcomes challenging critiques.

**Table 3.4. Classification Table of Environmental Politics**

	<b>Traditional Conservatives</b>	<b>Market- Liberals</b>	<b>Welfare-liberals</b>	<b>Democratic-Socialists</b>	<b>Revolutionary-Socialist</b>	<b>Libertarian-Municipalist</b>
<b>ENVIRONMENT/NATURE</b>						
<b>What is the problem?</b>	Disorder of Nature	Environmental problems such as pollution but not overpopulation	Environmental problems such as pollution caused by industrialism	Environmental problems; pollution etc.	Environmental problems; pollution etc.	Ecological crisis due to domination of society and nature
<b>Is it nature of environment ?</b>	Nature, hierarchical order	Environment, resource	Environment, resource	Environment, resource	Environment, resource	Nature as living space
<b>What is environment / nature?</b>	Hierarchical order that society has to have	Natural resource to be conserved, need for life	Biodiversity, natural resource to be conserved, need for life	Biodiversity, natural resource to be conserved, need for life	Duality, realm of necessity to be dominated, transformed	Organic evolution to freedom, subjectivity, cumulative history
<b>Relationship man-nature</b>	Society-nature organic relations; obeying natural order of nature	Domination of nature to liberate people	Domination of nature to liberate people, Stewardship	Domination of nature to liberate people, Stewardship	Domination of nature to liberate people, Stewardship	Second Nature within First Nature
<b>DEVELOPMENT, SCIENCE &amp; TECHNOLOGY</b>						
<b>Economic order</b>	Anti-industrialism, private ownership, limits to growth	Capitalism, free market and entrepreneurship environment friendly products.	Market economy, managed private ownership, planning, environment friendly products.	Mixed economy, with strict controls on capitalism, role of labor and trade unions	Socialism; rejecting capitalism	Municipalized economy
<b>Development</b>	Against development to sustain order, only slow changes not revolutionary	Yes, within capitalist growth	Yes but sustainable	Yes but state controlled	Yes, inevitable under workers control	No. But organic evolution
<b>Science/tech.</b>	Without causing change	Believe in science-tech.	Believe in science-tech.	Believe in science-tech.	Believe in science-tech but in socialist system	Ecological society can develop ecological sci-tech.
<b>POLITICS</b>						
<b>Table 3.4. (cont'd)</b> <b>What is solution?</b>	Sustaining hierarchical order within society	Free market society, compromises, consumer pressure	Planning, reform laws and taxation. consumer pressure, pressure groups, pluralist and parliamentary democracy, compromises	Parliamentary democracy, local democracy, town hall socialism	Rejecting state, class conflict, rejecting parliamentary reforms, collective political action	A non hierarchical society: libertarian municipalism with citizen assemblies, municipalizing economy, confederation of democratized municipalities

**Table 3.4. (Cont'd)**

<b>Scale</b>	Hierarchical nation state	World cities, Nation state and Regional Unions in Global order	Nation state	State, stronger local governments	Strong nation state	Neighborhood ecosystems of ecoregion
<b>Parliamentary Democracy</b>	Limited within hierarchy of society	Liberal democracy representing powerful interest groups	Pluralist and parliamentary democracy	Pluralist and parliamentary democracy, increasing role of local councils	No, revolutionary council	No but confederation of democratized municipalities
<b>Local Democracy</b>	No	No	No, but governance	Participative	No	Yes-ctz assemblies, self management
<b>Political agent</b>	<b>Member of families, enlightened private ownership</b>	<b>Consumer, entrepreneur, political parties of interest groups, global citizen</b>	<b>Political parties, consumers, citizens of nation citizen</b>	<b>Political parties, workers, labor, trade unions</b>	<b>Collective political action, labor, trade unions</b>	<b>Citizens of eco-communities through citizen assemblies</b>
<b>Role of media</b>	National mass media	Marketing green capitalism, green media sector, , marketing scene of environmentalism sector	Pressure group, information, conservative and sensitive tone of mass media	Pressure group, information	Construct an opposition media	Limited use of media, focusing on face-to-face relations
<b>ACTIVITIES</b>						
<b>NGOs</b>	National, hierarchical	National, professional, company structure, hierarchy, careerism, actors of environmentalism sector	National and local, professional and voluntary, hierarchical	National and local, voluntary, not NGO but DMO	Not, but revolutionary parties and unions, temporary platforms	Not, but citizen assemblies, temporary platforms
<b>Private sector</b>	Yes, as enlightened private ownership	YES, main agent	YES, important actor controlled by state	Yes, but few and strictly controlled	No, class conflict is critical	No, publicized ownership within municipalized economy
<b>Protests</b>	No, but slow organic change	Yes, limited for passive consumer society	Nation state citizens joins protests	Very active protests	To ignite a revolutionary process	Limited in citizen assembly activities
<b>Main activities</b>	National Media	Media campaign of consumers, ENGO projects of corporate social responsibility	Legal struggle, media campaign, protests, information meetings	Protests, legal struggle, information meetings	Challengin mass protests, information meetings	Citizen assemblies, information meetings
<b>Legal struggle</b>	YES	YES	YES	YES	NO	NO

### **3.2.4. Political Economy Classification Instead of Social Movements Framework**

The grassroots movement is different from conventional environmentalism in Turkey; urban, central, professional, organized and old tradition keeps its distance to HES opposition while the local people, who have not joined to environmental

activities before, challenged HES construction at their villages and valleys. They voice *living space* while traditional urban ENGOs use concepts of environment and wild life. They live in nature while national ENGOs are situated in big city centers. Local and ordinary people join HES protests as citizens of living space, while ENGOs have professional staff and members who stayed in cities as consumers. While local movement calls direct participation to decision-making, national ENGOs call for reforms in regulations and policies to parliament. Local people want to live with harmony with nature while environmentalists imply on biodiversity, wild life and conservation areas mostly within project frame stuck in budget concerns. Local people form temporary, non-hierarchical, bottom-to-top, voluntary and citizen platforms while environmentalists are stuck in professional, hierarchical, top-to-bottom ENGOs and media. In fact, the concepts of environment/nature, actions repertoire, organization types, ideologies, solutions, motivations and living spaces are different between traditional environmentalists and grassroots movement. Hence, the difference between environmentalism and ecology is examined through the classification table while social movements approach is not enough to grasp actions, organization, and ontology within political economy frame.

Social ecology refers to a political program to form an ecological and rational society, but not an environmental movement although it contributes to the development of ecology movement (Tokar 2009). Bookchin states the need for a political program, LM movement instead of an environmental movement. Social movements aim to improve conditions and to gain rights of its members and people in same conditions. It is a collective attempt against authorities to gain rights while LMM targets a radical change into rational and ecological society that has new governance, organization, economy and politics. Beyond civil actions like petitions, protests, campaigns, projects of environmental movement, LMM proposes political structure of citizen assembly at neighborhood level. Members join movements, but only citizen can form assemblies. Members demand their rights from authorities; however, citizens directly decide and define their rights through assemblies. Being a member is not a permanent situation and is limited until the success or failure of movement; however being a citizen is a lifelong activity; in fact, citizenship is the only way to self-realization of an individual within an ecocommunity. The members form the society of movement; unlike the community of citizens in LMM, that is not a class movement. The targets of environmental movement are decision makers like

state, whereas the citizen assembly works at municipalities of neighborhoods that construct confederations. Unlike centralist nation-state scale of environment movement, the municipalities of neighborhoods and their confederation construct the decentralized frame of LMM.

Social movements are examined in four categories as collective behavior, resource mobilization, political opportunities and new social movements (NSM). First three deals with “how” question whereas the last one focuses on “why” question. The dimensions of Political Opportunity framework for McAdam et al (1996:27) is the openness of political system, stability of elites alignments, presence of elites and level of repression of state. Kriesi et al. (McAdam and Snow 1997: 52) implies three broad sets of political system limiting opportunities: formal institutional structure, informal procedures and configuration of power. Although, understanding the presence and quality of democratic channels are meaningful, HES opposition cannot be grasped within above dimensions of political opportunity that cannot answer why new and diverse environmental grassroots movements rise. Della Porta (1999: 5) explains the birth of collective behavior due to “tendencies towards large-scale organizations, population mobility, technological innovation, mass communications, and the decline of traditional cultural forms”. Collective behavior is related to a change within functioning and transforming society. HES opposition can be seen as a collective action through citizen&eco-cummunity relations; however, nature-environment difference and political solution to ecological crisis cannot be grasped. Snow et al. (2005: 1188) summarizes the critical determinants of resource mobilization as “specification of resources, the availability, aggregation, and deployment of resources”. HES opposition criticizes urban centered market/welfare environmentalism due to their dependence on resources for professional structures. Unlike them, environmental grassroots movements develop organizations and activities with less resource that is founded by citizens of ecocommunity. However, the formation of voluntary, non-hierarchical and citizen based organizations and participation claim to decision-making mechanisms cannot be grasped by resource mobilization framework. NSM have cultural-ideological emphasis and heterogeneity beyond working class. Social ecologist demand for a new rational, ecological and democratic society cannot be explained within cultural heterogeneity. On the other hand, Barker and Dale (1998: 73) present a labor critique to NSM that questions whether NSM is a distinct category, actually new, ideologically homogenous or not.

Moreover, using cultural/symbolic instead of economic and political goals are problematic. In fact, separating labor movement as old is irrelevant. Within NSM; decentralization, “interpersonal solidarity against bureaucracy”, autonomous space, issue movements and heterogeneous supporters, Castell’s collective consumption, Habermas’ colonization of lifeworlds, Melucci’s agency, public space and Offe’s radical democracy notions are important (Ergin (2006:37-66). Castells has similarities with LMM on his emphasis on grassroots action of nonhierarchical organization without formal party structure; moreover he defines social movement only if reaches “fundamental change in power at urban and societal level”. He uses notion of collective consumption to bind urban people beyond class, unlike citizens forming an ecocommunity in LMM. He implies that urban social movements are reactive but not alternative; therefore, they cannot transform society due to lack of political level. Castells shows the limits of social movements that they cannot generate alternative due to lack of politics level that is unique and main aspect of LMM aiming radical change of social organization. LMM is not only political program but also offers a new society of citizens, ecocommunity and municipalized economy.

Another reason of choosing political economy is that branches of social movements focus on different aspects like activity, resource, members, ideology etc. Each item is an issue of research and debate within social movements frame. The type of activity, the resource and structure of organization, the ideology are some of the main issues. To grasp current environmentalist actions and generate a revolutionary radical ecological society; social ecology offers a critical review of social movements with an alternative approach; a radical political program. In contrast to social movements, the classification table based on political economy includes all aspects to separate nature from environment, environmentalism from ecology. The six classes of political economy include activities, organization, ideology, politics and ontology. For example, the welfare-liberal model not only defines its activity types but also political solutions. The LM generates its direct democratic politics on organic evolution of nature. The market liberal conceives nature as resource while main action is liberal trade and consumer pressure. All aspects of social movements theory are examined within political economy frame.

## CHAPTER 4

### FIELD STUDY

In this chapter, I first explain the significant raise of HES opposition in Turkey. Secondly, the in-depth interview process is discussed. Thirdly, I want to discuss why I have chosen three fields to implement classification table. Finally, I detailed and analyzed findings from field study.

#### 4.1.HES Opposition in Turkey

HES opposition is caused by electricity demand of Turkey as a developing country. World electricity demand is expected to increase 65% until 2035. Developing and non-developed countries need more energy, which can be produced by more polluting resources (TMMOB 2011:14)<sup>10</sup>. However, climate change debate introduces renewable resources against fossil fuels.

Being defined as one of the leading developing country, Turkey aims to double annual electricity consumption per citizen from 2.400 to 5.200 kWh/yr to pass the world average of 2.782 until 2035. The dependency of imported fossil fuels forces Turkey to develop alternatives within country. 1.198 plants are licensed that 749 of them are hydroelectric and 324 of them are thermal; others are wind, geothermal and biofuels (TMMOB 2011:22). In order to provide these licenses, Turkey prepared new laws<sup>11</sup> about electricity market to ease the privatization of electricity production.

In the adaptation process of water privatization, Turkey hosted and organized fifth one in 2009, World Water Forum in Istanbul<sup>12</sup>. I joined forum and was able not only to follow sessions and but also to meet different participants from private sector, government, NGOs and international bodies. The forum in general was organized and sponsored by water monopolies to introduce and enlarge water markets. Forum

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<sup>10</sup> [http://www.tmmob.org.tr/resimler/ekler/ba9541e8fd1c826\\_ek.pdf?tipi=2&turu=X&sube=0](http://www.tmmob.org.tr/resimler/ekler/ba9541e8fd1c826_ek.pdf?tipi=2&turu=X&sube=0)  
Retrieved April 11, 2011.

<sup>11</sup> Official Gazette of Republic of Turkey, Date 03/03/2001, Number 2433.

<sup>12</sup> <http://www.worldwaterforum5.org/>

includes many sessions of water issues to develop a water agenda specifically on host country and region. My expression depending social ecology is that the participation of ENGOs, government authorities, private sector, academics and international bodies provides forum a civic aspect hiding the main question whether water is a *necessity* or a *right*. The position of these bodies well fits the liberal environmentalism critique of Bookchin. If water is a need, it may be a product serviced, sold and bought. I understood that the water monopolies try to generate a debate how water can better serviced to solve pollution and scarcity of water. The privatization will provide financial input and technological advance to develop better services not for people need water but for customers buy water. However, UNESCO rejected to join forum; moreover, an alternative forum is organized claiming that *water is right of people not a commodity for customers*. An opposition is generated by unions, ENGOs, ecology groups, students, chambers etc. to uncover the necessity discourse and privatization plan of water in Turkey. Alternative forum organizes many meetings, protests and press releases to question official forum. Environmental ENGOs and international bodies are widely criticized due to their participation in forum; in fact, their environmentalism is questioned. The position of ENGOS and international bodies well fit the adaptation of market liberal model that they leave welfare-liberal model just asking for state control and managed markets but they want to take part in water and environmentalism market. Water monopolies of forum develop their market environmentalism model where the free trade and commodification of environment are seen as solutions to environmental problems. The international and national ENGOs and bodies are willing to become business partners of arising water sector in Turkey that needs environmental discourse, which is voiced to cover ecological crisis and to legitimize water privatization. While they leave welfare-liberal sphere to become business partners of international water monopolies, the members of alternative forum claim to take part in welfare-liberal environmentalism with their imply on controlled capitalism and state regulations. Some of them develop their criticism to more radical position claiming alternative and participative solutions providing water as right<sup>13</sup>.

To achieve 2035 energy projection of Turkey, the main attempt is on hydroelectricity sphere. HES constructions are part of hydroelectric investments attempt which also

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<sup>13</sup> <http://www.suhakki.org/hakkinda/>

involves big dam projects. Hydroelectricity seems renewable energy resource when it is compared to coal and nuclear that hydroelectricity is defined as environment friendly. The aim is to use all rivers to generate electricity even they are intact. The mountainous regions include many small rivers starting from summits and ends at sea. All those rivers bring life both nature and people; mainly with agricultural production, are seen as water potential, which should be transformed into electricity.

### *Participation and planning*

Through the privatization of energy production and HES construction process in Turkey, most environmentalists claim that the investments are supported without long term planning to develop river basin plans and strategies that can decrease electricity leakage. River Basin Management Plans (RBMP) are developed according to the prior needs of country unlike the expectation of environmentalists. Plans cannot generate environment friendly production like similar regulations while the prior aim is to increase energy production but not conservation of nature. EU accession process dictates RBMP, which are just a tool designed by each country. Water Framework Directive (WFD)<sup>14</sup> shows the process as a directive but each country has its own way. The participation and planning discourse of WFD is limited within prior needs of each country that fits the welfare-liberal model. However, the privatization of water and energy resources makes them market liberal where RBMP has a potential to become a tool of market. The participation claim is similar to planning; the consultation and information of people are limited to stakeholder concepts, which mean real water users. RBMP can be asked to people who can join meetings, answer surveys and sign petitions; in fact, RBMP will show the priorities of water managers of each basin. People can participate in a way that is defined by bureaucracy. The planning and participation aspects are realized without showing real interest and concerns of ordinary water user; therefore both become discourse of liberal model whether welfare or market. Most environmentalists in Turkey claim for participation and planning to challenge HES construction in Turkey that RBMP can produce environment friendly results. However, the RBMP tool is not defined by people and it has to be the illusion of participation of people and planning process that hides water conflicts and rights. The participation and planning claim of most environmentalists in Turkey well fits welfare-liberal model. They want to reform the

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<sup>14</sup> [http://ec.europa.eu/environment/water/water-framework/index\\_en.html](http://ec.europa.eu/environment/water/water-framework/index_en.html)

current market liberal model with participation and planning which is meaningful in terms of environment but not for nature according to LM model.

*Privatization of water and local movements in Turkey*

Özgür (2010:25) states that energy market in Turkey is designed by government according to neoliberal policies and capitalist growth. The energy costs of industrialists are shared by society through privatization of energy development; in fact, 1.738 HES investments by March 2010 (Hamsici 2010:36) are part of this process. He implies that nature cannot be renewed after destruction so energy production from rivers is unsustainable. Even he states the ecological and sociological aspects as well as economic sphere of HES constructions; first two are not explained. The neoliberal discourse of capitalism is crucial to understand the issue but has to be stuck in environmental frame if it is alone. He defines the problem as environmental sustainability; however, in terms of ecological explanations, the domination of nature has to be explored that it is beyond capitalist domination. The economic explanations of Marxism keeps the issue in resource frame as Özgür (2010) implied. Social ecology adds the “other, secondary, marginal” dominations of society in order to reach an ecological critic whereas Marxism keeps economy as prior that the solution is reduced into. Özgür (ibid) welcomes participative solutions in local and larger scales to cope with neoliberal solutions but he does not explain former. The anti-capitalist explanation of privatization of nature is inadequate even he foresees the minimization of ecological damages by participative and pluralist decisions that are not detailed. The economic reductive explanation of privatization of rivers is not enough to reach participative and pluralist decision-making, because the capital-labor dualism cannot provide this diverse solution as well as explanation of problem. The participative and pluralist decisions can stuck in “natural resource” discourse of economics even the elites are not bourgeoisie but others like bureaucracy and professionals. Nature is the resource of economics as environment; but ecology necessitates non-dominative relations with non-human things in nature. The first nature should not be dominated by second nature for ecological solutions. Social ecology offers a frame to challenge all dominations including capitalist by providing an ecological explanations, solutions and movements.

With parallel to number and widespread of HES constructions, local people develop grassroots movements throughout Turkey. The oppositions are also numerous and spread. Kastamonu-Loç Valley, Düzce/Sakarya-Aksu Valley, Amasya/Tokat-Yeşilirmak Basin, Ordu-Melet Basin, Giresun/Düzgözü Village, Trabzon-Salarha Valley, Rize-Güneysu / Fındıklı / Senoz Valley / İkizdere / Fırtına Valley, Artvin-Ardanuç / Şavşat / Murgul / Borçka / Macahel / Yusufeli, Erzurum-Tortum/İspir, Tunceli-Munzur, Antalya-İbradı/Akseki/Alakır Valleys are some significant places where HES opposition has emerged (Hamsici 2010).

Being one of the first academic studies about HES issue, Erensu (2011: 8) defines HES opposition movement as a coalition of “village based solidarity groups and urban-based environmental activism networks” within his development based analysis. Konak (200:3) implies that poor and marginalized people joins grassroots movements unlike the dominant belief about environmentalism that “poor people and poor nations have less interest in environmentalism.” There are documentaries prepared namely; *Uprise of Anatolia*<sup>15</sup> and *A few Bold People*<sup>16</sup> tells the story uprising among country; they form platforms and unions, organize protests, meeting, press releases and open courts. One local says, “We are state, we construct state. They must not forget!” Even the mass media show their resistance against state and HES companies<sup>17</sup>. HES opposition is mostly local however; they can act together including national organizations. “We do not give Anatolia” is a nationwide platform to voice their common claims like opposing new nature conservation law that facilitates HES kind constructions. They used e-mail lists and social network channels to organize events. The issue is not only HES opposition but includes other environmental destruction like Tuz Lake, coastal zones, third bridge of Istanbul etc. They want to claim their demand at Ankara in front of Parliament building at 2011, January<sup>18</sup>. Even it is impossible to reach building in Ankara according to

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<sup>15</sup> [http://www.dailymotion.com/video/xh3gga\\_anadolunun-ysyany\\_news](http://www.dailymotion.com/video/xh3gga_anadolunun-ysyany_news). Retrieved May 23, 2011.

<sup>16</sup> <http://2011.ifistanbul.com/tr/Movie/bir-avuc-cesur-insan-> Retrieved June 3, 2011.

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<http://www.facebook.com/photo.php?fbid=464207046590&set=a.231332266590.136738.95369986590&type=1&ref=nf> Retrieved October 30, 2010.

<sup>18</sup> <http://www.facebook.com/notes/t%C3%BCrkiye-su-meclisi/anadolu-do%C4%9Fas%C4%B1n%C4%B1-katledecek-tabiat-kanununa-kar%C5%9F%C4%B1-ankarada-bulu%C5%9Fuyoruz/497667724860> Retrieved January 15, 2011.

security policy of country; their aim is significant in terms of political economy. The mass gathering from locals to stop law with using social network shows welfare-liberal and democratic socialist model. Their opposition focuses on privatization of water<sup>19</sup> that shows conflict with market liberal model. In fact demanding from national parliament is most important aspect that they define main decision body as parliament fitting both models.

Another HES opposition rose from Antalya from a local branch of national ENGO<sup>20</sup>. Hediye Gündüz represents local branch criticizes national ENGOs with making difference between ENGO and democratic mass organizations. She asks about funds, aims, projects and successes of national ENGOs and questions their environmentalism. National ENGOs are working for themselves not for nature; also, media and national ENGOs feed each other. The ENGO critique also shows opposing market liberal environmentalism where ENGOs become companies of professional well-paid staff and have close relations with state and corporate sector. Moreover, she believes that honest politics should listen to people. She tried to be candidate to national elections of 2011 July that “there is a need for environmentalist representatives”<sup>21</sup>. Her approach fits welfare-liberal model with parliamentarism and ENGO critique.

The Black Sea City, Bartın shows similar opposition like others but against thermal power plant. They constructed a platform against thermal power plant including mayors<sup>22</sup>. Their binding motivation is “I am living at Bartın and I will live” and they organize protests, meetings, press releases and joins media programs to generate a resistance against plant. Their opposition is similar to HES opposition along Black Sea that they stopped the Environmental Impact Assessment Meeting of company at October 2010. The picture shows the participation of local people with elected

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<sup>19</sup> [http://www.sendika.org/yazi.php?yazi\\_no=33545](http://www.sendika.org/yazi.php?yazi_no=33545) February 5, 2011.

<sup>20</sup> <http://www.ekolojikureticiler.org/index.php/ekolojik-oeneriler/303-cevre-hareketinin-tarihcesi>  
Retrieved June 24, 2011.

<sup>21</sup> [http://www.klastv.org/klas/index.php?option=com\\_content&view=article&id=726%3Ahediye-guenduez-aday-adayi&catid=46%3Apolitika&Itemid=84](http://www.klastv.org/klas/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=726%3Ahediye-guenduez-aday-adayi&catid=46%3Apolitika&Itemid=84) Retrieved April 27, 2011.

<sup>22</sup> <http://www.bartınplatformu.org/> Retrieved 13 July, 2011.

mayors when welfare-liberal environmentalism is not enough due to lack of state control.

*Bergama* case is similar to HES oppositions that both depend on direct action, grassroots, non-hierarchical and temporary organization. Konak (2004: 279) implies that the threatening of “economic livelihood” ignites movement. While Dural (2008: 214) defines Bergama Movement as one “the resistance centers” with Aliğa and Gökova, the speaker of Bergama Movement, Oktay Konyar implies that Bergama Movement is citizen interference but not an NGO activity (Diken 2005:46-52). They define themselves as resistance and rebel against state and private sector pressure to take their lands for a gold mine. They are formed after losing a law struggle against gold mining company. In fact, they win the case, but the court decision is not implemented. Hence, they organize a peasant citizen movement also includes woman beyond their traditional passive position in society and decision making processes (Kadirbeyoğlu 2010: 149) Their forming cause depends on the loss of law struggle. If they win, they do not form a citizen movement. LMM necessitates sustainable and continuous citizen assembly relating every issue of community; most important one is to introduce citizen assembly as decision-making body. They want to participate in decision-making however, this does not fulfill the self-management principle of LMM. They do not want to become an NGO in order to maintain their resistance, energy, uniqueness. They organize protests of civil disobedience that is parallel to new social movements (NSM) framework, however LMM proposes citizen assemblies to provide self-management of community. They are interested in other domination issues of Turkey like Kurdish problem, anti-nuclear protests and aim to “open democracy channels” that they link other dominations with their oppression fitting social ecology that all dominations are interrelated.

## **4.2. In-depth Interviews**

### *Preparation of Field Study*

I followed local HES opposition in Turkey through traditional and social network channels; TV, newspaper, facebook and mail lists<sup>23</sup> from 2009 Winter. Initially, I

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<sup>23</sup> <http://www.karadenizisyandadir.org/kip/>, <http://derelerinkardesligi.org/>,  
<http://www.ekolojistler.org/>, <http://www.aksuderestikoruma.org/>, <http://www.locvadisi.com/>

joined a conference of Ankara Bar Association in May 2009 when most of HES protesters around Turkey gathered in Ankara. The latest developments, the attempts of HES companies, the reaction among local and national activists, the legal struggle, court expert trips, the actions of local leaders and conflicts against authorities were some of the main issues of conference. During the conference, I had a chance to listen to the spokesmen/women of different grassroots movements in Turkey. Having met real figures of HES opposition, I continued to follow e-mail groups and internet sites with a focus on the participation level of local people. During this period, I was able to choose different fields having different properties and I noticed key figures in the struggles. These figures are the spokesman/woman of opposition at their fields and mostly they are the one who informs media about recent developments of their fields. They are the bridge between their field and Turkey; local people and outsiders. Depending on my ENGO field experience, I felt that I need the acceptance and help of those key figures to reach the local people. I first conducted two pilot in-depth interviews with voice recording that gave me a chance to redesign the order of questions and to make them simpler according to respondents' advice. The Pilot interviews make me question the use of voice recorder as I explain below.

#### *Why not voice recording*

I recorded first two interviews; however, neither the respondents nor I felt comfortable. Voice recording and continuous noting of respondents speech made them nervous and destroyed the nature of mutual communication. My ENGO field experience (detailed in section 2) guided me to avoid recording and noting during the interview. I took my notes after the interviews. Because, the state authority and passive citizen tradition in Turkey threaten the efficiency of conversation. HES issue is not only related with interests of people but also with pursuit of government authorities and security forces due to numerous conflicts arose in the fields and in form of legal struggles. In-depth interviews are closer to friendly conversations (Neuman 2006: 407), however the recording and continuous noting process make interview short and controlled. These limitations changed the nature of the originally qualitatively designed study to a more structural approach. Before the third interview, I developed a code list derived from the classification table (CT) and I closed the voice recorder. The code list presents the key phrases of CT in order to

facilitate the process. Summarized code lists are shown in the appendix. While respondents were answering my guiding questions, I tracked their meaning to match with codes and sometimes wrote down their significant sentences and phrases, hence I was able to preserve the natural rhythm and friendliness of our conversation without disrupting the respondents attention. When the speech was not rich about to match the codes of classification, I refreshed the issue to check their position. With codes tracking and without voice recorder the interviews were much like friendly conversation that respondents felt themselves free to talk and I was comfortable to follow and grasp his/her thoughts.

### *Entering the field*

After one and a half year, I got across the key figures of HES opposition about my study and told them my willingness to talk with them. I offered them to meet first and said that it would be their decision whether to join field study or not. As I learnt from my ENGO field experience, the trust of local people to outsiders is crucial for both quality and continuity of research. Fortunately, they accepted to join my field study and I conducted in-depth interview with them. The first in-depth interview is always the hardest and longest one because both the respondents and I tried to understand eachother's positions. After the first interview, the trust of respondent provides other key people to make interviews. Having been trusted, snowball sampling let me talk with other active figures at each field. I clearly implied that I need respondents who joined activities of grassroots movement. Another point is to find different respondents in terms of age, gender, income level and mostly different position within movement. Most of the time first respondent called others to join my field study. Sometimes, I called them directly and introduced myself with the first respondent's acceptance and participation to the field study, hence the further in-depth interviews were built on successive familiarization and trust building among prior respondents. Field study is conducted in towns and villages , once you enter the field, everyone learns about you do in a day. Therefore, trust building and openness is crucial to conduct a qualitative research depending on my ENGO field experience.

### *What is in-depth interview?*

Neuman defines field interview as “unstructured, nondirective, in-depth interviews, which differ from formal survey interviews in many ways” (2002:406). Field interview

is done with both researcher and respondent through their friendly conversation that is not strictly planned but has a direction. I prefer in-depth interview not only to have a chance for friendly conversation to build trust but also to grasp their position on classification table. The concepts on code list derived from classification table are too abstract to be used in survey that is based on question-answer mechanics.

In-depth interviews took forty-five minutes to three hours depending on the time to grasp respondent's position, ideas and beliefs through the structured approach based on classification table. All interviews are made face to face at respondent's place at field. They felt comfortable and safe to talk about their position and arguments of environmental political actions. I tried to provide a calm place for interviews to let my questions and her answers understood. A few of them were interrupted mostly by phone calls; however, most of them are calm enough to concentrate on interview.

#### *The interview process*

Before the interview, I shortly introduced myself, the scope of field study and where it would be used, I did not write their name on the code list. Moreover, I did not even ask the names mostly I tried to make respondents feel safe about conversation. I started with general questions about age and income within survey type that they are easy to start and warm up.

I avoided showing my understanding of environment/ecology issues, and I welcomed all relevant information about respondent's position. I try to be neutral (Neuman 2002: 50-51) during interviews to be able to track respondents journey on aspects of classification table. Being neutral does not mean I am only watching but also helping to express ideas. Because the conceptual framework of the thesis is complex, the interview process looks like a "birth, which I act as nurse."

At first interview the order of the questions is just reverse; I started with ontological questions like "what is nature and environment?" The respondent hardly developed his ideas; and after the interview I asked him about the interview; he advise me to start with personal and organizational questions and put more conceptual ones at last part. I did what he desired. This is parallel with Neuman's (2002: 409) order of

questions at field interviews: descriptive, structural and contrast. The question order is similar for whole interview for each section.

Following introduction, next part is about activities that are again easier to answer like when and why their organization is founded that the respondent is concentrating on their organization. Here the differences of classification start with the type of activities; respondent gives examples about their activities, when they joined, how they felt. Through their answers, I ask for further details to grasp their position.

Third part of interview is about politics to grasp which way they prefer; state control, parliamentary politics, unions, grassroots or citizen assembly. I first give examples of their activities that they told in second part. Through these, I want them to tell me about their solutions. They mostly first give a few words, which need to be implied. Depending on their description I raise new and short questions let them develop their formulation what environmental politics should be. Sometimes, they confused subjects and began to tell about the hazards of HES, I did not interrupt but I refresh my point again with asking how they solve the hazards. I track their sentences to define their position at classification. During conversation they feel comfortable and safe, they may talk about issues which are or not related to the study; I keep these confidential as Neuman (2002:413) proposes.

Fourth part reflects the position about development, energy, science and technology. Most of them state that they are not against all HES constructions while others need to imply they are against in all circumstances even they will not use electricity anymore.

Fifth part is about how they conceive relationship between nature and man. The mankind-society and environment-nature differences are questioned through their experience at their living space. Here, the critical sociology of this thesis understands their relationship with nature different than they name. Even they talk about nature-human harmony, ecology and sustainability; they conceive nature as resource, environment and beauty. They say "Nature is greenery, tree and water", they do not refer to processes and interrelations linking society with nature that shows liberal understanding of nature in contrast to the ecological concept of nature. Their examples are about the usefulness and richness of nature for community; but

are very limited in their affect on nature. I track these differences through conversations. Unlike critical sociology, the interpretative social research cannot grasp this difference and cannot go beyond to show “resource and other” discourse of nature as environment. If compared, participant observation can provide better results; however, it definitely needs much time and resources.

### *Data Analysis*

The aim of the field study is to answer the first research question “How can HES opposition be analyzed in terms of social ecology?” The code list used during interviews is derived from classification table (CT) that is the answer of second research question as “How can any environmental action be analyzed in terms of social ecology?” In fact, the nature of classification table determines the design of field study. CT, with its differences and similarities among six different environmental ideology classes, necessitates a structural approach that generates a code list beside recording concerns during interviews. The nature of field data is different from qualitative researchs that have loaded field notes and transcriptions. Code list facilitates the analysis of respondent’s position during interview process. I examined their speech and began to evaluate their environmental political position within interviews. However field data is not only composed of code list, but I took notes of their significant phrases without disturbing them.

The field study part below is written from the filled code lists of each field and noted significant sentences of respondents. I examined each code list filled at interview and read important phrases. I discussed the characteristic ones in terms of CT within paragraphs. Each paragraph of field study section shows the discussion of related field in terms of CT. The differences and similarities of CT are discussed through the results of code list of each respondent. I also wrote the different perspectives among respondents, such as the trust to participation of local people in YAD section. Although a structural code list derived from CT is used during field research, the field study section below is written from the results of code lists of each respondent. Their answers and significant expressions determined the field study section that I want to conserve diversity and subjectivity of field according to dialectical naturalist understanding of organic evolution in terms of social ecology (section 3.0)

### *Limitations and lessons learned*

The use of structured code list during in-depth interviews and data analysis is a limitation in terms of qualitative approach. As I explained above, there were two reasons to develop structured code list. First, the concerns of respondents due to voice recording and continuous noting make interviews inefficient and second one is the structural nature of classification table developed at theoretical part of thesis (section 3.2). The use of code list without recording limits the presented data of the field study. I eventually could have overcome this limitation if I had chosen participant observation method. The limited time constraint and the abstraction of CT could have been overcome with time abundance of participant observation. At least, the observation during protests, information and management meetings of grassroots movement would provide better insights in terms of CT.

### **4.3. The Selection of Fields**

HES opposition is widespread throughout the country due to two thousands of planned dam construction destroying living spaces of local people. Traditional, urban, professional and lobby-based environmentalism have seemed to be passive while local, voluntary, temporary, non-hierarchical environmentalism depending on defense of living space rose. Hundreds of environmental grassroots actions emerged have organized many activities via traditional and social network channels. The geography of Black Sea region lets many HES be constructed among hundreds of rivers. Therefore, the opposition is strong at region and is shared by citizens who are threatened due to destruction of their valleys as living spaces. Numerous HES oppositions at region may provide many characteristics of CT to analyze grassroots action in terms of political economy differences. However, CT includes six classification depending on different sets of environment conception, politics, economy and science&technology understanding and activity frame. In order to use CT effectively with its diversity, I looked for HES oppositions with different characteristics. Although they all have citizen participation and challenge current environmental decision-making process, there are ontological, political, economic and activity differences among HES oppositions in Black Sea Region. Hence, I have chosen different organizations at different places. Green Artvin Society (Yeşil Artvin Derneği, YAD) in Artvin is an official ENGO with its struggle history against mine and other environmental threats. It is settled in a town different from other two fields of

study. The member profile is mostly artisan and academics, representing middle class of town. ENGO structure is the most significant difference of YAD in terms of CT that is based on LM model while other two fields have non-official organizations. Second field is Aksu Valley, composed of sixteen villages and has a non-official and local union (Aksu Valley). The valley is situated at intersection of Düzce and Sakarya provinces that have a conservative tradition and ruling party is dominant. The inhabitants of union joined protest and develop civic actions and platforms for the first time in their lives. Different from other HES opposition areas, conservative inhabitants transform into active citizens questioning decision-making mechanism. The environmental issue becomes a water conflict that is in to defend their life. Although they become active citizens with legal struggle, protests and information meetings, they are able to carry lobbying activities even with ministers that it is unique and different from other HES oppositions. Moreover, most of valley people are mostly interested about their valley but not other HES threatened areas. Third field is Northeastern Black Sea Coast of Turkey with numerous Brotherhoods of Rivers Platforms (DEKAP). Main difference from others is the regional coordination and organization of DEKAPs that the regional platform is organized bottom-to-top including numerous local platforms. The environmental grassroots movement transformed into regional civic organization is similar to LM model. The radical-left tradition and the raise of active citizens of valley are unique properties of DEKAPs in order to analyze with CT.

#### **4.4. Three Fields**

In this part, the findings of from field study are detailed and discussed in according to social ecology which not only criticizes liberal environmentalism but also proposes an alternative; LM political program. The critiques and proposal of social ecology is examined through the developed CT as the analysis tool.

##### **4.4.1.Green Artvin Society (YAD) / Artvin**

Artvin is a province with 7.436km<sup>2</sup> area at northeastern border of Turkey with Georgia. Southeastern neighbor is Kars, southern one is Erzurum and Rize is at west. It is a province with small population of 23.000 at city centre, the reason is rough terrain up to 3900m covered mostly forests. It is constructed along Çoruh River that will have five larger and some smaller dams in near future. There are

almost thirty rivers, some join Çoruh and other reach to sea. Main income generation activity is agriculture (tea, hazelnut, corn, orange and apple, honey) and animal husbandry. Government jobs are another significant opportunity however, as respondent 4 states that the population decreases due to migration to big cities like Ankara, Istanbul and elsewhere. Artvin Çoruh University, founded at 2007, becomes main industry for city welfare that has more than three thousand students and three hundred academic staff. The education level is higher than neighbor cities. Artvin loses its young population who migrates to big cities to find jobs.

**Table 4.1. YAD Profile**

Respondent Profile of YAD In-Depth Interviews-5 Interviewees					
<b>Age</b>	15-24:	25-34:2	35-50:2	>50:3	
<b>Gender</b>	W:2	M:3			
<b>Education</b>	University:5	High:0	Primary:0	Other:0	
<b>Income-TL</b>	>500:0	500-1000:0	1000-2000:0	2000-4000:5	>4000:0
<b>Occupation</b>	Public:3	Private:0	Self-employment:2	NGO:0	Retired:0

**Table 4.2. Summary of Results of CT Implementation on YAD-Artvin**

	Welfare-Liberal Environmentalism	LM aspects
<b>Environment-Nature</b>	nature as biodiversity, environmental issues are not related with other domination issues.	
<b>Economy-Science&amp;Technology</b>	strong belief in sci-tech that can solve env. problems, non-critical position of current political economy structure	
<b>Political Organization</b>	local ENGO structure, some members imply distrust to local people's participation to decision-making, middle class members, supporting political parties, central planning, strict state control and regulations	some members imply "local claims nature" and support locals, strong critique of market-liberal environmentalism in terms of national ENGOs, water and mine issues generate a political ream, resisting domination of radical-leftist parties
<b>Activities</b>	Legal struggle, protests, traditional ENGO actions	information meetings

## *Politics*

### *ENGOS*

YAD is main ENGO in Artvin and founded at 1995 to resist mine construction northern mountainous area. A community issue as mine destruction was enough to generate a civic action as LM implies. YAD is governed by management board and has almost a hundred members from Artvin including academics, artisans, lawyers, doctors, students and retired; mostly middle class members that fits welfare-liberal model. There are thousands of associations are registered in Turkey, however only a smaller portion is active; environmental associations are most active among them. The NGO is an official organization that is controlled by governorship. It is much easier to establish an association than a fund/foundation that necessitates considerable amount of initial money. However, associations are harder to manage than funds that are governed by management board. Associations have management board too, however to be a member of an association is much easier, so the management board is open to change whereas funds restrict membership and so the possibility to take position at management board. The funds may have also general director-CEO and workers; then they become exactly a company that most national ENGOS in Turkey and world are on track of. They change their civil structure into bureaucratic one and lose civic virtues for the sake of professionalism. Local ENGOS are criticizing this tendency that they do not want to depend on budget and projects, and so professional company structure. The tendency of change from association to fund signs the change from welfare-liberal to market-liberal environmentalism. Volunteers become professionals, activity becomes funded projects, protest becomes lobbying while association changes into fund and ENGO into ENGO company. The preserved environment of ENGO becomes the commodity of ENGO company that works in environmentalism sector. Conservation projects, campaigns, lobbying, awareness raising and all other activities are designed to produce environmentalist commodity of nature for consumer society. New sector not only produces environment to as an environmentalist commodity but also covers and joins the domination of nature via capitalist production and consumption. Strong critique of social ecology to liberal environmentalism is shown in this transformation of association into funds as welfare-liberal model into market-liberal model.

*Not national but local ENGOS are option*

Respondent 4 claims the weakness of national ENGOS in HES opposition that they have ties with corporate sector that limits their actions.

TEMA unwillingly supports HES struggle and Greenpeace blames lacking of potential to join. But, there are both good and bad sides of national and international ENGOS. On the other hand, companies start their own ENGOS, in fact all ENGOS are not the same.

The participation of national ENGOS in HES opposition process generates anger among grassroots. While Turkey shows the weakness of national ENGOS, English example shows another story. Rootes (2010:29) states that local ENGOS and actions are not sustainable and continuous in England. The use of public space is decreased; people have more private and individual spaces. Old people lost their participative aspect, whereas young people had never had. He favors national ENGOS to raise environmental concerns even they are marginalized in last years. He adds that ENGOS are more participative and accountable than parties. However, Turkey case is different that national ENGOS lose legitimacy and power with their passive position and link to private sector showing welfare-liberal model while local actions rise within unofficial platforms but not local ENGO structure according to LM model. Common action is taking ground on ecosystem space as valley, river, village etc. People coming together generate a public space to challenge HES constructions. On the other hand suggesting national NGOs as most important agent against environmental issues keeps issue at environmental and national frame. Rootes states that the professionalism of NGOs makes them ignore local issues, because they become part of current status quo destroying nature for capitalist profit making that fits market-liberal model. Environmental NGOs are part of environmental actions covering and hiding this reality and they are not organized for and interested in ecological and local problems. His critics about local participation and sustainability are important; but social ecology offers one-step further instead of leaving issue to professional and careerist environmentalists. In order to get over problems of local actions; real public realm is to be established with citizens of ecocommunity within ecosystem but not members of local movements according to LMM.

The ENGO perception in public is characterized by opposition that people respect their opposition. However, ENGOS do not prefer challenging actions according to

recent study (Dalton, Reccia and Rohrschneider 2003). Four kinds of environmental political action are defined as conventional, networking, mobilizing and unconventional. Most ENGOs develop conventional actions like lobbying and organizing meetings with government authorities that are easy and less risky. They are defined as environmentalist/conservationist groups that well fit the welfare or market liberal model. The environmental political actions are limited to develop pressure through lobbying that is strongly criticized by Bookchin as compromises with system for the expense of nature. On the other hand, ecology groups prefer unconventional actions like protests and others challenge the system without compromises. Environmentalist movement is defined as "an extension of conventional politics to a new domain" (2003:26). Liberal system defines what conventional and unconventional are that most ENGOs prefer welfare and market liberal model as environmentalist while ecologist groups challenge system with more participation that is similar to LM, however they lack a political program of radical social change. The research shows that the more resource ENGO gets the more professional it becomes. Professional ENGO shows that better paid staff prefers less risky lobbying activities as good example of market liberal environmentalism. Moreover, their environment conception includes current liberal capitalist system that they want to take part in it as environmentalist sector. However, the ecologist groups define not only nature with questioning current system but also they define their actions and aims with challenging system. In fact, the classification model improves environmentalist-ecologist and technocentric-ecocentric divisions in political economy approach including actions, ontology, organization and politics.

### *Funding*

Most ENGOs are very careful about their income generation that they never accept international funds. Respondent 4 says she is against money from unknown resource even it is official international body.

We do not accept money from foreign countries, we do not accept money from unknown resource. Once, we accepted money from a company, but we are still against these funds. That money did not reach the society, a friend used it for a project. We did not join advertisement film of that company either.

The reaction against funding -mostly international funding- is a common characteristic among local ENGOs in Turkey. The funding is not for environment but

aims to make ENGOs work for ideology of donors. The funded local ENGOs are sharply criticized by others as becoming agent of international powers that this position shows the integration of environment and nationalist approach. The environment is seen as sacred land of country that has to be defended against exterior and interior powers. The environmentalist actions are realized for the environment of country of which the citizens of nation state join. The picture shows welfare-liberal model that is defended against neo-liberalism that colonizes environment.

#### *Member profile*

YAD presents an educated middle class profile that most active members are from artisan and university. The middle class of a small city can be seen as elites struggling against destruction of environment. However, the presence of significant number of academics is emanated out of city. Moreover, the artisans are permanent while academics may be temporary. Academics came to city a few years ago and may go another place that their native region is somewhere else. Academics provide trust science and technology that are mostly desired for environmental planning of liberal model. The minimum damage can only be given thanks to scientific research that is believed to be objective and away from interests of state and corporate sector. The integration of ecological research into development projects may minimize affects that Bookchin criticizes as environmentalism that does not question current system dominating nature. The highest point of limited civic activity of city is YAD which is governed by well-educated and earning elites; *the intellectuals*. YAD is not closed for the participation of non-middle class that does not believe a civic presence. The voluntary presence of elites of small city is characteristic for local ENGOs among country. The welfare-liberal model well fits ENGO representation of middle class. The citizen of welfare-liberal model is a passive voter with a civic action limited to NGOs while the citizen of LM can only be himself through participation in decision-making system. Welfare-liberal citizen can become a member or worker of an ENGO and tries to affect decision-making without questioning current political economy, on the other hand, LM citizen of ecocommunity asks for radical change for real ecological solutions. Nation state society covers his civic virtues and shapes his civic actions within current system that society defines his civic actions. Ecocommunity of LM facilitates and desires the civic participation of citizen into direct democratic politics. Both citizen and

ecocommunity eventuate together through decision-making processes. Ecocommunity asks citizen to join politics that he hardly falls outside of. On the other hand, political actions of citizens define ecocommunity that can form a free, diverse, subjective and self-managing second nature through organic evolution process of social ecology.

### *Political issues*

The common struggle for environment generates grassroots movement that is beyond traditional policymaking structure like parliamentarism. Respondent 4 implies the presence of local people and says, "We want local claims nature". We should support them, the principal is local ownership." In contrast to traditional ENGO position, YAD calls for action of local people. The numerous struggles provide experience of the importance of local as a key factor that LM depends on. The experience makes local ENGOS work and focus on igniting local people who they support. The welfare-liberal position of local ENGOS is distorted by participation need of local people that can be base for LM. However, the participation of local people is not assumed "the only" decision maker which LM implies that local ENGOS in HES opposition still keeps their expectations from state and professional politics.

Besides supporting local people to join decision-making, YAD joins local platforms and is also founder of DEKAP and Artvin representative. They joined DEKAP as an ENGO that is working against environmental destruction for years. DEKAP has a different organization that is not official, permanent and local. YAD joins DEKAP decision-making structure, respondent 4 states their objection the domination attempts of radical leftist parties.

We are one of the founders of DEKAP and Artvin representative. It is founded as regional organization. Members of political parties sometimes highlight politics in front of HES opposition, so we do not agree with this subject. HES issue is beyond political parties! We should be open people from all political parties.

DEKAP should be a platform where everybody has equal representation and should be open for every political position. YAD and others resist the efforts of radical left parties that try to transform HES opposition into party politics issue. The resistance to party politics and parliamentarism is essential for LM that calls for direct

democracy of citizens within municipal assemblies. The core issue is denial of representation but the face-to-face politics of each citizen of ecocommunity.

Although YAD resists the intervention of radical leftist parties into DEKAP, respondent 3 shows his happiness that ruling party; AKP did not win last elections in Artvin unlike the most of the country. AKP is seen as the champion of neo-liberalization process destructing environment with HES and other development policies. AKP is not an ordinary party won elections; but it is assumed as national ally of global capitalism. Beyond party politics and being against AKP, he takes an ideological position to protect country and environment. Most of middle class based local ENGOs in Turkey take this opposite position against ruling party. Respondent 3 gives alternative as opposition party.

I: Why the opposition party is better for HES issue?

R3: Because the other candidate (not elected) says he will not let allow? HES projects.

I: Is a promise enough for you?

R3: I have no choice other than to believe him. I cannot understand why people vote for those who destroy here

Even he cannot explain how opposition party is and can be more environmentalists; he believes that another political party can choose another politics within current political economy frame of global capitalism. Although local ENGOs in HES opposition get over the participation of elites and calls for the right of local people to join decision-making, they still lack the critique of national and international professional politics. The active citizen of local does not suit passive voter of representative system. The welfare-liberal model is distorted by citizens at local scale who ask for new national politics. The democratic demand of local people necessitates reforms in representative system where ENGO alliances and citizen groups have more power.

Although YAD supports local people as prior decision-making body, respondent 1 and 5 show their distrust to local people who can misuse environment. Respondent 1 says:

When we say let local people decide, they may use nature badly. Therefore, I want to trust to state and parliament. I want this trust, and then there will not be a need for local people and ENGOs. However, I cannot trust state and government while the state and government authorities are so bad. There can be a good state and government, I say why not?

Respondent 5 says:

I need to trust state and parliament. However, I cannot trust bad governors. There may be good state and government, why not? If governors are good enough to protect nature; there will not be a need for local people and ENGOS.

I like state and the implementation of rules. People obey rules in Europe, because state makes them obey. Environmental problems should be solved by laws, there is not any decision maker except the state. However, there is a law, but it is not obeyed and government does not obey either. If good people dominate and govern state, problems can be solved.

He expects state and government to protect nature effectively instead of local people and ENGOS. This trust to state and mistrust to people fits welfare-liberal model and its passive citizen with lacking civic virtues of participation. The current civic action is as an attempt to fill the gap of state until it does its protective duties. The decision-making and governance are not for citizens but for elected political elites and bureaucracy unlike civic potential of the second nature according to social ecology. Within LM, the citizens of ecocommunity govern themselves through citizen assemblies in according to organic evolution. Leaving decision-making to elites of welfare-liberal model signs the misuse of potential of second nature that may also evolve to more free, subjective and diverse society. The passive citizens lacking civic virtues construct a society that cannot liberate itself as well as nature.

YAD challenges environmental destruction and uses local democratic opportunities however, respondent 1 admits losing environmental struggle and says,

“The earth is finished, we are just trying to extend the finishing and we are not solving the problem. Because, it is not possible to stop domination of nature entirely.”

He is pessimist about the future of environmentalism and environment; even he is not against struggling. He criticizes the claim of environmentalism protecting nature and states its impossibility. In fact, the environmentalist activities are designed for people but not for nature that is expected to “be finished”. The respondent’s position shows the passive environmentalism that does not question the real cause of ecological crisis as Bookchin states. He is stuck in current political economy that domination of global capitalism is accepted as natural. The current system is not

challenged even he knows that “the world is finishing”. The passive citizen of welfare-liberal model does not question current representative politics and capitalism and does not ask for a radical change. Current picture is “natural” that cannot be avoided. On the other hand, LM links ecological crisis with dominations of society that a liberated society can live harmony with nature. The welfare-liberal model is reformist within current system, while LM is radical asking for new society.

### *Turkey Water Council*

Among HES opposition, national organizations are widely criticized, even local ENGOs cooperated them. Respondent 4 is at management board of Turkey Water Council (TWC) established at 2010 January with participants of all 81 provinces of Turkey<sup>24</sup>. TWC prepared a “Water Manifest” which aims to develop welfare-liberal solutions like new water law, regulations for electricity market, river basin planning and voicing issues at national-international level. The member profile presents both local and national activists generating a civil and non-official organization above all theirs. TWC clarifies its principals about nature and some important issues, for example human is part of nature as an entity that cannot be commodified like water. They are against the concept of environment because nature is not a resource, so they want to limit sustainable development. Even this position claims to show biocentric approach, the politics is stuck in welfare-liberal model with their opposition of the privatization of water. The aim is to be civic pressure group voicing local problems into national and international arena. The state is asked to develop environmental politics. Their nature concept and politics are conflictual; the right of nature and ecology cannot be granted in welfare-liberal model by state. Nature can only be environment, wild life, conservation field, natural resource and planning zone for state and capitalist economy. Being against market liberal environmentalism may be enough for environment but not for nature. The politics of TWC fits welfare-liberal model while conception of nature is similar to LM; hence, they have to fill this gap with much needed critique of current capitalist system as Bookchin states. Otherwise, they cannot generate politics for nature only for environment.

### *Economy&Development*

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<sup>24</sup> <http://www.turkiyesumeclisi.net/uploads/6/7/0/8/6708484/sumanifestosu.pdf> Retrieved June 11, 2011.

Respondent 3 implies his belief of science and technology that can solve environmental problems including HES construction. In fact middle class rooted local ENGOs are expected to believe and to trust on science and technology in terms of welfare-liberal model. The science and technology are conceptualized as non-political and objective that the dominant groups funding, developing and using science and technology are not noticed.. The capitalist ownership of western science and technology assumes nature as 'other' and 'object' that has to be dominated under humankind rule. The development of science is supported and transformed into technology by rising capitalist classes to dominating nature as environment. Moreover, the discourse of universal, objective and progressive science and technology hides the domination of nature. The significant characteristic of welfare-liberal model is its belief in science and technology. Bookchin develops a critique of mind-nature duality that science and technology is the expression of mind dominating nature as other. A dominative society develops a dominative science and technology where a libertarian society is expected to generate an ecological science and technology. The main difference between liberal and libertarian models is whether the issues seem social and natural. Liberal model conceives and presents science and technology as social like property, economy issues, whereas libertarian model insists on social roots that are mostly hierarchical. On the other hand, revolutionary-socialist model limits critique within economy and class domination.

#### *Activities*

YAD engages in all forms of environmental problems; priority depends on urgency and importance. Air and water pollutions are not prior at the agenda due to various HES constructions in Artvin. Although having many members, only limited people working in management board are active, carry the mission, and organize the activities. Although they use legal struggle, the information meetings are most preferable due to awareness rising of local people. YADs presence at town and middle class member profile favors legal struggle according to welfare-liberal model, moreover the imply on local people's decision-making and awareness raising are LM properties.

### *Nature&Environment*

Respondent 1 tells his understanding of nature and humankind as:

Humankind is not coherent with nature, he always wants more. If nature is used well, there will not be a problem. While humankind comes to earth, it destroys and no way out. I saw a documentary of National Geographic; humankind extinct and nature recovers. I do not know when human became evil, may be it was the invention of gun.

Environmental issue is not a domination problem for him unlike social ecology. "There are few links between environmental problems and women issue, poverty, discrimination of ethnic groups etc." However, organic evolution of social ecology conceive human as unique development as second nature. He conceives environmental issue in species manner but not social. Humankind is biologically and inevitably bad and so destroys nature. Deep ecology has similar insights about humankind that has to be part of nature like other parts as tree. If environmental problems are understood at species level, there cannot be any solution except the vanishing or infectivity of humankind. Biological conception does not have room for change or even any politics except efforts to decrease the effects of destruction. Social ecology refuses biological conception of environmental problems that are caused by dominations within society. Ecological crisis is not a destiny of humankind that is constructed within society that has not definite type. The free society constructs citizens beyond destructive humankind that radical social change may lead dissolution of not only ecological crisis but also all forms of dominations within society.

#### **4.4.2. Aksu Valley Union / Düzce-Sakarya**

Aksu River starts from Kardüz Plain and reaches Efteni Lake through 35 km of journey. Planned HES constructions threaten wild life and agricultural production at valley. Aksu Valley Union (Protection Union of Gölyaka-Hendek Aksu River and Environment) is founded at May 2<sup>nd</sup> 2010 by representatives from 16 villages in Düzce province (Dikmen, Aksu, Göksu, Kurtuluş, Yeniyayla, Güney, Kadifekale, Karadere Villages) and Hendek district of Sakarya Province (Kültür, Açma, Yeşilova, Cumakırı, Hacısüleymanbey, Çayköy, Aksu, Değirmentepe) against HES constructions which have no scientific and planning base<sup>25</sup>. They define their aims

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<sup>25</sup> <http://www.aksuderetikoruma.org/biz-kimiz.html> Retrived October 10, 2010.

as to own their river and their life. Respondent 7 talks about their reason to struggle against HES as:

We are against HES due to these unconscious constructions, also I am against HES constructions at other places. When I first heard about HES, I thought as a wheat type or apple type. Now, due to HES constructions water table is running out. Irrigation depends on water, therefore our tomatoes, pepper, onion, hazelnut, corn and poplar incomes are in danger.

**Table 4.3. Respondent Profile of Aksu Valley In-Depth Interviews-11 Interviewees**

<b>Age</b>	15-24: 1	25-34:2	35-50:3	>50:5	
<b>Gender</b>	W:4	M:7			
<b>Education</b>	University:2	High:5	Primary:4	Other:0	
<b>Income-TL</b>	>500:3	500-1000:0	1000-2000:7	2000-4000:1	>4000:0
<b>Occupation</b>	Public:0	Private:0	Self-employment:6	NGO:0	Retired:2, Student:2, Housewife:2

**Table 4.4. Summary of Results of CT Implementation on Aksu Valley Union-Düzce**

	<b>Welfare-Liberal Environmentalism</b>	<b>LM aspects</b>
<b>Environment-Nature</b>	Environment as a resource, mostly against HES only in their valley	nature as "living space"
<b>Economy-Science&amp;Technology</b>	strong belief in sci-tech., planning and regulations, non-critical position of current political economy structure	
<b>Political Organization</b>	The issue is still stuck in water but not other community issues, supporting political parties	bottom-to-top, local, temporary organization, direct citizen participation, strong critique of market-liberal environmentalism in terms of national ENGOS, water issue generates a political realm
<b>Activities</b>	Legal struggle, lobbying	information meetings, union meetings

### *Environment & Nature*

The muhtar (headsman) of Kadife Kale village; Cabir Sunma talked in a TV program<sup>26</sup> about his understanding of Aksu Valley

“Aksu means people, people mean Aksu. When our Aksu River diminishes, as local people we know that this damages our hazelnut, our strawberry. When it damages these, it also damages us.”

Respondent 6 voices the reason as “I live here, this water problem will also affect me.” The local character is different from urban environmental consciousness that has no real link with nature. Valley residents live with nature even they see it as a resource; however, it is more than environment but a living space. Respondent 7 says as “Environment is a part of land that provides all necessities of humankind.” This is beyond welfare-liberal model but similar to LM concept of ecocommunity of an ecosystem. Their life has strong links with nature that makes them more than environmentalists and protesters but “living space advocates”<sup>27</sup> which are similar to Black Sea examples of HES opposition. The inhabitants of valley are threatened by the destruction of their living space, the welfare-liberal concepts of environment and representative politics are distorted to reach nature and participative politics. “The passive inhabitants of conservative community of valley environment” are becoming “the active citizens of ecocommunity of valley ecosystem”.

### *Economy & Development*

Aksu Valley is not categorically against all HES constructions that can also be made without threatening environment. Current construction process is not favorable but needs more planning and technological advance. People are not against energy production that does not have to lead environmental disaster. Better and environmentally friendly technology should be used. Respondent 11 implies his trust to science and technology as “HES can be done with giving minimum damage.” Respondent 8 shows her belief as:

“Which century we live in? They should construct in a better way. There can be a positive HES, I saw good example at neighbor village. People

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<sup>26</sup> <http://www.aksuderetikoruma.org/ulusal1.html>

<sup>27</sup> “yaşam savunucuları”

are content with it and asking us “why are you against HES?” If they really think and want to do, they can construct better”.

Respondent 14 talks similar:

All HES constructions are not same, there is a HES construction in the next valley at a blind point, we went there and saw that there is not a nature ‘massacre’. We are against HES in this valley, we are not interested in other parts of Turkey.

In terms of planning process, it should be done wisely and participative, which does not reflect only company’s interests. There may be lower number of HES at the end of stream threatening nobody. Aksu Valley, showing aspects of science-technology, participation and planning, seems well fitting welfare-liberal model. Social ecology is neither against science&technology like deep ecology nor the supporter like welfare/market liberal and democratic-revolutionary socialists. In fact, the debate is shallow and hides political economy level that science and technology is a tool for domination of nature. Social ecology insists that the problem is about social organization but not only the science and technology. The dominations within society generate the domination of nature that is discovered, and subjugated through science and technology of liberal or socialist systems. There can be ecological science and technology only if a rational, democratic and ecological society is constructed through the abolishment of dominations. For science and technology aspect, Aksu Valley seems stuck in welfare-liberal belief in science and technology without questioning social dimensions. Moreover, it favors economic development.

### *Politics*

Respondent 27 summarizes the questioning of valley people to national ENGOS as:

We want consistency from national ENGOS. They have relations with funding agencies. They are objecting HES opposition, on the other hand they are accepting funds from international capital. This is discountenanced at our valley. Another problem is that they are building walls against our conservative people here, these are some national ENGOS. However, some political groups do not build these walls. It does not work, when national ENGOS come to local and regard us as inferior. Each local has its own dynamics, for example they come here and give agitative speeches against Minister of Forestry and Environment, it does not suit here. You may not like minister, but every place has its own sensitivity. Hopa is different, here is different.

ENGOS are not independent, their activities either. It is not true that they react some things while they are silent for other things. When they analyse an project, they think how much money they can take, so it is not true. It is false that they are interested in funds while dealing with bears. Other societies work with member fees, if you work well, you can take contributions. Our other associations can work with member dues. We have staff and can provide fellowships to eleven students. We organize activities to make money with member dues. If ENGOS work well and people see them, they support them with member fees.

There is a significant distance between national ENGOS and valley people that this difference shows the critique of market environmentalism of social ecology. The age, income and gender do not make significant differences according to ecocommunity conception of LM in Aksu Valley while most of them ask for permanent participation in decision-making about environmental issues. The local character of HES opposition makes them overcome various differences among them and let them feel as owners of their village and Aksu Valley. There is not any experience of protesting before HES opposition in Aksu Valley as a conservative area. However, HES threat makes people form and join protests like petition, protests, information meetings and court cases, etc. Respondent 7 implies this change as “we became nature people two years ago. If we act together, we could solve problem.” Respondent 11 say as “State and village council decide together.” Respondent 9 talks similar:

“HES issue is not the problem of leftist, but it is the problem of everyone. We should act together with other HES oppositions, Hopa struggle, DEKAP actions are hope for us.”

The community issue is a starting point to generate a public realm where individuals or passive nation state citizens awaken to affect decision-making that is similar to ignition of LM process. There should be a community issue to bond people act together in construction of public realm. Another importance of valley is the ethnic diversity through the valley where each village has different history and culture. HES opposition makes them cooperate beyond their ethnic differences. Before HES threat, there were very limited relations among villages but they have developed during opposition. The common community issue not only develops public realm within village but also through the valley, that shows confederal nature of public realm. Water as community issue of LM makes people become citizens challenge limits of current decision-making mechanism that goes beyond passive citizens of

welfare-liberal model. However, this is not enough for LM but it can be seen as a LM characteristic during the development of public realm bottom-to-top.

A vast majority of population votes for government party (AKP); this becomes an obstacle for anti-HES activities. They insist that their opposition is not about AKP but for protecting their valley. However, they are accused of being against AKP even they vote for it. The union tries to show their distance from party politics. However, the nature of grassroots movement proves that they are using their politic will instead of representative politics that LM affirms this as citizen's ownership of politics.

A few of them ask for development of local platforms to govern community issues including non-environmental issues that show a mid position between welfare-liberal and LM. Respondent 27 talks about this limitation within environmental frame as:

I do not know. We are interested in HES issue, may be we should deal with others, however the participation will be limited. The issue may not be big like HES, it only affects three or four villages. It will be hard arouse people like this. This river makes us act together.

Self-management claim does not make them fit LM because they do not enhance their politic will to confederation of democratized municipalities. However, the table is just an analytical tool; these mismatches can be understood as tendencies to other models. In fact, welfare-liberal model is too tight to provide hope for solutions; the passive citizens of welfare state ask to join decision-making processes through strong grassroots organizations. Respondent 14 says "We as valley people are not enough to decide about HES issue. State, universities, local and national NGOs and village council should act together." Respondent 12 implies his distrust to representatives in parliament as:

They should ask us about HES issue. State, muhtar and village council should decide together about HES issue. However, we elect representative to parliament, than they go to Ankara and forget us.

Respondent 27 implies the problems of current councils limiting participation of decision-making.

There may be a council that everyone can join, including university, governor, company, muhtar, representatives; they may be holistic planning also. They will say "we have already these", but it is not working. They will say "we have academics", however we as local people are not

there. There are HES commissions at governorships, but not working. The majority decides. There should be a commission that everyone can join. There should not be voting. There will not be any decision that local people denies. We are trying to preserve but they are destroying.

Respondents' ideas show that there should be mid categories at table especially between welfare-liberal and LM model. Because, there is a strong tendency for grassroots action distorting welfare-liberal frame beyond traditional ENGOs. However, they are not against market economy and private ownership under state control. They just lost their trust to state's role in controlling, planning and environmental protection. The trust of welfare-liberal model to state seems eroded by unlimited and uncontrolled actions of private companies constructing HES. The passive citizens of welfare-liberal model question the efficiency of state control. They fill this gap by their local decision-making bodies. This grassroots position does not put them in democratic socialist situation because, they are not asking for labor and trade unions even they insist on state subsidy on environmental protection as in democratic socialist model.

#### *Actions*

In terms of actions, information meetings are favored in Aksu Valley. Respondent 10 implies the importance of information meetings as "Information meetings should be regularly held, if we do not join once, we will not know what is going on." Respondent 8 says as "I don't want HES constructions at other fields, last year in village we saw a documentary showing why Black Sea people opposes." At initial phase of HES opposition beside law struggle, union has made contact with Minister of Environment and Forestry regularly. They try to explain how HES construction was badly planned and did not have a scientific base. This is a unique example of lobbying which can be hardly seen at other HES oppositions. The science and planning base with lobbying shows significant example of welfare-liberal model. However, grassroots movement dominates when welfare-liberal aspects are failed. The development of public realm as union initially needs the failure of current welfare-liberal frame.

Although none of the respondents favors physical interference, one resident claims the need of sabotage to construction equipments. He calls others as *pigeons* whose tactics are seen failed. They should leave leading to *falcons* who can threaten

construction equipment of company that has a value of millions of TL. This shows the dynamic and time related situation; if people cannot see results; they may change their tactics that are not suitable at the beginning. The physical interference and violence are excluded from LM that only the construction of citizen assembly as a political realm is real end and ends are means. The violence damages the legitimacy of dominated people and eases the interference of police and gendarmerie forces as seen some examples in HES opposition in Turkey. The construction of political realm can be damaged by reciprocal violence that the statecraft dominates and leaves no room for politics for citizens of ecosystem.

#### **4.4.3. DEKAP / Northeastern Black Sea Coast**

Northeastern Black Sea Coast line starts from Trabzon and reaches Georgia border; through the coastal road, there are many settlements of with populations of twenty-thirty thousand people apart from provincial centers. Almost all towns lose population migrating to big cities due to lack of employment opportunities. The older retired people may prefer to stay, but younger generation looks for jobs at big cities like Istanbul and Ankara. The main income generation activity is agriculture that suffers from neo-liberalization and cannot provide enough income. Most of villages are more crowded at summer time while only a few families can be found at winter. Mountains become touristic space in ten years that provide ecotourism in limited villages. Summer population increases with immigrants and tourists that make the area known in Turkey.

Most towns are situated at the downstream of valleys that are characterized by rivers. The terrain is dominated by high mountains forcing populations to settle down at coast. Rivers start from hills of mountains and pass villages through the journey to river that feeds a riparian ecosystem ending at northeastern Black Sea coast towns. Riversides provide limited agricultural land for domestic crops and tea productions that become main crop. Each valley has composed of a few towns and several villages with approximately several tens of thousands population as a whole. With limited population and specific geography valleys shows eco-system characteristic of social ecology<sup>28</sup>. This ecosystem is repeated along the coastline. Each ecosystem

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<sup>28</sup> Although Biehl explains the neighborhood space within cities, the valley ecosystem of Black Sea Coast Line is useful for municipal neighborhood.

is threatened by several tens of HES constructions that ignite the grassroots movement along the coastline. When the opposition fire is burned in a valley, it outspreads neighbor ecosystem and to others. The HES constructions are both local and regional; that picture shows the local and regional opposition. One respondent stated that the grassroots action is first ignited at Fındıklı in 1998 and then other valleys followed it. Each valley has local Brotherhood of Rivers (DEKAP) which constructs a horizontal structure regional DEKAP including 16 provinces, 26 valleys and 98 organizations from Zonguldak to Artvin. They act both locally and regionally which is different from other oppositions in Turkey. The field study of the thesis is focused at Rize (Center, Çayeli) and Artvin (Fındıklı, Hopa and Kemalpaşa) where HES opposition is active and spreading.

DEKAPs are united under umbrella organization at Black Sea region of country<sup>29</sup>. They are formed in the last few years at each HES site and they develop their relations under an umbrella organization. They imply the obstacles and “enemies” against their living space; therefore, they have to act together. The organization under an umbrella structure seems a regional partnership similar to confederation of LM model. The local resistance has to organize within regional level. However, the key fact is bottom-to-top organization that each local platform preserves its identity, freedom and power under regional structure. Another key fact is whether they claim welfare-liberal aspects like new regulations or they claim to govern where they live.

**Table 4.5. Respondent Profile of DEKAP In-Depth Interviews-11 Interviewees**

<b>Age</b>	15-24: 1	25-34:0	35-50:5	>50:5	
<b>Gender</b>	W:1	M:10			
<b>Education</b>	University:6	High:1	Primary:4	Other:0	
<b>Income-TL</b>	>500:3	500-1000:1	1000-2000:4	2000-4000:3	>4000:0
<b>Occupation</b>	Public:1	Private:2	Self-employment:4	NGO:3	Retired:1

<sup>29</sup> <http://www.08haber.com/?page=haber&file=habergoster&hid=5128> Retrived June 18, 2011.

**Table 4.6. Summary of Results of CT Implementation on DEKAP at Black Sea Coast**

	<b>Welfare-Liberal Environmentalism</b>	<b>LM aspects</b>
<b>Environment-Nature</b>	Environmental Problems; but not ecological crisis	Nature as "Living Space"
<b>Economy- Science&amp;Technology</b>	still believed in sci-tech. can solve, growth of economy with conserving nature and sharing welfare	More localized economy, critique of current political economy structure
<b>Political Organization</b>	The issue is still stuck nature only, but not other community issues, supporting different political parties	Bottom-to-top, local and regional self-management bodies similar to citizen assemblies, direct citizen participation, distrust to parliamentarism, strong critique of market-liberal environmentalism in terms of national ENGOs
<b>Activities</b>	Legal struggle, protests	Naming as "Defending Life", information meetings, platform meetings

### *Organization*

Respondent 19 implies that 90% of DEKAP members come from villages. This not only shows citizen participation to platforms but also signs the living space as villages and valleys. Members are not from middle class; in fact, they are people of threatened living spaces. They form a platform without constructing new identities like activists and members of civil society but preserving themselves as citizens of ecocommunities of valley ecosystems. Within villages, they have spontaneous meetings to develop their ideas and actions. One of the villagers joins DEKAP meetings to delegate but not to represent them as LM implied. The representative can act above the represented people however; the delegate can only act according to people who have chosen himself.

DEKAP meetings take place regularly; local DEKAPs meet weekly while DEKAP council gathers twice a year and DEKAP management board meets monthly. Respondent 22 says "The agenda is prepared by local people at all meetings." and states the bottom-to-top nature of meetings that the problems of local people of villages and valleys are the agenda of not only the local DEKAP meetings but also the council and management board meetings. The decision-making is done both

majority voting and consent. Bottom-to-top decision-making structure, regular and open meetings are important characteristics of LM. However, the percentage of local people supporting and participating in these meetings, particularly local DEKAP meetings is crucial for the presence of political realm of LM. It is not necessary the participation of each and everyone one of local people, however the majority citizen participation is necessary to be able to generate a political realm as citizen assembly.

### *Nature*

Respondent 26 implies the relations within nature as:

Opposition was a nice opportunity for us, we learned as we lived. Earth is a living thing, everything is interrelated. If a leaf in Amazon falls down, it will cause flood at Black Sea Region. I had some this kind of thought before, during HES opposition process I believed, now I know it. I made in-depth analyses why we are opposing HES constructions. Everything in nature should stay as it is. An interference to something cause many effects. Our waters are vital points of earth but they are cutting veins on leaves and drying those; similarly HES constructions destroy rivers and basins.

Respondent 16 shows his relation with nature and says, “We do not consider nature as a property. When we defend nature, we also defend the right of stone, land, leave that cannot do.” He is clearly not deep ecologist that humankind can act for nature’s sustainability. Even the ecological crisis is the product humankind, only he can solve this. However, the key actor is not an environment friendly citizen/consumer of welfare/market liberal model but an ecological society according to LM. Criticizing nature as property, he took position against market-liberal model claiming privatization of nature for sustainability. He defines the HES threat as “they destroy our social, cultural and historical values, they deterritorialize us”. This clearly shows society-nature relation beyond man-environment division. The water, river, valley etc. are not just environment but part of ecosystem where ecocommunity and nature share according to LM. HES constructions threaten and destroy not only the river but also the living space of ecocommunity and nature that citizens defend their living space through platforms that shows LM properties.

### *Economy*

The economy is a confused issue among DEKAP members that respondent 16 says “Nature can be conserved with the growth of economy and sharing welfare” while

the respondent 18 wants a local economy and says "I am against outsiders and their investments. I want neither him nor his money. Our people should do whatever is needed and we share whatever we have." It is hard to link economy with ecological crisis that the critique of economy is limited with capitalist domination of nature. On the other hand, respondent 23 clearly criticizes capitalism as:

We are against HES, in every way. We do not say "two or three HES can be done instead of thirty-one in a basin. They say "it should be within basin management." For us, no. It is the trick of capitalist system to take water right from people.

The capitalism seems evil, while the growth of economy is good with protecting nature. However, Bookchin implies that capitalism is in natural framework of "grow or die" that the growth of economy is main principle of capitalism. The growth of an economy whether production forces are owned by capitalists or state, nature is consumed and destructed as a commodity or resource. This is the main difference between democratic/revolutionary socialist model and LM.

### *Politics*

Respondent 26 criticizes unions, environmentalism and implies the role of local people following the path of LM as:

Unions are not interested in the HES issue. In Turkey, unionism has a strange structure. The production process affects soil and water; so workers and unions will be affected. However, unions mostly are interested in collective bargaining agreements and they are not developed enough to deal with other issues. The survival of labor struggle is only possible with sustainable environment, however they do not think of this.

There is a revolution of ideas that has never seen in Turkey. Till now, environmentalism is a movement that even cannot fill the small public squares big cities. Now, nature-defending reaches below levels of society, the villages, neighborhoods and rural areas. The struggle raises from rural and the difference is raised between environmentalism and nature defending. HES construction destroys my living space, my moral presence and my life. But there are not similar concerns in cities, in Taksim, in Istanbul; they only have intellectual concerns that put their hearths at ease.

This is not an environmentalist but a vital response. Environmentalism term irritates me, it is like a label. I am not environmentalist, environmentalism is a little NGO, a little popularity, a little show like a collection of rubbish at somewhere. After all, environmentalism is strongly connected to system. They collect rubbish but they use plastic bagged coal, there is not an internalization. This is not the case for all environmentalists, but for most of them.

It is not possible that everyone participates directly to HES opposition. First, a few people arise and sue HES constructions. The struggle following these cases can be successful. Otherwise, a national environmentalist movement is not possible because each valley has its own differences that cause conflicts. Each valley should struggle depending its own truths and should help if neighbor valley calls for. You cannot say these valleys are mine but each valley is decided by its own people.

The critique of urban environmentalism and role of unions are similar to LM approach. Moreover, the imply on the presence of a few people to ignite a movement and the valley specific struggle is exactly same as LM principles.

Respondent 21 criticizes the role of representative of parliament and state of welfare-liberal model. His platform is active and joins every issue even they are out of environmental issues. He says:

There is no need to ask representatives but people should talk. Local people and local councils are enough. The authorities ask us everything. We are dealing with tea factory, town's garbage issues also.

Respondent 22 takes closer position to LM model in terms of regional organization and criticizing political party politics as:

Local people should decide. Without looking for difference, people from all parties join our activities. There should be some principles, it should be local and should organize from bottom-to-top. Roof party is wrong, in fact, the organization should come from local. Than we have to organize at regional, than national scale.

By active participation, local authorities have to admit their civic power. The active citizenship, construction of public realm and civic efforts let them take a position in decision-making that is similar to LM process. Welfare-liberal model is again distorted by participation claim. Moreover, the citizen platform debating both environmental and non-environmental issues shows a LM characteristic. However, this distortion of welfare-liberal model and the tendency to LM model cannot be defined as neither democratic-socialist not revolutionary-socialist models of CT. Both socialist models have statecraft realms dominating citizen participation to decision making.

The nature of local platforms is critical to be a public realm according to LM. Respondent 22 implies that the platform meetings are designed by people whose

issues are presented. The agenda is prepared by their wishes; therefore, the meeting represents them similar to citizen assembly of LM model that further necessitates permanent political realm with participation of all citizens. The referendum call<sup>30</sup> of İkişdere Society is an example of desire to join decision-making processes; that respondent 22 says:

DEKAP should be active about other issues as well as HES issue. There must be referendums at local scale about HES and other issues. The only solution is the unity of people. In İkişdere, everybody comes including women, children.

The referendum call and platform meetings are significant examples of the distortion of welfare-liberal model with LM aspects. Current welfare-liberal decision-making mechanisms cannot answer and so erodes. However, the question is important whether this distortion is enough to generate a LM movement. Even the civic participation claims for platforms and referendums are significant; LM means more than participation claims. However, if LM is an ideal model, the participation claims to decision-making mechanisms via citizen assemblies are crucial attempts. Respondent 24 implies the role of struggle igniting a change in politics as:

We have understood after five years of struggle that people should claim for their living place. Our valley society represents people. Local people should be consulted before decision-making.

Respondent 18 implies his transformation during HES opposition and his distrust to state and belief in local people as:

I am struggling against the HES company for six years. I cannot live in this place after all. HES company takes Environmental Impact Assessment Report and muhtar is sold bribed. I sued and so stopped them. I sold my cow for the expenses of the legal struggle to defend my valley. I was thinking to build a roof to my house, but I used this two-thousand TL and sold my cow to reach five thousands TL.

HES constructions made us favour; they made us unite and taught us conservation. Normally, villager does not protect. From now on, people should join other issues as well as environment.

During protests, I feel as I am defending not only myself, not only the region but also all world. We are not talking about only us or seventy-two millions but also six billions.

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<sup>30</sup> <http://www.etha.com.tr/Haber/2010/10/29/guncel/ikizdere-halki-referandum-istiyor/> Retrieved December 21, 2010.

State is for rich people and contractors; they have invaded everywhere. Only those who are damaged can protect. Those who lost their, honey, fish can protect. Protection is the task of local people. Someone is taking your life and you are aware of it.

Respondent 19 wants new politics beyond parties that should generate from bottom-to-top.

We will support non-environmental issues also. Everyone should be able to join the management process, DEKAP is not obligatory. Parliament cannot know, either municipality or town; but only people know. The common will and decisions of people are important.

Respondent 20 is similar also:

There should be referendum and I should have a right to vote. State and parliament can be, but the participation of village people is inevitable. Because I live here, this water affects me also.

Respondent 23 wants local politics also as

A local council should be established to represent everyone's thoughts. Voting can be done to reflect everyone's choices. It is important that people should manage itself.

Respondent 25 also implies the role of local people in new politics as:

First of all local people who live here, who are affected should join without any political difference. There should be village councils with muhtars and also scientists.

People should have a platform to show their will that any political difference between them does not affect. Welfare-liberal ENGO structure is not enough for them and platform is similar to citizen assembly of LM. Furthermore, he needs a regional cooperation like bottom-to-top in confederal structure. Even he limits decision-making with environmental issues; in dialectical process, he may notice environment is social and political. However, the civic claim of local and regional governance needs to approve and participation of most of the citizens of ecosystems and ecoregions.

#### *About ENGOS*

DEKAP denies the involvement of national ENGOS into grassroots movement that national ENGOS works for funds. Respondent 23 states their critical position as

We do not contact national and international bodies, either with Turkey Water Council. For example, we do not contact Nature Society (DD), because they took money from capitalists and they do not live here.

Respondent 26 analyses national and local ENGO with their relation to capitalism as:

National ENGO issue is a controversial subject. Some ENGOs voices louder some others voice weaker depending where they are funded. There is not an ENGO that is strongly opposes HES constructions, because they are in the middle of capitalist system. Most of their funders have mining, thermal plant investments. ENGOs are stuck and reluctantly make declarations but are not struggling. WWF is like this, Greenpeace is not against HES constructions at all. TEMA is like a state ENGO. ENGOs cannot position themselves accurately, but they cannot do due to capitalism, but peasants can do. If members of national ENGOs provide enough resource, it is possible. They can be independent and strong. According to today's model, ENGOs have to be friendly with state, they need projects and funds of state, so they cannot object state.

Local ENGOs are too passive; they do have enough training, consciousness and environmental sensivity. They do not understand HES struggle with environmentalism cover. They do think what are the effects of HES constructions when they dry the rivers, cut the trees and how they affect the lifes of people. Local ENGOs are doing anything about environment.

A member Giresun DEKAP questions the chair National ENGO-Nature Society (Doğa Derneği-DD) that DD accepts a computer as grant from a company investing of HPP<sup>31</sup>. DD chair denies grant, says, "Companies try to loot water of rivers, platforms try to loot people of rivers. We will not give rivers to both", blames leftist parties with constructing and using DEKAPs to seize people. Istanbul based Black Sea Revolts Platform – KIP (Karadeniz İsyandadır Platformu) supports<sup>32</sup> DEKAP that leftist should support people and criticizes chair of DD due to his accusing even later he apologies. Dr. Gaye Yılmaz from Bosphorus University implies the funding bound of DD with corporate sector like TEMA<sup>33</sup>. Yusuf Gürsucu, also a member of an active local ENGO (Bursa-DogaDer) blames DD for "feeding from EU's

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<sup>31</sup> [http://www.gorelesol.com/haber/haber\\_detay.asp?haberID=2970](http://www.gorelesol.com/haber/haber_detay.asp?haberID=2970) Retrived March 26, 2011.

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[http://www.karadenizisyandadir.org/web/index.php?option=com\\_content&view=article&id=437:ku\\_rtolu-yok-tek-bana-&catid=87:sonhaberler&Itemid=326](http://www.karadenizisyandadir.org/web/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=437:ku_rtolu-yok-tek-bana-&catid=87:sonhaberler&Itemid=326) Retrieved June 11, 2011.

<sup>33</sup> [http://www.supolitik.org/karbon\\_ticareti-gaye\\_yilmaz-Birgun.htm](http://www.supolitik.org/karbon_ticareti-gaye_yilmaz-Birgun.htm) Retrived March 30, 2011.

imperialist projects” and implies the socialist position as against ENGOS supporting capitalist destruction of nature<sup>34</sup>. This polemic shows the critical approach of local platforms for national ENGOS about their relations with companies and shows the accusation of ENGOS to platforms about their leftist aspects<sup>35</sup>. National NGOS in Turkey are widely questioned at local level about their relations with private sector that funds their projects. This strong criticism shows division between welfare and market liberal environmentalisms of ENGOS in Turkey. Local welfare-liberal ENGOS react against national ENGOS due to their market-liberal tendencies as becoming professional and corporate companies. However, the criticism is stuck in current system as Bookchin implies and welfare-liberal ENGOS ask for better regulations of state, and join local protests and national campaigns to make pressure on companies, whereas LM and revolutionary socialists asks for grassroots movement having political aspects.

About DEKAP’s approach to national ENGOS, there is a significant story. Respondent 22 told about confusion that arose between a local ENGO and activists in a meeting against HES. While (Doğader) a local ENGO representative began to talk about their organization and activities, other activists reacted to him and questioned his presence. Because, the name of local ENGO is very similar to a national ENGO that is strongly criticized due to its corporate representative on management board and its acceptance of funds from that company. Activists wanted him to leave their meeting because that national ENGO does not represent people and nature but corporate sector. However, local ENGO representative eventually accomplishes to tell about their real identity. Eventually, the activists advice the local ENGO to change its name. Despite national-local conflict in Turkey, Rootes (2009:25) questions the affectivity of ENGOS. He implies that British national NGOs are marginalized in affecting national policymaking and they are not organized to help local NGOs with the exception of Friends of the Earth. Their interest local campaigns is low due to their professionalization causing “resource constrained” and caring donors more than members. The situation is similar in Turkey; national ENGOS are organized as national companies working on raising

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<sup>34</sup> [http://www.sendika.org/yazi.php?yazi\\_no=35775](http://www.sendika.org/yazi.php?yazi_no=35775) Retrieved May 23, 2011.

<sup>35</sup> <http://www.dogadernegi.org/cevrecinin-daniskas-anadoluyu-vermeyecegiz.aspx> Retrieved April 30, 2011.

environment sector but have a limited affect on policymaking. On the other hand, local campaigns are not depending on interests, profit making, donations; but depends on real environmental concerns. Therefore, national NGOs give very symbolic and limited support to local campaigns that are not profitable for their profit making environmentalism and also cause conflict against government and private sector threatening funding opportunities from both.

DEKAP criticizes not only national ENGOs but also local ones due their relations with companies showing market-liberal tendencies. Senoz Society resisted HES constructions in Senoz Valley/Rize until the accomplishment of first two HES. Then, they met with other companies to reform others. They insisted that they could not decide alone but asked people at valley; hence, they signed an agreement to improve environmental conditions of planned HES in October 2010. Their main reasons are the increasing number of HES constructions of all Turkey showing the seriousness of government and the decisions of suits that are not related energy license but environmental reports<sup>36</sup>. They insist to imply that “they are not against everything and all HES constructions”. They prefer not lose all battles but to develop compromises to save as much as they can. Moreover, they presented their compromise as an example for Turkey. The market-liberal approach shows the integration of system and looking for environmental solutions as compromises and win-win solution within current political economy but not ecological claim for a new political economy like LM. This agreement is commonly criticized along Black Sea coastline and within valley as “selling river”. However, it can be claimed as the decision of some local people according to ecosystem principle of LM model. However, the conflict arises from the representation of local people, whether local ENGO is legitimate or not. The ENGO is more organized and hierarchical compared to horizontal and temporary platforms. The members of ENGO are constant whereas the platforms are more fluid. ENGOs provide institutional structure representing will of elites that is part of liberal system however the platforms represents citizens against liberal system. Therefore, unlike welfare-liberal ENGOS, platforms can be a step to construct a public realm in terms of LM.

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<sup>36</sup> [http://www.senozderesi.com/haber\\_detay.asp?haberID=929](http://www.senozderesi.com/haber_detay.asp?haberID=929) Retrieved December 11, 2011.

### *Relation with urban resistance*

Among DEKAP, there is a clear annoyance about the urban environmentalists. Respondent 22 says,

I wanted my retirement earlier just for nature defending. This five year struggle took root from a peasant movement. Metropol environmentalist interfere in the local movement.

He wants local to decide about their living place. He accuses those taking funds from international bodies and corporate sector. This reaction is very similar to Bookchin's critique of liberal environmentalism explained above that; it shows careerism and becoming part of the system. One respondent implies the will of local people with a conflicting event. An Istanbul based platform KIP (Platform of Karadeniz Revolts) went his village and blames his platform with doing nothing. They called people for revolt and so the gendarmerie called him whether he knows those people and he heard the event or not. He went there and, did nothing. He says, "They called me fascist, because I did not help them. Only local people decide what they do. They do not want outsiders". Local decision-making and will are prior for him and those people that are crucial for LM. KIP also challenges national ENGOS. It made a press release at January 13, 2011<sup>37</sup>. The national ENGO (TEMA), which is also most common and well-known one, is criticized that its board includes private sector representatives who are also in constructing HES buildings, spread to country are protested. According to press release, TEMA seems to work for environmental protection while its board members with their companies are destroying environment like Karadeniz Coastal Road, HES constructions at Dersim, Loc Valley. In fact, they claim that TEMA covers the destruction of nature with environmentalist actions. This press release is a good example of difference between national ENGOS interrelated with private sector and others against based on local oppositions and non-profit ideals. The private sector relations of ENGOS become important characteristic in Turkey with 2000s. Not only their management boards are composed of owners of holdings but also they become main funders of ENGOS. The more private sector dominates ENGOS, the more ENGOS produce

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[http://www.karadenizisyandadir.org/web/index.php?option=com\\_content&view=article&id=428:tema-tanyalm&catid=87:sonhaberler&Itemid=326](http://www.karadenizisyandadir.org/web/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=428:tema-tanyalm&catid=87:sonhaberler&Itemid=326) Retrieved February 15, 2011.

environmentalism for the profit of private sector. The presence of national and international ENGOs with close relations to corporate sector fits into market-liberal model, while here KIP fits into zone of Revolutionary Democratic model.

Apart from interviews, I talked with a resident from Arhavi about HES and *Black Sea Coastal Road* (BCR) that was the most significant environmental problem of region following radiation effects of Chernobyl disaster in 1986. He mentioned the migration from Arhavi to Ankara, Istanbul, as “there are few people living here to resist HES”. Only summer population is significant in number but they are not local anymore in Arhavi and therefore the population in the summer months is misleading. There was similar opposition process appeared during coastal highway construction. BCR caused lots of debate and struggle along the coastline that is similar to HES opposition process. Although Black Sea Coast line is so beautiful, the means of access is not easy due to mountainous terrain. The coastal highway was developed as a solution and it took many years to finish. However, it destroyed coastal line completely. Similar to HES, it was a common issue for whole coastal line from Sinop to Artvin. However, the road is more concrete necessity than electricity of HES and includes everybody unlike that HES issue is limited mostly people of valleys. BCR has affected many more people than HES. Despite of the quantitative distinction, HES opposition generates much powerful opposition because people are struggling for their living space as a qualitative difference that is not the case for coastline. However, Ünye/Ordu showed a unique example during BCR for the current HES oppositions that citizens of Ünye act together and challenged road construction; hence, the road is diverted into tunnels instead of destroying coastal line. Ünye people show grassroots success that is strong but not sustainable and structural, therefore it does not spread to other community issues as LM desired. After road opposition, they return welfare-liberal model as passive citizens who waits state to check and control environmental issues. Ünye example shows the need of sustainability of local political movement that DEKAP has to generate its own permanent structure not only dealing all community issues but also becoming a local and regional long-term organization providing political realm. The welfare-liberal model is dominant despite some civic and participative distortions like Ünye during BCR. Whether HES opposition goes beyond welfare-liberal model or not is the most important question. The qualitative aspect as threatened living space and the regional cooperation are better aspects of HES opposition compared to BCR issue.

## CHAPTER 5

### CONCLUSION

#### *Introduction*

The thesis aimed to analyse raising environmental grassroots movements in Turkey. The HES opposition shows new and unique aspects against 'environmentalism' in Turkey. Except Bergama case as grassroots movement against an environmental threat, for the first time local people developed almost hundreds grassroots movements throughout the country challenging HES constructions. Local people, who have not joined any protests in their lives, became pioneers of protests voicing new slogans like "we will resist for our right of live until the end". Not only they joined the environmental movement but they also used concepts of 'right of nature' and 'living space' for the first time. The unique difference between traditional urban environmentalism from environmental local grassroots activities let me write this thesis after years of professional ENGO experience in several fields of Turkey. Social ecology is inevitable in order to analyse this difference through environment/nature and environmentalism/ecology dualities. Only the critique of liberal environmentalism and radical proposal of LM can uncover and analysis the significance of rising environmental grassroots in Turkey. Whole thesis is written in according to this dual claim of social ecology and has to be read in accordance to environmentalism/ecology duality. Beyond the scope of social movement literature (section 3.2.4), social ecological analysis provides insights of environmental grassroots in terms of ideology, economics, politics, activities and organization within dominations perspective.

In this chapter, I want to sum up the findings from the theoretical analysis and refer to the developed model and the fieldwork about HES opposition and environmentalism. I will present my **conclusion** as classification table-CT from the theory part and findings from fieldwork answering both **research questions**. The classification table (CT) integrates ontology, activities, organization, ideology, economics and politics of environmentalist actions. I applied CT at three fields among Black Sea Region where HES opposition is strongest. Three different organizations (ENGO, union and platform) present similar and different aspects in

terms of political economy. Hopefully, I want to reach useful **recommendations** to improve our understanding of environmental crisis and actions that social ecology defines ecology within social frame. The classification is to be used as a reference but not a strict tool. The experience of analyzing environmental actions with political economy classification will be useful if we want to assess current situation of environmentalism beyond current system not only in Turkey but also around world. I plan **a future research** to accomplish a most comprehensive analysis of HES opposition as well as other environmental grassroots movements in Turkey. After completion of analyzing grassroots movements, I want to focus on urban and market/welfare-liberal professional environmentalism. The whole picture as assessment of environmentalism in Turkey will only be finalized with an analysis of the history of environmentalism in Turkey. The thesis claimed to **contribute** to the development of a classification table based on economy politics and political economy analysis of raising environmental grassroots movements in Turkey. I had some **limitations** like, the classification tool ,is used for the first time and only three fields were studied among a number of many more.. The structured approach of using code list without voice recording and continuous noting is also a significant limitation in terms of a qualitative research. In terms of **reflection**, the participant observation method would have been probably very useful. A further cooperation with other researchers and significant figures of environmentalism in Turkey would have been also important

#### *Research Objectives: Summary of Findings and Conclusions*

My research aim was to grasp the raising environmental grassroots movement throughout Turkey that seems much different from traditional, urban and professional environmentalism that hardly reacts against HES destruction. First research question is “How HES opposition can be analyzed in terms of social ecology?” The theoretical framework of this thesis is social ecology including radical and comprehensive analysis of ecological crisis, therefore to answer the first question, I generated a more abstract question as “how can any environmental action be analyzed in terms of social economy?”

In order to achieve my research aim, I divided the thesis in two parts. **First part is devoted to the development of a classification table-CT.** Current social movements literature do focus on ideology, actions, economics, politics and

organizations separately; in fact, it cannot generate a holistic analysis in terms political economy. On the other hand, social ecology criticizes liberal environmentalism, Marxism and deep ecology, moreover it develops an alternative political program as Libertarian Municipalism beyond environmental actions to solve ecological crisis. Biehl detailed LM with Bookchin as founder of social ecology that I developed a model from their work referencing LM. In order to improve social ecological critiques of liberal environmentalism, Marxism and deep ecology, Pepper's classification of political philosophies and environmentalism depending on O'Riordan's analysis on ecocentrism and technocentrism, provides a frame. However, Pepper's classification is lacking social ecology and LM that are beyond an ecosocialist solution stuck in human-nature duality. I improved Pepper's classification by integrating LM as reference model to generate a **classification table** as the answer of second research question "how can any environmental action be analyzed in terms of social ecology?"

The CT is an ideal type to analyse not only grassroots movement of HES opposition in Turkey but also environmentalism in general. The CT is an analytical tool. It needs improvement and methodological testing is urgent. It is developed to show ideological differences of environmentalist actions. Social ecology insists on the social roots of ecological crisis as domination of nature that is caused by dominations within society. The six different ideologies and there respective political economy positions present their understanding of society, economy, nature, politics and so environmental actions.

**Second part of the thesis is the field study** to answer first and main research question "How HES opposition can be analyzed in terms of social ecology". The use of CT not only grasps environmental grassroots movement in Turkey, but also improves itself for further field studies. Although HES opposition is spread among Turkey due to almost two thousand HES constructions, I focused on Black Sea Region where the grassroots movement is much significant and accessible for me. Even grassroots movement is similar among region, I have chosen three fields that are different in terms of organization and politics; YAD is a local and official ENGO Aksu Valley Union is a temporary local platform of conservative inhabitants while DEKAP is a local and regional platform of threatened citizens of valleys. In fact, DEKAP provides the best model for LM with its regional organization and living

space notion beyond environment. Aksu Valley shows an alternative path of demand for participation to decision-making while having a conservative background. YAD presents a town and middle class based ENGO' perspective representing traditional environmentalism.

The **ENGO in Artvin** shows the civic aspect of a small town that is different from valleys as living space of other two fields. YAD is in a town where local people are not directly affected by HES constructions. It is not founded for HES issues but for a similar threat, mine construction years before, moreover it has an official structure of welfare-liberal model that is different from platforms and unions. Members of YAD are criticizing capitalist domination of nature fitting welfare-liberal model; they do not advance the critique beyond welfare-liberal model that is actually a reformed version of capitalism. ENGO is a professional, bureaucratic and hierarchical organization by definition, even the members of YAD claim non-hierarchical structure. As a typical welfare-liberal environmental organization, local ENGO presents the elite and middle class member profile that can be called as intellectuals of town who are different from local citizens of the valley. As a pressure group, YAD states their belief in planning, science and technology as well as strict state regulations showing welfare-liberal model. YAD implies participation of local people -a LM aspect- less than other field cases, union and platform, because of its different member profile than others have. In terms of activities, legal struggle and protests targeting decision makers, are preferable as well as information meetings that former two are the choices of citizens of welfare-liberal model, while information meetings does not target the decision makers but local people who should be real decision makers through citizen assemblies for LM model. The critique of national ENGOs is important in terms of being against market-liberal environmentalism as another LM aspect. The nature is mostly seen as biodiversity and environment to be protected but it is not close to their lives that shows welfare-liberal model. Among three fields, YAD has welfare-liberal aspects most. **Aksu Valley** presents a union structure that is formed by apolitical and conservative inhabitants transforming into active citizens of an ecocommunity within valley ecosystem showing LM aspects. The union is able to overcome ethnic and cultural differences among different villages in the valley. It is similar to citizen assembly of LM that is unofficial and non-hierarchical organization. However, it shows the reactive nature of union which will probably vanish after HES issue unlike LM ideals. They mostly are against HES at their valley

and look for a solution from state even though they opened a court against state. The ultimate solution is based on planning of development investments that shows characteristic of welfare-liberal model. Legal struggle and lobbying as union activities are welfare-liberal choices to affect decision-makers like state, ministers etc. However, the information meetings and union meetings are similar to citizen assemblies of LM as designed for the participation of citizens of ecocommunity to decision-making process. The thankless lobby actions strengthened demand for direct participation to decision-making. Conception of nature shows both welfare-liberal and LM properties that it is mostly an environment as a resource and their opposition to HES is mostly limited to their valley. However, they define their valley as a living space showing LM aspect. Aksu Valley shows the transformation of citizens and ecocommunity with valley ecosystem showing LM aspects that does not fit welfare-liberal model of passive citizens of nation state society. Among three fields, Aksu takes a mid position between welfare-liberal and LM models due to its participation demand without questioning current system.

**DEKAP** is similar to Aksu Union in terms of its platform structure that is temporary, unofficial and non-hierarchical as a tendency to become citizen assembly of LM. Moreover, it has a regional dimension that there are many DEKAPs along Black Sea Coast line. They act together, help each other and behave as a one body; in fact, they form a regional body like a confederative structure of LM that each platform sends delegates carrying their will to regional level; bottom-to-top. DEKAP shows distrust to parliamentarism and calls for participation of local people that they are closer to LM than welfare-liberal model. Although they are following legal struggle as a welfare-liberal environmental activity, they organized many information and platform meetings by citizens of eco-communities of valleys. Moreover, they join other valley's activities too and they name the whole process as "defending life" showing LM aspect ecocommunity & ecosystem whole. DEKAPs strongly criticize capitalism and its domination of nature and favor a localized economy fitting LM. However, their belief in growth of economy and science&technology shows liberal and socialist understanding stuck in economic discourse. Although they talk about environmental problems instead of an ecological crisis as a welfare-liberal discourse, they call valleys as their "living space" showing the critical LM aspect, ecocommunity of ecosystem. Their regional cooperation also depends on ecocommunities of different ecosystems. Among the three fields, DEKAPs takes

position closer to LM with its regional cooperation and defending life discourse beyond environmentalism.

#### *Differences among three fields*

Among three fields, YAD shows many aspects of welfare-liberal model with its ENGO structure, middle class profile and desire of strict state controls and planning. The member of an ENGO is a citizen of nation state who forsakes his political will for representative politics. The passive citizen, asking state to control and to regulate, is a member of society that is over himself unlike LM citizen of ecocommunity. YAD's support to local people claiming their living space is significant in terms of LM despite of its ENGO presence. Aksu Valley Union has more LM aspects than YAD with his temporary, non-official and citizen based union structure and living space claim. The apolitical residents satisfying with representative system ask for the participation to decision-making mechanism at local scale even limited to water issue. The welfare-liberal model is distorted by LM that desires direct participation of citizens. DEKAP shows LM aspects more than other two models not only with numerous platforms acting together and forming a regional confederation but also the claim to join decision-making more than water issue. Local people struggle against HES constructions as 'defending life' that they link their life with nature as LM states. Not only elites but also women, young and others join actions and decision-making. Apolitical inhabitants become active citizens of community defending their living space. Each individual become a political actor of his life within an ecocommunity that provides a political realm that both citizen and ecocommunity coexist in living space. The bottom-up civic organization is not limited to local platforms but reaches a regional scale to form a confederated structure. Forming a regional DEKAP body is inevitable to support each other while local platforms decide about themselves.

#### *Similarities among the three fields*

For three fields, the struggle introduced a demand to participate in decision-making that welfare-liberal model is distorted with direct participation demand to decision-making. The platforms construct a political realm that LM insists on. Local people used term 'living place' instead of environment and nature; that they link their life with nature that fits LM approach to nature-society relationship. Environmental grassroots movement shows civic potential of their local that they lead in terms of

participation into decision-making. They want local people to decide instead of representatives and bureaucrats. They criticize national and international ENGOs that become part of corporate and state sectors providing funds. Environmental grassroots movement takes critical approach about accepting funds and resists. The field study gives current analytical picture of environmental grassroots movement which evolve from welfare-liberal model to more participative position of local people and more critical approach to state, national ENGOs, international bodies and significant actors of traditional environmentalism.

The political economy analysis grasps the environmental, political, organization and ideological position of HES opposition. The raise of environmental grassroots movement is different from traditional, urban and professional environmentalism in the sense that it conceives environment as part of life. Local people demand to affect their life and to join decision-making process distorting grassroots frame of welfare-liberal model. The threat to local life dialectically makes passive people become active citizens of their ecosystem that shows the ecological links between society and nature. LM seems only convenient approach integrating society and nature in radical, ecological and democratic movement.

### *Recommendations*

Having completed the thesis and referring to the conclusion, I want to **recommend** that the ecological crisis is much more than environmental problems that hide real and social roots like dominations within society. The social ecological critique of environmentalism provides an adequate base to overcome environmentalism hence the social aspect of ecological crisis has to be the main research issue. The classification table derived from Pepper and Biehl's studies is an ideal type and analytical tool that needs constructive critiques to be more useful. The classes, shape, relations can be changed in order to reach a better critical analytical tool. In terms of future research, I want to analyze current HES opposition not only in the Black Sea Region but also in other parts of Turkey. I also want to focus on grassroots movement against nuclear, thermal plants as well as other issues like mine issues to complete the environmental grassroots picture of Turkey. Then, I want to work on traditional, urban and professional environmentalism that is strongly criticized by local grassroots movements. The integration of urban professional and local grassroots environmentalism may yield a current picture of environmentalism in Turkey. In order to complete the whole picture, a research about history of

environmentalism in Turkey is necessary. Oral history and literature review will be significant tools; however, a symposium is necessary to gather related actors and studies about this challenging work. The analysis of environmentalism in Turkey should be useful for other countries however; the research process has to be based on relation of society and nature according to social ecology. Otherwise, it can be easily stuck in welfare-liberal discourse which has terms like conservation, planning and sustainable development.

### *Contribution*

There are few analyses of environmentalism in Turkey related with environmentalism/ecology duality. In this thesis, I aimed to analyse environmentalism including ontology, organization, actions and politics; hence, I developed a social ecological tool depending on political economy from Pepper's and Biehl's works. Another contribution is the analysis of rising environmental grassroots movement in Turkey and showing the place of environmentalism in the big picture of political economy. Depending on LM, it is shown that the more people participate directly in decision-making processes, the less domination of nature they cause. Only societies organizing against dominations within society can provide harmonic relations with nature. This research is expected to become an example for political economy analysis of environmental actions according to the environmentalism critique of social ecology that insists on the social roots of ecological crisis. It is an attempt to go beyond an environmentalism discourse and social movements literature in order to analyse potential and possibility of ecological solutions.

I had some **limitations** about the classification tool that is developed during this work, it will be easier for further researches. Lack of literature about political economy approach to environmentalism is another limitation that current studies focused on environmental movement in terms of actions, and green parties for politics. Another point is that I wish I had a chance to make field research at some other HES opposition areas to check my finding at Black Sea Region. Beyond the theoretical work, there is an important limitation in terms of methodology. As I detailed at section 4.2, the use of structured code list limits the implementation of in-depth interview in terms of qualitative research. The lack of voice recording and continuous noting during in-depth interviews is caused due to the concerns of respondents and the structural nature of classification table.

In terms of **self-reflection**, I would have tried more to contact other researchers studying HES opposition to prevent duplication. I have heard few people working on the field that their research focus is different from mine. It would be better if I had a chance to discuss this new and unique HES opposition with significant figures in environmentalism. Their insights might be critical and so useful. However, I plan to develop my future research through consultation processes with those significant figures. In terms of methodology, as I mentioned at section 4.2 the participant observation method is also needed to grasp the HES opposition. At least, observation of protests and other activities of HES opposition would provide further insights.

Finally, the thesis aims to show that the perspective of social ecology is critical to link social and ecological issues. Social ecology addresses domination of man stemming from domination of nature that inevitably causes ecological crisis. The environmental problem is not technical but social, so the solution should be social. The critiques and alternative proposal of social ecology, LM are shown at CT that is an analytical tool to analyze any kind of environmental actions. As shown in CT, social ecology proposes a citizen-ecocommunity frame that can be grasped by agent-structure problematic of sociology. The citizen of ecocommunity is neither a passive agent dominated by structure nor a selfish individual seeking his rational interests. The citizen self realizes himself through the participation of decision-making mechanisms within community. The agent and structure coexists within community that is rational, democratic and ecological society of LM model. Social ecology provides critical insights to environmental sociology with citizen, ecocommunity and ecosystem space complex. Ecology becomes a social concept to define relations both 'within society and between nature and society, as first and second natures'. Furthermore, social ecology goes beyond social movements literature with holistic approach including LM, as radical political programme.

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## APPENDICES

### APPENDIX A

#### SUMMARIES OF INTERVIEWS

##### Shortened version of Meeting Codes List - No: 1

##### A. ACTIVITIES

<u>Decision making by</u>				
a.Voting	b. Consensus- <b>X</b>	c.President-leader decides		
<u>Environmental actions of HES opposition 1: mostly, 3:few</u>				
a.Legal struggle- <b>X</b>	b.Protests	c.Petition	d.physical interference	e.information meeting- <b>X</b>
f.Press release	g.E-mails	h.Lobbying	i.Local specific actions	j.media campaign
<u>Continuation after HES issue : <b>YES</b></u>				

##### B.ENVIRONMENTALISM

<p><u>The type of management (1-3) : : <b>When we say let local people decide, they may use nature badly. Therefore, I want to trust to state and parliament. I want this trust, then there will not need for local people and ENGOs. However, I cannot trust state and government while the state and government authorities are so bad. There can be a good state and government, I say why not?</b></u></p> <p><b>The earth is finished, we are just trying to extend the finishing and we are not solving the problem. Because, it is not possible to stop domination of nature entirely.”</b></p>			
a.State should stop industrialism.		b.State and parliament are main; pressure groups and consumers are affective..-1	
c.Free market solve environmental problems		d.Decreasing role of state, but parliament, unions are active with more focus local governance-2	
e.Capitalism is to be overcome. Not parliament, but class struggle.		f. Self-management at local scale. Free nature is possible with free nature.. g. other	
<u>Participation to environmental activities (1-3)</u>			
a.Protester	b. Nation-state citizen-1	c.Habitant-2	d.Member of environmental organization
e.Member of a political party	f.Concious Consumer-2	g.World Citizen-2	h.Part of nature at local

##### C. DEVELOPMENT, ENERGY, SCIENCE, TECHNOLOGY

<u>Type of economy should be</u>			
<b>Economy should adopt local scale, but there should be a good life. I am against HES, but it can be possible at basin based planning. If there is electricity disposal, theew will not need for HES.</b>			
a.State controls private sector -1	b.Free private sector	c.State dominated	d.Workers governed-1
e. Decreasing state and localization	f.Local and adopting natural processes-2	g. other	
<u>Science and technology solves environmental solutions.</u>			
<b>It is not only HES, but it is possible with solar energy. Economic growth must be stable, there must be better planning and resource use.</b>			

#### D. ENVIRONMENT/NATURE

<u>What nature is? 1-3</u>			
a. Hierarchical order which human obeys	b. Environment and natural resources that humankind dominates-1	c.Biodiversity, natural beauty, wild life, landscape-2	d.Accumulative history of evolutionary process that humankind is active part of
<u>Humankind-nature relation (1-3)</u>			
a.Humankind is superior to nature and is free what to do	b. Humankind is superior to nature, but he has to use it properly..-1	c.Humankind is an ordinary part of nature such as fish, tree.	d. Nature is superior to humankind and nature orders.
e.Humankind is a competent part of nature and has to live with nature in harmony.-2	g.other		
<b>Humankind is harmful to nature Humankind is not coherent with nature, he always wants more. If nature is used well, there will not be a problem. While humanking comes to earth, it destroys and no way out. I saw a documentary of National Geographic; humankind extincts and nature recovers....I do not knwo when human become evil, may be its the invention of gun.</b>			
<u>There is a relation among dominations of woman, nature, poor and all others. There is little relation, the nature problem can be solved separately.</u>			

#### Shortened version of Meeting Codes List - No: 2

##### A. ACTIVITIES

<u>Decision making by</u>		
a.Voting	b. Consensus - X	c.President-leader decides
<u>Environmental actions of HES opposition 1: mostly, 3:few</u>		

a.Legal struggle-	b.Protests - 2	c.Petition	d.physical interference	e.information meeting
f.Press release	g.E-mails	h.Lobbying	i.Local specific actions	j.media campaign-1
Continuation after HES issue : <b>YES</b>				

**B.ENVIRONMENTALISM**

<u>The type of management (1-3) : <b>People should decide, the deficiency of people is not their fault.</b></u>			
a.State should stop industrialism.		b.State and parliament are main; pressure groups and consumers are affective..	
c.Free market solve environmental problems		d.Decreasing role of state, but parliament, unions are active with more focus local governance	
e.Capitalism is to be overcome. Not parliament, but class struggle.		f. Self-management at local scale. Free nature is possible with free nature.. - 1 g. other	
<u>Participation to environmental activities (1-3)</u>			
a.Protester	b. Nation-state citizen	c.Habitant – 3	d.Member of environmental organization
e.Member of a political party	f.Concious Consumer	g.World Citizen -1	h.Part of nature at local -1

**C. DEVELOPMENT, ENERGY, SCIENCE, TECHNOLOGY**

<u>Type of economy should be: <b>I am not sure how economy should be; each type has its own advantages.</b></u>			
a.State controls private sector	b.Free private sector	c.State dominated	d.Workers governed
e. Decreasing state and localization	f.Local and adopting natural processes	g. other	
<u>Science and technology solves environmental solutions.</u>			

**D. ENVIRONMENT/NATURE**

<u>What nature is? 1-3</u>			
a. Hierarchical order which human obeys - 1	b. Environment and natural resources that humankind dominates - 2	c.Biodiversity, natural beauty, wild life, landscape - 3	d.Accumulative history of evolutionary process that humankind is active part of
<u>Humankind-nature relation (1-3) <b>Humankind is not ordinary part of nature. He is the only living thing who can see his effects and change it. Nature is always superior, however humankind can adopt it also, therefore humankind has to consider all these.</b></u>			
a.Humankind is superior to nature and is free what to do	b. Humankind is superior to nature, but he has to use it properly..	c.Humankind is an ordinary part of nature such as fish, tree.	d. Nature is superior to humankind and nature orders.

e.Humankind is a competent part of nature and has to live with nature in harmony.	g.other		
<u>Humankind is harmful to nature</u> <b>People prefers individual interest in short term to general interest in long term.</b>			
<u>There is a relation among dominations of woman, nature, poor and all others.:</u>			

### Shortened version of Meeting Codes List - No: 3

#### A. ACTIVITIES

<u>Decision making by</u>				
a.Voting	b. Consensus -X	c.President-leader decides		
<u>Environmental actions of HES opposition 1: mostly, 3:few</u> : <b>There should be media campaign, it is our fault. But, it is done during Anatolian Walk.</b>				
a.Legal struggle-1	b.Protests -2	c.Petition-2	d.physical interference	e.information meeting-1
f.Press release -1	g.E-mails	h.Lobbying - 2	i.Local specific actions -3	j.media campaign
<u>Continuation after HES issue</u> : <b>YES</b>				

#### B.ENVIRONMENTALISM :

<u>The type of management (1-3) :</u>			
<b>I:Why the opposition party is better for HES issue?</b>			
<b>R3: Because the other candidate (not elected) says he will not let HES projects.</b>			
<b>I: Is a promise enough for you?</b>			
<b>R3: I have no choice other than to believe him. I cannot understand why people vote them who destroy here</b>			
a.State should stop industrialism.		b.State and parliament are main; pressure groups and consumers are affective..-1	
c.Free market solve environmental problems		d.Decreasing role of state, but parliament, unions are active with more focus local governance-2	
e.Capitalism is to be overcome. Not parliament, but class struggle.		f. Self-management at local scale. Free nature is possible with free nature.. g. other	
<u>Participation to environmental activities (1-3)</u>			
a.Protester-2	b. Nation-state citizen-1	c.Habitant	d.Member of environmental organization

e.Member of a political party	f.Concious Consumer	g.World Citizen	h.Part of nature at local-2
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C. DEVELOPMENT, ENERGY, SCIENCE, TECHNOLOGY

<u>Type of economy should be :</u> <b>Economy should be at local within frame of municipalities.</b>			
a.State controls private sector -1	b.Free private sector	c.State dominated	d.Workers governed
e. Decreasing state and localization	f.Local and adopting natural processes- -3	g. other	
<u>Science and technology solves environmental solutions.</u> <b>Science and technology can solve</b>			

D. ENVIRONMENT/NATURE

<u>What nature is? 1-3</u>			
a. Hierarchical order which human obeys	b. Environment and natural resources that humankind dominates -1	c.Biodiversity, natural beauty, wild life, landscape -1	d.Accumulative history of evolutionary process that humankind is active part of
<u>Humankind-nature relation (1-3)</u>			
a.Humankind is superior to nature and is free what to do	b. Humankind is superior to nature, but he has to use it properly..-1	c.Humankind is an ordinary part of nature such as fish, tree.	d. Nature is superior to humankind and nature orders.
e.Humankind is a competent part of nature and has to live with nature in harmony.	g.other		
<u>Humankind is harmful to natureX</u>			
<u>There is a relation among dominations of woman, nature, poor and all others.</u>			

**Shortened version of Meeting Codes List - No: 4**

A. ACTIVITIES

<u>Decision making by :</u>		
<b>Our ENGO is founded against mine constructions, in order to control our life. It starts with the rise of a problem, like GMF, nuclear threatening our life.</b>		
<b>We do not accept money from foreign countries, we do not accept money from unknown resource. Once, we accept money from a company, but we are against. That money did not reach the society, a friend used it for a project. We did not join advertisement of that company either.</b>		
a.Voting	b. Consensus -X	c.President-leader decides
<u>Environmental actions of HES opposition 1: mostly, 3:few</u>		

a.Legal struggle-2	b.Protests-2	c.Petition	d.physical interference	e.information meeting-1
f.Press release-3	g.E-mails	h.Lobbying -2	i.Local specific actions	j.media campaign
Continuation after HES issue : <b>YES</b>				

#### B.ENVIRONMENTALISM

<u>The type of management (1-3) :</u>			
<p><b>I am against HES, they cause migration. They destroy fertile soil and farm lands. People lost their income and migrates.</b></p> <p><b>We want local claims nature". We should support them, the principal is local ownership."</b></p> <p>....</p> <p><b>We are one of the founders of DEKAP and also are Artvin representative. It is founded as regional organization. Members of political parties sometimes highlight politics in front of HES opposition, so we do not agree with this subject. HES issue is beyond political parties! We should be open people from all political parties.</b></p> <p><b>TEMA unwillingly supports HES struggle and Greenpeace blames lacking of potential to join. But, there are both good and bad sides of national and international ENGOS. On the other hand, companies start their own ENGOS, in fact all ENGOS are not same.</b></p>			
a.State should stop industrialism.		b.State and parliament are main; pressure groups and consumers are affective..	
c.Free market solve environmental problems		d.Decreasing role of state, but parliament, unions are active with more focus local governance -1	
e.Capitalism is to be overcome. Not parliament, but class struggle.		f. Self-management at local scale. Free nature is possible with free nature.. g. other	
<u>Participation to environmental activities (1-3)</u>			
a.Protester	b. Nation-state citizen-1	c.Habitant-1	d.Member of environmental organization
e.Member of a political party	f.Concious Consumer	g.World Citizen	h.Part of nature at local-2

#### C. DEVELOPMENT, ENERGY, SCIENCE, TECHNOLOGY

<u>Type of economy should be</u>			
a.State controls private sector -1	b.Free private sector	c.State dominated	d.Workers governed
e. Decreasing state and localization -2	f.Local and adopting natural processes-	g. other	
Science and technology solves environmental solutions. -X			

#### D. ENVIRONMENT/NATURE

<u>What nature is? 1-3</u>			
a. Hierarchical order which human obeys	b. Environment and natural resources that humankind dominates-2	c. Biodiversity, natural beauty, wild life, landscape-1	d. Accumulative history of evolutionary process that humankind is active part of
<u>Humankind-nature relation (1-3)</u>			
a. Humankind is superior to nature and is free what to do	b. Humankind is superior to nature, but he has to use it properly..-1	c. Humankind is an ordinary part of nature such as fish, tree.	d. Nature is superior to humankind and nature orders.
e. Humankind is a competent part of nature and has to live with nature in harmony.-2	g. other		
<u>Humankind is harmful to nature</u>			
<u>There is a relation among dominations of woman, nature, poor and all others.</u>			

### Shortened version of Meeting Codes List - No: 5

#### A. ACTIVITIES

<u>Decision making by</u>				
a. Voting	b. Consensus -X	c. President-leader decides		
<u>Environmental actions of HES opposition 1: mostly, 3:few</u>				
<b>I am against HES, because they damage nature. After a while, they will sel water. May be they are implementing policy of dehumanization. If poeple leave valleys, they can do anything nature.</b>				
a. Legal struggle-1	b. Protests	c. Petition	d. physical interference	e. information meeting
f. Press release	g. E-mails	h. Lobbying-3	i. Local specific actions	j. media campaign-3
<u>Continuation after HES issue : YES</u>				

#### B. ENVIRONMENTALISM

<u>The type of management (1-3) :</u>
<b>“I need to trust state and parliament. However, I cannot trust bad governors. There may be good state and government, why not? If governors are good enough to protect nature; there will not be a need for local people and ENGOs”.</b>
<b>I like state and the implementation of rules. People obey rules in Europe, because state makes them obey. Environmental problems should be solved by laws, there is not any decision maker except the state. However, there is a law, but it is not obeyed and government does not obey. If good people dominate and govern state, problems can be solved.</b>

a.State should stop industrialism.-2		b.State and parliament are main; pressure groups and consumers are affective..-1	
c.Free market solve environmental problems		d.Decreasing role of state, but parliament, unions are active with more focus local governance	
e.Capitalism is to be overcome. Not parliament, but class struggle.		f. Self-management at local scale. Free nature is possible with free nature.. g. other	
<u>Participation to environmental activities (1-3)</u>			
<b>When we went Golbaşı, police interfered us and I felt a citizen of nation state. Everyone should do as I did.</b>			
a.Protester-2	b. Nation-state citizen-1	c.Habitant-2	d.Member of environmental organization
e.Member of a political party	f.Concious Consumer	g.World Citizen	h.Part of nature at local-3

C. DEVELOPMENT, ENERGY, SCIENCE, TECHNOLOGY

<u>Type of economy should be</u>			
a.State controls private sector -1	b.Free private sector	c.State dominated	d.Workers governed
e. Decreasing state and localization	f.Local and adopting natural processes-3	g. other	
<u>Science and technology solves environmental solutions.</u>			

D. ENVIRONMENT/NATURE

<u>What nature is? 1-3</u>			
a. Hierarchical order which human obeys	b. Environment and natural resources that humankind dominates-1	c.Biodiversity, natural beauty, wild life, landscape-2	d.Accumulative history of evolutionary process that humankind is active part of
<u>Humankind-nature relation (1-3)</u>			
a.Humankind is superior to nature and is free what to do	b. Humankind is superior to nature, but he has to use it properly..-1	c.Humankind is an ordinary part of nature such as fish, tree.-2	d. Nature is superior to humankind and nature orders.
e.Humankind is a competent part of nature and has to live with nature in harmony.	g.other		
<u>Humankind is harmful to nature</u>			
There is a relation among dominations of woman, nature, poor and all others. <b>If you decide to exploit women, you will exploit nature also.</b>			

**Shortened version of Meeting Codes List - No: 6**

**A. ACTIVITIES**

<u>Decision making by :</u> <b>Toplantı yapmadan karar vermiyoruz</b>				
a.Voting	b. Consensus -X	c.President-leader decides		
Environmental actions of HES opposition 1: mostly, 3:few <b>“Aksu means people, people mean Aksu. When our Aksu River diminishes, as local people we know that this damages our hazelnut, our strawberry. When it damages these, it also damages us.”</b>				
a.Legal struggle-1	b.Protests	c.Petition	d.physical interference	e.information meeting-1
f.Press release	g.E-mails	h.Lobbying	i.Local specific actions	j.media campaign
<u>Continuation after HES issue:</u> <b>No</b>				

**B.ENVIRONMENTALISM**

<u>The type of management (1-3) :</u> <b>I live here, this water problem will also affect me. We should be at decision making process, we are living here. Normal option is to ask local people.</b>			
a.State should stop industrialism.		b.State and parliament are main; pressure groups and consumers are affective.. - 1	
c.Free market solve environmental problems		d.Decreasing role of state, but parliament, unions are active with more focus local governance	
e.Capitalism is to be overcome. Not parliament, but class struggle.		f. Self-management at local scale. Free nature is possible with free nature.. g. other	
<u>Participation to environmental activities (1-3)</u>			
a.Protester	b. Nation-state citizen-2	c.Habitant	d.Member of environmental organization -1
e.Member of a political party	f.Concious Consumer	g.World Citizen	h.Part of nature at local-1

**C. DEVELOPMENT, ENERGY, SCIENCE, TECHNOLOGY**

<u>Type of economy should be</u>			
a.State controls private sector -1	b.Free private sector	c.State dominated	d.Workers governed
e. Decreasing state and localization	f.Local and adopting natural processes-2	g. other	
<u>Science and technology solves environmental solutions.</u>			

**D. ENVIRONMENT/NATURE**

<u>What nature is? 1-3</u> <b>Greeny, tree, plants, agriculture, oxygen</b>			
a. Hierarchical order	b. Environment and natural resources that	c.Biodiversity, natural beauty, wild life,	d.Accumulative history of evolutionary

which human obeys	humankind dominates-1	landscape-1	process that humankind is active part of
<u>Humankind-nature relation (1-3)</u>			
a.Humankind is superior to nature and is free what to do	b. Humankind is superior to nature, but he has to use it properly..-1	c.Humankind is an ordinary part of nature such as fish, tree.	d. Nature is superior to humankind and nature orders.-2
e.Humankind is a competent part of nature and has to live with nature in harmony.	f.diğer		
<u>Humankind is harmful to nature Humankind damages nature whatever he does</u>			
<u>There is a relation among dominations of woman, nature, poor and all others. No</u>			

### Shortened version of Meeting Codes List - No: 7

#### A. ACTIVITIES

<u>Decision making by</u>				
a.Voting	b. Consensus -X	c.President-leader decides		
<u>Environmental actions of HES opposition 1: mostly, 3:few We are against HES due to this unconscious construction, also I am against HES constructions at other places. When I first heard about HES, I thought as a wheat type or apple type. Now, due to HES constructions water table is running out. Irrigation depends on water, therefore our tomatoe, pepper, onion, hazelnut, corn and poplar income is in danger.</u>				
a.Legal struggle-3	b.Protests	c.Petition	d.physical interference-1	e.information meeting -3
f.Press release	g.E-mails	h.Lobbying	i.Local specific actions	j.media campaign
<u>Continuation after HES issue: No</u>				

#### B. ENVIRONMENTALISM

<u>The type of management (1-3) : We became nature people two years ago. If we acted together, we could solve problem."</u>	
<b>Everyone should join decision making process except children.</b>	
a.State should stop industrialism.	b.State and parliament are main; pressure groups and consumers are affective..-1
c.Free market solve environmental problems	d.Decreasing role of state, but parliament, unions are active with more focus local governance
e.Capitalism is to be overcome. Not parliament,	f. Self-management at local scale. Free nature

but class struggle.		is possible with free nature.. -3 g. other	
<u>Participation to environmental activities (1-3)</u>			
a. Protester	b. Nation-state citizen-1	c. Habitant-2	d. Member of environmental organization
e. Member of a political party	f. Conscious Consumer	g. World Citizen-2	h. Part of nature at local

C. DEVELOPMENT, ENERGY, SCIENCE, TECHNOLOGY

<u>Type of economy should be</u>			
a. State controls private sector -1	b. Free private sector	c. State dominated	d. Workers governed
e. Decreasing state and localization	f. Local and adopting natural processes-3	g. other	
<u>Science and technology solves environmental solutions.</u>			

D. ENVIRONMENT/NATURE

<u>What nature is? 1-3 :</u> <b>Environment is a part of land that provides all necessities of humankind.</b>			
a. Hierarchical order which human obeys	b. Environment and natural resources that humankind dominates-1	c. Biodiversity, natural beauty, wild life, landscape	d. Accumulative history of evolutionary process that humankind is active part of
<u>Humankind-nature relation (1-3)</u>			
a. Humankind is superior to nature and is free what to do	b. Humankind is superior to nature, but he has to use it properly..-1	c. Humankind is an ordinary part of nature such as fish, tree.-3	d. Nature is superior to humankind and nature orders.
e. Humankind is a competent part of nature and has to live with nature in harmony.	f. diğer		
<u>Humankind is harmful to nature <b>Ne olursa olsun insan zararlıdır.</b></u>			
<u>There is a relation among dominations of woman, nature, poor and all others. <b>evet...</b></u>			

Shortened version of Meeting Codes List - No: 8

A. ACTIVITIES "I dont want HES constructions at other fields, last year in village we saw a documentary showing why Black Sea people opposes."

<u>Decision making by :</u>		
a. Voting	b. Consensus-X	c. President-leader decides
<u>Environmental actions of HES opposition 1: mostly, 3: few</u>		

a.Legal struggle-2	b.Protests-1	c.Petition	d.physical interference	e.information meeting-1
f.Press release	g.E-mails	h.Lobbying	i.Local specific actions	j.media campaign-3
Continuation after HES issue : <b>YES</b>				

**B.ENVIRONMENTALISM :Everyone should join the decision making process, not only governor and university. However, the state has to dominate process.**

**I want to affect non-environmental issues also, especially young people should join decision making in education issues.**

**Which century we live in? They should construct in better way. There can be a positive HES, I saw good example at neighbor village. People are content with it and asking us “why are you against HES?” If they really think and want to do, they can construct better”.**

<u>The type of management (1-3) :</u>			
a.State should stop industrialism.		b.State and parliament are main; pressure groups and consumers are affective..-1	
c.Free market solve environmental problems		d.Decreasing role of state, but parliament, unions are active with more focus local governance-2	
e.Capitalism is to be overcome. Not parliament, but class struggle.		f. Self-management at local scale. Free nature is possible with free nature.. -3 g. other	
<u>Participation to environmental activities (1-3)</u>			
a.Protester-2	b. Nation-state citizen-3	c.Habitant-1	d.Member of environmental organization
e.Member of a political party	f.Concious Consumer	g.World Citizen	h.Part of nature at local

**C. DEVELOPMENT, ENERGY, SCIENCE, TECHNOLOGY**

<u>Type of economy should be</u>			
a.State controls private sector -1	b.Free private sector	c.State dominated	d.Workers governed
e. Decreasing state and localization	f.Local and adopting natural processes-3	g. other	
<u>Science and technology solves environmental solutions. :The more technology advances, it will be much worse.</u>			

**D. ENVIRONMENT/NATURE**

<u>What nature is? 1-3</u>			
a. Hierarchical order which human obeys	b. Environment and natural resources that humankind dominates-	c.Biodiversity, natural beauty, wild life, landscape-2	d.Accumulative history of evolutionary process that humankind is active

	1		part of
<u>Humankind-nature relation (1-3)</u>			
a.Humankind is superior to nature and is free what to do	b. Humankind is superior to nature, but he has to use it properly..-1	c.Humankind is an ordinary part of nature such as fish, tree.	d. Nature is superior to humankind and nature orders.
e.Humankind is a competent part of nature and has to live with nature in harmony.-3	f.diğer		
<u>Humankind is harmful to nature: <b>Everyone is not harmful to nature</b></u>			
<u>There is a relation among dominations of woman, nature, poor and all others.: <b>It is true, I want to struggle this</b></u>			

### Shortened version of Meeting Codes List - No: 9

#### A. ACTIVITIES

<u>Decision making by</u>				
a.Voting	b. Consensus-X	c.President-leader decides		
<u>Environmental actions of HES opposition 1: mostly, 3:few</u>				
a.Legal struggle-2	b.Protests-1	c.Petition	d.physical interference	e.information meeting-1
f.Press release	g.E-mails	h.Lobbying-never	i.Local specific actions	j.media campaign
<u>Continuation after HES issue : <b>YES</b></u>				

#### B.ENVIRONMENTALISM

<u>The type of management (1-3) : <b>We should act together with other HES oppositions, Hopa struggle, DEKAP actions are hope for us.</b></u>	
<b>HES issue is not the problem of leftists as it is shown, but it is the problem of everyone.</b>	
a.State should stop industrialism.	b.State and parliament are main; pressure groups and consumers are affective..-2
c.Free market solve environmental problems	d.Decreasing role of state, but parliament, unions are active with more focus local governance
e.Capitalism is to be overcome. Not parliament, but class struggle.-1	f. Self-management at local scale. Free nature is possible with free nature..-1 g. other
<u>Participation to environmental activities (1-3)</u>	

a. Protester	b. Nation-state citizen	c. Habitant-1	d. Member of environmental organization
e. Member of a political party	f. Conscious Consumer	g. World Citizen	h. Part of nature at local-2

C. DEVELOPMENT, ENERGY, SCIENCE, TECHNOLOGY

<u>Type of economy should be</u>			
a. State controls private sector-2	b. Free private sector	c. State dominated	d. Workers governed
e. Decreasing state and localization -1	f. Local and adopting natural processes-3	g. other	
<u>Science and technology solves environmental solutions.</u>			

D. ENVIRONMENT/NATURE

<u>What nature is? 1-3</u>			
a. Hierarchical order which human obeys	b. Environment and natural resources that humankind dominates-2	c. Biodiversity, natural beauty, wild life, landscape-2	d. Accumulative history of evolutionary process that humankind is active part of-1
<u>Humankind-nature relation (1-3)</u>			
a. Humankind is superior to nature and is free what to do	b. Humankind is superior to nature, but he has to use it properly..-2	c. Humankind is an ordinary part of nature such as fish, tree.	d. Nature is superior to humankind and nature orders.
e. Humankind is a competent part of nature and has to live with nature in harmony.-1	f. diğer		
<u>Humankind is harmful to nature</u> <b>There may be a society living living harmony with nature</b>			
<u>There is a relation among dominations of woman, nature, poor and all others. : Environmentalists, feminists should act together.</u>			

**Shortened version of Meeting Codes List - No: 10**

A. ACTIVITIES

<u>Decision making by :Women, girls join all big activities, mostly young people are active.</u>				
a. Voting	b. Consensus -X	c. President-leader decides		
<u>Environmental actions of HES opposition 1: mostly, 3:few Information meetings should be regularly held, if we do not join once, we will not know what is going on.</u>				
a. Legal struggle -1	b. Protests-2	c. Petition	d. physical interference	e. information meeting-2

f.Press release-2	g.E-mails	h.Lobbying	i.Local specific actions	j.media campaign
Continuation after HES issue : <b>NO</b>				

## B.ENVIRONMENTALISM

<u>The type of management (1-3) :</u>			
a.State should stop industrialism.		b.State and parliament are main; pressure groups and consumers are affective..-1	
c.Free market solve environmental problems		d.Decreasing role of state, but parliament, unions are active with more focus local governance-3	
e.Capitalism is to be overcome. Not parliament, but class struggle.		f. Self-management at local scale. Free nature is possible with free nature.. g. other	
<u>Participation to environmental activities (1-3) (defines himself as 'Aksulu')</u>			
a.Protester	b. Nation-state citizen-1	c.Habitant-2	d.Member of environmental organization
e.Member of a political party	f.Concious Consumer	g.World Citizen	h.Part of nature at local

## C. DEVELOPMENT, ENERGY, SCIENCE, TECHNOLOGY

<u>Type of economy should be</u>			
a.State controls private sector -1	b.Free private sector	c.State dominated	d.Workers governed
e. Decreasing state and localization	f.Local and adopting natural processes-3	g. other	
<u>Science and technology solves environmental solutions. No</u>			

## D. ENVIRONMENT/NATURE

<u>What nature is? 1-3</u>			
a. Hierarchical order which human obeys	b. Environment and natural resources that humankind dominates -1	c.Biodiversity, natural beauty, wild life, landscape-2	d.Accumulative history of evolutionary process that humankind is active part of
<u>Humankind-nature relation (1-3)</u>			
a.Humankind is superior to nature and is free what to do	b. Humankind is superior to nature, but he has to use it properly..-1	c.Humankind is an ordinary part of nature such as fish, tree.	d. Nature is superior to humankind and nature orders.
e.Humankind is a competent part of nature and has to live	f.diger		

with nature in harmony.-3			
Humankind is harmful to nature			
There is a relation among dominations of woman, nature, poor and all others. :may be there is a relation, I am not sure. It is a complicated..			

### Shortened version of Meeting Codes List - No: 11

#### A. ACTIVITIES

<u>Decision making by</u>				
a.Voting	b. Consensus-X	c.President-leader decides		
<u>Environmental actions of HES opposition 1: mostly, 3:few First of all, the village should know the situation.</u>				
a.Legal struggle-2	b.Protests	c.Petition	d.physical interference	e.information meeting-1
f.Press release	g.E-mails	h.Lobbying-2	i.Local specific actions	j.media campaign
<u>Continuation after HES issue : NO</u>				

#### B. ENVIRONMENTALISM

<u>The type of management (1-3) : State and village council decide together – In our village, old people decides, but it is changing.</u>			
a.State should stop industrialism.		b.State and parliament are main; pressure groups and consumers are affective..-1	
c.Free market solve environmental problems		d.Decreasing role of state, but parliament, unions are active with more focus local governance	
e.Capitalism is to be overcome. Not parliament, but class struggle.		f. Self-management at local scale. Free nature is possible with free nature..-2 g. other	
<u>Participation to environmental activities (1-3)</u>			
a.Protester	b. Nation-state citizen-1	c.Habitant-2	d.Member of environmental organization-2
e.Member of a political party	f.Concious Consumer	g.World Citizen	h.Part of nature at local-3

#### C. DEVELOPMENT, ENERGY, SCIENCE, TECHNOLOGY

<u>Type of economy should be</u>			
a.State controls private sector	b.Free private sector	c.State dominated	d.Workers governed
e. Decreasing state	f.Local and adopting	g. other	

and localization	natural processes-		
Science and technology solves environmental solutions. <b>HES can be done with giving minimum damage.</b>			

#### D. ENVIRONMENT/NATURE

<u>What nature is? 1-3</u>			
a. Hierarchical order which human obeys	b. Environment and natural resources that humankind dominates	c.Biodiversity, natural beauty, wild life, landscape	d.Accumulative history of evolutionary process that humankind is active part of
<u>Humankind-nature relation (1-3)</u>			
a.Humankind is superior to nature and is free what to do	b. Humankind is superior to nature, but he has to use it properly.. -1	c.Humankind is an ordinary part of nature such as fish, tree.	d. Nature is superior to humankind and nature orders.
e.Humankind is a competent part of nature and has to live with nature in harmony.	f.diğer		
<u>Humankind is harmful to nature</u>			
<u>There is a relation among dominations of woman, nature, poor and all others.</u>			

#### Shortened version of Meeting Codes List - No: 12

##### A. ACTIVITIES

<u>Decision making by</u>				
a.Voting	b. Consensus -X	c.President-leader decides		
<u>Environmental actions of HES opposition 1: mostly, 3:few</u>				
a.Legal struggle-1	b.Protests	c.Petition	d.physical interference	e.information meeting-2
f.Press release	g.E-mails	h.Lobbying-2	i.Local specific actions	j.media campaign
<u>Continuation after HES issue :</u>				

##### B.ENVIRONMENTALISM

<u>The type of management (1-3) : They should ask us about HES issue. State, muhtar and village council should decide together about HES issue. However, we elect representative to parliament, than they go Ankara and forget us.</u>	
a.State should stop industrialism.	b.State and parliament are main; pressure

	groups and consumers are affective..-1		
c.Free market solve environmental problems	d.Decreasing role of state, but parliament, unions are active with more focus local governance		
e.Capitalism is to be overcome. Not parliament, but class struggle.	f. Self-management at local scale. Free nature is possible with free nature.. -3 g. other		
<u>Participation to environmental activities (1-3)</u>			
a.Protester	b. Nation-state citizen-2	c.Habitant-1	d.Member of environmental organization
e.Member of a political party	f.Concious Consumer	g.World Citizen	h.Part of nature at local

#### C. DEVELOPMENT, ENERGY, SCIENCE, TECHNOLOGY

<u>Type of economy should be</u>			
a.State controls private sector -1	b.Free private sector	c.State dominated	d.Workers governed
e. Decreasing state and localization	f.Local and adopting natural processes-2	g. other	
<u>Science and technology solves environmental solutions.</u>			

#### D. ENVIRONMENT/NATURE

<u>What nature is? 1-3</u>			
a. Hierarchical order which human obeys	b. Environment and natural resources that humankind dominates-1	c.Biodiversity, natural beauty, wild life, landscape-2	d.Accumulative history of evolutionary process that humankind is active part-of-2
<u>Humankind-nature relation (1-3)</u>			
a.Humankind is superior to nature and is free what to do	b. Humankind is superior to nature, but he has to use it properly..	c.Humankind is an ordinary part of nature such as fish, tree.	d. Nature is superior to humankind and nature orders.
e.Humankind is a competent part of nature and has to live with nature in harmony.	f.diger		
<u>Humankind is harmful to nature</u>			
<u>There is a relation among dominations of woman, nature, poor and all others.</u>			

#### Shortened version of Meeting Codes List - No: 13

#### A. ACTIVITIES

<u>Decision making by</u>				
a.Voting	b. Consensus-X	c.President-leader decides		
<u>Environmental actions of HES opposition 1: mostly, 3:few</u>				
a.Legal struggle-1	b.Protests	c.Petition	d.physical interference	e.information meeting-2
f.Press release	g.E-mails	h.Lobbying	i.Local specific actions	j.media campaign
<u>Continuation after HES issue : NO</u>				

## B. ENVIRONMENTALISM

<u>The type of management (1-3) : State and parliament should ask us about HES issue. (but not an organization like vilalge council, union etc.)</u>			
a.State should stop industrialism.		b.State and parliament are main; pressure groups and consumers are affective..-1	
c.Free market solve environmental problems		d.Decreasing role of state, but parliament, unions are active with more focus local governance	
e.Capitalism is to be overcome. Not parliament, but class struggle.		f. Self-management at local scale. Free nature is possible with free nature.. g. other	
<u>Participation to environmental activities (1-3)</u>			
a.Protester	b. Nation-state citizen-1	c.Habitant-2	d.Member of environmental organization
e.Member of a political party	f.Concious Consumer	g.World Citizen	h.Part of nature at local

## C. DEVELOPMENT, ENERGY, SCIENCE, TECHNOLOGY

<u>Type of economy should be</u>			
a.State controls private sector -1	b.Free private sector	c.State dominated	d.Workers governed
e. Decreasing state and localization	f.Local and adopting natural processes-	g. other	
<u>Science and technology solves environmental solutions. It is possible without damaging environment.</u>			

## D. ENVIRONMENT/NATURE

<u>What nature is? 1-3</u>			
a. Hierarchical order which human obeys	b. Environment and natural resources that humankind dominates-1	c.Biodiversity, natural beauty, wild life, landscape	d.Accumulative history of evolutionary process that humankind is active

			part of-3
<u>Humankind-nature relation (1-3)</u>			
a.Humankind is superior to nature and is free what to do	b. Humankind is superior to nature, but he has to use it properly..-1	c.Humankind is an ordinary part of nature such as fish, tree.	d. Nature is superior to humankind and nature orders.
e.Humankind is a competent part of nature and has to live with nature in harmony.-3	f.diğer		
<u>Humankind is harmful to nature</u>			
<u>There is a relation among dominations of woman, nature, poor and all others. : <b>There is not democracy in family either, man is chef of family. While there is male hegemony at family, why not in nature?</b></u>			

#### Shortened version of Meeting Codes List - No: 14

##### A. ACTIVITIES

<u>Decision making by</u>				
a.Voting	b. Consensus-X	c.President-leader decides		
<u>Environmental actions of HES opposition 1: mostly, 3:few</u>				
a.Legal struggle-1	b.Protests	c.Petition	d.physical interference	e.information meeting-2
f.Press release-1	g.E-mails	h.Lobbying-2	i.Local specific actions	j.media campaign
<u>Continuation after HES issue :</u>				

##### B.ENVIRONMENTALISM

<u>The type of management (1-3) : <b>We will not exploit nature if there are not economic inequalities. If we do not need, we will not cut the trees.</b></u>	
<b>We as valley people are not enough to decide about HES issue. State, universities, local and national NGOs and village council should act together.</b>	
a.State should stop industrialism.	b.State and parliament are main; pressure groups and consumers are affective..-1
c.Free market solve environmental problems	d.Decreasing role of state, but parliament, unions are active with more focus local governance
e.Capitalism is to be overcome. Not parliament, but class struggle.	f. Self-management at local scale. Free nature is possible with free nature..-2 g. other

<u>Participation to environmental activities (1-3)</u>			
a. Protester	b. Nation-state citizen-1	c. Habitant-2	d. Member of environmental organization
e. Member of a political party	f. Conscious Consumer	g. World Citizen	h. Part of nature at local-2

C. DEVELOPMENT, ENERGY, SCIENCE, TECHNOLOGY

<u>Type of economy should be</u>			
a. State controls private sector-2	b. Free private sector-1	c. State dominated	d. Workers governed
e. Devletin etkisi azalip ekonomi yerelleşmeli	f. Local and adopting natural processes-	g. other	
<u>Science and technology solves environmental solutions.</u>			

D. ENVIRONMENT/NATURE **All HES constructions are not same, there is HES construction next valley at a blind point, we went there and saw that there is not a nature 'massacre'. We are against HES in this valley, we are not interested in other parts of Turkey.**

<u>What nature is? 1-3</u>			
a. Hierarchical order which human obeys	b. Environment and natural resources that humankind dominates-1	c. Biodiversity, natural beauty, wild life, landscape-2	d. Accumulative history of evolutionary process that humankind is active part of
<u>Humankind-nature relation (1-3)</u>			
a. Humankind is superior to nature and is free what to do	b. Humankind is superior to nature, but he has to use it properly..-1	c. Humankind is an ordinary part of nature such as fish, tree.	d. Nature is superior to humankind and nature orders.
e. Humankind is a competent part of nature and has to live with nature in harmony.	f. diğer		
<u>Humankind is harmful to nature</u>			
<u>There is a relation among dominations of woman, nature, poor and all others.</u>			

**Shortened version of Meeting Codes List - No: 15**

A. ACTIVITIES

<u>Decision making by</u>		
a. Voting	b. Consensus-X	c. President-leader decides
<u>Environmental actions of HES opposition 1: mostly, 3: few</u>		

a.Legal struggle-1	b.Protests	c.Petition	d.physical interference	e.information meeting-1
f.Press release	g.E-mails	h.Lobbying-2	i.Local specific actions	j.media campaign
Continuation after HES issue : <b>NO</b>				

## B.ENVIRONMENTALISM

<u>The type of management (1-3) : State, parliament, people and muhtar should act together about HES issue.</u>			
a.State should stop industrialism.		b.State and parliament are main; pressure groups and consumers are affective..-1	
c.Free market solve environmental problems		d.Decreasing role of state, but parliament, unions are active with more focus local governance-2 ( <b>not unions</b> )	
e.Capitalism is to be overcome. Not parliament, but class struggle.		f. Self-management at local scale. Free nature is possible with free nature.. g. other	
<u>Participation to environmental activities (1-3)</u>			
a.Protester	b. Nation-state citizen	c.Habitant	d.Member of environmental organization
e.Member of a political party	f.Concious Consumer	g.World Citizen	h.Part of nature at local

## C. DEVELOPMENT, ENERGY, SCIENCE, TECHNOLOGY

<u>Type of economy should be</u>			
a.State controls private sector -1	b.Free private sector	c.State dominated	d.Workers governed
e. Decreasing state and localization	f.Local and adopting natural processes-	g. other	
<u>Science and technology solves environmental solutions. HES constructions should be done without damaging environment.</u>			

## D. ENVIRONMENT/NATURE

<u>What nature is? 1-3 Environment means greeny, beauty, nature, trees, rose gardens</u>			
a. Hierarchical order which human obeys	b. Environment and natural resources that humankind dominates-1	c.Biodiversity, natural beauty, wild life, landscape-2	d.Accumulative history of evolutionary process that humankind is active part of
<u>Humankind-nature relation (1-3)</u>			
a.Humankind is superior to nature and	b. Humankind is superior to nature, but he has to use it	c.Humankind is an ordinary part of nature	d. Nature is superior to humankind and

is free what to do	properly..	such as fish, tree.	nature orders.
e.Humankind is a competent part of nature and has to live with nature in harmony.	f.digər		
<u>Humankind is harmful to nature</u>			
<u>There is a relation among dominations of woman, nature, poor and all others.</u>			

### Shortened version of Meeting Codes List - No:16

#### A. ACTIVITIES

<u>Decision making by</u>				
a.Voting	b. Consensus-X	c.President-leader decides		
<u>Environmental actions of HES opposition 1: mostly, 3:few</u>				
a.Legal struggle-2	b.Protests-1	c.Petition	d.physical interference	e.information-1 meeting
f.Press release-2	g.E-mails-3	h.Lobbying NEVER	i.Local specific actions-3	j.media campaign
<u>Continuation after HES issue : YES</u>				

#### B.ENVIRONMENTALISM they destroy our social, cultural and historical values, they deterritorialize us

<u>The type of management (1-3) :</u>				
a.State should stop industrialism.		b.State and parliament are main; pressure groups and consumers are affective..		
c.Free market solve environmental problems		d.Decreasing role of state, but parliament, unions are active with more focus local governance-1		
e.Capitalism is to be overcome. Not parliament, but class struggle.		f. Self-management at local scale. Free nature is possible with free nature.-2 g. other		
<u>Participation to environmental activities (1-3)</u>				
a.Protester	b. Nation-state citizen-3	c.Habitant-1	d.Member of environmental organization-2	
e.Member of a political party	f.Concious Consumer	g.World Citizen-2	h.Part of nature at local-1 : life defender	

#### C. DEVELOPMENT, ENERGY, SCIENCE, TECHNOLOGY

<u>Type of economy should be Nature can be conserved with the growth of economy and sharing welfare (RS)</u>			
a.State controls private sector-3	b.Free private sector	c.State dominated-2	d.Workers governed-2

e. Decreasing state and localization-2	f. Local and adopting natural processes-2	g. other	
Science and technology solves environmental solutions.			

#### D. ENVIRONMENT/NATURE

<p>What nature is? 1-3 <b>We do not consider nature as a property. When we defend nature, we also defend the right of stone, land, leave that cannot do...</b></p> <p><b>Batum and Rize are different in terms of living harmony with nature. There is a pine forest in Batum, the houses are two-floors at most.</b></p>			
a. Hierarchical order which human obeys	b. Environment and natural resources that humankind dominates	c. Biodiversity, natural beauty, wild life, landscape	d. Accumulative history of evolutionary process that humankind is active part of
Humankind-nature relation (1-3)			
a. Humankind is superior to nature and is free what to do	b. Humankind is superior to nature, but he has to use it properly..-2	c. Humankind is an ordinary part of nature such as fish, tree.	d. Nature is superior to humankind and nature orders.
e. Humankind is a competent part of nature and has to live with nature in harmony.-1	g. other		
<p><b>Humankind is harmful to nature: The "me" ego of human appears; he behaves as everything is for humankind. He uses everything just for humankind and does not think other living things.</b></p> <p><b>There is a relation among dominations of woman, nature, poor and all others. When we save nature, the people is saved too.</b></p>			

#### Shortened version of Meeting Codes List - No:17

##### A. ACTIVITIES

<p><u>Decision making by</u> <b>We are not against energy and HES. If there were three plants instead of thirty-one, it would not make so much problem.</b></p>				
a. Voting	b. Consensus -X	c. President-leader decides		
Environmental actions of HES opposition 1: mostly, 3: few				
a. Legal struggle-2 <b>just to gain time, nor more..</b>	b. Protests	c. Petition	d. physical interference	e. information meeting-1
f. Press release	g. E-mails	h. Lobbying	i. Local specific actions	j. media campaign
Continuation after HES issue : <b>YES about other environmental issues</b>				

##### B. ENVIRONMENTALISM

The type of management (1-3) : DEKAP should be active other issues as well as HES issue. There must be referendums at local scale about HES issue and other issues. The only solution is the unity of people. In İkitidere, everybody comes including women, children

a.State should stop industrialism.	b.State and parliament are main; pressure groups and consumers are affective..
c.Free market solve environmental problems	d.Decreasing role of state, but parliament, unions are active with more focus local governance
e.Capitalism is to be overcome. Not parliament, but class struggle.	f. Self-management at local scale. Free nature is possible with free nature.. -1 g. other

Participation to environmental activities (1-3)

a.Protester	b. Nation-state citizen	c.Habitant-1	d.Member of environmental organization
e.Member of a political party	f.Concious Consumer	g.World Citizen	h.Part of nature at local-2

**C. DEVELOPMENT, ENERGY, SCIENCE, TECHNOLOGY Keban Dam is not working properly and there is a serious energy loss in Turkey. Due to these kind of things, they should not give my life space to companies.**

Type of economy should be

a.State controls private sector -2	b.Free private sector	c.State dominated	d.Workers governed
e. Decreasing state and localization-2	f.Local and adopting natural processes-2	g. other	

Science and technology solves environmental solutions.

**D. ENVIRONMENT/NATURE**

What nature is? 1-3 We should use forest, there is lots of rain at İkitidere.

a. Hierarchical order which human obeys	b. Environment and natural resources that humankind dominates-2	c.Biodiversity, natural beauty, wild life, landscape	d.Accumulative history of evolutionary process that humankind is active part of-1
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Humankind-nature relation (1-3)

a.Humankind is superior to nature and is free what to do	b. Humankind is superior to nature, but he has to use it properly..-2	c.Humankind is an ordinary part of nature such as fish, tree.-2	d. Nature is superior to humankind and nature orders.-1
e.Humankind is a competent part of nature and has to live with nature in harmony.	g.other		

Humankind is harmful to nature

There is a relation among dominations of woman, nature, poor and all others.

**Shortened version of Meeting Codes List - No:18**

**A. ACTIVITIES**

<u>Decision making by</u>				
a.Voting	b. Consensus-X	c.President-leader decides		
<p><u>Environmental actions of HES opposition 1: mostly, 3:few</u> <b>They can dry up sea and take wter out of our veins.</b></p> <p><b>During protests, I feel as I am defending not just myself, not just region but all world. We are not talking about just us or seventy-two millions but six billions.</b></p> <p>..</p> <p><b>As I got older and joined meetings, panels I saw conservationism. In fact, HES constructions made us favour; they United us and taught conserving. At normal time, villager does not protect. People should join other issues as well as environment.</b></p> <p><b>I am struggling against HES company for six years. I cannot live this place after all. HES company takes Environmental Impact Assessment Report and mohtar is sold. I sue and so stop them. I sold my cow for the expenses of legal struggle to defend my valley. I was thinking to build a roof to my house, but I used that two-thousand TL and sold my cow to reach five thousands TL.</b></p> <p><b>Holy Kuran says that eden has water with rivers. There are thirty-five places that twater mentioned at book. They are stoling our water; they are changing eden into hell.</b></p>				
a.Legal struggle-2	b.Protests-1	c.Petition	d.physical interference	e.information meeting-1
f.Press release	g.E-mails	h.Lobbying	i.Local specific actions	j.media campaign
<u>Continuation after HES issue : YES</u>				

**B.ENVIRONMENTALISM**

<p><b>The type of management (1-3) : State is for rich people and conracters; they invaded everywhere. Only those who are damaged can protect. Those who lost their bee, honey, fish can protect. Protection is the task of local people. Someone is taking your life and you are aware of.</b></p>			
a.State should stop industrialism.		b.State and parliament are main; pressure groups and consumers are affective..-3	
c.Free market solve environmental problems		d.Decreasing role of state, but parliament, unions are active with more focus local governance	
e.Capitalism is to be overcome. Not parliament, but class struggle.		f. Self-management at local scale. Free nature is possible with free nature. -1 g. other	
<u>Participation to environmental activities (1-3)</u>			
a.Protester	b. Nation-state citizen-2	c.Habitant-1	d.Member of environmental organization-2

e.Member of a political party	f.Concious Consumer	g.World Citizen	h.Part of nature at local-1
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C. DEVELOPMENT, ENERGY, SCIENCE, TECHNOLOGY

<u>Type of economy should be</u> <b>I am against outsider and his bossdom. I want neither him neither his money. Our people should do whatever is needed and we share.</b>			
a.State controls private sector	b.Free private sector	c.State dominated	d.Workers governed
e. Decreasing state and localization -1	f.Local and adopting natural processes-1	g. other	
Science and technology solves environmental solutions.			

D. ENVIRONMENT/NATURE

<u>What nature is? 1-3</u>			
a. Hierarchical order which human obeys	b. Environment and natural resources that humankind dominates	c.Biodiversity, natural beauty, wild life, landscape	d.Accumulative history of evolutionary process that humankind is active part of-1
<u>Humankind-nature relation (1-3)</u>			
a.Humankind is superior to nature and is free what to do	b. Humankind is superior to nature, but he has to use it properly-2	c.Humankind is an ordinary part of nature such as fish, tree.	d. Nature is superior to humankind and nature orders.
e.Humankind is a competent part of nature and has to live with nature in harmony.-1	g.other		
<u>Humankind is harmful to nature</u> <b>Humankind never stops, always he does something harmful to nature.</b>			
<u>There is a relation among dominations of woman, nature, poor and all others.</u> <b>If there is exploitation, women is also exploited and so nature is.</b>			

**Shortened version of Meeting Codes List - No:19**

A. ACTIVITIES

<u>Decision making by</u>				
a.Voting	b. Consensus-X	c.President-leader decides		
<u>Environmental actions of HES opposition 1: mostly, 3:few</u>				
a.Legal struggle-1	b.Protests-1	c.Petition	d.physical interference	e.information meeting-1
f.Press	g.E-mails	h.Lobbying	i.Local specific	j.media campaign

release-2			actions	
Continuation after HES issue : <b>YES</b>				

#### B. ENVIRONMENTALISM

<b>The type of management (1-3) : We will support non-environmental issues also. Everyone should be able to join management process, DEKAP is not obligatory. Parliament cannot know, either municipality of town; but only people know. The common will and decision of people is important.</b>			
a.State should stop industrialism.		b.State and parliament are main; pressure groups and consumers are affective..	
c.Free market solve environmental problems		d.Decreasing role of state, but parliament, unions are active with more focus local governance	
e.Capitalism is to be overcome. Not parliament, but class struggle.		f. Self-management at local scale. Free nature is possible with free nature.-1 g. other	
<u>Participation to environmental activities (1-3)</u>			
a.Protester	b. Nation-state citizen	c.Habitant-1	d.Member of environmental organization-2
e.Member of a political party	f.Concious Consumer	g.World Citizen	h.Part of nature at local-1

#### C. DEVELOPMENT, ENERGY, SCIENCE, TECHNOLOGY

<u>Type of economy should be</u>			
a.State controls private sector	b.Free private sector	c.State dominated	d.Workers governed
e. Decreasing state and localization -2	f.Local and adopting natural processes-1	g. other	
<b>Science and technology solves environmental solutions. YES, they should make without harming nature. Which century we are living?</b>			

#### D. ENVIRONMENT/NATURE

<b>What nature is? 1-3 We are against all HES construction everywhere, the aim is not electricity production. We do not accept HES even the company gives money; we want to live with nature. Nature is life.</b>			
a. Hierarchical order which human obeys	b. Environment and natural resources that humankind dominates-2	c.Biodiversity, natural beauty, wild life, landscape	d.Accumulative history of evolutionary process that humankind is active-1 part of
<u>Humankind-nature relation (1-3)</u>			
a.Humankind is superior to nature and is free what to do	b. Humankind is superior to nature, but he has to use it properly..	c.Humankind is an ordinary part of nature such as fish, tree.-2	d. Nature is superior to humankind and nature orders.
e.Humankind is a competent part of	g.other		

nature and has to live with nature in harmony.-1			
<u>Humankind is harmful to nature if there is not enough consciousness at society</u>			
There is a relation among dominations of woman, nature, poor and all others. <b>In class struggle, there are women and also others. DEKAP is against violence to women.</b>			

### Shortened version of Meeting Codes List - No:20

#### A. ACTIVITIES

<u>Decision making by</u>				
a.Voting	b. Consensus-X	c.President-leader decides		
<u>Environmental actions of HES opposition 1: mostly, 3:few</u>				
a.Legal struggle-2	b.Protests	c.Petition	d.physical interference	e.information meeting-1
f.Press release-2	g.E-mails	h.Lobbying	i.Local specific actions-2	j.media campaign-3
<u>Continuation after HES issue : YES</u>				

#### B. ENVIRONMENTALISM

<u>The type of management (1-3) : There should be referendum and I should have a right to vote. State and parliament can be, but village people must is inevitable. Because I live here, this water affects me also.</u>			
a.State should stop industrialism.		b.State and parliament are main; pressure groups and consumers are affective..	
c.Free market solve environmental problems		d.Decreasing role of state, but parliament, unions are active with more focus local governance -1	
e.Capitalism is to be overcome. Not parliament, but class struggle.		f. Self-management at local scale. Free nature is possible with free nature.. -2 g. other	
<u>Participation to environmental activities (1-3)</u>			
a.Protester	b. Nation-state citizen	c.Habitant-1	d.Member of environmental organization
e.Member of a political party	f.Concious Consumer	g.World Citizen	h.Part of nature at local-2

#### C. DEVELOPMENT, ENERGY, SCIENCE, TECHNOLOGY

<u>Type of economy should be</u>			
a.State controls private sector-2	b.Free private sector	c.State dominated	d.Workers governed
e. Decreasing state and localization -1	f.Local and adopting natural processes-2	g. other	

Science and technology solves environmental solutions. **There can be good HES, we are against bad ones. I saw a good one, the village was happy.**

D. ENVIRONMENT/NATURE

<u>What nature is? 1-3</u>			
a. Hierarchical order which human obeys	b. Environment and natural resources that humankind dominates-1	c. Biodiversity, natural beauty, wild life, landscape-2	d. Accumulative history of evolutionary process that humankind is active part of
<u>Humankind-nature relation (1-3)</u>			
a. Humankind is superior to nature and is free what to do	b. Humankind is superior to nature, but he has to use it properly..-2	c. Humankind is an ordinary part of nature such as fish, tree.	d. Nature is superior to humankind and nature orders.
e. Humankind is a competent part of nature and has to live with nature in harmony.-1	g. other		
Humankind is harmful to nature. It is possible to live with nature without harming. However, it is not easy. Technology can adopt nature, if they think.			
<u>There is a relation among dominations of woman, nature, poor and all others. <b>yes</b></u>			

**Shortened version of Meeting Codes List - No:21**

A. ACTIVITIES

<u>Decision making by</u>				
a. Voting	b. Consensus-X	c. President-leader decides		
<u>Environmental actions of HES opposition 1: mostly, 3:few</u>				
<b>Information meetings are important. We provide scientists and lawyers. We brought people to HES sites.</b>				
a. Legal struggle	b. Protests	c. Petition	d. physical interference	e. information meeting-1
f. Press release-2	g. E-mails	h. Lobbying	i. Local specific actions	j. media campaign
<u>Continuation after HES issue : <b>YES</b></u>				

**B. ENVIRONMENTALISM There is not need to ask representatives but people should talk. Local people and local councils are enough. The authorities ask us everything. We are dealing with tea factory, town's garbage issues also.**

<u>The type of management (1-3) :</u>	
a. State should stop industrialism.	b. State and parliament are main; pressure groups and consumers are affective..

c.Free market solve environmental problems		d.Decreasing role of state, but parliament, unions are active with more focus local governance	
e.Capitalism is to be overcome. Not parliament, but class struggle.		f. Self-management at local scale. Free nature is possible with free nature..-1 g. other	
<u>Participation to environmental activities (1-3)</u>			
a.Protester	b. Nation-state citizen	c.Habitant-1	d.Member of environmental organization
e.Member of a political party	f.Concious Consumer	g.World Citizen	h.Part of nature at local-1

#### C. DEVELOPMENT, ENERGY, SCIENCE, TECHNOLOGY

<u>Type of economy should be</u>			
a.State controls private sector -2	b.Free private sector	c.State dominated	d.Workers governed
e. Decreasing state and localization -2	f.Local and adopting natural processes-2	g. other	
<u>Science and technology solves environmental solutions.</u>			

#### D. ENVIRONMENT/NATURE

<u>What nature is? 1-3</u>			
a. Hierarchical order which human obeys	b. Environment and natural resources that humankind dominates	c.Biodiversity, natural beauty, wild life, landscape	d.Accumulative history of evolutionary process that humankind is active part of-1
<u>Humankind-nature relation (1-3) I am the voice of nature</u>			
a.Humankind is superior to nature and is free what to do	b. Humankind is superior to nature, but he has to use it properly..	c.Humankind is an ordinary part of nature such as fish, tree.	d. Nature is superior to humankind and nature orders.
e.Humankind is a competent part of nature and has to live with nature in harmony.-1	g.other		
<u>Humankind is harmful to nature</u>			
<u>There is a relation among dominations of woman, nature, poor and all others.</u>			

#### Shortened version of Meeting Codes List - No:22

##### A. ACTIVITIES

<u>Decision making by</u> <b>The agenda is prepared by local people at all meetings.</b>
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a.Voting	b. Consensus-X	c.President-leader decides		
<b>Environmental actions of HES opposition 1: mostly, 3:few I wanted my retirement earlier just for nature defending. This five year struggle took root from peasant movement. Metropol environmentalist interferes local movement.</b>				
a.Legal struggle	b.Protests-1	c.Petition	d.physical interference	e.information meeting-1
f.Press release	g.E-mails	h.Lobbying	i.Local specific actions	j.media campaign
Continuation after HES issue : <b>yes</b>				

#### B.ENVIRONMENTALISM

<b>The type of management (1-3) : Local people should decide. Without looking for difference, people from all parties join our activites. There should be some principles, it should be local and should organize from bottom-to-top. Roof party is wrong, in fact the organization should come from local. Than we have to organize at regional, than national scale.</b>				
a.State should stop industrialism.		b.State and parliament are main; pressure groups and consumers are affective..		
c.Free market solve environmental problems		d.Decreasing role of state, but parliament, unions are active with more focus local governance		
e.Capitalism is to be overcome. Not parliament, but class struggle.		f. Self-management at local scale. Free nature is possible with free nature.-1. g. other		
<u>Participation to environmental activities (1-3)</u>				
a.Protester	b. Nation-state citizen	c.Habitant-1	d.Member of environmental organization	
e.Member of a political party	f.Concious Consumer	g.World Citizen	h.Part of nature at local-1	

#### C. DEVELOPMENT, ENERGY, SCIENCE, TECHNOLOGY

<u>Type of economy should be</u>			
a.State controls private sector	b.Free private sector	c.State dominated	d.Workers governed
e. Decreasing state and localization -1	f.Local and adopting natural processes-1	g. other	
Science and technology solves environmental solutions.			

#### D. ENVIRONMENT/NATURE

<u>What nature is? 1-3 Nature is life, itself</u>			
a. Hierarchical order which human obeys	b. Environment and natural resources that humankind dominates-2	c.Biodiversity, natural beauty, wild life, landscape	d.Accumulative history of evolutionary process that humankind is active part of-1
<u>Humankind-nature relation (1-3)</u>			

a.Humankind is superior to nature and is free what to do	b. Humankind is superior to nature, but he has to use it properly..-2	c.Humankind is an ordinary part of nature such as fish, tree.	d. Nature is superior to humankind and nature orders.
e.Humankind is a competent part of nature and has to live with nature in harmony.-1	g.other		
<u>Humankind is harmful to nature</u>			
<u>There is a relation among dominations of woman, nature, poor and all others.</u>			

### Shortened version of Meeting Codes List - No:23

#### A. ACTIVITIES

<u>Decision making by</u>				
a.Voting	b. Consensus-X	c.President-leader decides		
<u>Environmental actions of HES opposition 1: mostly, 3:few</u>				
<b>When company leaves Hopa, the actions of platform decreases. However, before company we were opposing HES issue.</b>				
<b>We are against HES, in every way. We do not say “two or three HES can be done instead of thirty-one. They say “it should be within basin management.” For us, no. It is the trick of capitalist system to take water right from people.</b>				
a.Legal struggle-2	b.Protests-1	c.Petition	d.physical interference	e.information meeting-1
f.Press release	g.E-mails	h.Lobbying	i.Local specific actions	j.media campaign
<u>Continuation after HES issue : YES We will deal with non-environmental issues like education, health.</u>				

#### B. ENVIRONMENTALISM

<u>The type of management (1-3) :</u>	
<b>A local council should be established to represent everyone's thoughts. Voting can be done to reflect everyone's choices. It is important that people should manage itself.</b>	
<b>We do not contact national and international bodies, either with water council. For example, we do not contact Nature Society, because they took money from capitalists and they do not live here.</b>	
a.State should stop industrialism.	b.State and parliament are main; pressure groups and consumers are affective..
c.Free market solve environmental problems	d.Decreasing role of state, but parliament, unions are active with more focus local governance
e.Capitalism is to be overcome. Not parliament, but class struggle.	f. Self-management at local scale. Free nature is possible with free nature.. -1 g. other

<u>Participation to environmental activities (1-3)</u>			
a. Protester	b. Nation-state citizen	c. Habitant-1	d. Member of environmental organization
e. Member of a political party	f. Conscious Consumer	g. World Citizen	h. Part of nature at local-2

C. DEVELOPMENT, ENERGY, SCIENCE, TECHNOLOGY

<u>Type of economy should be</u>			
a. State controls private sector	b. Free private sector	c. State dominated	d. Workers governed-1
e. Decreasing state and localization -2	f. Local and adopting natural processes-2	g. other	
<u>Science and technology solves environmental solutions.</u> It is a system problem. When capitalism collapses, it will not harm nature.			

D. ENVIRONMENT/NATURE

<u>What nature is? 1-3</u>			
a. Hierarchical order which human obeys	b. Environment and natural resources that humankind dominates-1	c. Biodiversity, natural beauty, wild life, landscape	d. Accumulative history of evolutionary process that humankind is active part of-3
<u>Humankind-nature relation (1-3)</u>			
a. Humankind is superior to nature and is free what to do	b. Humankind is superior to nature, but he has to use it properly..-1	c. Humankind is an ordinary part of nature such as fish, tree.	d. Nature is superior to humankind and nature orders.
e. Humankind is a competent part of nature and has to live with nature in harmony.-3	g. other		
<b>Humankind is harmful to nature. If humankind does actions just to facilitate his life, he does not harm. If he aims, he will be harmful.</b>			
<u>There is a relation among dominations of woman, nature, poor and all others.</u>			

**Shortened version of Meeting Codes List - No: 24**

A. ACTIVITIES

<u>Decision making by</u>		
a. Voting	b. Consensus-X	c. President-leader decides
<u>Environmental actions of HES opposition 1: mostly, 3: few</u>		

a. Legal struggle-2	b. Protests	c. Petition	d. physical interference	e. information meeting-1
f. Press release	g. E-mails	h. Lobbying	i. Local specific actions	j. media campaign
Continuation after HES issue : <b>may be</b>				

**B. ENVIRONMENTALISM**

<u>The type of management (1-3) :</u>			
<b>We have understood after five years of struggle that people should claim for their living place. Our valley society represent people. Local people should be consulted before decision-making.</b>			
a. State should stop industrialism.		b. State and parliament are main; pressure groups and consumers are affective..-1	
c. Free market solve environmental problems		d. Decreasing role of state, but parliament, unions are active with more focus local governance	
e. Capitalism is to be overcome. Not parliament, but class struggle.		f. Self-management at local scale. Free nature is possible with free nature.. -3 g. other	
<u>Participation to environmental activities (1-3)</u>			
a. Protester	b. Nation-state citizen-2	c. Habitant-1	d. Member of environmental organization
e. Member of a political party	f. Concoious Consumer	g. World Citizen	h. Part of nature at local-3

**C. DEVELOPMENT, ENERGY, SCIENCE, TECHNOLOGY**

<u>Type of economy should be</u>			
a. State controls private sector -2	b. Free private sector	c. State dominated	d. Workers governed
e. Decreasing state and localization -1	f. Local and adopting natural processes-3	g. other	
<u>Science and technology solves environmental solutions. yes</u>			

**D. ENVIRONMENT/NATURE**

<u>What nature is? 1-3</u>			
a. Hierarchical order which human obeys	b. Environment and natural resources that humankind dominates-2	c. Biodiversity, natural beauty, wild life, landscape	d. Accumulative history of evolutionary process that humankind is active part of-1
<u>Humankind-nature relation (1-3) Humankind needs nature to sustain his life; such as agriculture, animal husbandry.</u>			
a. Humankind is superior to nature and is free what to do	b. Humankind is superior to nature, but he has to use it	c. Humankind is an ordinary part of nature such as fish, tree.	d. Nature is superior to humankind and nature orders.

	properly..-1		
e.Humankind is a competent part of nature and has to live with nature in harmony.-2	g.other		
<u>Humankind is harmful to nature</u>			
There is a relation among dominations of woman, nature, poor and all others. <b>Capitalism produces every kind of exploitations just to make more money.</b>			

### Shortened version of Meeting Codes List - No:25

#### A. ACTIVITIES

<u>Decision making by</u>				
a.Voting	b. Consensus-X	c.President-leader decides		
<u>Environmental actions of HES opposition 1: mostly, 3:few</u>				
a.Legal struggle-1	b.Protests-1	c.Petition	d.physical interference	e.information meeting-2
f.Press release	g.E-mails	h.Lobbying	i.Local specific actions	j.media campaign
<u>Continuation after HES issue : yes</u>				

#### B.ENVIRONMENTALISM

<u>The type of management (1-3) : First of all local people who lives here, who are affected should join without any political difference. There should be village councils with muhtars and also scientists.</u>			
a.State should stop industrialism.		b.State and parliament are main; pressure groups and consumers are affective..	
c.Free market solve environmental problems		d.Decreasing role of state, but parliament, unions are active with more focus local governance	
e.Capitalism is to be overcome. Not parliament, but class struggle.		f. Self-management at local scale. Free nature is possible with free nature.-1 g. other	
<u>Participation to environmental activities (1-3)</u>			
a.Protester	b. Nation-state citizen-2	c.Habitant-1	d.Member of environmental organization
e.Member of a political party	f.Concious Consumer	g.World Citizen	h.Part of nature at local-1

#### C. DEVELOPMENT, ENERGY, SCIENCE, TECHNOLOGY

<u>Type of economy should be</u>			
a.State controls	b.Free private sector	c.State dominated	d.Workers governed

private sector			
e. Decreasing state and localization -1	f. Local and adopting natural processes-2	g. other	
<u>Science and technology solves environmental solutions.</u>			

#### D. ENVIRONMENT/NATURE

<b>What nature is? 1-3 Nature feeds people, humankind and other living things complete each other.</b>			
a. Hierarchical order which human obeys	b. Environment and natural resources that humankind dominates-1	c. Biodiversity, natural beauty, wild life, landscape	d. Accumulative history of evolutionary process that humankind is active part of-2
<u>Humankind-nature relation (1-3)</u>			
a. Humankind is superior to nature and is free what to do	b. Humankind is superior to nature, but he has to use it properly..-2	c. Humankind is an ordinary part of nature such as fish, tree.	d. Nature is superior to humankind and nature orders.
e. Humankind is a competent part of nature and has to live with nature in harmony.-1	g. other		
<u>Humankind is harmful to nature</u>			
<b>There is a relation among dominations of woman, nature, poor and all others. There is no single salvation. Women, workers, nature; they are all related. I will struggle for both nature, women and others.</b>			

#### Shortened version of Meeting Codes List - No:26

##### A. ACTIVITIES

<u>Decision making by</u>				
a. Voting	b. Consensus-X	c. President-leader decides		
<u>Environmental actions of HES opposition 1: mostly, 3: few</u>				
a. Legal struggle-1	b. Protests-1	c. Petition	d. physical interference	e. information meeting-2
f. Press release-2	g. E-mails	h. Lobbying	i. Local specific actions	j. media campaign
<u>Continuation after HES issue : yes</u>				

##### B. ENVIRONMENTALISM

<b>The type of management (1-3) Unions are not interested in HES issue. In Turkey, unionism has a strange structure. The production process affects soil and water; so workers and unions will be affected. However, unions mostly are interested in collective bargaining</b>
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agreements and they are developed enough to deal with other issues. The survival of labour struggle is only possible with sustainable environment, however they do not think of this.

There is a revolution of ideas that has never seen in Turkey. Till now, environmentalism is movement that even cannot fill the small public squares big cities. Now, nature defending reaches below levels of society, the villages, neighborhoods and rural areas. The struggle raises from rural and the difference is raised between environmentalism and nature defending. HES construction destroy my living space, my moral presence and my life. But there is not similar concerns in cities, in Taksim, in Istanbul; they only have intellectual concerns which put their hearths at ease.

This is not an environmentalist but a vital response. Environmentalism term irritates me, it is like a label. I am not environmentalist, environmentalism a bit NGO, a little popularity, a little show like a collection of rubbish at somewhere. After all, environmentalism is strongly connected to system. They collect rubbish but they use plastic bagged coal, there is not an internalization. This is not the case for all environmentalists, but for most of them.

It is not possible that everybody participates directly to HES oppositon. First, a few people uprising and sue HES constructions. The struggle following these cases can be succesful. Otherwise, a national environmentalist movement is not possible because each valley has its own differences which causes conflicts. Each valley should struggle depending its own truths and should help if neighbour valley calls for. You cannot say these valleys are mine but each valley is decided by its own people.

a.State should stop industrialism.		b.State and parliament are main; pressure groups and consumers are affective..-1	
c.Free market solve environmental problems		d.Decreasing role of state, but parliament, unions are active with more focus local governance	
e.Capitalism is to be overcome. Not parliament, but class struggle.		f. Self-management at local scale. Free nature is possible with free nature.-2 g. other	
<u>Participation to environmental activities (1-3)</u>			
a.Protester	b. Nation-state citizen-2	c.Habitant-1	d.Member of environmental organization
e.Member of a political party	f.Concious Consumer	g.World Citizen	h.Part of nature at local-2

C. DEVELOPMENT, ENERGY, SCIENCE, TECHNOLOGY

<u>Type of economy should be</u>			
a.State controls private sector -1	b.Free private sector	c.State dominated	d.Workers governed
e. Decreasing state and localization	f.Local and adopting natural processes-3	g. other	
<u>Science and technology solves environmental solutions.</u>			

D. ENVIRONMENT/NATURE

What nature is? 1-3 **Opposition was a nice opportunity for us, we learned as we lived. Earth is a living thing, everything is interrelated. If a leaf in Amazon falls down, it will cause flood at Black Sea Region. I had some this kind of thought before, during HES oppositon process I believed, no I know it. I made im-depth analyses why we are opposing HES constructions. Everything in nature should stay as it is. An interference to something cause many effects.**

<b>Our waters are vital points of earth but they are cutting veins on leaves and drying those; similarly HES constructions destroy rivers and basins.</b>			
a. Hierarchical order which human obeys	b. Environment and natural resources that humankind dominates-1	c.Biodiversity, natural beauty, wild life, landscape	d.Accumulative history of evolutionary process that humankind is active part of-3
<u>Humankind-nature relation (1-3)</u>			
a.Humankind is superior to nature and is free what to do	b. Humankind is superior to nature, but he has to use it properly..-2	c.Humankind is an ordinary part of nature such as fish, tree.	d. Nature is superior to humankind and nature orders.
e.Humankind is a competent part of nature and has to live with nature in harmony.-2	g.other		
<u>Humankind is harmful to nature</u>			
<u>There is a relation among dominations of woman, nature, poor and all others.</u>			

### Shortened version of Meeting Codes List - No:27

#### A. ACTIVITIES

<u>Decision making by</u>				
a.Voting	b. Consensus-X	c.President-leader decides		
<u>Environmental actions of HES opposition 1: mostly, 3:few</u>				
a.Legal struggle-1	b.Protests-1	c.Petition	d.physical interference	e.information meeting-1
f.Press release-2	g.E-mails	h.Lobbying	i.Local specific actions	j.media campaign
<b>Continuation after HES issue : no I do not know. We are interested in HES issue, may be we should deal with others, however the participation will be limited. The issue may be big like HES, it only affects three or four villages. It will be hard arouse people like this. This river makes us act together.</b>				

#### B.ENVIRONMENTALISM

<u>The type of management (1-3)</u>
<b>We want consistency from national ENGOs. They have relations with funding agencies. They are objecting HES opposition on the other hand, they are accepting funds from international capital. This is discountenanced at our valley. Another problem is that they are building walls against our conservative people here, these are some national ENGOs. However, some political groups do not build these walls. It does not work, when national</b>

ENGOS come to local and regard us as inferior. Each local has its own dynamics, for example they come here and give agitative speechs against minister of Forestry and Environment, it does not suit here. You may not like minister, but every place has its own sensitivity. Hopa is different, here is different.

ENGOS are not independent, their activities either. It is not true that they react some things but they are silent for other things. When they analyze an project, they think how much money they can take, so it is not true. It is false that they are interested in funds while dealing with bears. Other societies work with member dues, if you work well, you can take contributions. Our other associations can work with member dues. We have staff and can provide fellowships to eleven students. We organize activities to make money with member dues. If ENGOS work well and people see them, they support them with member dues.

....

There may be a council that everyone can join including univerty, governor, company, muhtar, representatives; they may be holistic planning also. They will say "we have already these", but it is not working. They will say "we have academics", however we as local people are not there. There are HES commissions at governorships, but not working. The majority decides.

There should be a commission that everyone can join. There should not be voting. There will not be any decision that local people denies. We are trying to preserve but they are destroying.

a.State should stop industrialism.	b.State and parliament are main; pressure groups and consumers are affective..-1		
c.Free market solve environmental problems	d.Decreasing role of state, but parliament, unions are active with more focus local governance		
e.Capitalism is to be overcome. Not parliament, but class struggle.	f. Self-management at local scale. Free nature is possible with free nature.-3 g. other		
<u>Participation to environmental activities (1-3)</u>			
a.Protester	b. Nation-state citizen-2	c.Habitant-1	d.Member of environmental organization
e.Member of a political party	f.Concious Consumer	g.World Citizen	h.Part of nature at local-3

#### C. DEVELOPMENT, ENERGY, SCIENCE, TECHNOLOGY

<u>Type of economy should be</u>			
a.State controls private sector -1	b.Free private sector	c.State dominated	d.Workers governed
e. Decreasing state and localization	f.Local and adopting natural processes-3	g. other	
<u>Science and technology solves environmental solutions.</u>			

#### D. ENVIRONMENT/NATURE

What nature is? 1-3
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a. Hierarchical order which human obeys	b. Environment and natural resources that humankind dominates- <b>1</b>	c. Biodiversity, natural beauty, wild life, landscape	d. Accumulative history of evolutionary process that humankind is active part of- <b>3</b>
<u>Humankind-nature relation (1-3)</u>			
a. Humankind is superior to nature and is free what to do	b. Humankind is superior to nature, but he has to use it properly..- <b>2</b>	c. Humankind is an ordinary part of nature such as fish, tree.	d. Nature is superior to humankind and nature orders.
e. Humankind is a competent part of nature and has to live with nature in harmony.- <b>2</b>	g. other		
<u>Humankind is harmful to nature</u>			
<u>There is a relation among dominations of woman, nature, poor and all others.</u>			

## APPENDIX B

### CURRICULUM VITAE

#### PERSONAL INFORMATION

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#### EDUCATION

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Photography, Trekking, Mountaineering, PC Games

## APPENDIX C

### TÜRKÇE ÖZET

Bu tez çalışmasının asıl araştırma sorusu şöyledir: “HES karşıtı hareket toplumsal ekoloji çerçevesinden nasıl analiz edilir?”

2008 itibariyle Türkiye çevreciliğini yeni bir hareket sarsmaya başladı. Türkiye'nin farklı yerlerinde önceden herhangi bir protestoya katılmamış yerel halk binlerce HES<sup>38</sup> inşaatına karşı harekete geçti. Geleneksel, şehirli, hiyerarşik, profesyonel ve ılımlı çevrecilikten çok farklı ve yeni bir hareket ortaya çıktı. HES inşaatlarına karşı yerelde, gönüllüğe dayanan, yatay örgütlenen, hiyerarşik olmayan geçici örgütlenmeler kuran güçlü bir sivil inisiyatif belirdi. Şehirli ve baskın çevreci söylemin ötesinde doğayı çevreden çok “yaşam mekânı” olarak kavramsallaştıran bu yeni hareket ontolojik, örgütlenme, etkinlikler, amaçlar ve araçlar açısından önemli farklılıklar içeriyordu. Örneğin, bazıları mevcut çevreci sivil toplum kuruluşları (ÇSTK) üzerinden örgütlenirken bazıları da yerel platformlar kurmuşlardı.

Yerel HES karşıtı hareketin benzerliklerini ve farklılıklarını analiz etmek için tezin temel sorusunun yanı sıra ikinci bir soruya yanıt aradım: “Çevreci hareketler toplumsal ekoloji çerçevesinden nasıl analiz edilir?” Zira, bu tezin kuramsal çerçevesi toplumsal ekolojidir, ayrıca çevreci politik düşüncenin sınıflandırması ile zenginleştirilmiştir. Kuramsal çerçeveyi kurarken öncelikle toplumsal ekolojinin liberal çevrecilik, derin ekoloji ve Marksizm eleştirilerini ve bunlara alternatif olarak önerdiği politik programı, Özgürlükçü Belediyeciliği (ÖB) inceledim. Liberal çevrecilik eleştirisi uygulamalara dayanırken derin ekoloji ve Marksizm daha çok teoride kaldığı için kuramsal açıdan incelendi. Toplumsal ekolojinin eleştirileri ve alternatif önerisini geliştirmek için çevreci/ekolojik düşünceye dair Pepper'ın ekonomi politik sınıflandırması kullanıldı. Bu süreçte tezin ikinci sorusuna cevap olarak ve birinci soruyu alan çalışmada incelemek üzere, Biehl, Bookchin, Pepper ve O'Riordan'ın çalışmaları temel alınarak Sınıflandırma Tablosu (ST) geliştirildi. ST alan çalışmasının yanı sıra çevreciliğin tamamını ekonomi politik çerçeveden analiz

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<sup>38</sup> HES: Hidroelektrik Santral.

etmek üzere analitik bir araç olarak geliştirildi. ST farklı ideolojilere dayanan ve toplumsal hareketler literatüründe ayrı ayrı değerlendirilen çevreci hareketleri ontoloji, etkinlikler, örgütlenme, amaçlar ve araçlar üzerinden ekonomik politik bir çerçevede bir araya getirdi.

Murray Bookchin tarafından geliştirilmiş Toplumsal Ekoloji kuramı kapitalizmin söylemi olan çevreciliğe kapsamlı ve radikal bir eleştirisi getirir. Buna göre ekolojik krizin gerçek nedeni toplumsal tahakkümlerden kaynaklanan doğaya tahakkümdür. Ancak, Marksizm ve liberalizm doğanın insanlığa tahakkümü gerekliliğini vurgular. Doğanın tahakkümünden insanlığı kurtarmak için doğanın ve kaçınılmaz olarak insanlığın tahakküm altına alınışını olumlarlar. Diğer yandan, derin ekoloji de tahakküm düşüncesini sahiplenir ve insanlığın doğa kanunlarına ve düzenine tabii olmasını öne sürer (Bookchin 1999c:44-45). Ekolojik krizin çözümü liberal çevreciliğin önerdiği projeler, kampanyalar, yeşil üretim ve tüketim ile gerçekleşmez. Bu etkinlikler sadece ekolojik krizin köklerini değil aynı zamanda toplumsal ekolojinin öngördüğü radikal ve ekolojik bir toplumsal değişimi olan ihtiyacı da gizler. Toplumsal ekolojinin önerdiği ekolojik toplum ancak mahalle ölçeğinde yüz yüze ilişkileri mümkün kılan aşağıdan yukarıya bir örgütlenme ve doğrudan demokrasiyi gerçekleştiren yurttaş meclisleri ile hayata geçer. Tez çalışmasında ÖB diğer çevreci/ekolojik eylemleri incelemede referans model olarak kullanılmıştır, aynı zamanda toplumsal ekolojinin liberal çevrecilik, derin ekoloji ve Marksizm eleştirileri de David Pepper'ın çevreci ekonomi politik sınıflandırması temel alınarak detaylandırılmıştır. Pepper, O'Riordan'ın çevremerkezci-insanmerkezci ayrımı ve çevreciliğin ekonomi politik kökenleri çalışmasına dayanarak beşli bir ideoloji seti geliştirmiştir: geleneksel muhafazakâr, piyasacı liberal, refah liberali, demokratik sosyalist ve devrimci sosyalist. Pepper'ın sınıflandırmasını Janet Biehl ve Murray Bookchin'in ÖB modeli ve liberal çevrecilik, Marksizm ve derin ekoloji eleştirilerini temel alarak geliştirdim. Sonuçta, çevreci ekonomi politik farklılıkları gösteren altı farklı ideoloji setini içeren Sınıflandırma Tablosu (ST) ortaya çıktı. Çevreci etkinlikler, örgütlenmeler, amaçlar, çözüm önerileri, ekonomi yaklaşımlar ve politik tercihler ST aracılığıyla analiz edilebilir.

Tezin ikinci araştırma sorusuna “çevreci etkinlikler toplumsal ekoloji çerçevesinden nasıl analiz edilir?”, cevap olarak ST oluşturulurken, ST'nin alan çalışması kapsamında uygulanması da tezin birinci araştırma sorusuna “HES karşıtı hareket

toplumsal ekoloji çerçevesinden nasıl analiz edilir?” cevap oldu. Tez kapsamında geliştirilen ST ve alanda uygulanması yeni bir bilimsel çalışma olarak ortaya konmaktadır.

HES karşıtı yerel çevre hareketlerini incelemek üzere üç alan seçtim, Artvin (çevreci STK, platform), Rize (platform) and Düzce (birlik). Üç alandaki HES karşıtı hareket de yerel, yeni, gönüllü, yatay örgütlenmiş ve geçici niteliklerini taşıyor. Aynı zamanda farklılıkları da vardır. Rize’de radikal-sol eğilim ve doğrudan eylem geleneği dikkat çekerken, Düzce’de muhafazakâr ve ılımlı yaklaşımlar öne çıkıyor ve Artvin’de yerel halkın doğrudan katılım talebi süreci belirliyor. Alanların benzerlikleri ve farklılıklarını ortaya koymak amacıyla toplam yirmi yedi derinlemesine görüşme gerçekleştirdim.

ST’nin alana uygulanmasıyla alanlar arasında ekonomi politik farklılıklar ortaya çıktı. Devlet müdahalesi, planlama ve parlamentoda çözüm gibi liberal refah özelliklerinin yanı sıra yerelde vatandaş katılımı, ortak bir sorunla gelişen politik evren ve “yaşama alanı” gibi ÖB özellikleri de not edildi. Liberal refah çevreciliğine uygun olarak yasal mücadele, parlamento süreci ve devletin katı düzenlemeleri önerilirken mevcut kapitalist sisteme eleştiri getirmeden doğal kabul edildiği belirlendi. Diğer yandan doğrudan eylem, yerelde vatandaşların özyönetimi ve çevre yerine doğa vurgusu ÖB özellikleri olarak saptandı.

HES karşıtlığı gönüllü ve hiyerarşik olmayan özellikleriyle, piyasa liberali ve refah liberali karışımı olarak geleneksel ve merkezi çevreciliğe karşı yeni yerel çevreciliği oluşturmaktadır. Bu saptama toplumsal ekolojinin çevrecilik eleştirilerine uygundur. Bu tez çalışması Türkiye çevreciliğinde merkeze karşı yükselen yerel hareketi bir kırılma olarak ortaya koymaktadır ve liberal refah ve ÖB özellikleri taşıyan bu yeni yerel hareketi incelemektedir.

Tez çalışmasında ST analitik modeli doğası gereği sınıflandırma yaparken genellemelerden kaçınsa bile bazı özgüllükleri değerlendirememiş olabilir. ST’nin mevcut yapısı alan çalışması süresince ve sonraki çalışmalarda yeniden düzenlenebilir, zira metodolojik olarak denenmesi gerekmektedir.

Bu tez çalışması yerelde yükselen özgün ve güçlü çevreci hareketi toplumsal ekoloji perspektifinden ekonomi politik çerçevesinde değerlendirmeyi amaçlamıştır; örgütlenme, etkinlikler, politik çözümler, ekonomik öneriler ve doğa algısı birbirleriyle bağlı ve toplumsal niteliktedir. Çalışmanın devamında Türkiye'nin diğer alanlarındaki HES karşıtı ve nükleer, termik santral karşıtı hareketler ST analitik aracıyla incelenerek yükselen yerel hareketin analizi sorgulanacak ve tamamlanacaktır. Sonrasında, yerel hareketin karşıtı olarak yükseldiği merkezi ve profesyonel çevreciliğin analizi ile Türkiye çevreciliğinin bugünkü hali ekonomi politik çerçeveden ortaya konacaktır. Ülkedeki çevreciliğin geçmişi ise önde gelen aktörlerle görüşmeler ile analiz edilecektir. Böylece Türkiye çevreciliğinin toplumsal ekoloji çerçevesindeki ekonomi politik analizi tamamlanmış olacaktır, bu kapsamda tez çalışması analitik araç olan ST'nin üretilmesi ve Karadeniz Bölgesinde HES karşıtı hareketin analizinde kullanılması ile önemli bir başlangıç niteliğindedir.

#### Metodoloji

Metodolojik yaklaşım olarak eleştirel sosyal bilim kullanılmıştır (2006: 95). Araştırmanın amacı yanlısatan söylemi yıkmak ve değişim için insanları harekete geçirmektir. Çevrenin insan-doğa bütünlüğüne karşıtı olarak öteki olarak kaynak kullanımını gizlemesi incelenecektir. Çevre sorunları basitçe bir mühendislik ve uygulama sorununun ötesinde ekolojik krizdir ve kökenleri toplumsaldır. Ancak, eleştirel sosyal bilim yaklaşımı ile çevre sorunlarının ekolojik kriz olduğu ve toplumun doğaya tahakkümünden kaynaklandığı ortaya konabilir. Toplumsal ekolojinin temel önermesine göre çevre sorunları aslında toplumsal sorunlardır ve doğaya tahakküm toplumdaki tahakkümlerden kaynaklanmıştır. Olumlu ve sorun çözücü olarak gösterilen çevreci politik etkinliklerin mevcut ekonomi politik düzeni sorgulamayan niteliği ortaya çıkarılacaktır. Yaygın, geleneksel, profesyonel, hiyerarşik ve lobiciliğe dayanan merkez-kentli çevreciliğin liberal refah/piyasa çerçevesi ortaya konacaktır. Buna karşı yükselen yerel HES hareketinin doğrudan vatandaş katılımı, kendini yönetme talebi ve doğa imgesi toplumsal ekoloji özellikleri olarak değerlendirilecektir.

Araştırma literatür taraması ve derinlemesine görüşmeler olmak üzere iki bölümden oluşmaktadır.

Literatür taraması kuramsal çalışma ve Türkiye'deki mevcut HES karşıtı hareketinin izlenmesinden oluşmaktadır. Kuramsal çalışmasının amacı tezin birinci sorusuna cevap vermek için üretilen ikinci soruya cevap vermektir. Bunun için mevcut literatür tarandığında çevreci eylemler toplumsal hareketler literatürü içinde Yeni Sosyal Hareketler başlığı altında incelendiği görülmüştür. Ancak tez çalışmasının çerçevesi ve yaklaşımı olan toplumsal ekoloji, eylem, proje ve lobiciliğe dayanan çevreciliği eleştirmekte ve alternatif radikal bir toplumsal değişim programı, ÖB önermektedir. Teze referans alınan ÖB toplumsal hareketlerin eylem, organizasyon, kaynaklar ve ideoloji konularını ayrı ayrı değerlendirmesine karşı bütüncü bir bakış ortaya koymaktadır ve ekonomi politik analiz gerektirmektedir. Çevrecilik konusunda toplumsal hareketler literatürü zengin olmasına rağmen çevreciliğin ekonomi politik çerçevede bütüncül analizine dair çalışmalar sayıca yetersizdir. Ayrıca çevreci/ekolojik düşünce çok dallı ve karmaşık görüntüsüyle bir bütünlüklü bir resim sunmaktan uzaktır. Ancak O'Riordan'ın çevremerkezci-insanmerkezci ikiliği ve köken düşünceler temelindeki analizini Pepper beşli bir ekonomi politik sınıflandırmaya dönüştürmüştür. Tezin kuramsal çerçevesi olan toplumsal ekolojinin liberal çevrecilik, derin ekoloji ve Marksizm eleştirileri ve önerdiği alternatif program olan ÖB, Pepper'ın ekonomi politik sınıflandırmasına entegre edilmiştir. Beşli sınıflandırma ÖB referans alınarak geliştirilmiş ve altılı bir yapı halinde geliştirilen ST üretilmiştir.

Tezin ikinci sorusuna cevap olan üretilen ST, her biri başka bir ideolojiyi yansıtan ekonomi politik özellikleri içermektedir ve etkinlikler, politika, ekonomi-gelişme ve doğa-çevre olmak üzere dört başlıkta düzenlenmiştir. Her türlü çevreci etkinliği ve düşünceyi içeren ST, analitik bir araç olması amacıyla ideal tip olarak kullanılmıştır. Tablodaki özelliklerin gerçek hayatta olması gerekmemektedir ancak çevreci eylem ve düşünceleri değerlendirirken referans olarak kullanılması amaçlanmıştır.

Tezin ikinci sorusuna cevap olarak üretilen ST'nin alan çalışmasında uygulanması tezin birinci sorusuna cevap olarak gerçekleşmiştir. Alan çalışması ön literatür taraması ve derinlemesine görüşmelerden oluşmuştur. Alana gitmeden önce 2009-2001 arasında geleneksel ve sosyal medya kanalları üzerinden Türkiye'nin hemen her tarafında yükselen HES karşıtı hareket takip edilmiştir ve incelenmiştir. Bu

süreçte öne çıkan internet siteleri<sup>39</sup> ve e-posta grupları yerel hareketin önemli olayları ve aktörleri hakkında düzenli bilgi sağlamıştır. Ancak, HES karşıtı hareketi inceleyen akademik araştırmalar hareketin yeni olması nedeniyle bu tezin tamamlandığı 2011 sonu itibarıyla çok kısıtlıdır ve tezin yaklaşımı olan ekonomi politik analiz açısı dışındadır. Bu nedenle tez çalışması bitiş itibarıyla halen hazırlanmakta ve gerçekleştirilecek çalışmalara kaynak niteliğindedir.

İki senelik alan çalışması sonucunda anahtar aktörler ve önemli alanlar seçilmiştir. HES karşıtı hareketin gerçekleştiği Düzce, Artvin ve Rize’de ST kullanılarak yirmi yedi derinlemesine görüşme gerçekleştirilmiştir. Yerel hareket içinde etkin olan görüşmecilerle ön literatür taraması süresinde sosyal medya kanallarında öne çıkan anahtar isimler üzerinden kartopu tekniği ile temasa geçilmiştir. Herbiri ile yaşadıkları ve HES karşıtı harekete katıldıkları yerlerde bir ila üç saat arası değişen derinlemesine görüşmeler yapılmıştır. Bu görüşmelerde görüşmecilerin güvenlik kaygısı ve kendilerini rahat ifade edebilmeleri açısından ses kaydı ve sürekli not tutma kullanılmamıştır, zira ilk iki pilot görüşmede bu kayıt yöntemleri derinlemesine görüşmeye uygun bulunmamıştır. Buna göre ST’nin yapısına da uygun olarak bir kod listesi geliştirilmiştir ve görüşme sırasında ve sonrasında bu liste doldurulmuştur. Ayrıca, görüşmecilerin önemli konuşmaları kendilerini rahatsız etmeden ve görüşmenin ritmi bozulmadan kayıt edilmiştir ve tez alan çalışması kısmına eklenip kod listesiyle birlikte yorumlanmıştır.

Tezin kuramsal çerçevesini oluşturan toplumsal ekoloji metodolojik olarak diyalektik doğalcılığı benimser. Buna göre toplum ve doğa organik bir evrim sürecinde diyalektik olarak oluşur. Sürekli değişen doğa, daha çok çeşitliliğe, özgürlüğe ve öznelliğe yönelir. Toplum da bu süreç içinde doğanın organik evrim sürecinde en ileri noktasında ikinci doğa olarak hem ekolojik yıkım hem de ekolojik topluma yönelme potansiyeline sahiptir. Buna karşın Cochrane (1998:76) diyalektik doğalcılığın özgürlükçü ve insanmerkezci karşıtlığını sorgular. Bu nedenle, ST’nin geliştirilmesi ve uygulanması, HES karşıtı yerel hareketin çevrecilik içinde öznelliğe, özgürlüğe ve çeşitliliğe yakınlığını incelemektedir. ST’nin altılı sınıflamasına göre değerlendirilen alanlarda diyalektik doğalcılığın özellikleri analiz edilecektir.

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<sup>39</sup> <http://www.karadenizisyandadir.org/kip/>, <http://derelerinkardesligi.org/>,  
<http://www.ekolojistler.org/>, <http://www.aksuderesikoruma.org/>, <http://www.locvadiasi.com/>,  
<http://www.yuvarlakcay.org/>

## Çevreci Politik Eylem

Tez çalışması mevcut çevreciliği eleştirmektedir ve yükselen HES karşıtı yerel çevreciliği toplumsal ekolojiyi referans alarak analiz etmektedir. Bu bölümde, öncelikle kurucusu Bookchin'in görüşlerinden faydalanarak toplumsal ekolojinin temel önermelerini ve ekolojik krizi çözmek üzere geliştirdiği ÖB'yi, yine Bookchin ve Biehl'in ortak çalışmalarına dayanarak ortaya koyacağım. Sonrasında ÖB'yi referans model alarak toplumsal ekolojinin çevrecilik eleştirilerini içeren ve Pepper'in çalışmasına dayanan ekonomi politik çerçevede altılı bir ST geliştireceğim.

## Toplumsal Ekoloji

Toplumsal ekoloji mevcut toplumsal, politik ve ekoloji karşıtı eğilimlere karşı geliştirilen radikal bir eleştiridir ve topluma karşı kurucu, ekolojik, toplumcu ve etik bir yaklaşım sunar.<sup>40</sup>

Toplumsal ekolojiyi anlamak için neyi amaçladığından başlamak gerekir. Kurucusu Murray Bookchin (1921-2006) 20yy.ın sonlarına doğru toplumsal eşitsizliklere karşı yeni bir radikal hareket geliştirmek amacıyla ortaya çıkmıştır ve Neo-Marksizm türevlerini, feminizmin hiyerarşiye kayışını ve ekolojik hareketin akıl dışına kayışını eleştirmiştir. 1930larda gençlik döneminde dökümhane işçisi olarak çalışan ve Troçkist sapmalarıyla Marksistlerle ayrı düşen Bookchin Marks'tan etkilenmiştir, kapitalizm eleştirisi ve meta kavramını yararlı bulur, eleştirel okuldan etkilenir ancak Kropotkin'in toplumsal ve politik görüşlerine daha yakındır. Sınıfın yanı sıra toplumdaki diğer tahakküm ilişkilerine dikkat çeker ve kadınlara, yoksullara, doğaya, etnik ve dini azınlıklara, engellilere ve diğer tüm ötekileri ezen tahakküm ilişkilerine karşı radikal bir program geliştirir.

Bookchin kuramını geliştirirken polemik ve eleştiriler de ortaya koyar. Post-modernizmin akıl karşıtlığı, çoklu hiççilik, eleştirisizlik ve tikelci yaklaşımına karşı çıkar. Modernist büyük anlatıların batının, ataerkinin merkez pozisyonunu gizlemesi ve yeniden üretmesi eleştirisinde haklı olan postmodernizm eleştirisini akıl karşıtlığına dönüştürdüğünde ve güç gruplarına karşı her türlü muhalefet imkanını

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<sup>40</sup> <http://www.social-ecology.org/>

dışladığında tahakkümlere karşı radikal bir program geliştirme amacındaki Bookchin'in tepkisini çeker. Postmodern çağın bireyleri akıl karşıtlığı söylemiyle bencil, edilgen ve güçsüz bireyler halinde tam da mevcut sistemin isteklerine uyum sağlarlar. Akıl da ekolojik kriz gibi aslında toplumsal organizasyona göre yıkıcı da yapıcı olabilir. Diyalektikçi doğalcılığa göre organik evrim sürecinde özgürlük, çeşitlilik ve farklılığa yönelimde doğanın en ileri parçası olan toplum, yani ikinci doğanın dönüşeceği toplumun ekolojik ve demokratik olabilmesi için rasyonellik de gerekmektedir.

Bookchin toplumsal ekolojiyi geliştirirken Marx gibi Hegel diyalektiğini değiştirerek kullanır. Ancak, Clark (2009:126) Bookchin'i Hegel'in radikal diyalektiğini yeterince kullanmamakla eleştirir. Maddi açıdan ise Bookchin Marx'ın özellikle kapitalist tahakküm eleştirisini önemli bulur ancak ekonomik belirlenimciliğe ve indirgemeciliğe kaymasını eleştirir ve "Burjuva Sosyolojisi Olarak Marksizm" makalesiyle eleştirel değerlendirme yapar. Buna göre üretici güçlerin gelişmesi adına kapitalizmin ilerlemesinin Hindistan örneğinde olumlanması, Engels'in fabrika üretiminde otoriteyi öne çıkarması ve özellikle doğanın tahakküm altına alınması burjuvazinin de bakış açısını yansıtmaktadır. Doğayı işleyerek üreten, kendisini gerçekleştiren ve kendisiyle toplumu dönüştüren *homo faber* ancak kapitalizm yıkıldığında özgür olabilir, o zamana kadar doğayı tahakküm altına almak zorundadır. Özgür toplum kurulana kadar zorunluluk alanı vardır, özgürlük alanı yoktur. Bu durum kaçınılmaz biçimde özgürlük alanına ve özgür toplumun kuruluşuna kadar önce doğanın tahakkümünü sonra da toplumun tahakkümünü aynı burjuvazi gibi olumlamayı gerektirir. Ekonomik belirlenimcilik ve doğanın ve insanlığın tahakkümünde Marksizm'im liberalizm ile aynı noktada olmakla eleştirir.

Diyalektik doğalcılığa göre çevre sorunları doğanın tahakkümünden kaynaklanır; doğanın tahakkümü ise toplum içindeki tahakkümlerin doğaya yansımalarının sonucudur. Val Plumwood'un da (1993) vurguladığı üzere, aydınlanmacı akıl/doğa ikiciliğinde akıl tarafını beyaz, zengin, batılı erkekler ve öteki olarak ezilen doğa

tarafını ise kadınlar, doğa, etnik ve dini azınlıklar vb. oluşturur. Ekofeminizmin<sup>41</sup> de öngördüğü gibi toplum içinde kadınlar aterosil kapitalizm tarafından sömürülürken doğanın sömürülmemesi mümkün değildir. Etnik ve dini azınlıklar ayrımcılığa tabi tutulurken doğanın çevre adıyla kaynak olarak kullanılması kaçınılmazdır. Toplumdaki diğer eşitsizlikler çözümlenmeden, tahakküm ilişkileri kırılmadan doğanın tahakkümü de ortada kalkamaz. Tüm sorunların temelinde hiyerarşi ve tahakküm ilişkileri vardır (Hay 2002:289). Bu nedenle temelde tahakküm sorunu olan ekolojik kriz için bu tahakkümün kaynağı toplumdaki tahakkümleri çözümlenmesi gerekmektedir. Nihayetinde çevre sorunu ekolojik krizdir, mühendislik ve biyoloji disiplinlerinin ötesinde toplumsaldir. Toplumsal ekolojiye göre ancak tüm tahakkümlerin çözüldüğü; yani ekolojik, demokratik ve rasyonel bir toplumda doğaya tahakküm ortadan kalkabilir. Diyalektik doğalcılığa göre organik evrim sürecinde farklılığa, öznelliğe ve özgürlüğe yönelebilen ikinci doğa olarak toplum, ekolojik bir krize de ekolojik bir topluma da ulaşma potansiyeline sahiptir. Aradaki fark toplumsal organizasyondur; yani özgür ya da tahakkümcü bir toplum olup olmadığıdır.

Toplumsal ekolojiye göre sorun doğanın sömürülmesidir ve doğa ise sömürü nesnesi olarak kurgulanan çevrenin ötesinde insanlığın parçasıdır. Çevremerkezci derin ekolojinin “insanın doğanın herhangi bir parçası olduğu” iddialarının aksine insan toplum oluşturması ve organik evrim sürecinde doğanın en özgür, öznel ve kendi üzerine düşünebilen parçası olarak ekolojik krize neden olduğu gibi özgür bir toplum ile sorunları da çözebilir. Liberalizme göre kaynaktır ve piyasa serbest bırakıldığı halde bilim ve teknoloji ile çevre sorunları girişimcilik ile çözülebilir. Marksizme göre doğa hakim olunması ve emek sürecinde dönüştürülmesi gereken “zor doğadır”. Doğaya bakış farklılıkları çevre sorunlarını tespit ve çözümlerin ortaya konmasında da kendini gösterir; liberalizm bilim ve teknolojiye dayanan serbest piyasada girişimi öne çıkarırken; Marksizm emek hareketinin sınıfsal karşı çıkışını ve çelişkinin büyüterek kapitalizmin yıkmasını önerir. Toplumsal ekolojiye göre sorun tahakkümlere karşı özgürlük sorunudur, bilim, teknoloji, ekonomi ve politika

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<sup>41</sup> Ekofeminizm ortaya çıkışında Toplumsal Ekoloji ile çok yakındır. Ynestra King tarafından 1976’da Toplumsal Ekoloji Enstitüsünde tahakküm ilişkilerine karşı ortak bir tavrı paylaşarak kuruldu. Ancak zamanla Ekofeminizm her türlü tahakküm ilişkisine karşı eleştirel tutumunu kaybedip tanrıça inançlarına ve kadının üstünlüğü iddiasına kaydı. Bu eleştiriler için bkz: Janet Biehl. 1991. *Rethinking of Ecofeminist Politics*. Boston:South End Press.

özgür bir toplumsal alternatif içinde ekolojik krize ekolojik bir toplumla cevap verebilir.

“Doğa bir resim çerçevesinde görüp beğendiğimiz bir görüntü, dondurulmuş bir manzara ya da durağan bir panorama değildir. Doğayı böylesi "manzaralar" olarak görmek tinsel olarak yüceltici olabilir, ancak ekolojik olarak düş kırıcıdır. Sabit bir zamana ve yere mihlanan bu tahayyül, doğanın statik bir yaşam görüntüsü değil, uzun süreli gelişiminin uzun, kümülatif *tarihi* olduğunu unuttur. Bu tarih hem organik hem inorganik görüngü alanlarının evrimini içerir.

İster bir ovada, ister bir ormanda ya da bir dağın zirvesinde olalım, ayağımızın bastığı yerde çağlar sürmüş bir gelişmenin izleri olan yer katmanları, uzun süre önce tükenmiş canlı türlerinin fosilleri, yeni ölmüş canlıların çürüyen kalıntıları ya da dünyaya yeni gelen bir yaşamın başlangıçları vardır. Doğa bir "kişi", bir "ihtimamlı ana" ya da geçen yüzyılın kaba maddeci diliyle söylersek, "madde ve hareket" değildir. Ya da, kimi "süreç felsefeleri"nin savduklarının aksine, doğa yalnızca mevsim değişiklikleri gibi yinelenen döngüleri, oluşan ve çözünen metabolik etkinlik süreçlerini içeren toplam bir "süreç" değildir. Doğal tarih, çeşitlenmiş, farklılaşmış karmaşık oluşumlara ve ilişkilere doğru ilerleyen *kümülatif* bir evrimdir.” (Bookchin 1999c:47-48)

#### Toplumsal Ekolojinin Politikası

Buraya kadar toplumsal ekolojinin temel kavramlarını; doğaya tahakküm, organik evrim, diyalektik doğalcılık, rasyonel, ekolojik ve demokratik toplum açıklandı. Toplumsal ekolojinin çevre sorunlarını ekolojik bir kriz olarak değerlendirdiği, sorunların nedeni olarak kirlenme, nüfus artışı, sanayileşme gibi yüzeysel saptamaların ötesinde doğaya tahakküm olduğu ve bunun toplumsal tahakküm ilişkilerinden kaynaklandığı vurgulandı. Toplumsal ekoloji doğaya zorunluluk alanı, hakim olunacak kaynak yığını, manzara, biyoçeşitlilik ve koruma alanı bakan Liberalizmden ve Marksizmden, insanlığı doğanın herhangi bir parçası olarak organik evrim sürecini dışlayarak “insanlığı doğanın kanunlarına ve düzenine teslim olmaya çağırır” akıl karşıtı derin ekolojiden farklı olarak çözüm sürecinde ekolojik, demokratik ve rasyonel bir toplum kurulmasını önermektedir.

Tezin bu kısmı toplumsal ekolojinin politik programı olan ÖB'ye ayrılmıştır. ÖB, Biehl ve Bookchin'in ortak çalışmasına dayanılarak bir referans modeli olarak geliştirilmiştir. Bu referans modeline dayanarak toplumsal ekolojinin alternatif program önerisi ortaya konarken ve yine toplumsal ekolojinin liberal çevrecilik, Marksizm ve derin ekoloji eleştirileri ise Pepper'ın ekonomi politik sınıflandırmasına dayanarak ST'ye dönüştürülmüştür. Buna göre, ST'nin temeli ve diğer ekonomi

politik modeller için referans modeli olan ÖB'nin incelenmesi tezde önemli yer tutmaktadır.

ÖB temelde Bookchin'in çok etkilendiği ve *Kentsiz Kentleşme* çalışmasında detaylarıyla vurguladığı insanlık tarihinin doğrudan demokrasi deneyimlerinin günümüzde yeni bir özgür toplum çağrısı için -çevreciliğin mevcut sistemi sorgulamayan, söylemine ve sektöründe dönüşen etkinliklerine alternatif olması iddiasıyla- politik bir programa dönüştürülmesidir. Antik Atina, ABD'nin kuruluş sürecinden bugüne kadar kasaba meclisleriyle New England bölgesi ve Ortaçağ'da Avrupa şehir devletleri doğrudan demokrasi geleneğine önemli örneklerdir.

ÖB mahalle ölçeğinde yüz yüze ilişkilere dayanan bir doğrudan demokrasi modeli öngörmektedir. Bu mahallenin sakinleri günümüz toplumunun pasif bireyleri yerine bir ekotopluluğu oluşturan ve ancak mahallenin yönetimine katılarak vatandaşları olurlar. Doğrudan ve aracısız politikaya dâhil olmak, ekotopluluğa dair her konuda karar verme mekânizmalarına katılmaktır. Asıl karar mekânizması mahalle ölçeğindeki yurttaş meclisleridir. Hiçbir partiye, lidere, örgüte, ideolojiye ve şiddete bağlı olmayan sadece mahallede vatandaşların katılımına açık olan yurttaş meclisleri, özgür ve eşitlikçi bir toplum için Bookchin'e göre temel kurumdur.

Bookchin devletçilik ve doğrudan demokrasi ayrımı yapar. Devletçilik temsili seçim sistemi, siyasi partiler, profesyonel politikacılar ve bürokrasidir. Doğrudan demokrasi ise vatandaşların kendi taleplerini doğrudan diğer vatandaşlarla görüşmeleri ve karar almasını mümkün kılar. Buna göre Bookchin (1998: 13) ve Biehl (1992:1) *politik*, *toplumsal* ve *devlet* olmak üzere üç evren tanımlarlar. Mahalle ölçeğinde doğrudan demokrasi süreci ve yurttaş meclisleri politik evreni oluşturur; özel ve ekonomik hayat ise toplumsal hayattır.

Dobson (2003: 106) ekolojik vatandaşlık önerisini ulus-devlet veya bölgesel bir birlik çerçevesinde sınırlamaz ancak bireylerin çevreyle metabolik ilişkilerinin sonucu olarak görür. Toplumsal ekolojiye göre bu ilişkinin ölçeği mahalledir ve organizasyonu belediyedir. Yurttaş meclisinin kararları belediye aracılığıyla uygulanır ve ekotopluluğun içinde bulunduğu ekosistemde mahalle ölçeğinde belediye örgütüyle var olur. Bu süreç yerelleşme ve demokratikleşme gerektirir. Biehl'a göre yerelleşme kurumsal ve fiziksel olmalıdır. Kurumsal yerelleşmede

belediyeler mahalle ölçeğinde yeniden örgütlenmelidir ve fiziksel olarak yüz yüze ilişkiler kuracak ölçeğe göre düzenlenmelidir. Bookchin insani ölçek konusunda Platon'un ütopyasında öngördüğü onbin kişinin örnek olabileceğini belirtir. İnsanların birbirleriyle yüz yüze ilişki kurabileceği, yurttaş meclislerinin etkin ve sürekli olabileceği, yaşanabilir ve kendi kendini yönetebilir mahallelerde doğrudan demokrasi mümkün olabilir; bu süreçte kurumsal ve fiziki yerleşme önemlidir. Yerleşme ile koşut giden diğer süreç ise demokratikleşmedir. Her mahallede istenilen yurttaş meclisleri ancak uzun ve zorlu katılımcı bir süreç içinde mümkün olabilir. ÖB ancak mahallede vatandaşların talebi ve çabası ile gelişebilir. Mevcut katılımcılık olanakları doğrudan demokrasiye giden süreçte kullanılabilir; kent konseyleri buna örnek olabilir. Diğer yandan vatandaşların doğrudan demokrasi bilinci konusunda birbirlerini eğitimi vazgeçilmezdir. Ancak, asıl eğitim doğrudan demokrasi amacıyla karar alma mekânizmalarına katılım süreci deneyimiyle olur.

#### Çevreci Eylem Modeli Olarak ÖB

Bu bölümde toplumsal ekolojinin liberal çevrecilik, Marksizm ve derin ekolojiye karşı ortaya koyduğu eleştirilere karşı alternatif olarak ürettiği ÖB, bir çevreci hareket modeli olarak incelenecektir. ÖB, tezin ikinci sorusuna cevap olarak geliştirilecek STnin referans modelini oluşturacaktır.

ÖB hareketinin gelişmesi ancak Bookchin ve Biehl'ın vurguladığı mahalle mekânından başlayabilir. İnsani ölçek olan mahalle mekânının birkaç bin sakininden birkaç kişi toplumsal ekoloji fikirlerine sempati duyabilir ve mahallelerinde karar almak mekânizmalarında vatandaşların etkin olması için çalışmaya başlayabilirler. ÖB hareketi ancak bu mahallede yerleşik birkaç vatandaşın talebiyle başlayabilir, dışarıdan veya herhangi bir siyasi partiye dair, hiyerarşik yapıya dahil olan mahalle sakinleri başlayamaz.

Mahalle sakinleri bir ÖB grubu oluştururlar, amaçlanan yurttaş meclisi modeline uygun olarak düzenli ve halka açık bir alanda toplanırlar. Politik evrenin nüvesi olan toplanma mekânı herhangi bir derneği lokali ve bir üyenin ofisi olmamalıdır. Aksine mahallenin herhangi bir vatandaşının katılabileceği açık bir mekânda olmalıdır. Toplanma mekânı ST'de önemlidir, politik evrenin oluşabilmesi sınıflandırmada diğer modellerden farkı gösterir. HES karşıtı hareket incelenirken toplanma mekânının

halka açık olması ve yurttaş meclisinin toplanmasına imkân sağlayabilmesi araştırılan konulardan biridir.

Halka açık ve politik evrenin oluşmasını mümkün kılan toplanma mekânında ÖB hareketi üyeleri sürekli kendilerini ve yeni katılanları toplumsal ekoloji konularında eğitime tabii tutarlar. Eğitim süreci hem toplantılar hem de doğrudan demokrasi deneyimiyle bitmeyecek bir süreçtir. Sürekli toplanan, mahalle halkının sorunlarını tartışan ÖB hareketi kendini mahalleye tanıtır ve etkinliklerine halkı davet eder. Broşürler, bildiriler ve raporlar vs. hazırlar ve mahalleye dağıtır. ÖB hareketinin yurttaş meclisini oluşturma sürecinde yerel topluluğun sorunlarını ortaya koyması önemlidir; bu sorunların tartışılması ve çözüm bulunması temelinde yurttaş meclisi çağrısı yapar. Böylece, topluluk sorunlarına çözüm için yurttaş meclisini ortaya koymuş olur. Yerel topluluğun ortak kullanabildiği kafeler, parklar gibi politik evrende yurttaş meclisinin nüvesinin mekânını oluşturur.

Yurttaş meclisi ÖB hareketinin temel hedefidir; topluluk konularının gündeme getirilmesi ve ortak bir platformda tartışma çağrısının da amacı budur. Meclisin kurulabilmesi için ÖB hareketinin düzenli ve halka açık toplantıları temel olabilir. Yüz yüze ilişkilerin ve doğrudan demokrasinin mümkün olduğu toplantılar için mevcut doğrudan demokrasi kanalları (kent konseyi, vatandaş katılımına açık belediye meclisi toplantıları) kullanılabilir; eğer resmi kanallar kapalıysa halka açık ve meşru yurttaş meclisi toplantıları başlayabilir. Ancak, meşruiyet ancak yerel topluluğun tümüne açık olması, herhangi bir siyasi partinin ve profesyonel politikacıların etkisi dışında olmasına bağlıdır; politik evrende yurttaş meclisi ancak mahalle halkının katılımıyla mümkündür.

Yerel seçimlere katılmak ÖB hareketinin bir etkinliği olabilir; amaç yerelde de olsa iktidarı ele geçirmek ve mevcut idari mekânizmaları hareketin lehine kullanmak değildir. Amaç yerel seçim sürecini yurttaş meclisi oluşturmak üzere gündem oluşturma amacıyla kullanmaktır. Bu süreçte hazırlanacak seçim programı, ÖB hareketinin tanınması ve yaygınlaşması için önemlidir; mahalle halkını yerel sorunları üzerinden doğrudan demokrasiye ve yönetime katılmaya çağırmalıdır. Seçimlerin kazanılması halinde karar alma mekânizmasının yurttaş meclisini merkez alacak şekilde değiştirmeye çalışılır. Yine bu süreçte önemli olan herhangi bir siyasi partiyle bağın olmaması ve profesyonel politikadan uzak durmak önemlidir. Mahalle

ölçeğinde oluşan yurttaş meclisleri belediyeyi yönetir ve diğer mahallelerde oluşan yurttaş meclisleriyle bölgesel birlikler kurar.

### Çevreciliğin Ekonomi Politik Sınıflandırmasına Doğru

Buraya kadar tezin kuramsal çerçevesi olan toplumsal ekolojinin temel kavramları, liberal çevrecilik, derin ekoloji ve Marksizm'e yönelttiği eleştirileri ve önerdiği alternatif programı, ÖB'yi inceledik. ÖB'yi referans modeli olarak hazırlayacağımız ST'nin diğer ekonomi politik bölümleri bu bölümde inceleyeceğiz.

### Çevrecilikte Farklı Ekonomi Politik Yaklaşımlar

Çevrecilik düşüncesi 1950lerden sonra gelişmiş ve bir bütün oluşturmaktan uzak farklılıkları içermektedir. Hay (2002:35) çevreciliği hayvan hakları, çevreci etikleri derin ekoloji ve güç kuramlarına göre ayırır. O'Riordan (1989, Pepper 1993:34) çevreci kurumları çevremerkezci ve teknomerkezci olarak ayırır ve ST'ye temel olacak şekilde bir sınıflama hazırlar. Çevremerkezcilik yeşil destekçiler ve radikal filozofların desteklediği Gaianizm ve radikal sosyalistlerin, gençlerin, radikal-liberal politikacıların ve entelektüellerin desteklediği Komünalizm olarak ikiye ayrılır. Teknomerkezcilik ise çevreci bilim insanları, iş ve finans dünyası, kariyer odaklı gençlik ve liberal, sosyalist ve sağcı politikacılardan destek görür. O'Riordan teknomerkezci-çevremerkezci ayrımını politik ideolojilere, düşünürler ve filozoflara göre temellendirir (1989 Figür 2.1 akt., Pepper 1993:35). Buna göre tüm çevreci ekonomi politik ideolojiler temelde üç kurama ayrılır; Öznel Seçim Kuramı (ÖSK), Üretim Maliyeti Kuramı (UMK) ve Soyut Emek Kuramı (SEK). Bu tez çalışmasında anlatılan toplumsal ekoloji ve ÖB şemada eksik bırakılmış gözükmemektedir ve şemaya eklenmiştir.

### Ekonomi Politik İdeolojilerin Sınıflandırması

Pepper, O'Riordan'ın temel düşünürleri ve ideolojileri gösterdiği şemasını geliştirip farklı ekonomik politik ideolojilerin çevreci anlayışlarını gösteren beşli bir sınıflandırmaya dönüştürmüştür. Geleneksel Muhafazakar, Liberal Piyasa, Liberal Refah, Demokratik Sosyalist ve Devrimci Sosyalist. Liberaller ve Demokratik

Sosyalistler reformlarla deęiřimi önerirken, dięerleri devrimci bir dönüřümü öne çıkarırlar.

Hay'in (2002:174-194) vurguladıęı üzere Geleneksel Muhafazakar düşünce çevrecilikte nüfus sorununu öne çıkarır. Sanayileřmenin ve büyümenin sınırlandırılması gerektięini ve en iyi doęa koruma yolunun özel mülkiyetin güçlendirilmesi ve yaygınlařtırılması ile mümkün olabildięini iddia eder. Endüstrileřme karřıtıdır, insanlık kendini doęadaki hiyerarřik düzene göre konumlamalı ve toplumda da benzer hiyerarři korunmalıdır. Liberal Piyasa çevrecilięine göre yeřil piyasaların oluřumu, bilim ve teknoloji mevcut kaynak darlıęı ve kirlilik sorunlarını çözecektir. Nüfus sorun deęildir, zira kapitalizmin büyümesi ve devamı için gereklidir, dięer yandan nüfus tüketici baskısı ile çevre dostu ürünlerin üretimi ve tüketimini de destekleyebilir. Pepper (1993: 47) genel olarak çevrecileri ve ekolojistleri Liberal Refah, Demokratik Sosyalist ve Devrimci Sosyalist gruplarına içinde deęerlendirmektedir. Liberal Refah çevrecilięine göre piyasa ekonomisi ve özel mülkiyet devlet tarafından kontrol edilmeli ve düzenlenmelidir. Kanunlar, merkezi planlama ve vergilendirme çevrenin korunması için gereklidir. Aydınlanmış bireyler toplumun ortak iyilięi için doęru yolu seęerler. Tüketici baskısının yanı sıra, parlamento temelinde çoęulcu demokrasi ve çeřitli baskı grupları önemlidir. Demokratik sosyalistler piyasa ekonomisine karřı olak yerelleřmiř sosyalizmin devlet eliyle kurulmasını ve yerel yönetimlerde halkın katılımını önermektedirler. Karma ekonomi, parlamento yönetimi ve sıkı devlet kontrolleri önemlidir. Üretim kâr için deęil ihtiyaçların karřılanması içindir. Devrimci sosyalistlere göre çevre sorunlarının nedeni kapitalizmdir, deęiřim içinse devrimci bir süreç gerekir. Devlet yerine topluluk yönetimine bir geçiř dönemi ile geçilmesini önerir. Yoksulluk ve toplumsal adalet sorunları ekolojik krizin bir parçasıdır.

#### Sınıflandırma Tablosu

Pepper'ın çevreci politik ekonomi farklılıklarını gösteren beřli modelinde eksik olan ve bu tez çalıřmasında incelenen toplumsal ekolojinin alternatif programı ÖB'yi referans alarak bir sınıflandırma geliřtirildi, ST.

<b>Çevreciliğin Ekonomi Politik Sınıflandırılması</b>						
	<b>Geleneksel Muhafazalar</b>	<b>Liberal Piyasa</b>	<b>Liberal Refah</b>	<b>Demokratik Sosyalist</b>	<b>Devrimci Sosyalist</b>	<b>ÖB</b>
<b>ÇEVRE/DOĞA</b>						
<b>Sorun nedir?</b>	Doğanın yıkımı	Çevre sorunları, ancak nüfus ve teknoloji değil	Çevre sorunları, ancak nüfus ve teknoloji değil	Çevre sorunları, ancak nüfus ve teknoloji değil	Çevre sorunları, ancak nüfus ve teknoloji değil	Ekolojik kriz, toplum içi tahakkümlerden kaynaklanan doğanın tahakkümü
<b>Çevre/Doğa nedir?</b>	Toplumun uyması gereken hiyerarşik düzen	doğal kaynak, güzellik	doğal kaynak, güzellik	doğal kaynak, güzellik	doğal kaynak, güzellik, hakim olunması gereken doğa	toplumun ikinci doğa olarak parçası olduğu, özgürlüğe, farklılığa ve öznelliğe evrilen kümülatif bir birikim.
<b>GELİŞME, BİLİM &amp; TEKNOLOJİ</b>						
<b>Ekonomik Düzen</b>	endüstri karşıtlığı, özel mülkiyet	kapitalizm, serbest piyasa	devlet kontrolünde, planlı serbest piyasa	sıkı kontrol altında karma ekonomi	kapitalizmin reddi ve sosyalizm	yerel ekonomi
<b>Bilim&amp;Teknoloji</b>	endüstri karşıtlığı	bilim ve teknolojiye güven	bilim ve teknolojiye güven	bilim ve teknolojiye güven	bilim ve teknolojiye güven	bilim ve teknoloji ancak özgür bir toplumda ekolojik olur, tahakkümcü bir toplumda yıkıcıdır.
<b>POLİTİKA</b>						

<b>Çözüm Nedir</b>	hiyerarşik toplum yapısının devamı	liberal demokrasi ve serbest piyasa, özel girişimcilik	parleментар demokrasi, merkezi planma ve sıkı uygulamalar	parleментар demokrasi, işçi sendikaları ve yerel demokrasi	devlet ve parleментар yerine işçi yönetimi	tahakküm süz ve özgür bir toplumda yerel demokrasi
<b>Politik Özne</b>	özel mülk sahibi ve aile üyesi	tüketici, girişimci	siyasi partiler, tüketiciler	siyasi partiler ve sendikalar	ortak politik eylem, emek ve sendikalar	yerelde ekotoplulukların vatandaşları
<b>ETKİNLİKLER</b>						
<b>Çevreci Eylem</b>	Hiyerarşik toplumsal düzen, hukuk mücadelesi	STK lobiciliği, tüketici kampanyaları, hukuk mücadelesi	STK lobiciliği ve protestoları, tüketici kampanyaları, oy verme, yargı mücadelesi	STK protestoları, oy verme, sendika eylemleri, hukukmücadelesi	sendika eylemleri ve protestolar	yerelde ekotopluluk vatandaşlarının etkinlikleri

### Alan Çalışması

Bu bölümde tezin birinci araştırma sorusuna cevap vermek üzere, ikinci araştırma sorusunun cevabı olan ST'nin alanda uygulanışı incelenecektir.

Küçük Ölçekli Hidroelektrik santraller 2007 itibarıyla Türkiye'nin gündemine girdi, ülke çapında mümkün olan tüm bölgelerde dereler üzerinde yaklaşık iki bin HES inşaatı planlandı. Ülkenin enerji güvenliği politikası gereği petrol ve doğalgaz ithalatını azaltmak ve mevcut ülke içi doğal kaynakları enerji üretiminde kullanmak için hem enerji temininde hem de yeni pazarların oluşturmasıyla ekonominin büyümesinde rüzgâr, güneş, kömür, su ve nükleer enerji santralleri gündeme geldi. Bu süreçte en çok tepki çeken HESler oldu, zira iki bin HES inşaatı ülke coğrafyasına dağılmış halde çoğu bölgede yerel halkın geçimini ve yaşamını tehdit etti. Buna karşı çoğu yerde yerel halk geçiçi örgütlenmeler oluşturdu ya da mevcut yerel ÇSTKlar üzerinden çeşitli eylemler organize etti ve gündeme geldi.

Alan seçiminde ST'nin farklılıklarının ve benzerliklerinin gösteriminin yanı sıra Türkiye'deki HES karşıtlığının dinamik, çeşitli ve aktif olması önemliydi. Bu nedenle Karadeniz Bölgesi'nde kıyıda ve iç bölgede, farklı organizasyonların düzenlediği ve

farklı çözüm önerileri ortaya koyan üç alan seçildi. Seçim sürecinde tezin kuramsal çalışmasıyla paralel olarak yürüyen HES karşıtı hareketlerin geleneksel ve sosyal medyadan takibi neticesinde öne çıkan üç alan ve bu alanlardaki önemli aktörler belirlendi.

Aksu Vadisi, Düzce ve Sakarya illeri arasında yer alan farklı etnik grupların yaşadığı köylerden oluşur. Genellikle muhafazakâr olan ve HES karşıtı hareketi oluşturan yerel halk ilk defa protestolara katılmış ve bir birlik oluşturmuştur. Artvin’de Yeşil Artvin Derneği yerel bir çevre STK’sı olarak il merkezinde esnaf ve akademisyen ağırlıklı yapısıyla HES öncesi ama benzer bir doğa koruma sorunu, maden inşaatları için kurulmuştur. Rize ve Artvin’in Karadeniz kıyısındaki yerleşim birimleri denize paralel ve yan yana vadilerde derelerin yanında yer alırlar ve HES inşaatları hem geçimlerini hem de yaşadıkları yerleşimleri tehdit edince yerel halk, her bir vadide Derelerin Kardeşliği Platformları aracılığıyla ve bölgesel ölçekte ortaklaşa hareket etmeye başlamıştır.

ST üç alanda 2011 yılı içinde, yüz yüze görüşmeler aracılığıyla uygulandı. Toplam yirmi yedi görüşmenin her biri bir ila üç saat arasında sürdü. Derinlemesine görüşmeler sırasında ST’nin kavramları, farklılıkları ve politik ekonomi modeli görüşme süresince HES karşıtı hareketin niteliği ve görüşmecilerin deneyimleri üzerinden değerlendirildi.

Yeşil Artvin Derneği / Artvin

Yeşil Artvin Derneği Artvin’de HES inşaatları ve protestoları öncesinde şehir merkezi yakınının maden inşaatlarına karşı bir hareketin sonucu olarak kurulmuştur.

Görüşmeci Profili – 6 Derinlemesine Görüşme					
<b>Yaş</b>	15-24: 1	25-34:2	35-50:1	>50:2	
<b>Toplumsal Cinsiyet</b>	K:3	E:3			
<b>Eğitim</b>	Üniversite:6	Lise:0	İlköğretim:0	Diğer:0	
<b>Gelir-TL</b>	>500:0	500-1000:0	1000-2000:0	2000-4000:6	>4000:0
<b>Meslek</b>	Kamu:3	Özel:0	Serbest	STK:0	Emekli:0

			Meslek:3		
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<b>YAD-Artvin Görüşmelerinde ST sonucu</b>		
	<b>Liberal Refah Çevreciliği</b>	<b>ÖB</b>
<b>Çevre-Doğa</b>	Biyçeşitlilik olarak çevre, çevre sorunları toplumsal tahakkümle ilişkili değil	
<b>Ekonomi-Bilim&amp;Teknoloji</b>	Bilim ve teknoloji çevre sorunlarını çözebilir, mevcut sistem eleştirilmiyor	
<b>Politika</b>	Yerel STK yapısı, orta sınıftan üyeler. Bazı üyeler yerel halka güvensizliği vurguluyor ve mevcut siyasi partileri, merkezi planlamayı ve sıkı devlet kontrolü ve düzenlemeleri savunuyor	Bazı üyeler "yerel halk korur" diyerek yereli destekliyor, liberal-piyasa çevreciliğinin ulusal ÇSTKlar çerçevesinde güçlü eleştirisi. Su kısıtlığı ve maden inşaatı gibi yerel topluluğun sorunları üzerinden etkinlik. Yerel harekette siyasi partilerin egemenliğine direnme
<b>Etkinlikler</b>	Yasal mücaadele, protestolar, geleneksel ÇSTK etkinlikleri	Bilgilendirme Toplantıları

Aksu Vaidisi Birliği / Düzce-Sakarya

<b>Görüşmeci Profili – 11 Derinlemesine Görüşme</b>					
<b>Yaş</b>	15-24: 1	25-34:2	35-50:3	>50:5	
<b>Toplumsal Cinsiyet</b>	K:4	E:7			
<b>Eğitim</b>	Üniversite:2	Lise:5	İlköğretim:4	Diğer:0	
<b>Gelir-TL</b>	>500:3	500-1000:0	1000-2000:7	2000-4000:1	>4000:0
<b>Meslek</b>	Kamu:0	Özel:0	Serbest Meslek:7	STK:0	Emekli:0, Öğrenci:2, Ev kadını:2

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<b>Aksu Vadisi-Düzce Görüşmelerinde ST sonucu</b>		
	<b>Liberal Refah Çevreciliği</b>	<b>ÖB</b>
<b>Çevre-Doğa</b>	Doğal kaynak olarak çevre, kendi vadilerindeki HES'e karşı çıkış	
<b>Ekonomi-Bilim&amp;Teknoloji</b>	Bilim ve teknoloji, planlama ve düzenlemeler çevre sorunlarını çözebilir, mevcut sistem eleştirilmiyor	
<b>Politika</b>	Mevcut siyasi partilerin desteklenmesi. Sorun su konusuyla sınırlı, diğer topluluk konularına ilişkili değil.	Aşağıdan yukarıya, yerel, geçici örgütlenme. Doğrudan vatandaş katılımı.Liberal piyasa çevreciliğinin ulusal ÇSTK çerçevesinde eleştirisi, su konusu politik evren oluşturuyor
<b>Etkinlikler</b>	Yasal mücaadele, lobicilik	Bilgilendirme Toplantıları

#### DEKAP / Kuzeydoğu Karadeniz Kıyısı

<b>Görüşmeci Profili – 11 Derinlemesine Görüşme</b>					
<b>Yaş</b>	15-24: 1	25-34:2	35-50:4	>50:4	
<b>Toplumsal Cinsiyet</b>	K:1	E:10			
<b>Eğitim</b>	Üniversite:6	Lise:1	İlköğretim:4	Diğer:0	
<b>Gelir-TL</b>	>500:3	500-1000:1	1000-2000:4	2000-4000:3	>4000:0
<b>Meslek</b>	Kamu:1	Özel:2	Serbest Meslek:4	STK:3	Emekli:1

<b>Doğu Karadeniz Kıyısı-Görüşmelerinde ST sonucu</b>		
	<b>Liberal Refah Çevreciliği</b>	<b>ÖB</b>
<b>Çevre-Doğa</b>	Çevre sorunları söylemi, ama ekolojik kriz değil	"Yaşam Alanı" olarak doğa

<b>Ekonomi-Bilim&amp;Teknoloji</b>	Bilim ve teknolojiye güven, ekonominin büyümesi ile doğa koruma ve refahı paylaşım birlikte mümkün olabilir	Daha yerel ekonomi, mevcut sistemin eleştirisi
<b>Politika</b>	Mevcut siyasi partilerin desteklenmesi. Sorun su konusuyla sınırlı, diğer topluluk konularına ilişkili değil.	Aşağıdan yukarıya, yerel, geçici örgütlenme. Doğrudan vatandaş katılımı, parlamenter sisteme güvensizlik, liberal-piyasa çevreciliğinin güçlü eleştirisi
<b>Etkinlikler</b>	Yasal mücaadele	Bilgilendirme Toplantıları, platform toplantıları, yaşam savunusu adı altında

## Değerlendirme

Tez çalışmasında Türkiye’de HESlere karşı yükselen yerelde ve yaygın çevre hareketleri, Toplumsal Ekoloji çerçevesinden etkinlikler, örgütlenme, politika ve çevre konularına yaklaşımlarının bütüncül analizinin yapılması amaçlanmıştır. Türkiye’de Bergama Altın Madenine karşı yerelde ve doğrudan vatandaş katılımına karşı gelişen hareketten sonra ilk kez ve yaygın bir yerel çevreci/doğacı hareket gelişmektedir. Geleneksel kentli, profesyonel, lobici, ılımlı, uzlaşmacı ve biyoçeşitlilik odaklı çevrecilikten farklı olarak yerelde, doğrudan vatandaş katılımına dayanan, çevreyi “bir yaşam alanı olarak savunan ve toplumdaki ayırmayan”, yatay örgütlenen bir harekete dönüşüm saptanmaktadır.

Tezin birinci araştırma sorusuna “HES karşıtı hareket toplumsal ekolojiye göre nasıl analiz edilir?” cevap verebilmek için geliştirilen ikinci sorusunu “Çevreci hareketler toplumsal ekoloji çerçevesinden nasıl analiz edilir?” geliştirdim. İkinci soruya cevap olarak Toplumsal Ekoloji’nin politik programının temel alınarak çevreci ekonomi politik farklılıkları gösteren Sınıflandırma Tablosu (ST) geliştirdim. ST kullanılarak gerçekleştirilen alan çalışmasının sonuçları tezin birinci araştırma sorusu cevapladım.

Türkiye’de HES karşıtı yerel hareketin yaygın ve güçlü olduğu Karadeniz Bölgesi için üç alan farklılıkları ve benzerlikleri ile ST’nin uygulanabilmesi için seçilmiştir. Artvin’de yerel ÇSTK, Düzce’de birlik ve Doğu Karadeniz Kıyısında yerel ve bölgesel platformlar incelenmiştir. Artvin’de yerel ÇSTK esnaf ve üniversitedeki geçici akademisyenlere dayanan üye yapısıyla liberal refah çevreciliği özellikleri

göstermekte; devletin gerekli düzenlemeleri ve planlamayı yapmasını talep etmektedir. Yerel halkın kendi kararlarını vermesini desteklemekle birlikte geleneksel çevreciliği tercih etmekte ancak şirketleşen ulusal ÇSTKları liberal piyasa çevreciliği temelinde eleştirmektedir. Düzce/Aksu Vadisi'nde birlik, geleneksel olarak muhafazakar olan ve ilk kez toplumsal eylemlere katılan vatandaşların oluşturduğu gönüllü ve geçici bir yapıdır. Liberal refah çevreciliğine ait ÇSTK yapısının dışında, doğrudan halkın katılımına dayanan yatay ve anti-hiyerarşik bir yapı oluşturulmuştur. Yatay, vatandaşa dayalı örgütlenme ve karar verme süreçlerine doğrudan katılım talepleri liberal refah çevreciliğinin sınırlarının toplumsal ekoloji yönünde zorlanmasıdır. Doğu Karadeniz Kıyısındaki platform ise hem yerel hem bölgesel örgütlenmektedir. Yatay, doğrudan vatandaş katılımına dayalı ve aşağıdan yukarıya örgütlenme ile su ve çevre konularının dışında karar alma süreçlerine katılım talep etmektedir. HESler sonrasında da sürebilecek yapısı ve çevreci mücadelenin "yaşam savunusuna" dönüşmesi toplumsal ekolojinin özelliklerine uyumu göstermektedir.

Tez çalışmasının araştırma sorularına daha yetkin cevaplar geliştirebilmek adına Karadeniz Bölgesi dışındaki HES karşıtı hareketin, nükleer ve termik santral karşıtı etkinliklerin incelenmesi gerekmektedir. Ayrıca, bu tez çalışmasının devamında yerel hareketlerin karşı çıktığı merkezi, geleneksel, profesyonel ve lobici ulusal ÇSTKlara ve şirketlere dayanan liberal piyasa/refah çevreciliğinin analizinin yapılması gerekmektedir. Türkiye çevreciliğinin analizinin tamamlanması için tarihsel gelişimin ST çerçevesinde analiz edilebileceği sözel tarih çalışması ve derinlemesine görüşmeler gerekmektedir.

## APPENDIX D

### TEZ FOTOKOPİSİ İZİN FORMU

#### ENSTİTÜ

Fen Bilimleri Enstitüsü

Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü

Uygulamalı Matematik Enstitüsü

Enformatik Enstitüsü

Deniz Bilimleri Enstitüsü

#### YAZARIN

Soyadı : Eryılmaz

Adı : Çağrı

Bölümü : Sosyoloji

**TEZİN ADI** (İngilizce) : Social Ecology Challenges Environmental Participation: Hes Opposition Cases In Turkey

#### TEZİN TÜRÜ :

Yüksek Lisans

Doktora

1. Tezimin tamamından kaynak gösterilmek şartıyla fotokopi alınabilir.
2. Tezimin içindekiler sayfası, özet, indeks sayfalarından ve/veya bir bölümünden kaynak gösterilmek şartıyla fotokopi alınabilir.
3. Tezimden bir (1) yıl süreyle fotokopi alınamaz.

#### TEZİN KÜTÜPHANEYE TESLİM TARİHİ: