

A CASE STUDY OF AN ECO-SOCIALIST ORGANIZATION:
ECOLOGY COLLECTIVE

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ABSTRACT

A CASE STUDY OF AN ECO-SOCIALIST ORGANIZATION: ECOLOGY COLLECTIVE

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The aim of this thesis is to analyse how ecological crisis can be seen from the perspective of ecosocialism. Firstly, the ecosocialist literature was examined. Secondly, The Association of Ecology Collective was observed in order to analyse ecosocialist perspective in the field. For that purpose, all issues of *Kolektif* which is the main journal of Ecology Collective were examined. Additionally, five semi structured interviews have been conducted with the members of Ecology Collective.

Keywords: Ecosocialism, environmentalism, ecologism, ecological crisis

ÖZ

EKOSOSYALİST BİR ÖRGÜT ÜZERİNE ÇALIŞMA: EKOLOJİ KOLEKTİFİ

Kayabaş, Ergün

Yüksek Lisans, Sosyoloji Bölümü

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Bu tezin amacı ekolojik krizin ekososyalist perspektiften nasıl ele alındığını analiz etmetir. Bunun için ilk önce ekososyalist literatür incelendi. İkinci olarak alanda ekososyalist perspektifi analiz etmek için Ekoloji Kolektifi Derneği incelendi. Bu amaç doğrultusunda, Ekoloji Kolektifi'nin temel yayını olan Kolektifin tüm sayıları incelendi. Bunun yanında, Ekoloji Kolektifi'nin beş üyesiyle yarı yapılandırılmış görüşme yapıldı.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Ekososyalizm, Çevrecilik, Ekolojizm, Ekolojik kriz

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

EC	Ecology Collective
GMO	Genetically Modified Organism
HES	Hydroelectric Power Plants
IEN	International Ecosocialist Network

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

The research question of this thesis is “How can ecological crisis be analyzed from the perspective of ecosocialism?” In order to observe and analyze the perspective of ecosocialism, the Ecology Collective, an ecosocialist association in Turkey, will be the case study of this thesis.

Ecosocialism is one of the streams in ecologism. Because of this, first, ecologism was discussed in detail. In order to contextualize ecologism, I focused on how ecologism differs from environmentalism in the first chapter. I especially referred to the works of David Pepper, Jonathon Porritt, J. Bellamy Foster, Andrew Dobson, and Robyn Eckersley and illustrated the main features of ecologism. The discussions of these academics revealed that ecologism is an eco-centric approach criticizing industrialism, economical growth and technology.

Next, I specifically focused on ecosocialism as an ecologist approach in order to see how ecosocialism discussed these issues which appeared in the first part to locate the difference of ecologism from environmentalism. They are shortly environmentalism, ecologism, industrialism, economical growth, technology and ecocentrism. At this point, I especially referred to

the works of David Pepper, Joel Kovel, J. Bellamy Foster, Paul Burkett and Michael Löwy. Then, I used the classification of David Pepper who shows the differences between political philosophies on ecological issues. He also focuses on how different political philosophies see environmental crisis, technology, economical growth, industrialism, ecocentrism, ecological society and what kind of strategies they offer. All these issues are also discussed by ecosocialist literature and the classification of Pepper gives the tools to assess the political tendency of the Ecology Collective. The arguments of revolutionary socialism in Pepper's work and the ecosocialist literature discussed in that chapter were compared with respect to the Ecology Collective.

Then in the last chapter the political stance of the Ecology Collective was analyzed. It was revealed how they define the ecological crises, ecosocialist political practices, strategy for ecosocialist society, economical growth, industrialism and technology. This was an evaluation how the Ecology Collective is differentiated from other environmentalist organizations.

1.1 Why Ecology Collective?

In 2001 Kovel and Löwy published "An Ecosocialist Manifesto". They wrote *"we see ecosocialism not as the denial but as realization of the first epoch socialisms of the twentieth century in the context of ecological crisis"*¹ so it seems that the purpose of the ecosocialist manifesto is to open a new discussion in

¹ See http://www.iefd.org/manifestos/ecosocialist_manifesto.php

Marxism. With the prefix "eco" they intend to make a contribution to Marxism.

After some years, in 2007, the International Ecosocialist Network (IEN), referring to Kovel and Löwy's work, was founded in Paris. Ian Angus joint Kovel and Löwy. The draft of the text that this network prepared was opened to public and worldwide interpretation, criticism and recommendations.

The Ecology Collective observed the process of the International Ecosocialist Network and it was the first organization which translated the documents of the IEN into Turkish. Parallel with the purpose of "An Ecosocialist Manifesto", the aim was to start a new discussion in Turkey. They intended to bring the discussions of the IEN to Turkey. For this purpose, in 2008 they organized meetings in Istanbul, Ankara and Mersin. They conducted the facilitation of the meetings. Then they continued with workshops in Ankara on the Ecosocialist Manifesto. After these meetings and workshops they organized an Ecosocialist Forum in Ankara and Istanbul. The participation was very great in these meetings. For example, the representatives of Peace and Democracy Party, Freedom and Solidarity Party, Socialist Future Party, Socialist Democracy for, Association of Pirsultan Abdal, ESM, Çağdaş Hukukçular Derneği, KAOS GL, İklim İçin Gençlik, Eğitim Sen² participated to the Ecosocialist Forum.

² Barış ve Demokrasi Partisi, Özgürlük ve Dayanışma Partisi, Sosyalist Gelecek Parti Girişimi, Sosyalist Demokrasi için Yeniyol, Pirsultan Abdal Derneği, Enerji,

Although they are a small group of people, these efforts and works put Ecology Collective in a key position in discussions on ecosocialism in Turkey. That's why I decided to conduct a case study on the Ecology Collective.

1.2 What is the 'Ecology Collective'?

Ecology Collective, anticipating ecological struggles as a fundamental dimension of freedom and defining itself as ecosocialist, was established in the late 1990s. Members of the collective started coming together in Ankara University Faculty of Law under the name of İKSİR Students' Association. İKSİR was introducing itself as follows: "*İKSİR is neither a name of an effort for environmental sensitivity adorned by simplified leisure activities nor a substitutive organization delaying our problems to the future. The process has led politicization as well as extending our upcoming problems; and hence, it entailed an endeavor for creating a collectivity to a certain extent. The very initial agenda of İKSİR in 1997 was nuclear plants and people. First bulletin published with the same title was focusing on nuclear power plants. They were objecting those plants saying "We don't want nuclear"*"³ and they collected signatures for this campaign. Against cyanidation processing of gold in Bergama, they attempted another demonstration with the slogan of "Six Fleet, Get out!"

Sanayi Ve Maden Kamu Emekçileri Sendikası, Çağdaş Hukukçular Derneği, KAOS GL, İklim için Gençlik, Eğitim Sen

³ Nükleer Mükleer İstemiyoruz

İKSİR was primarily focusing on human's alienation to nature, human's increasing mechanization and embodiment by technology and human's rupture from nature in late 90's.

As an officially registered association now, the Collective has more than 60 members. Based in Ankara, the Collective has members from other cities like Istanbul, Izmir, Mersin, Sinop, Düzce etc. Since the listed cities may indicate, the member provinces are largely the ones which are threatened or already transformed by ever-changing, market-led environmental regulations and interventions. Similar to Snow and Benford's (1997) argument that a contentious process generally begins as actors/members engage with issues of grievance and contention, the local members of the Ecology Collective are the ones who are struggling against the private and/or state interventions to their localities. Though the Collective is a state-registered association, the members describe it as a loosely organized, non-hierarchical organization. It is next significant to mention what the "Ecology Collective" is opposed to, how the Collective manifests its contentions and what it suggests. The Collective is quite attentive to the ecological and political agenda particularly and primarily in Turkey; yet they do also follow the global agenda specifically the Latin American trajectory. They translated constitutions of Ecuador and Bolivia into Turkish.

Defining itself as a democratic mass organization, the Collective frames its position in activism within the interrelated domains of

ecology, labor and nature exploitations, dualisms of human and nature, division of rural and urban, sexism and nationalism. Members pinpoint that the collective's repertoire of motives is conditioned by capitalism(s). They mention that they struggle for a classless society and for reclaiming nature. It is important to note that the Collective defines itself as ecosocialist and it can be argued that their socialist approach largely shapes and reflects itself in their selectivity over the scope and the range of the topics. The ways in which the Collective embodies and frames its political activism as another imperative dimension needs to be mentioned.

One of the Ecology Collective's main activities is to publish an ecosocialist journal named *Kolektif* every three months. The journal is defined by the members as a platform to share and disseminate the Collective's approaches, ideas and visions with and to the general public. Besides regularly publishing articles written widely by members on the selected topics, they do also provide news on and about recent developments, struggles and demonstrations from grassroots movements. Moving from the educational and occupational backgrounds of the members, it may be asserted that the Collective is largely composed of highly educated individuals having their masters and PhDs. As many of them are bilinguals, the Collective does also provide translations of recent significant texts, manifestos, and news from English and Spanish. The occupational background of the members

should also be underlined. A number of the Collective members are lawyers working voluntarily for local grassroots struggle.

Other regular activities of the Collective are the "Ecofeminist workshops" and the "Cinecology Film Festival" organized in different cities across Turkey. Furthermore, the Collective published several books such as "Poverty and Resistance in Rural", "The Ecology of the Invisible Hand - Biosecurity and GMO", and "Green Capitalism is Impossible". Besides activities mentioned above, the Collective also cooperates with other organizations. It has been working with and for the "No to GMO Platform" and "Anti-Nuclear Platform" for years. As it was also mentioned earlier, they do cooperate with local organizations specifically for the cases on HES (Hydroelectric Power Plants) oppositions.

1.3 The Case Study

The analysis of the case study of this thesis is divided in two parts. Firstly, I conducted five semi-structured interviews with the members of the Ecology Collective. In my interviews, I mainly focused on their way of thinking and perceptions which constitute one of the central dimensions in their political discourse. I primarily focused on their definition for ecosocialism and ecological crisis. In relation to Pepper's classification model and ecosocialist literature discussed in the second chapter, some specific issues such as industrialism, economic growth, technology, strategy for ecological society, ecocentrism were

revealed. In the light of these issues, I organized the semi-structured interviews. Thus I also tried to observe how they designated ecological struggle, their approaches to the ecological struggles in Turkey, their demarcations from other environmental organizations and their relations with certain oppositional groups (like leftist, socialist, feminist and labour movements, etc). By virtue of this, I had the opportunity to understand their framing processes in relation to some other actors in this field, like the state, environmental organizations, local resistances, and so on.

Five persons with whom I have done the interviews have the "core" position in terms of representativeness of the Ecology Collective. They regularly write in *Kolektif* which is the periodical of the Collective. Most of them write theoretical articles reflecting the political tendency of the association. Two of them are lawyers who voluntarily follow the process of HES in Turkey. The Ecology Collective's office is also the office of one of the lawyer. The other two are academics and the Ecology Collective occupies an important place in their lives. They also write about ecology in some other journals. The last one is a student who manages the web site of the association. She is very active in organizations and meetings.

Secondly, I conducted a content analysis of the journal *Kolektif*. The content of *Kolektif* consists of news, theoretical discussions, some articles translated into Turkish and interviews. *Kolektif* not only narrates the news but also interprets the events and offers a

political action so it is the fundamental channel through which the political perspective of the Ecology Collective can be observed. In this way, articles that appear in this publication provide a rich data to understand the marks of their political stance and immediate agenda for theory and political activity. I examined all issues of the Kolektif. The association has published fifteen issues every three months since 2008. Alike with the conceptual framework used for the interviews, the theoretical discussions and Pepper's classification model was a fundamental reference for me. In Pepper's classification model of political ideologies, Pepper focuses on how different political ideologies see industrialism, economic growth, technology, strategy for ecological society, ecocentrism. In this way, he gives a comparative framework. Similarly, I examined the Ecology Collective through the journal Kolektif in the light of these concepts.

Pepper classifies five different sets of political economies that are traditional conservatives, market liberals, welfare-liberals, democratic socialists, revolutionary socialists. Then he defines welfare liberals, democratic socialists and revolutionary socialists as green politics. He also divides all into two such as radical and reformist. Pepper's classification model also contains how political ideologies see ecological crisis, economic growth, ecocentrism and strategy against ecological crisis etc... Because of this, I add a column into Pepper's table to include these issues which came up in the former part on ecosocialism. They are industrialism,

economic growth, population, technology, ecocentrism, ecological society and strategies for ecological society.

Thus, Pepper's divisions and classifications give tools to understand the political position and action of Ecology Collective. In order to assess environmental actions of Ecology Collective in terms of aims, actions, contextualizing ecological crisis, industrialization, economic growth, technology and strategies against ecological crisis, Pepper's revolutionary socialism in his classification model and discussions in ecosocialism literature on the same issues will be the reference to analyze the Ecology Collective. In this sense, it will also be revealed how revolutionary socialism in Pepper's classification model is useful for ecosocialist environmental actions.

In the light of this theoretical framework, I divided the analysis chapter into some parts on which Ecology Collective contextualize ecological crisis, industrialism, economic growth, technology and their strategies against ecological crisis.

CHAPTER 2

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

2.1 Environmentalism vs. Ecologism

Even though different conceptions are used to describe ecologist approach, generally dual disintegration is appointed: environmentalism and ecologism, reformist and radical environmentalism, "shallow and deep ecology"⁴, "light and dark green"⁵, "techno-centrism and eco-centrism"⁶, "environmentalism

⁴ The distinction between 'deep' and 'shallow' ecology was first made by Arne Naess. Deep ecology fundamentally rejects the dualistic view of humans and nature as separate and different. It holds that humans are intimately a part of the natural environment: they and nature are one. The view of what a green society should be like stems from a firm belief in bioethics and nature's intrinsic value (Pepper, 2003:17).

⁵ One of the most approachable of the academic texts is Andrew Dobson's Green Political Thought, good review of both 'light' and 'dark' green positions.

⁶ The kind of terminology proposed and developed by O'Riordan. Technocentrism recognizes environmental problems but believes either unreservedly that our current form of society will always solve them and achieve unlimited growth. Ecocentrism views humankind as part of a global ecosystem, subject to ecological laws. These, and the demands of an ecologically based morality, are seen to constrain human action, particularly through imposing limits to economic and population growth (Pepper, 2003: 38).

and social ecology"⁷, "ecocentric" and "anthropocentric"⁸ (Garner, 1996, s.3).

When we take a look at the sources in which the ecologic approach is described, it seems like that the definitional features of the ecologism are represented by diversifying from environmentalism. For example, Jonathon Porritt, after he remarks that he interchangeably uses the words green and ecologic, put forward that the reformists who don't plan to convert the industrial society cannot be described as green (1984: 3-5). It can be said that the concept of environmentalism is based on the sensibility against the sudden and profound environmental pollution which emerged with industrialization. The

⁷ Murray Bookchin criticizes environmentalist approach. He suggests that environmentalism is misleading in the effort to handle the problems of an ecological society. Environmentalism, according to him; "deals with "natural resources", 'urban resources', even 'human resources'... "Environmentalism" does not bring into question the underlying notion of the present society that man must dominate nature; rather, it seeks to facilitate that domination by developing techniques for diminishing the hazards caused by domination. The very notion of domination itself is not brought into question"(Bookchin, 1996: 62). In contrast with this, he uses the term environmentalism in opposition to ecology, especially to social ecology.

⁸ Robyn Eckersley in Environmentalism and Political Theory: Towards an Ecocentric Approach says "Anthropocentrism ... may be seen as a kind of ecological myopia or unenlightened self-interest that is blind to the ecological circularities between the self and the external world, with the result that it leads to the perpetuation of unintended and unforeseen ecological damage. An ecocentric perspective, in contrast, recognizes that nature is not only more complex than we presently know but also quite possibly more complex, in principle, than we can know—an insight that has been borne out in the rapidly expanding field of chaos theory. (Eckerley, 1992: 52)

environmentalist approach generally brings the pollution dimension of environmental problems to the forefront and seeks to resolve these problems on a technical level. It is based on the assumption that the disrupted human-nature relations can be repaired within the existing structure of the society. Furthermore can this problem be overcome through partial changes within the existing institutions? It generally focuses on and seeks to transform issues like the air and water pollution, the rapid depletion of natural resources, food scarcity and its suitability to human health.

As it can be readily noticed, this approach is anthropocentric. It conceives the environment as a resource, hence as nonhuman. The solutions set forth in line with such an approach focus on human health and welfare and aim at minimizing the generated damages. There emerge demands towards prompting the industries which are thought to be harming the environment to gain environment consciousness and to use environment-friendly technologies and using the natural resources more consciously. Foster summarizes the strategies of environmentalist movements as technological methods, adapting the market to the whole forms of nature, creating protected islands in a world dominated by universal exploitation and the destruction of natural habitats (2010: 58)

Many features belonging to environmentalism have transitivity with other political ideologies and the statements of political struggles. For example, observation of political-executive

techniques instead of a whole conversion that is supported by environmentalism, grounding on the technological development instead of examining the technology, economical activity and productivity instead of limitation of the growth, anthropocentric approach instead of egocentric approach, instrumental values instead of the value understanding which have gained independence from anthropoid aims, sustainable development instead of ecologic/sustainable society can be the common ground of the ideologies of social democrat or conservative parties with ecologism. Because of these various complex relations, the difference between these two concepts is very important.

What is made generally is the description of environmentalism's components via exposition of ecologist criticism of various dimensions of existing social structure and the features of ecologic society projection that is resented as involved. The impressions of other ideologies to ecologism are also discussed in point of their intellectual roots of components. These components (for example like the criticism of industrialism, limitation of the growth, examination of the technology, reduction of the population, society-nature relation) may have been borrowed from other ideologies as they may have been allocated to environmentalism. The discrepancy of the components which have been shared or borrowed from other ideologies is remarked by emphasizing that it has gained new meaning in the new

discussions developed by environmentalist approach (Dobson, 2003: 240).

Concerning for the environment is not the sole and sufficient condition to be ecologism in conjunction with occupying an important space for environmental causes in ecologist approach. Environment is not the only component of ecologism. Various dimensions of economic, social, political and cultural life are discussed and solutions are shown regarding them and a complete political project is produced. This extensive wideness does not only pave the way for forming an angle between other political ideologies and ecologism but also becomes the source for forming different ideological locations in itself.

Industrialism is one of the concepts which are criticized by ecologist approach. It is remarked that the industrialism forms by anthropocentric prospects of structure, management and policies regarding environment. The nature seems to be a human-serving means that should be conquered and dominated. The environment appears like it is a source to be operated instead of being a value to be protected and transferred to coming generations. It is defended that the industrialism covered by assailant individualism destroys individual self determination. Moreover it prevents the person to be culturally developed in any way apart from consumption slavery, and alienates the person against the product produced by himself, society and nature. (Porritt, 2007: 78).

Yet another component is the ecologism's thesis inimical to economical growth. For example, it is determined that the main aim of the policies in developed countries is to provide development in sectors to help people improve their social, intellectual and moral existence (qualitative development) and conversely to stop development in sectors that cause a provocative consumption and a quantitative demand of having. As for in underdeveloped countries, it is appointed that the economical growth is indispensable for a longer time on the condition that it moves apart from the irregular development of industrialism. However in each situation, the development should be sustainable in the meaning of observation of the planet's borders (Porritt, 1984: 120).

Questioning of scientific and technological developments is accepted as one of the components of the ecologist approach (Dopson, 1999: 211). The arguments of technologism are criticized by ecologist approach. Especially the arguments regarding that it can solve environmental problems by rationalism, productivity, efficiency of science, technology. These tendencies also spread among political ideologies from the right to left while they present economical and social causes. Before anything else, the solution waiting causes of the societies are not technical causes but they are about the progress period of socio-economic system. Because of this point of view, examination of the technology is in a close connection and articulation with the

other ideological components probed above. It is underlined that the technologic innovations are not and will not be sufficient to create the tools to sustain the growing pollution and the economic system based on continuous growing. It is remarked that the science and technology convert to be an ideological device which gives service for wealth and power to be collected in the hands of a minority because they present the tools of inveterate for industrialism. They don't undertake any function apart from fruitlessly extending the material facilities for providing the sustainability of the growth and they are shown as tools for solution (Porritt, 2007: 49).

In an ecologic society, technology will provide the technical equipments of a mode of production which are not decentralized but small-scaled and easily controllable (Wallis, 2010: 45-63).

The grasp of society-nature relations and socio-economic, political and environmental references of these relations find an expression in the principle of eco-centrism. Eco-centrism disapproves anthropocentrism including environmentalism. The standard of everything in anthropocentrism is human; non-human world with its materials and resources, animals and plants is an instrument serving to human purposes for humanity placed in the focus of the world. (Eckersley, 1997: 81)

Non-living things, animals and plants have inherent values independent from human purposes and interests. All organisms and creatures should be respected and protected because they

are valuable, not because they are natural creatures serving to human being. Nature and environment should be protected not because humans maintain their lives, but because humans are a part of nature and among living creatures and they do not have a right to distort nature.

It is not difficult to see that the principle of eco-centrism is adopted by ecologist approach. The ecologist thinker Porritt (1984: 10) who drew the attention to the relations between human and nature adopted the view that humanity is not outside or superior to living-nonliving things but it is just the part of life. An ecologic society promised by the ecologist approach surrounds almost all areas of social and natural life. A society is imagined in which everyone gains income maintaining a well life. Ecological society is considered in which people work in a job which will not lead them to alienate from themselves and nature. There should be a production-consumption organization based on requirements not on demands. Living and nonliving things are regarded as independent values and respected (for example, in which experiments on animals and their exploitation are rejected); all types of discrimination about species, languages, religions and ethnics are removed in ecological society. The processes of decision-making and decision-giving are formed enabling the participation of the affected ones. Direct democracy mechanisms become functional, the policies such as agriculture, energy, education, health, social welfare, tourism, transportation, etc. are

in total harmony, a fair society, a fair economy, intergenerational justice and ecological justice are provided.

Localness and small scale are emphasized in an ecological society. This emphasis is based on the reason that the principles of self-confidence and self-sufficiency are realized. As a result, sustainable social practices in line with ecologic cycles become available thanks to the usage of local resources and authorization of local units. There is not a constant single scale for organizations, institutions and people and finding the suitable scale enabling to realize different purposes is the basis (Porritt, 1984: 164-5). The suitable scale is considered in a single process whether is small or large. While the emphasis on smaller and more local scale refers to the protection of diversity in ecologic society, the large scale emphasizes the mutual dependence among all people and the integration principle.

To sum up, ecologism as an eco-centric approach criticizes industrialism, economical growth and technology.

On the other hand, interpretations of these features of ecologism are diverse. Today, it is not possible to consider the ecologic thought as a single movement or group of thoughts. It is possible to mention the existence of several ecology thoughts from deep

ecology to anarchism, from radical ecology to eco-socialism and from eco-feminism.⁹

2.2 Eco-socialism as an ecologist approach

Eco-socialism is a movement that indicates the main reasons of the ecological issues stemming from both the capitalist mode of production and structures determined by such mode of production. This movement depicts that there would be no solution unless the existent paradigm is transformed. This kind of movement within which several distinct tendencies exist depends on Marxist principles (Pepper, 2010: 34). Marx, as a result of conditions to which Industry Revolution led, believed that not only labor but also nature is increasingly subjugated to capital. According to Marx, Foster claims, the position of man in the nature is one of the matters which will never be solved in a satisfactory manner since man is obviously a part of the nature and not either. We are a part of the nature as creatures immanent to the physical world whose lives are dependent on the sustainability of metabolism. However we are also not a part of the nature as long as the activity of our species, that is, our human nature rests on transforming the nature (2000: 44). From the standpoint of eco-socialists, it can be said that the relation of man with the nature is taken up in relation with the appreciations

⁹ It is seen that whether ecologism is a separate ideology or not and its relation with other political ideologies are discussed in literature. Because of the subject of this thesis, these discussions will not be included.

of Marx regarding the biological and social body of man (2000: 50).

According to Pepper, eco-socialism is anthropocentric (though not in the capitalist technocratic sense) and humanist (1993: 232). Pepper says,

"It rejects the bioethic and nature mystification, and any anti-humanism that these may spawn. . . Thus alienation from nature is separation from part of us. It can be overcome by reappropriating collective control over our relationship with nature, via common ownership of the means of production. Eco-socialism defines 'the environment' and environmental issues widely, to include the concerns of most people. They are urban based so their environmental problems include street violence, vehicle pollution and accidents, inner-city decay, lack of social services, loss of community and access to countryside, health and safety at work and, most important, unemployment and poverty" (1993: 232-4).

Kovel states that approaching to Marx as an anthropocentric is to discard his comment on the alienation of human from the nature as a result of impositions of capital. On the other hand, this situation means not to be able to see the dialectical relation by interpreting the alienated man in the labor process. Accordingly, while the alienation of labor leads to that of human from labor product, of human from labor process and of human from other people, as the nature is also alienated from human, it will mean

that a production system based on an abstract dead labor under the dominance of capital is alienated (2007:120-130).

Marxist critique determined the ideal components in the socialist societies. Eco-socialism is aware that preventing misdistribution of sources is possible by only hindering famine and the extremely increase of population and need for source in relation with culture and economy of society. This sort of awareness can be constructed through a new change in production modes and the known importance of the influence of counter attitudes towards nature. Eco-socialists have started their own work by re-determining resources and necessities. As for capitalism never looks at this in a planned manner; the redistribution of resources realizes equally. Change in the production mode, which does not make human beings alienated, and a decentralized society, which does not have a central state are the aim of eco-socialists (Pepper, 1986: 196-200).

According to Kovel, the growth in ego attitudes towards nature is inherent to the structure of capitalism (2007: 162). The capital has to grow or die, in other words, to destroy the life of the world. Capitalism realizes the capital accumulation and growth by treating labour power as work force and nature as raw material and resource. It grows each and every time by exploiting the wealth, that is the labour and nature that it has seized. The growth is now possible through the fact that the workers accept lower wages and worse living conditions because of the fear of

unemployment as the population is subordinated to misery under the market conditions and through the quest to buy the nature cheap as raw material storage and as resource. In opposition to this, the capital pressurizes its own conditions of existence by destroying the opportunities for regeneration of the conditions of existence of the nature (Kovel, 2007: 152-162).

Consequently, the process of turning the nature creatures into natural resources and the proletarianization of labour go hand in hand in an indispensable unity. This very unity is the ecological crisis itself. Thereby, as the critique of capitalism slides into the social ecology approach, it is inevitable to deal with these issues from a universal standpoint, beyond the solution of regional environmental problems (such as the air pollution in Ankara, nuclear power plant in Mersin Akkuyu). This means that instead of underestimating regional problems by ignoring them, one has to assume a different methodological eye which considers all aspects of the ecological crisis and which is equipped with the faculty of seeing the relationship between these aspects from the largest level (Eckersley 1997:10-17).

Kovel and Löwy articulated similar ideas in the Ecosocialist Manifesto which they wrote in 2001. Ecosocialism, according to Löwy, is an attempt to provide a radical civilization alternative, rooted on the basic arguments of the ecological movement, and of the Marxist critique of political economy. It opposes to the capitalist destructive progress (Marx) an economic policy founded

on non-monetary and extra-economic criteria: the social needs and the ecological equilibrium.” (2010:4)

To summarize all these, we can first say that the situation which has now emerged as an ecological crisis is an inherent nature of the existing economic system. It has been interwoven with the social depressions created by the domination of men over men and is the reflection of the same structural mechanism (Löwy and Kovel, 2005: 37).

At the end of this depiction, it puts forward that as the ecological crisis is the crisis of capitalism, the primary revenge to overcome such a crisis is a struggle with both capitalism and its own apparatus (Foster, 1999: 11-34). It can be therefore said that the life practices of the model of the revolutionary social and economic relations that are being developed against two bases of capitalism would determine the determinant features of eco-socialism.

The first one of the intended two bases of capitalism above is a confined living level on which people are compelled to sell their labor force at the market because of Bourgeois’ ownership of means of production and of the deprivation of society from means of production (Kovel, 1997: 168). Labor force which is being bought on the market is being compelled to work more and more beyond the necessary time to regenerate itself. The appropriation of surplus value by the capitalist and so the

development of capital continues. Since this process creates capital as a power over and independent of people human being is reduced to only a labour force and to a calculable and controllable machine (Bahro, 2000: 124).

The second basis of capitalism is made of a production process including the instrumentalization of nature just like labor. As the component of social wealth, the nature is reduced to an input of production as it is also considered as a raw material and source (Burkett, 1999:82-90).

Despite the material wealth of society is labor and nature; capitalism, by approaching to labor force as work force but also to the nature as a raw material and source, realizes the accumulation of capital and its development. It develops by multiplying its appropriation of wealth at every turn, so to speak, labor and nature (Burkett, 1999: 69-79). The growth is possible through the confinement of population to poverty on the market conditions, through the acceptance of lower wages and worse life conditions by employees under the fear of unemployment every time and through the search for a cheaper appropriation of the nature as a store of raw material and source. Against this, capital pushes the limits of its own existence conditions by terminally producing the possibilities with which the nature would be able to regenerate its own existence conditions (Burkett, 25-33).

After this type of determination of meaning of the ecological crisis, the crystallization of two bases of the revolutionary life ideal coined by eco-socialists can be asserted. The first one is that the emancipation of both nature and labor is in the frame of the redefinition of the relation of man with nature. The second one is the elimination of property existing over surplus value which is being created by labor and which is being appropriated by capital as a profit and means of production and the maintenance of the distance with the developmentalist ideology in an effort to overcome the experiences of socialism.

Human being, who is compelled to sell his/her labor so as to live, is alienated from both his/her labor and production process. The elimination of such an alienation points to that of the dominance of capital over surplus-value so as to put work process out of the necessity. Otherwise, capitalists that dominate surplus value rule political authority at the same time, so to speak, being dominant over leading to the production. This leads to deepen the distinction between ruler and production and to the alienation of producer from the product. As the socialist experiences indicate in the last century, the matter is not only the nationalization of the dominance over surplus value since, unless the dominance over means of production is eliminated, the alienation which transforms humans into a machine part will continue. One of the main properties of ecosocialism becomes clear at this point. (Aydın, 2008:12)

To Eco-socialists, it should be made possible that productive forces independently come together. Accordingly, this unity is a free one; therefore the means of production should be divorced from every type of property relations to make them accessible to everyone. On the other hand, organization which would be created should be a unity (Kovel, 1997: 245-246). The unity composed of producers, as divorced from economic data, should have the collective production process by bringing humanitarian nature to the fore. The possibility of this is linked to democratic self-government and an international ecological socialism. Eco-socialism which has an end of destroying exchange value aims at realizing a life at the international level, which points to time outside the actual work time to regenerate human, by emancipating labor, by expanding production into every inch of life, by breaking up the restrictions created by the discipline of work time (Kovel, 1997: 242-252).

The angle between an ecologist-socialist perception which is grounded on a struggle against ecological crisis on the basis of the exploitation of labor and nature, and the current ecological crisis critiques and the ideological hegemony struggle among these critiques are the basic determinant factors in shaping the actual, political and organizational issues of eco-socialists.

To sum up, according to Pepper Eco-socialist society would rediscover and express people's real relationship to nature – neither separation and superiority, as contemporary capitalism

presupposes, nor mere equality, as ecocentrism believes. Rather, society and nature are dialectically related, so that each is a manifestation of the other. Nature is socially produced, and what humans do is natural (Pepper, 2010:35-40).

Secondly, it is not possible to solve the ecological crisis within capitalism and the solution of this problem requires the envisagement of a different social system. As the competitive essence of capitalism has to perceive the nature as a resource, it is impossible to transform the system as a whole into a "green capitalism." (Balta-Mısır, 2011: 23; Tanuro, 2011: 21-22). Thirdly, this struggle against the exploitation of nature should be internationalist, as it requires a universal perspective (Balta-Mısır, 2011:31).

2.3 Classification of Ecologism and Political Ideologies

Pepper's work is used by including some changes according to the features of ecologism which is mentioned above. It was claimed seven topics which can be useful to understand ecologism. They are about how they see Industrialism, growth, population, technology, ecocentrism, ecological society, strategy for ecological society. It is added them into Pepper's work as the first column. These are the topics, discovered in first chapter, will be observed on Ecology Collective.

Pepper classifies seven different positions such as Traditional conservatives, Market Liberals, Welfare Liberals, Democratic Socialists and Revolutionary Socialists, mainstream greens, green anarchists and ecofeminists. (Pepper, 1993, s. 47)

Table 1 Political Philosophies and Environmentalism (Pepper 1993:47)

	Traditional Conservatives (radical)	Market Liberals (reformist)	Welfare-liberal (reformist)	Democratic Socialist (reformist)	Revolutionary Socialist (radical)
Industrialism? Growth?	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
Population? Technology? Eco - centralism? Ecological society? Strategy?	Anti-industrialism: human societies should model themselves on natural ecosystems: e.g. should be stable, and change slowly, organically. Need for diversity, bur 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 to past	Don't believe in "overpopulation" – people are resource. Capitalism can accommodate and thrive on protecting the environment. Consumer pressure for environment - friendly products will play a big part, Capital will respond to this market.	Enlightened self- interest, tailored to the communal good, will solve the problems. Consumer pressure for environment - friendly products will play a large part. Pressure group campaigns, in a pluralist, parliamentary democracy will lead to appropriate legislation.	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)	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. Poverty, social injustice, squalid urban environments, all seen as part of the environmental crises. Similar visions of future to anarchism but emphasize collective political action and the state initially

Table 1 (continued)

	<p>'Radical'= wanting to go back to the roots of society and change it fundamentally in some ways, and quite rapidly. '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>Mainstream Greens (radical aims, but reformist methods) (inc. British green Party: Friends of the Earth and other pressure groups) A mix of welfare-liberal and democratic social prescriptions but say they reject politics of left and right. Emphasize the importance of the individual and his or her need to revise values, lifestyles and consumer habits. Bioethics, limits to growth and utopianism. 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. *Green Anarchists and Eco-feminists (radical aims and methods). Reject the state, class politics, parliamentary democracy and capitalism. People to organize themselves: have responsibility and power over their own lives. The individual 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 ecological 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>

CHAPTER 3

ECOSOCIALIST APPROACH OF ECOLOGY COLLECTIVE

3.1 Introduction

Starting from 1970 and 80's, a requirement has appeared for reevaluation of socialists on ecological crisis and update of Marxism with the environmental problems. Yet it should be stated that the analyses on ecological crisis has varied parallel to the appearance of green and environmentalists movements as a social force and theoretical and ideological debates since the end of 80s and beginning of 1990s (Duru, 1993: 42). Especially since 1990s, important resources on "ecological debates" are translated into Turkish which has shaped the ecological crises analyses of socialists.

At this point there are two main perspectives that appear on socialist political left. The first of these are the ones who find Marxism insufficient and head to ecologist philosopher's resources. The second one, on the other hand, thinks that the Marxism also includes ecologism. (Balta, E; Mısır, M (2011). At that point, the debate is whether the eco prefix of ecosocialism is required or not. Ecology Collective is referring ecosocialism in order to emphasise the requirement of reevaluation of Marxism in that context (Fevzi).

The Ecology Collective, placing itself at the left wing, tries to develop a critical perspective to the left-wing parties and the approaches. The approaches to the ecological crises stand for the main point behind these critics. This is about analyzing ecological crisis as a struggle against the ecocide or as an organization sphere for abolishing capitalism. Putting in different words, it is about that some left-wing parties consider the ecological crises as ecocide generated by the capitalism. It is the case when they consider woman emancipation was prevented by the capitalist exploitation.

The Ecology Collective suggests that perspectives reducing the ecological crisis to a kind of ecocide spread into entire approaches to the ecological problems such as opposition to GMOs and nuclear plants. It is widely accepted that these approaches fail to create theoretical openings in terms of the relation between the "ecocide" and the social mode of production (Kolektif 14, 2012:16-17). In brief, the main point of the critics is as following: If the ecocide is independent from the exploitation of labour, as a result, ecology, environment, and labour movement are perceived as relatively isolated from one another and unite in the face of capitalist system. This brings in some other questions. For instances, who will struggle against this ecocide? If "the ecological crises" is reduced to a problem of "ecocide" in a level lacking of a proper analysis of labour, it means that this problem affects everybody. This is to say that this problem has multiple addressees.

"If we put the capitalists aside, a large section of the society such as landlords, middle class, peasants, landless, state officers, workers and new white collar workers and so on are the addressees and sufferers of the "ecological crises". So, is it unnecessary to have a class analysis in terms of the ecological crises? If the answer of this question is as ambiguous as "large section of the society", to what extent is it a Marxist analysis? (Ilgın)"¹⁰

Considering these approaches, it could be suggested that the Ecology Collective criticizes some socialist left groups for being close to the environmentalist approach.

It is for sure that this is also the case in terms of technology. The Ecology Collective claims that despite their different perspectives, the left organizations can get on the same page in this sense. This claim is based on the fact that technology is perceived as if it is independent from the production relations and that their approach can lead to suggest that if the existing technology changes hands, the ecological problems could be resolved. Therefore, they can support the idea that "The GMOs can be used to good effect in the hands of socialists".

¹⁰ Sermayeyi bu konuda bir kenara bırakacak olursak o halde sermaye dışında kalan geniş bir halk kesimi- toprak sahipleri, topraksızlar, orta sınıflar, memurlar, köylüler, fabrika işçileri, yeni işçi sınıfı beyaz yakalılar vb. "ekolojik krizin" mağduru ve muhatabıdır. Durum böyle olunca ekoloji kriz meselesinde sınıfsal bir analiz yapmak gereksiz midir? Sorunun cevabı geniş halk kesimlerini gibi belirsiz bir kavrama işaret ediyorsa, bu ne kadar Marksist bir analizdir?(Ilgın)

The criticisms of the Ecology Collective for ÖDP could be explained through this perspective. According to these critics, rather than attempting to unify all movements.

*"ÖDP claimed to be "an umbrella of all", the party of women, ecologists and LGBTs... Nevertheless, it has never attempted to link these movements. The various facets of this political line still see environmental issues as a field rather than understanding and practicing the ecology movement and women movement through labour."*¹¹

According to EC, the main difference between some socialist groups in Turkey and EC is that it struggles to build common relations among other movements.

3.2 Ecological Crisis

Ecology Collective, initially, emphasizes that ecological crisis needs to be anticipated as a discussion of civilization.

*"Ecological crisis is an outcome of production and consumption patterns flourishing within the capitalist civilization. Such a problem would be possibly challenged through an alternative way of life, different from capitalism (Kolektif 9, 2011:4)."*¹²

¹¹ "Kadınların, çevrecilerin, LGBTT'lerin partisi... Ama hiçbir zaman bu hareketler arasındaki bağ kurulmaya çalışılmadı. Bu siyasal çizginin değişik veçheleri de hala Türkiye'de ekoloji mücadelesini, kadın mücadelesini emek ekseninden anlamak ve pratikleştirmek yerine, "alancı" bir siyaset üretmeye devam ediyor (İlgın)."

¹² "Ekolojik kriz kapitalist uygarlığın yarattığı üretim ve tüketim tarzının eseridir. Bu sorunun çözümü de en genel anlamda kapitalizm dışında bir alternatif yaşamla mümkün hale gelecektir (Kolektif 9, 2011:4)."

Therefore, according to EC, understanding ecological crisis within an historical level and through the lens of production relations and mode of production lies at the very heart of the problem.

Designating the fundamental conflict as an antagonism between human and nature entails a reiteration of the existing liberal thesis in the literature. However, EC claims;

"Any sort of radical ecological movements and philosophy purports that domination of the nature and the source of it relies on capitalist classes' exploitation over human and nature. On the other hand, environmentalists makes an ahistorical definition of human, and creates an everlasting category of state for the sake of challenging such ahistorical and malignant human tragically leave those categories of rights to the human's protectiveness (Fevzi).¹³

Here, there are two identifications. Firstly, ecological movements and environmentalist movements are differentiated. For ecological movement capitalist exploitation on human and nature is the core reason for ecological crises. Secondly, it is emphasized that how environmentalism is anthropocentric.

Ecology Collective takes a critical approach to two-axis discussion of climate change. The first is "human performance" discourse.

¹³ "Tüm radikal ekoloji hareketleri ve felsefesi, doğa üzerindeki tahakküm ve sömürünün nedeni olarak sermaye sınıfının insan ve doğa üzerindeki sömürüsü ve tahakkümü olduğunu ileri sürer. Öte yandan çevrecilerin tarihsiz bir insan tanımlaması üzerinden, ebedi kötü insandan kurtulmak için, ebedi bir devlet yaratmak trajik bir biçimde de bu devletin haklar kategorisini yine belli bir canlı türü olan insanların koruyuculuğuna bırakıyor (Fevzi)."

According to this discourse, climate change is a result of human activity. Regardless of the type of the system, this is perceived as an inevitable outcome of humanity. This discourse creates an illusion that our humanity has a particular substance independent of the production and reproduction systems and humanity could never reverse their cursed destiny and change human's exploitative feature. This criticism is remarked in Kolektif's issues and interviews.

"Therefore the climate change is represented as if it is an inevitable outcome of humanity. The problem of climate change is presented as the product of "greedy" human substance. The suggested resolution for this is a kind of totalitarianism and it includes imposition and threat: So, do not consume. Indeed, "do not consume" discourse is not a solution, rather it contributes to the perception stressing that excessive production and consumption are compulsory. So it ignores human (Ilgın)".¹⁴

The problem of climate change is perceived through the human activity rather than human's life style and the way that production and consumption practices are organized. Such kind of an approach opens the way to the human's alienation from the society, humankind and the nature and detaches humankind from the natural. Once the "human activity" is abstracted from a

¹⁴ İnsanlığımız, üretim ve tüketim sistemlerinden bağımsız olarak belli bir öze sahipmiş ve ne yaparsak yapalım bu lanetli özümüzü, kemirgen yanımızı değiştiremezmişiz sanısını yaratırlar. Bu şekilde iklim değişikliği bizim insan olarak varoluşumuzun zorunlu bir sonucu olarak sunulur. İklim değişikliği sorunu da işte bu "doymak bilmez" insan "özümüzün" sonucu olarak sunulur (Ilgın).

specific social life and the way that human beings produce and relate to the nature, the social system is based on consumption and excessive production is maintained.

The second approach that Ecology Collective criticizes in interviews and Kolektif suggests that the climate change problem is about the nature's periodical processes. For EC, there are numerous scientists and science institutions which represent climate change as natural and try to impose this idea to the public at large (Kolektif 14 2012: 35). The approaches continuously mention that there is nothing to do anymore. Shrinking periods of natural events which become universal with the capitalist mode of production, are presented as naturally inevitable. They neglect the specificity of floods, draughts and epidemics in this current threshold of nature history. Furthermore, they claim that the people who stress the climate change exaggerate this problem and take an ideological approach.

In Rio Conference in 1992, Framework Convention on Climate Change was opened for signature and Kyoto Protocol was concluded. However the capitalists did not even implement the sustainable development policies. Despite of this, "human activity" which was put forward by the capital as the main reason for the climate change influenced many of the environment movements (Hirschman 2003: 30-45).

This inspired some ideas in Turkey. At this point, the struggle against climate change through Kyoto Protocol was divided into

two political camps. The first group claims that the party countries of Framework Convention on Climate Change must sign the Kyoto Protocol. The campaigns such as "Sign the Kyoto" are conducted under the leadership of the organizations such as Greens, Global Action Group and Revolutionary Socialist Worker Party¹⁵. Ecology Collective claims that

these campaigns organized the political line of "state and capital" centred negotiators (Deniz).¹⁶

The other camp is composed of groups who suggest that signing this convention is not appropriate. This camp essentially represents the statist-conservative wing. This camp which does not want to be a part of the Protocol mentions that the state is not able to meet the financial obligations of the Protocol.

At this point, Ecology Collective draws the attention to the necessity of organizing around a third way which stays out of these two camps. It claims that the policies implemented through this Protocol and the approaches which reduce the climate change problem into carbon emission negotiation contribute to the sustainable development. According to Ecology Collective, even the party countries sign the Protocol, this protocol exacerbates the climate change and cause the regression of the political struggle against steam power plants, hydroelectric plants, nuclear power, industrial capitalist agriculture, waste and

¹⁵ Yeşiller, Küresel Eylem Grubu (KEG), Devrimci Sosyalist İşçi Partisi (DSİP)

¹⁶ Bu tür kampanyalar "devlet ve sermaye" odaklı müzakerecilerin siyasal hattını örgütledi (Deniz).

cement factories and urban transformation into a backward level (Kolektif 7, 2010:8-10). Moreover, Ecology Collective emphasizes that the third camp should be based on a policy which emerges out of a social struggle.

*"We believe that this struggle should stress the necessity of turning to the labour struggle and suggests organizing all oppressed groups such as women, peasants and villagers. All oppressed people should emphasize the necessity for building up a new life style rather than contributing to the survival of this system (Deniz)."*¹⁷

Shortly, according to EC ecological crisis is not an issue considering only environment. Ecological crisis should be considered as domination problem. In order to get rid of ecological crisis, the system should fundamentally be changed by all oppressed groups.

3.3 Industrialization and Technology

The development of capitalism since the early 19th century brought along a continuously increasing need for energy, the consumption of different natural assets because of the need for energy and the mobilization of relevant technologies. The creation of new technologies such as steam engine, the invention

¹⁷ Mücadelenin yüzünü emek mücadelesine dönmenin gerektiğine inanıyoruz. Çiftçi, köylü, kadın ve tüm veçheleriyle ezilenlerin örgütlenmesi ekseninde bir mücadele tarzının yaratacağı politikaya yaslanmak gerekiyor. Sistemin çatlaklarına harç taşımak yerine, sistemin altında kalanların yeni bir yaşam iradesi örgütlemesi gerekiyor (Deniz).

of electricity, the use of petroleum and nuclear technology stemmed from this material necessity. During the last decades it appeared that the increase in the use of a natural resource for this need for energy did not lead to a decline in the demand for this resource, but rather to an increase. This was due to the fact that the improvements in the activities induced an expanding production scale in the capitalist system (Goldman & O'Connor, 1988:91-106).

From a historical continuity, the demand for coal did not decline as the steam engine developed, but rather increased. Just as the development of refrigerant technology results in the production of more refrigerators, the use of energy in the automotive industry in a more efficient way leads to an increase in the number of automobiles. Refrigerators and air conditioners consuming less energy and automobiles using less fuel does not have a meaning within the system other than being a marketing factor (Goldman & O'Connor, 1988:91-106). In parallel with this, EC criticizes capitalist way of technological development.

The capitalist technological developments in energy created further demand for energy, which resulted in the fact that the system became more dependent on energy every time and that the labour as well as the nature was further plundered. It is obvious that generating electricity out of wind and sun will lead to the same result within the capitalist system. The big dam projects is becoming ecologically harmful projects within the hands of the capital because of the destruction of the cultivated area where the dam has been established and because of the

impairment it causes in the hydraulic cycle (Kolektif 7, 2010: 50).¹⁸

Ecology Collective holds a critical stance towards the developments which emerge as green technology today. According to this, green technology can open up new profit realms which will provide short-term solutions to the growth trouble in terms of capital. The capitalist industrialization ideology has not acknowledged that political choices create technology and determine the outcomes and as such has always defended the neutrality of technology on the one hand and the fact that development and industrialization are practical obligations that should be put up devotedly by the workers. It has made propaganda about the fact that technology has an objective internal logic which provides the shift from one developmental level to another and that everything is determined by technology. While exploitation and violence were always hand in hand in capitalism, it has created the illusion that technology was neutral when it came to power and control (Pepper, 1996: 93). But no matter how green it is made, capital is still capital and the labour-capital conflict never ends (Kolektif 7, 2010: 50).

¹⁸ Enerjideki kapitalist teknolojik gelişmeler, her defasında sistemin enerjiye daha fazla bağımlı hale gelmesine ve emeğin ve doğanın daha fazla talan edilmesine yol açan daha fazla enerji talebi yarattı. Rüzgâr ve güneşten elektrik elde edilmesinin de kapitalist sistemde aynı akıbete uğrayacağı belli. Büyük baraj projeleri de kurulduğu yörelerde yok ettiği tarım alanları ve hidrolik döngüde yol açtıkları bozulma nedeniyle sermayenin elinde ekolojik açıdan zararlı projeler haline gelmektedir.

For example, about the climate change issue, some defend to replace the energy production based on fossil fuel with alternative energy resources which would reduce greenhouse gas emission. Even if proposing to use sun, wind energy, which are called as clean energy resource, instead of fossil fuels can be interpreted as a well-intended step, this proposal does not accommodate the potential to offer a real solution to the problem unless it is not supplied with a perspective based on changing the given production and consumption patterns (Kolektif 10, 2011: 7-8).

Sacrificing the natural forests, which causes the carbon content in the atmosphere to increase, to industry or to industrial agriculture and livestock; the growth of the international transport sector day by day and not taking into account the consumption habits of a civilization dependent on automobile undermine the power of such proposals to become alternative solutions (Kolektif 11, 2011:31).¹⁹

It can be said that the nature of the development of the forces of production is determined by the relations of production (Burkett 2006: 97). Without taking into account what is produced how, how much and for what, the technological alternatives do not come in useful other than diversifying the energy pattern in the market. This criticism necessitates emphasizing another critical

¹⁹ Atmosferdeki karbon miktarının artmasına neden olan doğal ormanların sanayiye ya da endüstriyel tarım ve hayvancılığa kurban edilmesi, uluslararası taşımacılık sektörünün her geçen gün büyümesi ve otomobile dayalı bir uygarlığın tüketim alışkanlıklarının hesaba katılmaması bu tür önerilerin çözüm yolunda alternatif olabilme gücünü zayıflatır.

point in terms of political ecology. The value range represented by technology is important as much as the problem of how technology is being used in terms of the libertarian grounds of our social future. Not only the use of energy, which is produced by building upon over-specialization and production line system, but also the energy itself creates and reproduces domination over nature and society. The technical always bears the trace of the totality of historical and social relations. Therefore the technical is the reflection of the class interest materialized in it. In so far as it has the function to satisfy the necessity of further growth of a capitalist economy based on growth, the produced energy, even if it is drawn from sun or wind, cannot realize its function to restraint the climate change (Wallis 2010: 50-53).

Ecology Collective takes into consideration hydroelectric power plants and water problems within a critique of "environmentalism". According to this, various political discourses are being produced on the grounds being seen as an ecological struggle. Those discourses are being anticipated as "environmentalism" and "rights for environment" which transforms into "defending life" that is hardly theoretically informed. The collective states that those arguments also appear in several leftist fragments. There exists several theses like "popularization of environment" as well as "rights-based" struggles. EC claims that those varied theses share a common point stating that labour movements which are defined as "environmental struggles" are social practices of struggling and

those struggles strategically need to be incorporated with other political struggles (Kolektif 9, 2011:4-5).

Those who define labour as a different field from ecological struggles would necessarily divide it up into various fragments; and gradually they would address their organization. Within such a line of social engineering, those movements exclude labour movements from the field of ecological struggle; and hence the new form of movement comes forward to be examined in their own organizational structure (Kolektif 12, 2012:10).²⁰

EC believes that there appear deeper questions. Ecological problems cannot be considered as an external issue of human being. Ecocentric perspective of EC appears again. They gives examples in practice. For instance, Fellowship of the Rivers Platform²¹ brings forward the sign of "rivers will freely flow"²² while struggling against hydroelectric power plants. Ecology Collective argues that such a discourse develops a standpoint in opposition to the modern speciesism, relying on the idea that

²⁰Hem "çevreciliğin halklaştığı" tezleri üzerinden hem de bu mücadelenin "hak temelli" olduğu tezleri üzerine yaklaşımlar mevcuttur. Bunların ortak noktası, "çevre mücadelesi" olarak kodlanan emek hareketlerinin, toplumsal bir mücadele pratiği olduğu ve bu mücadelenin genel siyasal mücadele ile birleştirilmesine yönelik stratejik hedeftir. Önce bu emek alanı genel mücadele alanından koparıldıktan sonra bu kez onu dolayımlayacak birleştirecek şey olarak da bölenler, kendi örgütünü işaret edecektir. Tam da bu toplumsal hareketçi çizginin yürüttüğü toplum mühendisliği, emek hareketini içdiş ettikten sonra bu hareketin birleşmesini örgütçülüklerindeki başarıyla sınayacaktır.

²¹ Derelerin Kardeşliği Platformu

²² Dereler Özgür Akacak

rivers lies at the heart of freedom and broadens our political horizon for human's civilization and nature (Kolektif 13, 2012: 12-15). Due to the fact that such a standpoint constitutes the main axis, there rise the voices of resistance against commercialization of the water. The mark of "water is a right" designates that it is a right for any species. However, rights-based politics recruit struggle for water problems as a matter of human rights and prioritizes human in this politicization processes (Kolektif 10, 2011:7-8). Such a speciesism might potentially recruit a society against commodification of water but it does hardly challenge disruption between human and nature. Similarly, in the geographies of Kurdish populations, the sign of "*Firat, Dicle is our honour*"²³ appears as an opposition against Hasankeyf's ruin. The interpretation of this sign by EC is;

Hasankeyf is propounded as an historical reference for local people's civilization, culture and living conditions. In this way, flow of a river designates the honour of a society. Within such a context, anthropocentric conception of "water as a human right" discourse does fail to touch those people's lives (Fevzi).

Another dimension being emphasized is the location for construction of dams and hydroelectric power plants, and the political and economic situation in those locations. Property relations where those dams are being constructed are substantially changing. Local people in dam fields suddenly lose their property ownership on their lands or their properties immediately turn out to be cash in financial market after a

²³ Firat, Dicle Onurumuzdur

gradual process of usufructuary and sharing decisions in the process of expropriations and implementations of action plans (Yılmaz, 2010: 23-25). In those regions, proletarianization is a severe and gradual outcome of those processes. While few make an enormous profit after the sale of river, large mass of people is increasingly becoming poorer and a much more polarized class structure rises (Yılmaz, 2010: 27-35). In a similar vein, EC mentions:

Living under those circumstances in those regions necessitates production for the market. Reactions of local people, who hardly have any alternative to selling their own labour, might also be taken into account as an opportunity for making of classes. The immediate way that would make them an organized power would be to show them they have their own power lying at the heart of their loss of nature, poverty and exploitation. However, if we define those local movements and proleterianization processes as "popularization of ecological struggles", we can hardly see those movements as an integral part of labour movements and we posit them into a unique category of social struggle (Fevzi).²⁴

²⁴ Artık bu bölgelerde yaşamaya devam etmek, pazar için üretmeyi zorunlu kılmaktadır. Emeğinden gayri satacak hiçbir şeyi bulunmayan bu kitlelerin proleterleşme sürecinde gösterdikleri tepkiler aynı zamanda sınıflaşmalarının da bir olanağı olarak okunmalıdır. Onları gerçek anlamda örgütlü bir güç yapacak olan şey de kendi bedenleri olan doğalarını yitirmelerinin, yoksullaşmanın ve ezilmenin kendisi olduğunu göstermektir. Ama bu proleterleşme biçimine ve bu biçimin tepki hareketlerine "çevre mücadelesinin halklaştığı" gibi bir tespitle yaklaşıldığı anda bu hareketleri bir emek hareketi bileşeni olarak değil bir toplumsal mücadele kategorisi olarak örgütleme sorumluluğu ile karşı karşıya gelinir (Fevzi).

In this vein, it is claimed that it would be failed to organize a class in opposition to state power and capital; and gradually a weak and ready to be absorbed movement would be created.

What is being proposed as a solution is to be aware of the fact that ecological struggles have an indispensable dimension of, and opportunity for class. They state that organized power against civilization projects created by capital and state needs to be created around the pivots of labour and nature. For this purpose, self-recruitment of classes is being addressed as immediate strategies. In other words, it is proposed that going beyond the conflict between the state and society in real terms might be possibly achieved through going beyond modern capitalism that attendantly disrupts unity of human and nature.

The models aiming at using energy most efficiently are tried to be put into practice in daily life. Using and purchasing energy-efficient-lightings are encouraged. People make their choices either basing on the idea of preserving "the environment" or not.

The question that should be asked is whether these consuming patterns or choices can be considered as a political positioning, or not. In this context, Ecology Collective claims that political agenda cannot be formalized through discourses like encouraging to purchase energy-saving-lightings (Kolektif 10, 2011: 5). They support local markets instead of malls in every level of consuming, from seed and plantation to table. However they also state that it is not a politically primary issue for them that they need to be organized around. Nevertheless, the collective does

not ignore the idea, on the contrary they always keep it in their minds and it takes place in their internal agenda (Kolektif 10, 2011: 7). Briefly, it is possible to interpret this positioning as there is no relation between changing patterns and the way we live in our daily life and need to launch nuclear energy plants. It is suggested that energy should be publicly possessed, democratic, regional, produced in solidarity, collectivized and people should prioritize the harmless forms of energy production (Kolektif 13, 2012: 16). Therefore according to Ecology Collective what we should endeavor to do is to recycle the energy rather than consuming it relentlessly. They argue that the energy should be consumed, used up, and transformed in ways which allow the nature to reproduce it.

3.4 Strategies for ecological society

Ecology Collective aims at eliminating the human and nature dualism, the urban-rural cleavage, the exploitation of woman in the labour process. This struggle means envisaging a future without classes, exploitation and domination in a world without boundaries. However, it maintains that a social struggle is necessary in order to bridge the gap between the envisagement and the real problems. It holds that organizing is possible by turning this idea into a way of life (Kolektif 7, 2010: 9 & Kolektif 10, 2011: 10 & Kolektif 13 2012:21).

The struggles of workers, women, LGBTTs and for ecology are defined as a component of labour movement and as a basis for

politicization. In this sense the society is defined as a class. Against the political reason of the neoliberal life which is based on political standardization, speciesism, de-languagelization, non-sexualization (masculinization), it is only this struggle and labour movement which can lay the ground for emancipation (Kolektif 9, 2011:20). The idea of labour movement is considered as correspondent with the Pepper's table which states that revolutionary socialism has similar visions of future to anarchism. Then he adds that revolutionary socialism emphasizes collective political action and the state initially. However, for EC in the horizon of labour movement, there is a stateless society. They see labour movement as follows;

The self-organizations which will provide the blending of the appearances of the labour movement can reveal the political vision towards a stateless society in so far as they hold the co-emancipation of the labour and the nature as their central concern. In this sense today the components of labour movement, while building their self-organizations, must act by taking into account the intertwinement of the political and the economic (Cömert).²⁵

In the publications of the Ecology Collective, the dominant idea is that there can be no realm which can be regarded as lying outside of the social, hence which can be seen as non-political.

²⁵ Emek hareketinin görünümünün harmanlanmasını sağlayacak öz-örgütler, emeğin ve doğanın birlikte özgürleşmesini eksenine aldıkları ölçüde devletsiz bir topluma yönelik siyasal ufkunu açığa çıkartabilirler. Bu anlamda da bugün için emek hareketi bileşenleri, öz-örgütlerini inşa ederken, siyasal olan ile ekonomik olanın iç içeliğini göz önünde bulundurarak hareket etmek zorundadır (Cömert).

However this does not mean that each and every activity is political, as politics has first and foremost a constitutive character. According to this, politics means a struggle for revealing a way of life.

Labour, which is the social body of the human beings against capitalism, is the realm of existence of this struggle with all its possibilities and limitations (Burkett, 1999: 58-63). The process of the reconstitution of labour within this sphere of struggle can reveal itself with its different aspects. These movements are characterized as women's movement sometimes, as an ecological movement at other times or as rural-urban poor's movement or as labour movement. EC considers labour movement not only about workers but also about the other movements.

"As the struggle of labour for emancipation is once condemned as a factory ideology, all the practices which stay out of it can be defined as new movements. However this cheap and simple classification is a metaphor resorted to by those who try to constrain the labour movement to the factory or by those who do not want to see the whole life turning into a factory. Therefore the labour movement against capitalism marks the unique political line of the realms of crisis dominated by capitalism (Kolektif 14, 2012:14)."²⁶

²⁶ Emeğin özgürleşme mücadelesi, bir kez fabrika ideolojisi olarak mahkûm edildikten sonra onun dışında kalan tüm pratikler de yeni toplumsal hareketler olarak adlandırılabilir. Ancak bu ucuz ve basit sınıflandırma aslında emek mücadelesini fabrikaya sıkıştırmaya çalışanların ya da tüm bir yaşamın fabrika haline geldiğini görmek istemeyenlerin başvurduğu egemen bir eğretilerdir. Bu nedenle kapitalizme karşı emeğin mücadelesi, kapitalizmin kol gezdiği tüm kriz alanlarının biricik politik hattını imler.

The ecological struggle is also one of the realms where the social emancipation struggle is revealed. It is a component and front of the realm of struggle. What should primarily be focused on and thought about is the character of this struggle and its way of revelation. The ecological struggle also acquires an anticapitalist political character in so far as it fights for a new life on the basis of the social emancipation struggle of labour. Each labour struggle does not have a revolutionist and progressive character in itself. If this was the case, then we should have defined capital, which is also one of the appearances of labour, as revolutionist. The struggle for freedom and the revolutionism of the capital is nothing more than a social disruptiveness. Therefore while the system of barbarism reveals itself through disruptiveness and by castrating its conditions of existence, the line of struggle of the components of the labour's emancipation movement should be a libertarian project of society which is without exploitation, classes, domination and which is based on social justice. For this reason it is not possible to define the ecological struggle of the labour as anti-capitalist or pro-capitalist in the first instance, just as it is a shallow classification to talk about the labour struggle as a factory-worker struggle initially. What will turn the ecological struggle into a struggle for labour emancipation will certainly be the way it will position and reveal, within material practices, its potential against capital and repressive apparatuses.

"In this sense the struggle of the student movement, whose social rights are tightened, for free education and health, the struggle of

the urban poor for the housing right, the struggle of the workers in the factory for the overtime dues and wages, the struggle of the peasants for not letting the stone quarries, the cement-garbage plants, the goldmines into their villages, and so on, are also the ecological struggle of the labour. The revolutionist potential of these struggles, revealed in material practices, should be regarded as a unified struggle line (Cömert).²⁷

These movements should be construed according to their practices in the face of capitalism and power apparatuses, rather than how they are entitled and how they are defined.

Antinationalist discourse is very strong in Ecology Collective. EC states that they always have to carry out their activities against nationalist perspectives which are very common and can be seen in every kind of local ecological movements including the Platform against Nuclear Energy²⁸ in Mersin and the demonstrations against cyanide in Bergama. According to them, the reason of this stand point is that people do not have the consciousness of capitalism as a form of exploitation, which has the capacity to penetrate into the most remote and isolated areas. They claim that the reason why the different forms of nationalisms is emerged and is being encountered is incapability to construct the grounds of the movement politically. It is said

²⁷ Bu anlamda sosyal hakları daraltılan bir öğrenci hareketinin parasız eğitim ve sağlık mücadelesi de kent yoksullarının barınma hakkı mücadelesi de, fabrika da işçilerin fazla mesai alacakları ve ücretleri için mücadelesi de, köylülerin taş ocaklarını, çimento çöp fabrikalarını, altın madenlerini köylerine sokmamak için verdikleri mücadele... de emeğin ekoloji mücadelesidir (Cömert).

²⁸ Nükleer Karşıtı Platform

that the idea of homogenization on which capitalist destruction based constitutes social barriers against the process of unification and peaceful co-existence of people's brotherhood and emancipation of nature and labor is not truly possible within the context and conditions of capitalism, should be a part of eco-socialist struggle.

"Hygienization" and gentrification of the social life produce stigmatization of all kinds of poor people and poverties with "Kurdishness". That is why ecology movement has to structure itself through a perspective focused on re-constructing the societal peace. Thermal power plants in Silopi do not generate socialists' and environmentalists' interest as the thermal power plants in Yatağan do. A cement plant in Ankara gets much more reaction than a cement plant in Maraş does (Fevzi)."²⁹

Therefore, the issue is not simply hypothesized as how to improve the health of environment, how to use the water, which resources should be used for producing of energy. The problem is identified initially as resisting the idea and practice of perceiving the world as storage of raw material, then it is defined as explaining what is produced for whom and in which circumstances and how it is socialized.

²⁹ Toplumsal yaşamın hijyenleştirilmesi ve soylulaştırılması, her türlü yoksulu ve yoksullaşmayı "kürt"lülle damgalamasına neden oluyor. Bu yüzden ekoloji mücadelesi toplumsal barışı yeniden inşa edebilecek bir yönelimle kendini kurmak zorundadır. Silopi'deki termik santraller, Yatağandaki termik santraller kadar çevrecilerin ve sosyalistlerin ilgisini çekmemektedir. Ankara'daki bir çimento fabrikası, Maraş'ta kurulan çimento fabrikasından daha fazla tepki toplamaktadır (Fevzi).

In brief, according to EC ecological crises cannot be simply interpreted as "a local environmental degradation - annihilation of nature". The struggle must be internationalist.

It might be possibly claimed that there exists a considerable feminist vein within Ecology Collective. In 2012, a workshop have been organized to constitute a perspective in which ecologism is involved within the feminist lens as well as to trigger an awareness within ecologist movements concerning gender inequalities and how ecological issues like food, climate, water crisis and war is directly or indirectly relevant to gender issues.

There appears numerous articles and discussions in Kolektif magazine. One of the most significant arguments in those discussions comes forward as there would be certain linkages between women's subordination and nature's subordination. Capitalism relies on exploitation of -especially women's- labour and exploitation of nature. As gendered division of labour is constructed through certain historical and social processes, nature's and women's emancipation is immediately social as well. For this reason, "housewifization" rather than a proletarianization is of a considerable concern (Balta, 2012:51-60). Women within a patriarchal structure is associated to nature (and private sphere) and men to culture (and therefore, public sphere). As nature is degraded in comparison to culture, women are gradually subordinated by men.

"Feminist and green movements demands for egalitarian and anti-hierarchical systems. Ecofeminism also opposes to imperialism, compulsory heterosexuality, militarism, capitalism

and gradually various forms of exploitative relations (Ecehan).³⁰

Linkages between women's subordination and nature's exploitation constitute immediate discussion in this literature. Certain accounts developing perspectives to understand how those linkages are constructed would definitely bring forward different political standpoints. The perspective of which Ecology Collective is more likely to stand with understanding those linkages with its relevance to the production relations. According to it, masculine domination subordinating women and exploiting nature aside, sexism and ecological exploitation is anticipated within production relations and capitalist mode of production. Certainly, such a perspective does not claim that women's and nature's exploitation does not exist before the nascence of capitalist mode of production. However, they claim that those exploitative relations take a distinctive and organic shape within certain historical stages of capitalism. Besides, making an emphasis on those intertwined structures draws the attention and political urgency to grasp the very idea of capitalism as a whole (Balta, 2012:51-60).

In line with this, in workshops on ecofeminism, the idea that "if all the socialists were feminist and ecologist; we would not

³⁰ Feminist ve yeşil hareketler eşitlikçi, anti-hiyerarşik sistemleri savunurlar. Ekofeminizm de, emperyalizme, heteroseksüellik dayatmasına, militarizme ve kapitalizme karşı çıkar ve farklı ezilme biçimleriyle de ilgilenir.

necessarily define ourselves as ecosocialist or ecofeminist”³¹ comes forward. And besides, this statement emphasizes how the crisis and its violence are strong, common and operates as a whole. In addition to this, such a standpoint calls socialists for a political struggle on feminist, ecologist, anti-militarist and anti-homophobic ground.

Other works like translations of some South American countries’ constitutions give knowledge about the strategies of EC. The constitutions of Ecuador, Venezuela, Kenya and Bolivia were translated into Turkish by the Ecology Collective as these were thought to contribute to the constitutional discussions in Turkey. This line of thought has to do with a political horizon rather than looking for a guide in the constitutional discussions. It is emphasized that the main purpose is to display the historical and class bases of the constitutional amendments. What is stressed is not what is written in the constitutions but rather the importance of how these have emerged. Therefore there exists a search for a different language and social dynamic which represent the break from the liberal constitutional movements. This difference in approach is important also in terms of identifying the foci points and priorities within the ecological struggle today.

The social oppositions in Turkey, like everywhere else in the world, are looking for ways to prevent the ecological crisis. Creating a legal system is one such way. There are also those

³¹ “Tüm sosyalistler feminist ve ekolojist olsaydı kendimizi ekososyalist veya ekofeminist olarak tanımlamamıza gerek kalmazdı.”

who, in creating this way, try to establish justice within liberal legal system such as judicial review and decision-making processes. However, a powerful social power bloc who will secure these rights system is not emerging. The constitutional initiatives in the realm of ecology build upon these discussions. The Ecology Collective argues that one of the mistakes about this issue is that the given and written rights categories are not sufficient (Kolektif 8, 2010: 13). However the fundamental problem we are facing today seems that the capital is resisting to a legal system which will abide by the rules it establishes. It is argued that the practices which will prevent this will only be possible if the local resistance practices turn towards a powerful self-organization and a constitutive political will. Reading the ecological struggle practices in the world from this perspective, it is said that the only way to understand the process of making a new constitution in Ecuador, for example, is to follow the people's movement struggles (Kolektif 11, 2011: 10). The Ecuador Constitution, which is generally supported although it has some aspects that can be criticized, is thought to be an important source for transferring experience for the constitutional discussion in Turkey especially for an ecologist, environmentalist and green environment. In this context, it is suggested that a new Constitution, as a component of a new social constitution process, can only be possible with labour movement's struggle. (Kolektif 11, 2011: 10-13).

However, while avoiding getting stuck in a rights struggle within the liberal legal system, it is also important not to be blind to a

state which legitimizes its power by being mediated through nature. The Bolivia Constitution is tried to be read together with the Ecuador Constitution in Turkey within this context: According to this

“Bolivian government tries to make a reference to the nature as the source of its power by rising upon the local culture. The source of every action the government will take in the name of the rights of the mother nature manifesto will be the nature itself. The state power creates in this sense a historical legitimacy basis for itself by mediating through the nature. This, on the one hand, might provide a strong reference against the policies of the bourgeois based on exploitation. On the other hand, though, the Bolivian government might evolve into a local capitalism with the rights of the mother nature manifesto (Fevzi).”³²

In this interview this danger is being emphasized: acting with the “mother nature” reference might not need the representation of the demands of the society and the social organization. Those who speak on behalf of mother nature might see the source of every action “in the name of nature” in the “continuity of their power.” One of the consequences of this might very well be authoritarian or developmentalist regimes. In this respect one

³² “Bolivya hükümeti, iktidarının kaynağı olarak, yerli kültürünün üzerinden yükselerek doğayı referans göstermek istemektedir. Şöyle ki; hükümetin, tabiat ana hakları bildirgesi adına girişeceği her eylemin kaynağı, doğanın kendisi olacaktır. Bu anlamda devlet iktidarı, doğayla dolayımılarak kendine tarihsel bir meşruiyet zemini yaratıyor. Bu bir yanıyla, burjuvazinin sömürgeleştirmeye dayalı politikalarına karşı güçlü bir referans sağlayabilir. Ancak diğer yandan doğa ana hakları bildirgesi ile Bolivya hükümeti bir yerli kapitalizmine de evrilebilir (Fevzi).”

should not draw the reference either from the “mother nature” or from the rights within the liberal legal order. It is emphasized that capitalism should be displayed as the source of the crisis and that it should be criticized.

This situation has spread to the constitutional discussion in Turkey, as well. In this sense, EC strongly criticizes some arguments in discussions in Turkey. For example, it is thought that the approaches of Ecological Constitution Initiative³³ in the process of new constitution contain these problems. As in the constitutional proposal of Ecological Constitution Initiative, which starts as *“Turkish Republic is a democratic, secular, ecological and social state of law, based on the rights of the Nature and of the human who is part of it”*³⁴, the foundation of the state is the nature, it is suggested that such a definition should not be in an ecological constitutional proposal (Kolektif 11, 2011:13). The naturalization of the state will eventually require acknowledging that social life cannot exist without the state. As a result of this line of thinking, a state who is dependent on the rights of the nature can legitimize many of its actions which are based on these rights. The state who is nurtured by the rights of the nature will always preserve its existence for the existence of these rights (Kolektif 8, 2010: 15).

³³ Ekolojik Anayasa Girişimi

³⁴ Türkiye Cumhuriyeti, Doğa'nın ve onun bir parçası olan insanın haklarına dayanan, demokratik, laik, ekolojik ve sosyal bir hukuk devletidir (<http://ekolojikanayasa.org/>).

3.5 Ecocentrism

Modern capitalist civilization, which transforms human being into species being, brought a way to alienation to his labour and survival niche. While the accumulation of capital stock makes the public redundant, it also transforms the environment into residual after converting it to raw material stock. While the capital de-identifies the labour force, its tendency to the technology based production -which is the capitalist visualization of labour - highly provokes the crises of accumulation (Kolektif 7, 2010: 11). The transformation of the production into a self-meaning activity and a materialistic practice which acquire the growth only, reveals destruction in the basis of the capitalistic production.

While the bourgeoisie is transforming into a culture that produces residuals and wastes, it also regenerate itself by hating these, pushing them away from the public eye or assigning it to the future (Kolektif 7, 2010: 17). As the modern capitalist society is detaching from the soil, it filled the lands with the excess fertilizers and nitrogen. Those fertilizers are replacing the soil which procured from own wastes of humanity.

The cleavage between urban and rural makes the urban a civilization design that produces wastes and residuals (Kolektif 13, 2012: 20). This design of urban is admired as a modernization model around the world and surrounds the Earth. While the capitalism has built itself as a hygiene ideology, it dumps its wastes; residuals, living forms and most importantly, perception style to the country of paupers that defined as a dump

of the civilization. Therefore, the destruction of the labour degrades the social wealth to a commodity by detaching the nature and the human; it also marginalizes the poverty through the hygiene culture (Kolektif 8, 2011: 22). Then, the essence of the ecological crisis is the private ownership that detaches urban and rural, consequent hygiene culture and the waste-residual production style.

CHAPTER 4

CONCLUSION

The Ecology Collective constitutes its fundamental struggle axis through the rhetoric of “freedom to nature, labour, gender; climate justice; food sovereignty and diversity of the living creatures. The EC tries to offer an ecosocialist solution to barbarism, alienation of man from nature, nationalism, standardization, sexism, speciecism, exploitation of labour and of nature and to organize this ideology. It believes that the ecological struggle is a labour struggle and that the ecological problems can only be overcome through socialism established from an ecological perspective. In this sense, it does differentiate itself from other organizations struggling for environment. The collective avoids approaching to the issue as “protection” of environment, trees and forests but develops a cosmopolitan approach without any sort of essentialism. Therefore, it aims to strengthen a struggle for wholistic emancipation. And such a political agenda consists of human, rivers, waters, food and poverty. It follows policies towards molding public opinion and creating sensitivity. It espouses the self-government of the people and tries to reveal the self-power of the people in the local struggles. Therefore it claims to organize in the realms of resistance not its own name but the very self-power of the struggle itself. The EC, apart from its practical struggle within the

realms of struggle, follows the struggles of the people throughout the world, displays an international solidarity.

According to Ecology Collective, origin of dissociation between human and nature is the mode of present production-consumption and re-production. In this process, crisis expands to boundaries of the social. Against ecological crisis, social labor should be made into a group which has an organizational structure. Besides, labor side would be significant politicization base for ecological struggle. Relational forms of human to nature would be metamorphosed into a social life form which is different from capitalist life form. For this purpose, process of labor in which labor is related to nature, should have different organizational structure. In that respect, means of production and productive power would also show up with different structures in varied social forms. Definitely, depends upon that, nuclear power, bio-technology will not have a place in ecological society.

Nature is the other aspect of our civilization. The destruction in relation between human and nature grounds on social organization of labor and boundaries of human civilizations, however, those also provides potential of understanding of relation of herself and nature and change her organizational structure.

EC is a revolutionary (radical) socialist like in Pepper's model. On the other hand, there is a strong criticism of environmentalism. For EC, liberal approach on environment cannot be ecologist.

Thus, the criticism of industrialization, economic growth is not enough to be ecologist. They have to be criticized from labour perspective. Otherwise, it is impossible to get rid of anthropocentrism.

As in Pepper's model poverty, social injustice, squalid urban environments, all seen as part of the environmental crises by revolutionary socialist. On the other hand, the struggles of workers, women, LGBTTs and for ecology are defined as a component of labour movement by EC. There is a strong tendency on feminist criticism of patriarchy. Additionally, EC believes self-governance in local struggles. Thus, they have some arguments on these issues in the name of ecosocialism. Although Pepper mentions the similarities between revolutionary socialist and anarchist, EC indicates that some concepts, which refer to anarchist approach, can also be discussed in ecosocialism. Because of this reason, an attempt to do a new classification model especially for ecosocialism can be possible.

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Appendix 1

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Atay , H (2010) Kapitalizmde mücadele çıkmazları, Kolektif 7

Atay, H; Turhan,E (2012) Ekosozyalizm: Bugüne ve Geleceğe Dair Siyasi bir Tahayyül

Atay,H (2012) Toplumsal Mücadelenin Tüm eylemlerine çağrımızdır, Kolektif 14

Balta, E (2012) Ekosozyalist bir feminizm: bergama'dan Gerze'ye Kadınların ve Doğanın kurtuluşu, Kolektif 2012

Benlisoy,S (2012) Kaybedecek zaman yok: Ekolojik devrim hemen şimdi, Kolektif14

Çobanoğlu, A (2010) Sistem karşıtlığı yerine sistemle entegrasyonu yeğleme, Kolektif 7

Erdem, C (2010) Nükleer karlıtı mücadele ve NKP, Kolektif6

Erdem,C (2011) Ekoloji Mücadelesi Politik bir Programla sürdürülmelidir, Kolektif 10

Erdem,C (2011) Emek ve doğa için birleşik mücadele, Kolektif 11

Göksu, D (2010) Kestirme yanıtlarımız yok, politik iddiamız var, kolektif7

Göksu, D (2012) Nükleer bir tarihe not düşmek ya da ÇED toplantılarında ne yapmalı? Kolektif 13

Günel, İ (2010) Ortadoğuda nükleer şeytan üçgeni, Kolektif 4

Gürbüz, Ö (2010) Nükleersiz Ortadoğu, Nükleerli Türkiye, Kolektif 6

Kandemir, O (2011) Kapitalizm hakkında anlatılan her şey de doğru çıktı, Kolektif 8

Kurşuncu, H (2011) İklim değişiminden para kazanırken yenilenebilir enerji ne kadar yenilenebilir, Kolektif 11

Özkaya, I (2011) Yeni bir hukuk istemek, canlılar için hukuk talep etmek, kolektif 8

Özkaya, I (2012) Orda bie köy var uzakta, Kolektif 13

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Özlüer, F (2010) Teknolojik İndirgemecilik, sosyalistler, ekososyalistler, Kolektif 7

Özlüer, F (2011) Sivil Toplumculuğun keşfi ve toplum mühendisliğine sol nasıl bakar?, Kolektif 8

Özlüer, F(2011) Doğanın cinsiyeti, Adem, Havva, ve öteledikleri, Kolektif8

Özlüer,F (2011) Nükleer dünya batıyor seyreden bile yok, Kolektif 10

Özlüer,F (2012) Teknodeterminizmin ekoloji politiği, Kolektif 14

Stefanoni, P (2010) Yerlilik ve Doğacılık, Kolektif 5

Turhan,E;Kutluay,C; Aysal,L (2011) Başka bir dünya başka başka yöntemlerle mümkün, Kolektif 10

Zengin, D (2012) Safları Sıklaştırmak, Kolektif 12

Appendix 2

Table of Interviewees

	Name	Age	Profession	Education
1	Fevzi	35	Lawyer	Graduate
2	İlgin	35	Academic	Graduate
3	Cömert	30	Lawyer	Undergraduate
4	Deniz	26	Student	Undergraduate
5	Ecehan	42	Academic	Graduate

Appendix 3

TEZ FOTOKOPİSİ İZİN FORMU

ENSTİTÜ

Fen Bilimleri Enstitüsü	<input type="checkbox"/>
Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
Uygulamalı Matematik Enstitüsü	<input type="checkbox"/>
Enformatik Enstitüsü	<input type="checkbox"/>
Deniz Bilimleri Enstitüsü	<input type="checkbox"/>

YAZARIN

Soyadı : Kayabaş

Adı : Ergün

Bölümü : Sosyoloji

TEZİN ADI (İngilizce) : A CASE STUDY OF AN ECO-SOCIALIST ORGANIZATION: ECOLOGY COLLECTIVE

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: